

TO WIN 獲得的將是整個世界 МИР ВЫИГРАТЬ

1993/19

A WORLD

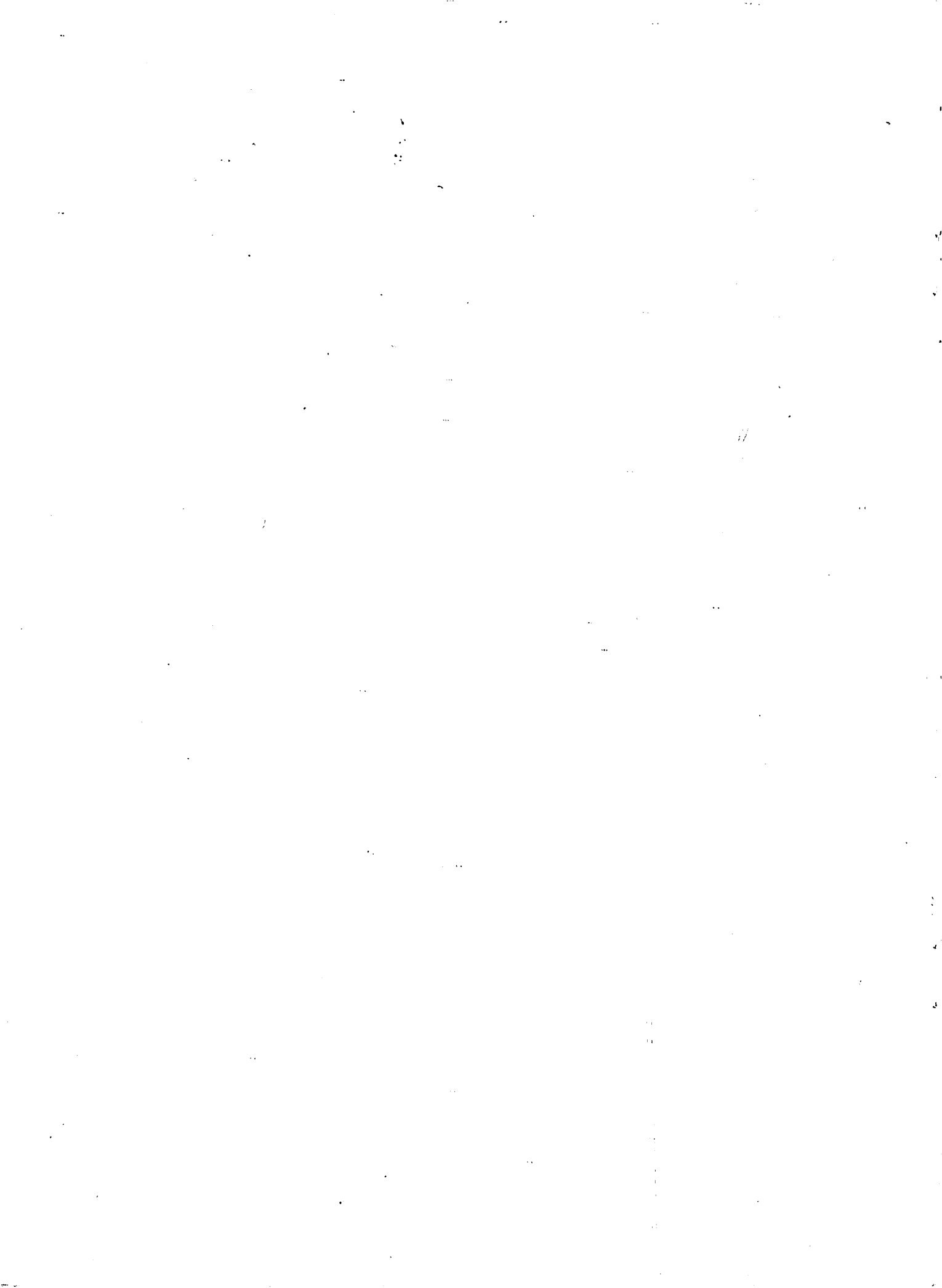
# Celebrate the Mao Centenary!

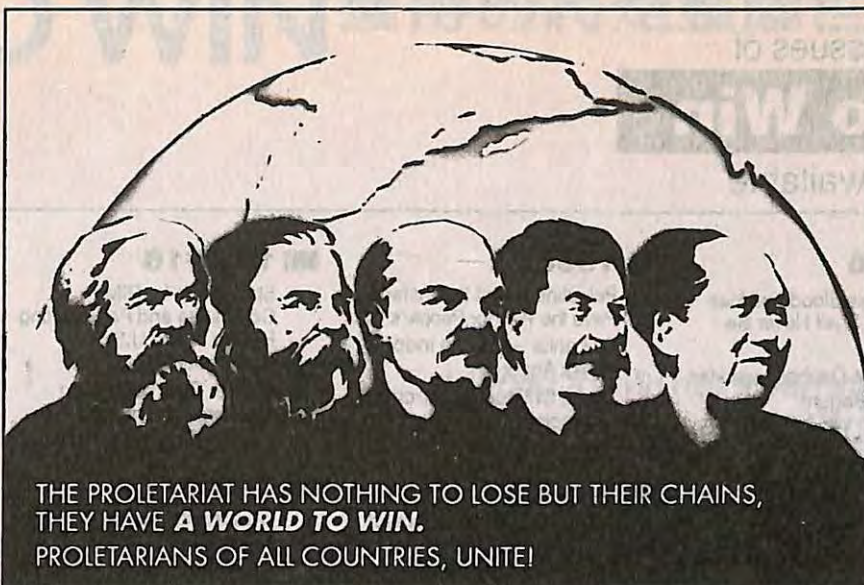
UN MONDE A GAGNER KAZANILACAK DUNYA عالم نړیخوا

UN MUNDO QUE GANAR जीनेके लिए सारा विश्व है UN MONDO



مبانی برای فتح





1993/19

## Talk by PCP Chairman Gonzalo

Speech given at a meeting held in conjunction with the rectification campaign carried out in 1991 by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP). Here Comrade Gonzalo, chairman of the PCP, addresses questions of philosophy, China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the current political situation in Peru and the world, and the rectification campaign itself.

## IEC Delegates Convene Successful Founding Conference

With a bold internationalist spirit and surmounting many obstacles, the International Emergency Campaign to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzmán (Chairman Gonzalo) successfully held its Founding Conference and forged a structure. *AWTW* analyzes various questions of debate within the IEC, as well as the activities and future of the worldwide campaign.

## Chiang Ching

Chiang Ching's little-told story is one of daring to go against the tide to make revolution — as a woman Communist leader and as the wife of Mao Tsetung. In a path-breaking new survey of the remarkable life and contributions of Chiang Ching, *AWTW* explores the trajectory of the Chinese revolution, retracing the steps of one of its outstanding leaders.

<b>Celebrate the Mao Centenary! — Editorial</b>	<b>4</b>
Celebrate the Mao Centenary in an Unforgettable Way!	7
■	
<b>Statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru</b>	<b>10</b>
Victory to the Armed Strike May 17, 18 and 19	11
Crush Down the Genocidal Plan Against the Prisoners of War	13
On the Rectification Campaign Based on the Study of the Document <i>Elections, No! Peoples War, Yes!</i> by PCP Chairman Gonzalo	14
■	
<b>IEC Founding Conference</b>	<b>18</b>
■	
RIM Committee On the Death of Comrade Sanmugathasan	26
<i>The Bright Red Banner of Mao Tsetung Thought</i>	28
Reminiscences on Comrade Sanmugathasan	30
Comrade Shan: An Unrepentant Communist	31
<b>Chiang Ching:</b>	
The Revolutionary Ambitions of a Communist Leader	34
<b>Revolutionary Internationalist Movement</b> (Reprinted below are some older RIM statements <i>AWTW</i> could not print in previous issues)	
Support the Struggle of the Masses in Germany Against Racists, Facists, and their Reactionary Protectors!	17
May 1st 1993 — Spread Mao's Legacy Far and Wide!	32
Imperialist Troops Out of Somalia! Yankee Go Home!	44
On the 20th Anniversary of the Martyrdom of the Founder of the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist, Ibrahim Kaypakkaya	47
Civil War In Yugoslavia	50
Support the Los Angeles Rebellion! Spring Thunder in the West	52
To the Oppressed Struggling Masses of Nepal	53
On the Life of Comrade Nat Gould	57
Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (PBSP) Holds 3rd Congress Amidst Suppression	55
RIM Committee Message to PBSP Congress	57

Past issues of

# A World to Win

Still Available

## 1985/1

Peru: When the Andes Roar  
India: Surface Cracks and the Tremors from the Depths

Dominican Republic: Two Days of Popular Upsurge

Homage to Yilmaz Guney: Revolutionary Filmmaker from Turkey

## 1985/2

Peru  
Revolution or World War 3  
Iran: Forging a Weak Link  
On the Dynamism of Imperialism and the Fettering of Social Development

## 1985/3

South Africa: Summoned by Revolution

Peru: Election Boycott

Reggae — Jamaica's Rebel music

## 1985/4

South Africa — The Revolutionary Crisis Deepens

Iran: "Defeated Armies Learn Well"

The False Path of the W. European "Urban Guerrilla"

## 1986/5

Kurdistan and Prospects for Red Political Power

Bangladesh: A Tinderbox

## 1986/6

Peru — This Blood that Has Been Spilt Shall Never Be Forgotten

Haiti — The Dechoukage Has Only Just Begun!

## 1986/7

Forward Along the Path Charted by Mao Tsetung — On the 20th anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution — Special Issue

## 1987/8

New Document from the Communist Party of Peru — Develop People's War to Serve the World Revolution

Open Letter from the Committee of the RIM to the Communist Party of the Philippines

December '86 — Student Upsurge in Imperialist France

## 1987/9

Naxalbari, India — 20 Years Since the Clap of Spring Thunder

Gorbachev — A Farewell to Arms?

Peru — Part II of Communist Party of Peru Document

## 1988/10

Burkina Faso — Why You Can't Make a Revolution Without the Masses

Perestroika — Gorbachev: Soul of Capital Personified

The Gulf Fulcrum — On the Iran/Iraq War

## 1988/11

Palestine — Let the Intifada Pave the Way for People's War!

Sri Lanka — On the Indo-Lanka Accords

Soviet Critique of "Terrorism" — Singing the Hymns of the Bourgeois State

## 1989/12

The 1960s in the Imperialist Citadels  
The Communist Party of the Philippines and False Friends of the Filipino Revolution  
Colombia: The Strategy of Insurrection vs. People's War  
Trouble Brewing in the USSR — A First-Hand Account

## 1989/13

Celebrate the 5th Anniversary of the RIM

Peru: People's War Prepares New Stage  
A Marxist-Leninist on Bangladesh Flood

## 1989/14

China: On the events of Tienanmen Square and Capitalist Restoration  
Notes on the Political Economy of Cuba — Part I  
The War on Drugs is a War on the People!

## 1990/15

Collapse of Revisionism in Eastern Europe  
PCP Chairman Gonzalo on the 40th Anniversary of the Chinese Revolution  
The Political Economy of Cuba — Part 2

## 1991/16

Statements by RIM Committee and Participating Parties on the U.S. Aggression in the Gulf  
Afghan Communists On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism  
Our Red Flag is Flying in Peru

## 1992/17

Do the Masses Have the Right to Rule?  
Democracy: More Than Ever We Can and Must Do Better than That, by RCP, USA Chairman, Bob Avakian  
On Proletarian Democracy, by CRC, CPI(ML)  
Communism Marches Forward in Peru

## 1992/18

High Stakes, Great Challenge: International Campaign — Move Heaven and Earth to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo!  
Interview with Chairman Gonzalo  
Glory to the Communist Heroes of Canto Grande!



### SPANISH EDITION:

Current and most back issues available. For details, contact: J.M. Pallmer G., Apdo. 73-320, Col. Santa Cruz Atoyac, 03311, México, D.F. México.

### OTHER LANGUAGE EDITIONS:

Most issues of *A World to Win* are available in Farsi and Turkish. Selected articles available in Arabic, Italian, French and German.

#### A World to Win

(Published Quarterly)

Air mail, institution and trade rates available upon request. Please send your name, postal address, cheque and the issue number with which to begin your subscription, to one of the following addresses:

#### For South Asian

subscriptions, Rs. 40 for four issues, write to:  
A World to Win  
39/2507, Dewans Road  
Kochi 682016  
Kerala, India

#### For North American

subscriptions, U.S. \$20, write to:  
Revolution Books  
13 East 16th St  
New York, NY 10003  
U.S.A.

#### For all other areas,

£4.5 for four issues, write to:  
BCM World to Win  
27 Old Gloucester Street  
London WC1N 3XX  
U.K.  
FAX: (44) (71) 831 9489  
Ref W6787  
A FAX or telex **must** include the reference number.

**N.B.** Send all correspondence and other materials to: BCM World to Win, 27 Old Gloucester Street, London WC1N 3XX, U.K.

TO WIN 獲得的將是整個世界 МИР ВЫИГРАТЬ

A WORLD

عالم نړیواله

DÜNYA

KAZANILACAK

GAGNER

UN MONDE

DA CONQUISTARE

جهانی برای فتح

A *World to Win* has been inspired by the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, announced on March 12th, 1984, which has regrouped many Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations from around the world. It is not an official organ of RIM. Its pages are open to all those on the same side of the barricades in the fight against imperialism and reaction.

**STEP FORWARD!**

A *World to Win* cannot accomplish its tasks without the active support of its readers. Letters, articles and criticism are needed and welcome. Manuscripts should be typed double spaced. In addition we need translators, help with distribution (including through commercial channels) to make this magazine available in as many countries as possible, art work (as well as clippings and original photos), and financial contributions from those who understand the importance of the continued publication of this magazine. This includes both individual contributions and the efforts of those who undertake the responsibility for raising funds for this magazine. Send pledges and donation cheques made out to "A World to Win".

Send all correspondence and other materials to:

BCM World to Win  
27 Old Gloucester Street  
London WC1N 3XX, U.K.  
Fax: (44) (71) 831 9489 Ref: W6787  
A fax or telex MUST include the reference number.

EINE WELT ZU GEWINNEN विश्व विजय

UN MUNDO QUE GANAR जीतनेके लिए सारा विश्व है UN MONDO DA CONQUISTARE

# Celebrate the Mao Centenary!

This year marks the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Mao Tsetung and throughout the world communist revolutionaries are honouring this occasion. This movement to celebrate the Mao Centenary was initiated by Chairman Gonzalo of the Communist Party of Peru, who in his historic speech from the cage called upon the communists of the world to make this anniversary "unforgettable". The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement responded by calling on the whole RIM to take up the challenge.

## **REAFFIRMATION OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION**

The celebration of the Mao Centenary comes at a fortuitous time. In the past few years the world has gone through tremendous convulsions as the Soviet Union and its former bloc have collapsed, the exploitation and misery of the majority have increased while new alignments and jockeying for power are taking place among the imperialist powers. The U.S. imperialists have declared a "New World Order" in which they will rule unchallenged for the next hundred years and they have already launched one vicious war against Iraq and stepped up interference, aggression and bullying in many countries in order to anoint this world order in the blood of the oppressed. However much the imperialists and reactionaries try to stop it, the proletariat and people will continue to struggle, compelled to do so by the very nature of the imperialist system itself, whether it be in Palestine, Turkey or Los Angeles. And, as Mao put it, this struggle also gives rise to the search for philosophy — for an explanation of why the world is as we find it, and most

importantly, how to change it.

The revolutionary communists have the solution to the problems of the masses. It lies in revolution, the proletarian dictatorship, the step by step construction of a completely new society without classes and exploitation. The name and work of Mao Tsetung are inseparably linked to carrying forward this struggle. The Mao Centenary is then a reaffirmation of the proletarian revolution and its final goal of communism.

Mao Tsetung raised the ideology and science of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, to a whole new level. Whether to recognize this new stage, to make it the basis for our theory and our practice — this is the struggle that has been going on in the international communist movement, especially since Mao's death in 1976 and the subsequent coup d'etat in China in which his line was overthrown, trampled and slandered.

Unfortunately, most of the communist movement, including those sections which had been allied with the Communist Party of China before the 1976 coup, were quick to follow Deng Xiaoping in abandoning Mao's line. The results of these betrayals are well known — the departure from principles, the sabotage of revolutionary struggles, and the conciliation with revisionism in all its forms. Others who opposed the new revisionist leaders in China swallowed the poison spread by Enver Hoxha of Albania who launched an open attack on Mao Tsetung Thought. All this showed that even amongst those forces who had been allied with China, the real grasp of Mao's development of Marxism-Leninism was uneven and incomplete.

Today the former pro-Soviet revisionist parties are either collapsed or in disarray, and the former pro-Deng

parties have either disintegrated or revealed their revisionist nature. Against this backdrop, the crimson red of Mao Tsetung stands out ever more sharply. And the People's War in Peru stands in stunning contrast to the confusion, demoralization and capitulation of those struggles which lack the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement was formed in 1984, regrouping the core of the Maoist forces in the world opposed to the revisionist line coming out of China and determined to advance on the revolutionary path. In the ten years since then, the influence of the RIM has developed steadily along with the progress of its participating parties and organizations. The key to these advances has been holding firm to the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line.

## **MLM — BEACON OF WORLD REVOLUTION**

Throughout many decades of leading the People's War in China, an extremely complex upheaval involving the masses in their millions, as well as in the battle to create a socialist China after power was seized, Mao Tsetung enriched and developed all of the components of Marxism-Leninism. These included analysis of semi-feudalism and semi-colonialism in China and the need to wage a New Democratic Revolution in the countries oppressed by imperialism; line on literature and art; line on waging revolutionary warfare; political economy and other fields. Mao advanced the understanding of the philosophy of the proletariat, dialectical materialism, and masterfully applied this philosophy to the problems of making revolution.



1966. Mao wearing a Red Guard's armband greeting one million people in Tienanman Square celebrating the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Mao had to resurrect and restore the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism that had been under attack by modern revisionism. He had to reexamine the experience, positive and negative, of the International Communist Movement and especially the experience of building a socialist country in the Soviet Union and then having that proletarian fortress taken from within by Khrushchev and his successors. Mao analyzed the contradictions in socialist society and formulated the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao put this theory into practice by launching the path-breaking Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which brought the whole experience of the proletariat in transforming society to an unprecedented level.

The principal question that has faced the international communist movement objectively since the death of Mao Tsetung and the reversal in China is whether or not Mao's development of the Marxist-Leninist ideology to a whole new stage would be assimilated in theory and practice by the revolutionary communists in different countries and on a world scale, whether MLM would become the beacon of the world revolution, or whether, in one form or another, Mao's teachings would be trampled on or put away in a closet.

Within the ranks of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and among other Maoist forces as well a protracted discussion has gone on to grasp and apply the development of Marxism to a whole new level represented by Mao Tsetung.

This discussion has never been mainly a question of terminology, of what words to use to describe our ideology, however important that question is. The key is to really come to grips with the totality of the proletarian revolutionary ideology as it has developed to successive stages by Marx, Lenin and Mao, and the application of this science to understanding the world and changing it. Today this discussion and struggle on the international level to reach a higher and more unified understanding of Mao's development of Marxism to a new stage is reaching a turning point.

■ ■ ■

It is clear that there is a great untapped audience for MLM in the world today. This has essentially two components. In countries all over the world there are masses of people who are propelled into struggle against imperialism and reaction, and indeed, this struggle is intensifying. But most of these people are young, inexperienced, and lacking the leadership of a vanguard party of the proletariat. The task of linking up the new generation of fighters with the ideology of MLM, itself the scientific concentration of the experience of the masses in struggle and in changing the world, is a great challenge to the communist revolutionaries of today. Our ideology is of no use unless it is linked with the proletariat and the people, illuminating and pointing the direction forward for their struggle.

---

#### **CRAVE GREATNESS AND SUCCESS**

---

In this year of the Mao Centenary we must find the ways to boldly hoist the banner of Mao Tsetung amidst the struggling masses and dare to stand up and answer the hysterical attacks of the bourgeoisie against our ideology. The republication of *Quotations of Chairman Mao* (more widely known as the "Red Book") is an important weapon in this fight to defend and popularize our science. During the Cultural Revolution, hundreds of millions of copies were distributed in dozens of languages all over the world, outraging the class enemies who noted that more copies of the Red Book were sold than the Bible or the Koran.

Today the need for this weapon is as great as ever.

In addition to the new generation of revolutionaries beginning to step forward, there are also large numbers of comrades who have participated in the struggles of the past period, who may or may not have had previous connections to Maoist parties and organizations, but who, for a variety of reasons, have in the more recent period fallen into the orbit of one or another type of revisionism and yet today are confronted with the complete bankruptcy of the latter. Many signs show that such forces are increasingly attracted to the Maoist position. We must welcome such comrades with open arms. But part of this welcome must include sharp struggle to help these comrades understand the ideological and political roots of revisionism so as to help their rupture with revisionism become deep and thorough and not just remain on the surface of things. This task also, of uniting more and more revolutionary forces around the only true Maoist pole in the world today, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, is another

great task of the Mao Centenary.

For many years, the genuine revolutionary forces have been relatively weak and isolated, but as the *Declaration of the RIM* points out, the "future belongs to them". It has been necessary to resist and to combat the siren songs of the revisionists and opportunists who called upon the genuine communists to adopt a "more reasonable" attitude, in other words, to abandon the criticism of opportunism and revisionism, and seek comfort in an illusory and ephemeral unity with opportunist currents. It was necessary for the Maoists to not fear "going against the tide" of opportunism and revisionism which has swept across the international communist movement in successive waves since the death of Mao and the coup in China. And this process has further strengthened and tempered the Maoist forces, and better prepared them for future tests.

In the period ahead, tests of a different nature will be posed as well. Our relative isolation is being transformed, through struggle, into relative non-isolation. An audience of thousands is becoming an audience

of millions. These advances are on the basis of upholding principles, not abandoning them. And they are also a result of a correct MLM line being transformed into a material force, expressed most sharply in the great strides of the People's War in Peru. As MLM becomes more and more a weapon in the hands of the masses in different countries who use it to wage revolution, it will win the confidence of even greater numbers of people.

As Mao Tsetung put it, "we should crave greatness and success". This means linking our ideology with the struggle of the masses. It means daring to lead. It means correctly applying the proletarian science and ideology to all political, organizational and military questions, to correctly solving the burning practical problems of advancing the struggle. It means using the Mao Centenary as a great vehicle to reach out with the liberating truth and vision of Mao Tsetung to vast new battalions of revolutionaries throughout the world. In this way, the Mao Centenary can be truly unforgettable! □

## REPRINT THE RED BOOK!

At this very moment a fundraising campaign for reprinting Mao's *Little Red Book* is developing around the world to popularize his work for a new generation of revolutionaries. Give generously!

### Celebrate the Mao Centenary!

The Red Book must again become a weapon in the hands of millions of revolutionaries around the world. Contribute to the reprinting of the Red Book — *Quotations of Chairman Mao*

### ¡Celebrar el Centenario de Mao!

El Libro Rojo debe volver a servir de arma en la mano de millones de revolucionarios a través del mundo. Apoye la reedición del Libro Rojo — *Las Citas del Presidente Mao*

### Mao'nun Yüzüncü Yılı Kutla!

Kızıl Kitap, tüm dünyada milyonlarca devrimcinin elinde tekrar bir silah haline gelmelidir. Kızıl Kitap'ın yeniden yayınlanmasına katkı yap! — *Başkan Mao'dan Alıntılar*

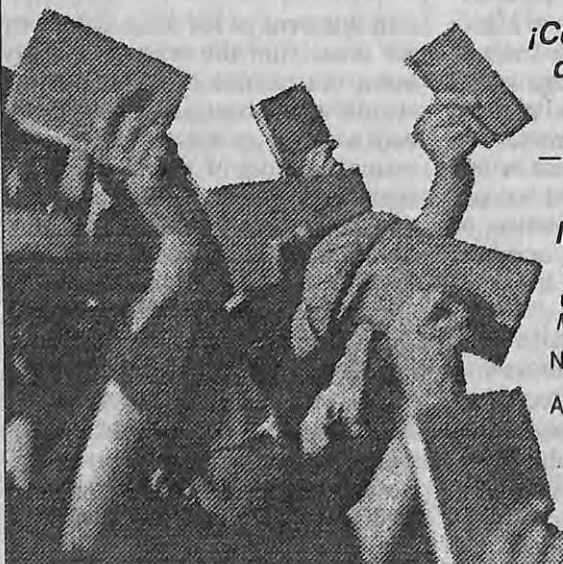
Name / Nombre / İsim .....

Amount / Cantidad del aporte / Miktar .....

**A World to Win — Un Mundo Que Ganar — Kazanılacak Dünya**

Send your contributions to:

BCM A World to Win, 27 Old Gloucester Street, London WC1N 3XX, U.K.



# Celebrate the Mao Tsetung Centenary in an Unforgettable Way!

— Statement by the Committee of the Revolutionary  
Internationalist Movement

December 1992

The year 1993 is one hundred years since the birth of Mao Tsetung, the great leader and teacher of the international proletariat and the oppressed masses the world over. The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement calls upon parties and organisations of our movement, upon our sympathizers and upon the revolutionary people to celebrate the Mao Tsetung Centenary in a grand and unforgettable way. We must use this Centenary to wage a powerful ideological counteroffensive against the imperialists and reactionaries of the world.

Mao Tsetung stands for the uncompromising and self-reliant struggle of the masses of people. His very name continues to strike fear into the hearts of the class enemies. He represents the aspirations of the oppressed to rise above the mud of class oppression, to break with the whole system of thought based on narrow self interest, and to aim at nothing less than the liberation of all humanity.

On September 24th of this year Comrade Gonzalo, the imprisoned Chairman of the Communist Party of Peru, was presented in a cage to the howling press. On this occasion he made a stirring defence of revolutionary communism and called on the people of the world to make the Mao Centenary a year-long unforgettable celebration. In taking up this call we are also honouring Chairman Gonzalo and linking the celebration of the Mao Centenary with the ongoing struggle to defend the life of Chairman

Gonzalo.

Today the Western imperialists have declared that the defeat of the revisionist Soviet social imperialists in the "Cold War" meant the "death of communism". Many struggles of the oppressed peoples are being derailed and sabotaged as part of the ideological offensive against communism and revolution. Standing in sharp contrast has been the People's War in Peru which has made great advances over its twelve year history, arousing and mobilizing millions of people and dealing sharp blows to the enemy. These advances have been due to the correct leadership of the PCP, a genuine Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party. This is an important reason why the imperialist powers led by U.S. imperialism have spearheaded an attack against the People's War in Peru and its leader, Chairman Gonzalo.

Today the U.S. imperialists are declaring a "new world order" to last one hundred years under their domination. To accomplish this they attack the people with the force of arms and they also aim at the very morale and hopes of the masses. They hope to rob the new generation of proletarians and revolutionary people of the glorious history and lessons of the great revolutionary struggles of the oppressed during the last one and one half centuries, from the Paris Commune to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. And they use their powerful propaganda machine in hopes of robbing the revolutionaries of the invincible ideology forged by Marx, Lenin and Mao in the course of these great struggles. As Comrade Gonzalo put it, "Dream on!"

The crimes of the imperialists, and especially the U.S. imperialists, and their flunkies around the world are so evident, so naked, the daily consequences so painful, that the majority of the people of the world hate them, and this hatred is spreading even within the imperialist countries themselves where class polarization, class struggle and crisis are increasing.

But the hatred and suffering of the people need to be transformed into strength and determination to build a revolutionary struggle which will overthrow the imperialists and their lackeys, overthrow the existing rotten social system and will set about building a new world without injustice, deception, and exploitation of man by man. For this struggle to succeed it must be guided by the proletarian revolutionary ideology of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung.

In this spirit, we must carry the truth of Mao Tsetung and spread it among millions and millions of people. In this process we can train new contingents of proletarian revolutionaries in different countries. Let the Mao Tsetung Centenary sow the red seeds of revolution in every corner of the globe!

**Raise High the Banner of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung!**

**Move Heaven and Earth to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo!**

**Long Live the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!**

**Celebrate the Mao Tsetung Centenary in an Unforgettable Way!**

# DECLARATION OF THE

# REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT



*In Chinese*

**T**he *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* has been printed in over 20 languages

Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Creole, Danish, English (2 editions, Indian & U.S.), Farsi, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Japanese, Kannada, Kurdish, Malayalam, Nepalese, Punjabi, Spanish (4 editions, Colombian, Peruvian, Spanish & U.S.), Tamil, Turkish.

**Order from:**

BCM RIM; WC1N 3XX; London, U.K.  
£ 1.50

**Contact:** The Revolutionary  
Internationalist Movement

**Write:** Information Bureau, BCM RIM,  
London WC1N 3XX, U.K.

## Signatories of the Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and Participating Organizations in RIM

Central Reorganisation Committee,  
Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)

Ceylon Communist Party (Maoist)\*

Communist Party of Afghanistan\*\*

Communist Party of Bangladesh  
(Marxist-Leninist) [BSD(ML)]

Communist Party of Peru

Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist  
[TKP/ML]

Haitian Revolutionary Internationalist Group  
Marxist-Leninist Communist Organization of  
Tunisia

Nepal Communist Party (Mashal)

New Zealand Red Flag Group

Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (PBSP)  
[Bangladesh]

RedWorker Communist Organization [Italy]

Revolutionary Communist Group of Colombia

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

Revolutionary Communist Union [Dominican  
Republic]

Union of Iran Communists (Sarbedaran)

\*At the 1991 Congress, the Ceylon Communist Party decided to add (Maoist) to its name.

\*\* With the formation of the Communist Party of Afghanistan in May 1991, the Organization of Revolutionary Communists of Afghanistan went out of existence.

In addition to the above list of those whose participation in the Movement has been publicly announced by the Committee, a number of other organizations work closely with the Movement to advance its cause and build and strengthen vanguard communist organization.

# Statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru

Today, when our beloved leader is in a difficult situation, resulting from an extremely unfortunate occupational hazard, we firmly take up his courageous and resolute September 24th call from prison:

*"This is an historic moment, and all of us must be clear on that. Let's not fool ourselves. Right now we have to bring all favourable factors into play in order to face these difficulties and continue carrying out our tasks, to achieve our goals, score successes, and win victory! This is what we must do!"*

And this is what our Party has been doing, leading the unstoppable People's War to win country-wide political power; further developing the strategic equilibrium, building up the new political power; today organizing the People's Liberation Front, whose main organizational form is the People's Liberation Army; resolutely carrying out the agreements of the glorious, historic and far-reaching Third Plenum of the Central Committee. We are now in the midst of carrying out the Fourth Plan for the Strategic Development of the People's War to Seize Political Power and the Sixth Military Plan, *"Organize the Seizure of Power!"*, with its First Campaign *"In Defence of Our Leadership, Against the Genocidal Dictatorship!"*, in the form of resounding armed actions that are provoking fear and trembling among the imperialists, the big bourgeoisie and the

landowners, as well as their revisionist and opportunist flunkies and hack writers who are uselessly trying to hide an obvious reality.

We energetically repudiate the vile lies being spread by the genocidal traitor to the fatherland and the whole pack of scavenger dogs who seek to defend the old order by heaping slander on the leader of the Party and the revolution. Chairman Gonzalo is the greatest example of what a communist is. At the very beginning of the invincible People's War he went into clandestinity, and remained there during more than twelve years of heroic, tenacious and intrepid struggle, leading the revolution step by step. These are the circumstances under which he was captured on 12 September by the secret agents of the "Dincote". But our people should know that this capture was advised and directed by Yankee imperialism acting through the sinister CIA. U.S. imperialism is going all-out to unleash so-called "low-intensity warfare" in our country.

We firmly warn the genocidal national traitor Fujimori; his cowardly and genocidal Armed Forces, specialists in suffering defeat and in gorging themselves on the blood of unarmed masses; the Church hierarchy, judges and bureaucrats who back genocide; and the great puppet-master itself, imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, that they will have to answer for the life and health of our Leader. If something should hap-

pen to him, they will pay with their lives and the lives of all those of their ilk, no matter what it may cost us. We demand respect for the rights of prisoners of war — and we demand that a position be taken by the international organizations that supposedly safeguard the application of these basic treaties and legal norms which the reaction itself has established and claims to respect.

We alert our heroic people — don't let yourself be misled by the hateful schemes being hatched by the genocidal dictatorship, as it follows the dictates of its Yankee imperialist bosses in carrying out "low-intensity warfare". We condemn the so-called "repentance" law decreed by these genocides, which they have used to mount a whole lying, ridiculous farce according to which "hundreds of subversives have turned themselves in"; as well as the alleged "mass arrests of Senderists" or the "bombardment and destruction of Senderist strongholds in Ayacucho (Vizcatán, Waripata), Huallaga, etc". We reaffirm that our Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought People's War is invincible and that its victory is inevitable. This does not depend on the wishes of an upstart puppet who can't even count on completing his "mandate", nor does it depend on the wishes of the genocidal Armed Forces, nor those of Yankee imperialism, which has so often been beaten by People's War. What they are trying to cover up with their

plotting is the extremely serious situation facing the old state, a situation from which there is no way out. What they are seeking to cover up is the desertion by the dozens of soldiers tired of being used as cannon-fodder and the hundreds of casualties the People's Liberation Army has been dealing the Armed Forces. What they are seeking to cover up is the acute contradictions breaking out today between the two factions of the big bourgeoisie, contradictions reflected within their own rotten Armed Forces.

We express our gratitude for the solidarity and support that has been extended by the international proletariat, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, the communist parties and people's organizations and the peoples of the world, who have raised their voices in protest and their strong fists to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo, through statements, mass meetings, demonstrations and armed actions. We call for continuing to push forward these tasks but linked to the Long Live Maoism! campaign.

In the Third Plenum of the Central Committee, Chairman Gonzalo said, "*Maoism, as it becomes embodied by the peoples of the world, is moving to take the lead of the new great wave of the World Proletarian Revolution.*" And in his speech on 24 September he said, "*What do we need? We need Marxism to be embodied — as it is, and for this to give rise to communist parties that can direct and lead this approach-*

*ing great wave of the World Proletarian revolution.*" "*The coming year will mark the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Chairman Mao. We should celebrate this hundredth anniversary, and we are organizing it with the other communist parties.*" We have taken this up because Maoism is the third, new and highest stage of the international proletariat's ideology, and it is decisive.

Finally, we reaffirm our unshakable determination to give our lives for Chairman Gonzalo, for the Party and the Revolution. We reaffirm our unshakable determination to develop

the People's War to seize political power countrywide by applying, faithfully, tenaciously and vigorously, our untarnishable and all-powerful ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought.

**Long Live Maoism!**  
**Long Live Chairman Gonzalo!**  
**Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo!**  
**Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought!**  
**Further Develop the Strategic Equilibrium!**

December 1992

### RESOLUTION

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru fervently salutes our beloved, heroic and masterful leader, Chairman Gonzalo, the greatest living Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, great political and military strategist, philosopher, teacher of communists, centre of our Party's unification, who by creatively applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of the Peruvian revolution has given rise to Gonzalo Thought, guarantee of the revolution's victory.

The PCP Central Committee reaffirms its full, conscious and unconditional submission to the single leadership of Chairman Gonzalo and to the whole system of Party leadership.

The PCP Central Committee reaffirms the historic motion of recognition adopted in the First Party

Congress:

*"We members of the Congress express our recognition of Chairman Gonzalo as the continuator of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao Tsetung, who has guaranteed the concretization of the Party's principal historical milestone. With communist joy we also salute him for having launched and led the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought counteroffensive that will smash the new counterrevolutionary offensive headed by Gorbachev and Deng, developing it so as to establish Maoism as the new, third and highest stage of Marxism which will lead to a new development of Marxism in the service of the world proletarian revolution until communism."*

June 1, 1989

## Victory to the Armed Strike May 17, 18 and 19

By the Classist Movement of the Shantytowns, Lima Base, May 1993

### **TO THE PROLETARIAT AND THE PEOPLE OF PERU:**

With great revolutionary joy, the Movimiento Clasista Barrrial (Classist Movement of the Shantytowns) Lima Base, as part of the Peoples' Liberation Movement, salutes the heroic and revolutionary proletariat and the people of Peru, especially because we are celebrating the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Armed Struggle in our country, of the People's War, a war of the masses, led

victoriously by the Communist Party of Peru. Thirteen years of glorious revolutionary advances which very clearly prove to the world the unquestionable validity of our Communist principles, the validity of Marxism, of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought; the validity of revolutionary violence as the only way in which the class and people can seize power, the validity of the class dictatorship, the validity of the Party, of the Communist Party, the validity of the masses are

the makers of history and it's right to rebel. Because it is the masses led by the Communist Party who make history, who carry out People's War, who have brought People's War into being and developed it by turning their poverty into a tempered weapon of steel and illuminated this path with their inextinguishable struggle; who are developing Strategic Equilibrium in which the Democratic Revolution in our country is unfolding. We are living historic moments and we understand

this clearly. The commemoration of the momentous milestone, the beginning of the Armed Struggle, takes place in the framework of the great celebration of the centenary of the birth of Chairman Mao Tsetung, and in the framework of Red May, a month with such important dates for the class and people as May Day, International Day of the Proletariat, and the First Anniversary of Day of Heroic resistance, among others.

For its part, the reactionaries, the rotten and senile Peruvian State led by its principal master Yankee imperialism, the genocidal Armed Forces and police forces, the reactionary parties of all stripes including the revisionists, in their naked and vain attempts to prop up the old State, to restructure it and annihilate People's War and reinforce Bureaucrat Capitalism (which they have not been able to do), have developed new forms of genocide and broad repression against our people, absurdly attempting to drown the Revolution in blood and deny even more the rights of the class and of the people. This is why in the shantytowns, as part of their so-called "low intensity warfare", they are carrying out repression through widespread sweeps. They call it "raking", it is nothing more than military occupation of the shantytowns, with massive arrests, field interrogations, theft and plunder against disarmed people; all of which shows the cowardice with which they act. Now that the democratic road has begun to be developed as the road to Liberation, we accept the responsibility to contribute to forging the People's Liberation Front and to smash the filthy and insane dreams of imperialism and reaction, of the senile Peruvian State, of the genocidal Fujimori and his Armed Forces and police forces; and all reaction in general. The scheming murderer Fujimori, dangling like a prickly pear from the bloody bayonets of the genocidal Armed Forces, manipulated by Yankee imperialism, is carrying out joint genocide together with all the rest of the reactionaries, against our people. As part of this they have plotted a sinister and cowardly plan to assassinate our beloved and respected Chairman Gonzalo. We reaffirm the instructions of the Central Committee. "We firmly warn

the genocidal Fujimori, betrayer of the country, and the cowardly and genocidal Armed Forces which he directs, experts in defeats, and in feeding on the unarmed masses, the Church hierarchy; the judges and bureaucrats who prop up the genocide; and their great puppet master imperialism, mainly Yankee: You are responsible for the life and health of our leader, and if anything happens to him, you and all your kind will pay with your lives, whatever the cost."

Thus, the People's Liberation Movement has issued a timely and correct call to the proletariat and the people, to begin now preparing for powerful days of struggle, and Armed Strike, May 17, 18, and 19. On these days we will reaffirm our revolutionary combativity, dealing a powerful and earth-shaking blow to the senile reactionary State, and in this way we will defend the rights and demands of the class and of the people against hunger, unemployment and the crisis, for land, wages and national production; against genocide and widespread repression, for the Rights of the People and People's War; against the old State and imperialism, for the People's Republic of Peru. Now that this old state, rotten to the core, is sinking deeper and deeper into the general crisis of contemporary Peruvian society, trying to dump it on the masses through greater impoverishment of our people and through denying the people's rights, the popular classes are more taking up the call to combat and resist. In the shanty towns we will go out to combat them, especially for our right to housing, water, and electricity, as part of the people's rights. For this reason the Classist Movement of the Shantytowns, an organization generated by the Party, salutes and upholds this timely and correct call for the Armed Strike on May the 17th, 18th, and 19th, from the MPL (People's Liberation Movement) led by the PCP, and calls on the proletariat and the people, especially the residents of the shantytowns, to take to the streets to combat and resist for the Rights of the People and the People's War, to in this way continue developing People's War, through which we come ever closer to the brilliant historical perspective of seizing power and advancing toward our unwavering goal, golden

and forever radiant Communism.

This heroic Armed Strike on May 17, 18, and 19 is part of the struggles of the international proletariat and oppressed nations, within the great wave of the world Proletarian revolution in which Maoism is taking shape as the new, third and highest stage of the ideology of the international proletariat, as commander and guide of the world proletarian revolution. Especially it is in keeping with the *momentous and historic international days of action, May 14 and 15, to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo*, the greatest Communist living on Earth;

Therefore we salute this call, and we are convinced that in those days world imperialism and reaction will receive strong blows from the powerful fist of the class, from the international proletariat.

In summary: It is up to the proletariat and the people to develop these heroic days of struggle on the 17, 18, and 19 of May.

**Victory to the Armed Strike of May 17, 18 and 19 to Defend the Leadership Against the Genocidal Dictatorship!**

**Victory to International Days of Action May 14 and 15 to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo!**

**Against Hunger, Unemployment, and Crisis, For Land, Wages and National Production!**

**Against Genocide and Widespread Repression, For the People's Rights and People's War!**

**Against the Old State and Imperialism, For the People's Republic of Peru!**

**Down with Oppressive Taxes!**

**No to the Payment of the Foreign Debt!**

**For Water, Sewage Services and Electricity, Combat and Resist!**

**For Health, Housing and Education, Combat and Resist!**

**Through Struggle We Win and Defend Our Rights!**

**Long Live the People's Liberation Movement!**

# Crush the Genocidal Plan Against the Prisoners of War!

By the Prisoners of War, Canto Grande, Shining Trench of Combat

"The reactionaries dream of annihilating revolution by killing the masses. They think that the more are killed the weaker the revolution becomes. But against their subjective desire, facts show that the more people they kill, the closer is the end for the reactionaries. This is an ineluctable law."

— Chairman Mao Tse-tung

---

**TO THE PERUVIAN AND  
INTERNATIONAL  
PROLETARIAT, TO THE  
PEOPLE OF PERU  
AND THE PEOPLE  
AROUND THE WORLD:**

---

We, as prisoners of war from this concentration camp of Canto Grande, salute with deep communist joy the vigorous, rising, and overwhelming development of our unbeatable People's War, which today is at the stage of Strategic Equilibrium. This is shaking the country more and more, preparing the strategic offensive to seize power nationwide. All this is led by the PCP under the grand direction of our Chairman Gonzalo, leader of the Party and the revolution. This is demonstrated by the hundreds of actions carried out all over the country and the conclusive Armed Strike on November 18-19 in Lima, which shook the Peruvian reaction and imperialism, especially Yankee.

The open genocidal dictatorship led by the sly and reptile-like Fujimori, as a wounded beast under orders from his master, Yankee imperialism, and with cruel hate for the people, unleashes his counter subversive war, that has been developed as part of his so-called low intensity war. Within this is the arrest of our beloved and respected Chairman Gonzalo, whom he tries to kill, dreaming about finishing the revolution. We call on the proletariat, the Peruvian people and people around the world to defend the health and life of the greatest Marxist-Leninist-Maoist who is liv-

ing on the face of the earth.

His war is joined with the continuation of his plan of genocide against the prisoners of war, like the latest events in Cachique prison, where more than 40 prisoners were massacred, a similar situation to what happened in other concentration camps. In our case we denounce the cruel beatings meted out on the 20th and the following days of this month. Before the conclusive success of the Armed Strike, Fujimori, the prickly pear hooked on the end of the bayonets, human trash, vented his fury against the prisoners of war. Thus, "special groups" of the national police, a defeated force, "brave" in the face of disarmed prisoners, led by the genocidal Colonel Gabino Cajahuanca (Prison Governor), Captain Aliaga and others like him, came into pavilion 1-A, and under the pretext of a "relocation" (selection of those who they consider "ringleaders"), began to beat and torture us one by one, and as a consequence some of our comrades are seriously wounded....

All this gets worse due to the continuous theft of the food brought by our relatives on monthly visits, denying us the right to food, and as a consequence we have today more than 40 sick persons with tuberculosis, who are denied proper medical attention....

The reactionaries try vainly to harm our undefeated morale, they dream about drowning the revolution in blood, but against this subjective wish, the People's War is blazing victoriously, it is a beacon of the world revolution — the more vile acts they do, the more the reactionaries dig their grave. The Party has forged us to defy death, this is the way that our Chairman Gonzalo has forged us. We have an uncompromising communist position. Nothing can stop us! Neither his life imprisonment nor his death penalty (that they have tried to apply since long ago). Nothing!...

We, as prisoners of war in this concentration camp, reaffirm our absolute and unconditional submission to our leader, Chairman Gonzalo; and declare our obligation

to defend his health and life. We reaffirm to continue with the heroic resistance under these new conditions. We reaffirm our obligation of giving our life for Chairman Gonzalo, the Party, the Revolution and Communism. We follow the shining example of our always remembered Comrade Norah, the greatest heroine of the Party and the Revolution. We are completely convinced that we will seize power nationwide, that we will establish the People's Republic of Peru, a future base area and trench of combat for the World Proletarian Revolution. We will uninterruptedly continue the Socialist Revolution. We, together with the international proletariat and the people around the world, will continue developing the Proletarian Cultural Revolutions, as many as necessary to come to our final goal: golden and forever shining Communism.

**Long Live Chairman Gonzalo,  
Leader of the Party and the  
Revolution!**

**Defend the Health and Life of  
Chairman Gonzalo!**

**Long Live Marxism-Leninism-  
Maoism, Gonzalo Thought!**

**Long Live the Communist Party of  
Peru!**

**Long Live the Unbeatable People's  
War, Beacon of the World  
Revolution!**

**Long Live the Open People's  
Committees!**

**Long Live the New Power!**

**Long Live the People's Republic of  
Peru!**

**Long Live Strategic Equilibrium!**

**Let the Strategic Equilibrium Shake  
the Country!**

**Crush Down the Genocidal Plan  
Against Prisoners of War!**

**Honour and Glory to Comrade  
Norah, the Greatest Heroine of the  
Party and the Revolution!**

**Only the People Judge and Sentence  
the Genocidal Murderers!**

**Give Our Life for Chairman  
Gonzalo, the Party and the  
Revolution, Today, Tomorrow and  
Always!**

December 1992

Following is a speech given by PCP Chairman Gonzalo at an August 1991 meeting held in Peru in conjunction with the PCP's rectification campaign. — AWTW

**I. HOW TO STUDY.  
PAY ATTENTION TO  
ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS.**

Pay attention to analysis and to synthesis. They make up the two aspects of a contradiction, and of the two, synthesis is the principal aspect. Analysis allows us to separate things into their component elements in order to understand them better, but this is only one aspect, and the process of knowledge can never be reduced to analysis alone; it requires the other aspect, synthesis. Synthesis is what allows us to grasp the essence of knowledge. Without synthesis there can be no leap. Synthesis is principal; it is the aspect of a contradiction that leads to its resolution and allows us to grasp the objective law it embodies.

This is an ideological question, part and parcel of the application of dialectical materialism, the Marxist theory of knowledge. In contrast, bourgeois idealist ideology isolates analysis from synthesis. According to the proletariat's ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, these are two aspects of a single entity and synthesis is principal because it gives rise to a higher level of knowledge, a qualitative change, a leap.

There are two classic examples of this. One is the example of a clock. In order to understand how it works you have to dismantle it. That allows you to understand its components and their functions. But if you cannot put it together again all you have is a pile of parts. Even if these parts were classified into groups you still would not have a clock.

The other example is the development of natural science since the fifteenth century, which demonstrates in historical terms where the lack of synthesis leads. The tremendous development of sciences such as mathematics, astronomy, physics, etc, brought about an increased understanding of various aspects of nature, but this process also brought about the fracturing of science analytically, its division into different fields, and led to metaphysical theories. Even the eighteenth cen-

# On the Rectification the Study of the Elections, No!

By Comrade Gonzalo, Chairman of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP)

tury, with its great scientific, materialist advances, produced metaphysical knowledge. Nevertheless, this process of fracturing and dividing knowledge into different fields laid the basis for a leap. It laid the foundation first for Hegel's idealist dialectics and later Marx's materialist dialectics. All this breaking apart of things meant there had to be a synthesis, a great condensation, and it prepared fertile ground for the development of dialectical materialism by Marx and Engels; principally Marx. The achievement of this historic milestone, the proletariat's world outlook, Marxist philosophy, dialectical materialism, was the result of a powerful process of synthesis: The same is true of the achievement represented by the recognition of contradiction as the essence of the proletariat's outlook, a leap of inexhaustible historical importance.

Both examples show the need for synthesis, for a leap. So pay special attention to analysis and synthesis, principally synthesis.

A problem has manifested itself in the course of the various contributions to the discussion. Taking things apart leads to a lot of talk about "quotations", and in the discussion people talked about "quotations from the document" or "reading quotations from Marx" or "grasping the quotations from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution". People fall into enumerating isolated quotations instead of applying them to current problems. Thus the failure to grasp the question of synthesis leads to another problem, a failure to grasp the proletariat's ideology as an integral whole, as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Even the way some people express themselves reveals this problem. One of the speeches only made two mentions of "Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally

Maoism", whereas the document refers to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism again and again, from beginning to end. Another mentions "humanity's only science", which is true, but this science has a name — Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, and its creative application here, in this country, is Gonzalo Thought.

We have to get beyond merely grasping the facts. When a problem arises we have to find out what causes it. This is an ideological question. In the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as it presents itself in the ideological sphere, there is resistance, expressed as the predominance of bourgeois ideology over proletarian ideology at a particular moment in time. This phenomenon is part and parcel of the struggle between the two ideologies, a struggle which arises even more with new people who are still being trained. Hence bourgeois ideology must be destroyed in order to construct proletarian ideology. There can be no construction without destruction. The dead weight of tradition, old ideas and ideological deviations is heavy; these things do not die out peacefully. Therefore transforming oneself requires enormous efforts. Human beings are practical, not contemplative, especially when they are striving to transform reality in the service of the proletariat and the people. This is why they can overcome that old, outworn ideology and take up the ideology of the proletariat, the only ideology that can enable them to understand and change the world in the interests of the class and the oppressed peoples.

In study, the point is that there is a contradiction between analysis and synthesis, which gives rise to a leap

# Campaign Based on Document People's War, Yes!

in terms of knowledge. If this contradiction is not handled correctly it will lead to problems in the overall handling of proletarian ideology. This is the root cause, in this sphere, of the failure to take the stand of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, as the universal truth and outlook that unites the world's communists, and Gonzalo Thought as specifically principal for communists here, for the Peruvian revolution in particular. The stand that seeks to use isolated quotations to analyse the international situation, the political situation in the country, the Party and its three magic weapons, or mass work, etc, is based on a failure to understand Marxism as an integral whole. In study, the failure to go beyond analysis and apply synthesis as the principal thing, the failure to make a leap, is a manifestation of bourgeois ideology. Our stand is that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, is the guide and centre, the axis around which everything revolves; it is what allows us to understand things, deduce the laws that govern them and thus transform nature, society and ideas.

The conclusion to be drawn is that remaining at the level of analysis leads to metaphysics. Synthesis leads to materialist dialectics; in the study of the document it brings us to Marxism, Marxism brings us to Leninism and Leninism to Maoism. Of these three one is principal: Maoism. Moreover, Maoism leads us to Gonzalo Thought which is the universal truth specifically applied to the concrete reality of Peruvian society and the concrete conditions of today's class struggle. Synthesis allows us to understand the document and its Marxist character, to understand how the Party evaluates Marxism today on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo

Thought thesis that Maoism is a new, third and higher stage.

All of us, communists, fighters and masses, must train ourselves in the ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought.

## **II. THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION. THE CELEBRATION OF ITS 25TH ANNIVERSARY.**

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was Chairman Mao's greatest achievement and represents an enormous contribution to the world proletarian revolution. It resolved what had been a pending question regarding socialism: the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in its unstoppable march towards communism. The question has been definitively settled and now we communists have the answer: we shall continue the revolution under the conditions of socialist society by means of proletarian cultural revolutions. The essence of the problem, seen in perspective, is to change people's souls, to transform their ideology, so that they personify Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism. Only in this way can we prevent the restoration of capitalism and march forward to communism.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a basic issue for Maoism. If we don't thoroughly grasp that Maoism is a new, third and higher stage we won't understand anything — it's that simple — because as we know very well, today to be a Marxist means being a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, principally Maoist. The theory of the Cultural Revolution is rooted in Marx himself, since it was he who pointed out that the transition from capitalism to

communism would require permanent revolution throughout a period of proletarian dictatorship. He conceived of this indispensable and necessary revolution as a series of successive great leaps. It is also rooted in Lenin, who envisaged and encouraged a cultural revolution. But it was Chairman Mao who answered this great unresolved question of how to continue the revolution and carried it out in practice, who led it and developed it as the greatest political event humanity has ever seen. The problem was unresolved, though many great struggles took place, until 1966 when the Chinese proletariat and people found the way, under the personal leadership of Chairman Mao at the head of the glorious Communist Party of China. This was an earth-shaking event.

For us this is even more vitally important today, since the so-called "defeat of socialism" that has been so loudly proclaimed is linked to the question of how socialism develops and how the dictatorship of the proletariat is defended. What has failed is revisionism, not socialism. Revisionism continued along the evil road of capitalist restoration until it sank so deep into the rot that it finally went under. From Khrushchev to the infamous Gorbachev in the USSR, and in China from the rise of Deng Xiao-ping in 1976 until today, the revisionists usurped the dictatorship of the proletariat, restored capitalism and destroyed socialism. Revisionism refers to the political leadership of capitalist restoration, to the negative aspect of the process of restoration and counter-restoration which the class must go through until it seizes power once and for all.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution represents the most encouraging and highest point in this world-wide process of struggle be-

tween revolution and counter-revolution, between restoration and counter-restoration, in the development of socialism. The fact that it lasted only until 1976 when Deng Xiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist coup d'etat restored capitalism in no way negates the Cultural Revolution nor its necessity. In fact, this restoration confirms what Chairman Mao himself said, that in the struggle between capitalism and socialism, in the life-and-death struggle between restoration and counter-restoration, the question of who will win out has not yet been decided, and that the class struggle will continue until final victory, until communism.

Between 1966 and 1976 the Cultural Revolution was a practical, concrete reality. That is incontestable. The whole world saw it. So now proletarian cultural revolution is a settled question. In 1848 Marx said that political power must be seized by means of violence. Though he did not live to see it happen nor did he carry it out in practice, he gave us the solution: the proletariat had to seize power through revolutionary violence and exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the same way Chairman Mao provided the solution to continuing the socialist revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat — and furthermore, he did carry it out in practice. Because we have had this experience we know what to do.

Without underestimating the importance of the Paris Commune in 1871 as the first milestone in the process of the seizure of political power by the proletariat, we should recall that Marx himself foresaw that it was doomed to failure because there was no Communist Party to lead it. Nevertheless, he said it was impermissible to allow the morale of the proletariat to be undermined, no matter how many leaders might fall, and he supported and defended the Commune. Despite its importance as the first milestone, the Paris Commune cannot be compared to the carrying out of the Cultural Revolution, which is a milestone of a far higher quality. Furthermore, while the former lasted only about two months the latter spanned more than ten years, and under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of China it brought hundreds of millions of people into motion. Between these two milestones

there is the October Revolution led by Lenin, the creator of the first dictatorship of the proletariat and the world's first socialist country, and the Chinese Democratic Revolution, also led by Chairman Mao, which achieved victory in 1949. Of these four great and glorious milestones in the seizure of political power and the building of socialism, in the establishment and defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the class leadership of the international proletariat, the highest and most developed milestone to date is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The general political line of our Party, the Communist Party of Peru, holds that in its march to communism the Peruvian revolution must pass through three revolutions — the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution and not one but several cultural revolutions — and that all of these, from the first, constitute one single, uninterrupted march towards communism. We must thoroughly grasp this point exactly because today, 25 years after the Cultural Revolution, we can see in it our future, and even more so because it was in the course of the Cultural Revolution that Maoism lit up the world and became a new, third and higher stage of Marxism: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Let us celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

The document *Elections, No! People's War, Yes!* examines the principles laid down by Chairman Mao for that glorious revolution, and thus places before us the central issues in celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The opinions that have been expressed here have referred to the Cultural Revolution and its essence — to transform people's souls — but we should understand it in terms of what's been laid out here. We should get in the habit of studying in order to apply, in order to draw practical conclusions regarding current political problems. This leads us to our third subject.

### III. THE POLITICAL SITUATION

The political practice of the proletariat is to take documents, political line and Party directives and apply them to the current political situation. We study with an eye to applying it to resolving burning problems. Otherwise we would fall into book-

ishness and parroting — a bourgeois, idealist and metaphysical method.

Thus we should analyse the current class struggle in light of the four sections of this document. We should take a look from every angle at the ideas that are before us now and that the Central Committee must settle.

In the first part, "Crucial Elections for the Reactionaries", what is the document getting at? It lays out the international and national context. Regarding the international class struggle, we hold that today we are witnessing a counter-revolutionary general offensive. Looking back at the Party's positions, in 1985, when Gorbachev initiated his Perestroika, we put forward that there was "a new counter-revolutionary offensive headed principally by Gorbachev and Deng Xiao-ping". Later, in May 1990, in the document we are presently studying, we referred to "an offensive against Marxism which has been intensifying and converging with the offensive unleashed by the imperialists who are once again trumpeting the supposed 'obsolescence of Marxism'. Thus there is both contention and collusion — and in this case principally collusion — in a sinister onslaught against Marxism-Leninism-Maoism." To summarize, a convergent offensive by imperialism and revisionism, in collusion and contention. Events since then have confirmed that this analysis was and continues to be correct. But wouldn't it be relevant to conclude that we are witnessing a counter-revolutionary general offensive? Why do we say this? Because everyone is attacking revolution, democratic revolution and socialist revolution, attacking revolutionary violence, people's war, attacking the Communist Party, attacking socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, attacking the goal, communism. They claim that facts have demonstrated that socialism is no longer valid, that it no longer exists, that it has failed. But we must remind them that in the 1950s there was a socialist camp, that the victory of the Chinese revolution brought about a shift in the correlation of forces in the world, and that never has any system been able to bring about such a rapid and profound transformation of a rotten capitalist and feudal base as happened in the USSR and China. (Continued to page 81)

# Support the Struggle of the Masses in Germany Against Racists, Facists, and their Reactionary Protectors!

— Statement by the Committee of the  
Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

10 June 1993

Over the past two years and more, racist and fascist forces in the Federal Republic of Germany have unleashed a series of criminal attacks against the foreign born and non-whites. This cowardly reactionary campaign reached a new low on 29 May when fascists firebombed the home of a peaceful family of Turkish immigrants, resulting in six deaths, four of whom were children. In the aftermath a storm of struggle and rebellion has swept across Germany. Based largely upon Turkish, Kurdish and other immigrants, this outbreak of struggle has drawn the support of wide sections of German rebel youth and other progressive strata. It is the most powerful movement of the proletariat and oppressed masses in Germany in several decades.

The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement fully supports the struggling masses in Germany against the racists, fascists and their reactionary protectors. Waging this struggle is a vital component part of preparing for proletarian revolution in Germany, for no class that stood silent in the face of such vicious outrage would ever be fit to rule.

In Germany, as in most other imperialist countries, millions of proletarians have been recruited from the oppressed nations. These workers and their families have spent their lives enslaved to backbreaking labour to enrich the imperialist ruling class. They are not "marginal" to German society, they are at the very heart of it, and they will be at the very heart of the struggle to overthrow it.

Through the course of this struggle, the unity of proletarians of all nationalities in Germany can be further strengthened and even broader sections of the progressive forces in Germany can be drawn into the revolutionary process. As Marxist-Leninist-Maoist forces lead the struggle forward against the racists, fascists and their reactionary protectors, further strides can be taken in forging a genuine vanguard party of the proletariat.

The firebombing of children is a concentration of the anti-people character of this hideous monster, the new "united Germany", with a new, increased hunger pushing it to devour more and more of the labour of the working people, within and without its current borders. But the current storm of struggle is another example of how imperialism continually produces the army of its gravediggers. The monster of German imperialism can be toppled! ☐

From Over 30 Countries

# IEC Delegates Convene Successful Founding Conference

"Scorning death and soaring up like an eagle, over the dictatorship's hungry hyenas, Dr. Guzmán gave us an historic message, full of conviction and optimism, defiant in the face of his enemies, calling us to strengthen our forces to confront difficulties, carry out the tasks, among them to celebrate this year the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Mao Tsetung, and finally to win victory."

— Speaker from the  
Movimiento Popular Perú  
at the IEC Founding Conference

Upon the capture of Chairman Gonzalo of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) on September 12th, 1992, the U.S. imperialists and their puppet Fujimori arrogantly announced that this was a decisive blow against the People's War. They boasted that they had "beheaded" the People's War, and that it would surely sink to defeat.

Yet only a few days later they saw a harbinger of things to come as they tried to humiliate Comrade Gonzalo before the world's press, and he defiantly turned the tables on them, issuing a courageous defence of his revolutionary principles.

Today, the Peruvian regime is isolated and battered as never before. The People's War continues to advance in wave upon wave. And millions of people around the world have rallied to the defence of Chairman Gonzalo, the party name of Dr. Abimael Guzmán.

This worldwide campaign was initiated by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. A major component of the struggle has been the coordination by the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Dr. Abimael Guzmán (IEC). *Le Monde*, the French daily, reported in an article on December 8th, 1992 that the top Peruvian generals wanted to execute Comrade Gonzalo by firing squad right after his sentencing, but held off "for fear of international reaction". In uniting broad masses around the world, first of all the workers and peasants of dozens of countries, to defend the Maoist leader of the revolutionary war led by the PCP, this campaign has not only succeeded in dealing a sharp blow to the Fujimori regime's plans to kill Comrade Gonzalo, it

has also created fertile terrain for spreading the lessons of the People's War itself, above all, the need to take up and spread the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line.

---

## THREAT TO KILL — NOT MERE WORDS

---

Despite broad opposition, the Fujimori dictatorship is persisting in its threats against Chairman Gonzalo's life. From Comrade Gonzalo's arrest up through December, Fujimori repeatedly declared that he "preferred to see Guzmán executed". Since the death penalty was forbidden by Peru's Constitution, Fujimori announced that he would hold a referendum to bring it back and apply it retroactively against Comrade Gonzalo.

These vicious threats gave rise to even broader opposition to the regime, in Peru and internationally, and sharpened the internal divisions within the Peruvian ruling classes. The regime, howling and gnashing its teeth, temporarily retreated from this criminal project, only to resurrect it several months later. As Carlos La Torre, Chairman Gonzalo's father-in-law, stated at the IEC Founding Conference, "This threat does not remain mere words. No! It has been thought out and planned over a period of time, and follows from the orders of Yankee imperialism and the ruling class in Peru who know they are in danger of losing power in the face of the advance of the Peruvian revolution that has developed over almost 13 years, whose leader and teacher is Chairman Gonzalo."

Even while taking a step back, the regime lashed out again, this time arresting Dr. Crespo, Chairman Gon-



One of the speakers at the IEC Conference.

zalo's defence attorney, and convicting him of "treason" simply on the grounds of his defence of Chairman Gonzalo. In Peru, "treason" carries a mandatory life sentence.

This was accompanied by new attacks on political prisoners more broadly: they were cut off even from the International Red Cross; they suffered severe malnutrition and disease, including tuberculosis; and torture is widespread. These attacks, too, led to renewed outrage internationally, and the IEC mobilized opposition to them and used them to expose the regime and its treatment of Chairman Gonzalo and to bring new forces into the campaign.

At this point, four months after Chairman Gonzalo's capture, he had still not been seen by anyone but his enemies since his sentencing; he was still being held in solitary confinement on the island of San Lorenzo, in Lima's harbour. It was urgently necessary to raise the level of the campaign, so that it could deal more united and coordinated blows to the regime and force it to back off its treatment of Chairman Gonzalo. There was a pressing need to bring together the hundreds of activists from around the globe, to share the experience of the campaign, debate the main political questions, unite on a higher level, forge organizational

structure and solidify the financial support indispensable to the logistics of waging this worldwide battle.

#### THE FOUNDING CONFERENCE

The proposal for a conference struck a deep note of accord among the activists. Yet the great diversity of the campaign, which was a source of such strength, also posed seemingly insuperable obstacles to holding a conference. Delegates would have to travel from all over the globe, while lack of funds was already a severe problem; translation difficulties were enormous; and, not least of all, the work of the campaign could not be halted, including plans to send another international delegation to press the IEC's demands against the Fujimori regime.

So the IEC did what it had often done in similar circumstances: it called for the necessary action, the founding conference, knowing that the only way it could succeed would be if the revolutionaries and activists worldwide deeply grasped its importance to the campaign and made great sacrifices and efforts.

And this they did. In some of the poorest countries on earth, Nepal and Bangladesh, activists collected the money required to send a dele-

gate, penny by penny; in the U.S., some potential delegates to the conference, learning of the severe financial problems of their comrades in Third World countries, gave up their own places and air tickets so that the movements in these countries did not go unrepresented. Borders were being broken down, as a real feeling began to develop that the delegates from any one country represented in some sense the will of the activists from around the world.

Yet some delegates never arrived: one in Turkey was halted at the border, and another, Metin Çan, a young Kurdish human rights attorney, was abducted and tortured by a Turkish death squad. His wife was told that he would be released only if he renounced going to "Guzmán's conference in Europe"; his body was found a few days later. Metin Çan played a crucial role in carrying the campaign inside the Turkish prisons and in bringing to the outside world news of the developing movement among prisoners to support Comrade Gonzalo. This bloody deed underscored the reactionaries' understanding that this struggle to defend the revolutionary leader of the Peruvian people is profoundly threatening to the world order.

Despite the obstacles, on February 27th, one thousand people gathered

in Duisburg's Effendi Hall, including hundreds of Turkish immigrants in Germany, their German comrades, and many others from over 30 countries around the world: Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bolivia, Colombia, Denmark, England, France, Greece, Haiti, Iran, Italy, Kurdistan, Luxemburg, Mexico, Martinique, Malaysia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the U.S. and the former Yugoslavia. The frenzy of the last minute preparations was equalled by the enthusiasm of the participants. Over 20 translators worked into the night, and the technical team making the artisanal headphone system developed a sort of "call-and-response" — "What's the Time? 1509!" (Dr Guzman's prisoner number) — to help them make it through their round-the-clock efforts. The conference was translated into five languages simultaneously: Spanish, English, Turkish, Farsi and German. Meanwhile, in the homes of local Turkish workers, delegates from all different parts of the world made their own efforts to talk to their hosts and other delegates.

The make-up of the participants at the conference reflected that the IEC is a broad united front. Revolutionary Marxist-Leninists-Maoists played a crucial role in its success. As one revolutionary remarked, "If the Maoists don't fight hard to defend one of their own leaders, how can we expect the rest of the people to fight?" There were many others too: lawyers from Germany and the United States, human rights activists, revolutionary nationalists from a number of countries, and many others. The great diversity of the participants assembling for such an important cause was deeply moving. Mary Cox, an African-American attorney from the U.S., stated about the conference: "I learned more about the Shining Path [the media's name for the PCP — AWTW] and that women play a very important and dominant role in their success.... We must do all we can to keep the military out of Peru. We do not have a right as slaves in America to play a part in stopping a revolution carried out by peasants in Peru... The peasant struggle in Peru is our struggle. Our struggle is their struggle."

Sharp controversy erupted at the

conference. To a certain extent some controversy was to be expected. The conference brought together a range of different political forces with conflicting programmes both for the campaign to defend Chairman Gonzalo and for the revolutionary struggle more generally. But it was also to be expected that — as indeed happened — such controversy could be dealt with on the basis of grasping the importance of the campaign and thus putting conflicts in a correct perspective.

The importance of the campaign was highlighted in the opening speech by IEC Coordinator Massoud Rahimi, entitled "Why Dr Guzman is the most important political prisoner in the world today". Rahimi was followed shortly thereafter by Carlos and Delia La Torre, the parents-in-law of Comrade Gonzalo, who spoke of his importance to the people of Peru and the world. A speaker from Movimiento Popular Perú (MPP) upheld Chairman Gonzalo's leadership of the People's War, his Maoist political line, and showed that the people of Peru would defend his life and go on to victory. Other speeches prepared for the conference included ones by Luis Arce Borja, editor-in-exile of *El Diario* other members of the IEC Coordinating Committee, delegates from Bangladesh, the U.S., and Turkey, as well as José María Sison (Founding Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines), which recounted his own experience of imprisonment and torture at the hands of the Marcos regime, a U.S. imperialist puppet regime.

Two empty chairs were placed on the stage, one in memory of Metin Çan, the martyred Kurdish attorney, and the other in memory of Comrade Sanmugathan, Secretary General of the Ceylon Communist Party. Comrade Sanmugathan was a revolutionary Maoist leader who had helped found RIM, and whose last public act was to help found the IEC. The next day, Sunday, the Steering Committee (SC) assembled, with representatives from two dozen countries. The basic orientation of the IEC was affirmed by majority votes that elected the central staff members in London to the Coordinating Committee, headed by Massoud Rahimi. The SC also adopted a series of resolutions on the main planks of the IEC campaign,

denouncing the Fujimori regime, calling for expansion of the IEC to Latin America, demanding "Yankee Go Home!", and exposing Amnesty International for its objective support of the Fujimori regime and pressing it to defend the rights of Dr Abimael Guzmán according to its own stated principles.

The conference succeeded in consolidating the IEC and helping it make a leap in its efforts to more effectively fight to defend the life of Comrade Gonzalo. This was the fruit not only of the concrete achievements of the conference, but it was also due to the great exchange of experience and understanding that took place everywhere around the conference, and which imbued the participants with a real sense of internationalist camaraderie.

---

#### THE FOURTH DELEGATION

---

A few weeks after the founding conference, just as the regime moved Comrade Gonzalo to a new prison, specially constructed for him, the 4th IEC Delegation arrived in Lima. This delegation, like the others before it, was sharply attacked by the Lima press and government officials. But even the attacks served mainly to spread the word throughout Peru that there is a campaign with significant support from many different countries to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo. This delegation was able to meet with people from Lima's shantytowns, and was given a stirring welcome by them (see page 22). Besides bringing pressure to bear on the Fujimori regime, these delegations have continued to be a crucial means of building international solidarity between the people of Peru and the rest of the world: Peruvians who meet with the delegates risk being charged with "apology for terrorism" if caught; yet time and again they have stepped forward to make welcome the delegates from around the world and to exchange news of the struggle.

---

#### DEBATE WITHIN THE IEC

---

In the course of the eight months during which the international campaign has been waged to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo, a series of



**ABOVE: Peruvian soldiers in a Lima shantytown. Wall graffiti says Long Live President Gonzalo!**



**LEFT AND BOTTOM: Shantytown inhabitants, in an area surrounding Lima, taken by IEC delegate.**



important political questions have been posed. Some tendencies have arisen that would seek to "broaden" the campaign by focusing on the political prisoners in Peru more generally instead of on Chairman Gonzalo, or even on political prisoners around the world. Another tendency which would also have the effect of dropping the focus on Chairman Gonzalo and the immediate battle to defend his life takes a different form: he can only be freed by the People's War. This position would have the IEC make the defence of the People's War the heart of its work and basis of its unity. Tendencies to drop the focus on the struggle to defend Chairman Gonzalo ultimately will serve neither the defence of his life, nor the People's War and revolution in Peru or world-wide.

This is because, on an international level, the defence of Chairman Gonzalo's life is today the central front in the fight to support the People's War in Peru. Look at how the imperialists themselves target him: they call him "the world's most dangerous man", "world public enemy no. 1", etc. There is every indication that one or more U.S. agencies are involved in hunting him down. The U.S. Senate unanimously praised his capture, and Congressmen called for his execution. Desperate to defeat the People's War, they complemented their ongoing counter-revolutionary

Statements to the 4th IEC Delegation to Peru from Lima Shantytowns

## You Must Tell the World What You Have Seen!!

By Residents of the Shantytowns Outside of Lima

Welcome IEC Delegates to this shantytown. This is a very happy and important day, a revolutionary day.

Our shantytowns are not helped in any way by the Peruvian government, no money, nothing. The people here, with our work and dedication, are building it. We are living here under the system of the "communal kitchen."

The situation that Peru is going through is a very bad crisis, and it is growing — getting worse. We almost cannot suffer it. Confronting this, this situation, all of it, our people must go in the face of repression. *We want your delegation, your very important delegation, to write — you must tell the world what you have seen.*

This is a very extreme historical situation, with no jobs, or very low minimal pay. But the people are dedicated, have decided to fight against all the violence against the people. And in the face of this bad situation we are going through, the people accept that — the people will give their lives seeking a real change. *Our desire is that the world revolution be successful as soon as possible.*

We hope that you will be able to come here in the future. We shall welcome you. Our struggling people are going through their historical fight in the interests of, for the future of, the children of the new generation, when exploitation of man by man will be ended.

*Maybe my words are poor, but we realize that with your very big revolutionary spirit you may have risked your lives to come.*

Muchas gracias!

• • •

Greetings! The government of Peru can put our leader, Chairman Gonzalo, underground, but the Communist Party of Peru has not fallen down and the People's War will be successful in the end. We are fighting for it, we know it will be a long time, but we will fight until we win.

We also want to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo, and we also know that the Peruvian government does not respect any human rights at all, as we are fighting for our human rights.

This is a People's War and we want to smash the Fujimori dictatorship. There is a very bad, low-intensity war against us, stronger and stronger because we know very well that we are the final class, the class of history, and the organization of our Party is the highest level of organization.

The arrest of Chairman Gonzalo is only a short, temporary period. Many are thinking that they are winning, that this is a terrible situation. But we will fight to the end.

We are making a new way of life in Peru. We are winning the war, the People's War.

Viva Presidente Gonzalo! Defend the life of Abimael Guzmán!

• • •

war with an unprecedented effort to "behead the PCP", as they put it.

When faced with an attack like this, can the revolutionaries and people fail to defend their leaders? Maoists are not anarchists or common social democrats, they understand how precious a true vanguard party is, and how precious the leadership of such a party is. And who more so than Comrade Gonzalo, who led his party in preparing, launching and sustaining the most successful revolutionary people's war in the world today, and the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line to lead it? Such leaders are not born, they are forged in the furnace of decades of the revolutionary struggle worldwide and in their own countries; thus they are the cherished fruit of the struggle of millions. This is why the oppressed from truly every corner of the globe, from Nepal's Himalayas to New York's ghettos and barrios have risen in his defence. And it is also why the imperialists and reactionaries have concentrated their attack on him.

Thus, the defence of Chairman Gonzalo's life is the focus of this campaign because he has come to represent the revolutionary hopes and aspirations of millions in Peru, and world-wide, and, as such, he has come to be the special target of the imperialists and reactionaries. So long as his life remains in the hands of his enemies, then millions will stand up to defend him. At the IEC Conference the question of fighting for Chairman Gonzalo's liberation came up. His father-in-law, Carlos La Torre, remarked that, ultimately, it is the advance of the People's War that can free Chairman Gonzalo — but only if today we are successful in defending his life!

The IEC has been able to forge a very broad unity with forces from the middle classes because of, not despite, the focus on Chairman Gonzalo. Many of these people understand more fully Chairman Gonzalo's importance for the people in Peru and world-wide. Others recognize that the imperialists are going after Chairman Gonzalo with exceptional ferocity, and that they are trying to use his case to set new reactionary precedents for the treatment of revolutionary leaders. In uniting with the IEC, these people are trying to resist this reactionary agenda. Many of these people say that, though they

have disagreements with the PCP's line, they recognize that Chairman Gonzalo is indeed looked to as a leader by millions of workers and peasants in Peru, and they cannot stand by while he is treated in such a way by a reactionary like Fujimori.

This situation, where millions of people have come to the defence of Comrade Gonzalo, while many do not yet understand or agree with the need for Maoist revolution, creates excellent terrain not only for actually winning victory in defending his life, but also for the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist forces to play their independent role in propagating the revolutionary line that Chairman Gonzalo embodies. People can be led to see why it is that the reactionaries have singled him out, how it is Chairman Gonzalo's Maoist line that has unleashed the Peruvian people to rise up and that is the source of his courage and steadfastness in the hands of the enemy. Already throughout this campaign great numbers of people have been introduced for the first time to the truth about the People's War in Peru and the campaign has enabled many to advance politically as they come to understand more deeply the politics of Chairman Gonzalo. Marxist-Leninist-Maoist forces are key to winning victory in the campaign itself, for who will fight harder to defend a revolutionary leader than those trained deeply in revolutionary politics? Thus it can be seen that there is a dialectical relationship between the broad-based platform of the IEC and the independent role of the Maoist forces strengthening the campaign and serving the overall revolutionary communist tasks.

---

#### THE FUTURE OF THE CAMPAIGN

---

The process of development of the campaign has shown that, like any real battle, it must be fought to win. During the first few months of the campaign, when the IEC sent its first two delegations to Lima to protest the Fujimori regime's vicious treatment of Chairman Gonzalo, the regime, puffed up by his capture, behaved aggressively and arrogantly, and Fujimori promised "quick victory" in the war led by the PCR. But soon their tune changed. They were stung first by Chairman Gonzalo himself, when he turned the tables

on his captors when presented to the press conference in a cage. Then the People's War, far from collapsing, re-grouped and went on to wage powerful blows against the enemy. This, once again, showed the quality of Chairman Gonzalo's leadership, for he has trained his comrades well. Underlying all this, as the speaker for the Movimiento Popular Perú analysed at the IEC Conference, is that Peru is "in the deepest crisis in all its history... all the reactionary political parties, including the revisionists, are in serious crisis, disorganized and repudiated by the masses".

By the time of the 4th International IEC Delegation in April, the Fujimori regime, while still pressing ahead with vicious repression of the PCP and its leaders, was visibly shaken. When they transferred Comrade Gonzalo to his new prison at Callao naval base, this time they had no illusions about presenting him to the press again! The 4th Delegation, instead of being arrested immediately as was the 2nd Delegation, was able to meet with prominent individuals in Lima. Though hostile, as always, the Lima press felt it necessary to report, for the first time, on the breadth of support internationally for the IEC campaign, including the wide range of signatories to the IEC Call.

Yet despite these important accomplishments of the campaign, there is no reason to relax vigilance. Fujimori described the specially constructed underground cell Comrade Gonzalo was moved to as his "tomb", and government spokesmen and media blared the headlines, "Never to be seen again!"

There is a necessity to fight through to win a major and immediate change in the conditions of Comrade Gonzalo's imprisonment, so that he is allowed access to a doctor, his attorneys from Peru and abroad, reading materials, and correspondence, as well as that the safety of his life is guaranteed. Underriding all this, however, is the much-alive threat by his implacable enemies to eliminate him altogether.

The dictatorship has also renewed its rabid plans to bring back the death penalty — in other words to kill captured political opponents outright once it is put into effect. And one of the features of this new "law" would be to hold leaders "respon-

sible" (hostage) for the actions of their followers, so that the regime could apply it retroactively and go after Chairman Gonzalo and others.

Furthermore, the U.S. seems to be manoeuvring to place itself in a better position politically to step up its actions against the People's War. U.S. Senator Torricelli, who has been the U.S. Congressional point-man on Peru, has recently made a big show of denouncing Central American death squads — the implication being that the U.S. has now cleaned up its image, so renewed intervention must, this time, be "legitimate".

This highlights the importance of the unity achieved at the IEC Conference, and of its plans to take the campaign, as it states, "broader, deeper and fiercer". These tasks are inter-related. The campaign should go even deeper among the oppressed masses and arouse them in fierce struggles. It is vital to draw even wider ranks into the campaign; prominent individuals from different countries around the world continue to add their names to the IEC Call, and interest has been expressed in the delegations to Lima by people whose participation would put such a delegation on an even stronger footing to focus international attention on the Fujimori regime's treatment of Chairman Gonzalo and the other political prisoners.

While the foundation and heart of this campaign is the participation and struggle of broad ranks of the revolutionary masses, the participation of other progressive forces in the IEC campaign is crucial to developing a battle that can deal the most powerful blows against the Fujimori regime and its U.S. masters. Any attempt to divorce these two aspects of the campaign, to try to pit the role of the revolutionary masses against the activities of the representatives of other classes and strata, does a great disservice to the campaign. Mao Tsetung pointed out, "the united front policy is class policy"; the proletariat cannot wage great battles nor can it make revolution without engaging in a process of unity and struggle with different class forces. This requires being clear on the nature of such forces, being firm on strategy and flexible on tactics, relying on the basic masses as the main force and aiming clearly at the main enemy.

It is ultimately not even possible to build the campaign more broadly



### International Days of Action.

**LEFT: Nepalese masses in a meeting to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo.**

**BOTTOM: Youth from Turkey and Germany demonstrate in Berlin.**



ment of Comrade Gonzalo, including his so-called trial, violates important international legal conventions which Peru has signed, yet the regime, with help from its U.S. imperialist backers, is trying to reappear on the international scene with a cleaned-up record on human rights. Such a legal proceeding would aim to shine an international spotlight on the sharp contradiction between the regime's claims and its actions in this world-renowned case through the testimony of the people, including the political prisoners, in Peru itself.

The success won so far in defending the life of Chairman Gonzalo has strengthened the international revolutionary movement; yet Chairman Gonzalo's precarious situation calls out for raising the struggle to a new level. This will require the attention and efforts of the revolutionaries and activists around the world, so that, even while today Comrade Gonzalo is in the enemy's clutches, the life of this precious comrade can be kept safe, so that one day soon he may step out of Peru's dungeons to continue his role in the revolutionary struggle in Peru and the international communist movement. □

without also building it more fiercely and deeply, especially among the basic masses. The support of the workers and peasants and revolutionary intellectuals around the world has been the foundation of this campaign right from the beginning.

A June headline and article in the clandestinely published pro-PCP paper from Lima, *El Diario*, hailed the world proletariat's demand to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo and cited the arrival of the 4th International Delegation which among other things helped to spread the word

about the international days of action on 14-15 May. These coordinated actions across the world once again voiced a powerful internationalist outpouring and put the regime and its patrons, the imperialist bourgeoisie, on alert from New York and Mexico City to Lima and back through Europe and Asia (see page 25).

In part, the plans of the IEC, in close collaboration with progressive Peruvian attorneys, include taking steps to bring the case of Chairman Gonzalo into the international legal arena. The Fujimori regime's treat-

\*The speeches and resolutions can be obtained for \$3 or 2£ from the IEC: BCM IEC, 27 Old Gloucester St, WC1N 3XX Lond. UK.

...In Lima, the success of the 72-hour Armed Strike was evident in the capital and in key departments (Ayacucho, Junín, Cusco, Ancash, Huánuco, Piura, Tumbes, Cajamarca, Lambayeque, La Libertad, Arequipa, Ica, Moquegua and Tacna). Thousands of small detachments of the People's Liberation Army (EPL) carried out the four principal forms of struggle: sabotage, annihilations, armed mobilizations and guerrilla combat. All this demonstrated the advance of the People's War through the developing Strategic Equilibrium.

Once again, the counter-revolutionaries bit the dust of defeat, despite their mobilization of more than 10,000 goons just to "protect" the metropolitan Lima area...

From the successful May 17th *paro armado* in Peru to the graffiti campaign on the walls of the shantytowns around Lima, the international days of action on 14-15 May throughout the world called for by the IEC put the imperialists and reactionaries on notice in one riveting internationalist cry: Defend the life of Abimael Guzmán! End the Solitary Confinement! Stop the Torture and Killings of Political Prisoners! Stop the Arrests and Imprisonment of the Lawyers for the Political Prisoners! Condemn the U.S.-Backed Fujimori Regime! Yankee Go Home! Some examples of actions around the world: A broad range of some 700 people joined the marchers, some wearing striped prison clothing bearing the number 1509, as they wound through the streets of Mexico City dragging a huge American flag which was burned at a rally in front of the Yankee embassy as speeches denouncing Clinton's role were delivered. In Nepal, police physically tried to protect the U.S. embassy gates from a rally of nearly 1000 in Kathmandu. Demonstrators also burned the U.S. flag in Bangladesh and the now world famous video People of the Shining Path was shown to 100 masses including 75 national minority people from the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In Australia, the U.S., Latin America and throughout Europe — in Switzerland, England, Spain, the Netherlands, Sweden and Germany, Denmark, Norway and Italy there were also actions. Large banners were hung on highways and street corners throughout London, including one near the international headquarters of Am-

## Excerpted from **El Diario in Peru**

May-June 1993 edition

...At dawn on May 14, EPL combatants painted thousands of slogans for the 72-hour Strike led by the PCP. While others leafleted for the Strike in public plazas and wholesale markets, the reactionary press (as always) tried to ignore the Maoist rebellion.

After a prolonged series of actions in this campaign, on Saturday, May 15 at 1:30 a.m., a detachment of Maoists attacked the genocidal army's Military Hospital with a powerful car bomb containing 500 kilograms of explosives.

## International Days of Action Sting Fujimori & Company World-wide

nesty International (which stayed up for several weeks), where demonstrators demanded AI make its deeds conform to its words. All over Italy from Turin down to Palermo agitators took out big banners and leaflets; in the city of Taranto an IEC speech reached some 100 steel workers, and political prisoners from the Special Prison at Carinola have sent a message. Demonstrations took place in at least 6 cities in Germany — in Bremen, where the Peruvian Consulate was occupied, in Hamburg, Frankfurt, Cologne, Duisburg, and Berlin. More than 100 people took part in a combative demonstration in central Stockholm, Sweden, and a smaller action was held in Malmö. Money was collected in Switzerland and huge banners of Abimael Guzmán were hung in busy squares in Basel and Zurich, among other activities, as revolutionary music played and balloons carrying big posters of Chairman Gonzalo were released overhead. Colombia: A giant mural that took 8 hours to paint and required special scaffolding went up on the outside wall of the main library of the National university and stirred up great debate. In other actions IEC supporters broke into a radio station chanting slogans and handing out leaflets, and, hauling

The explosion caused extensive damage.

...Multiple sabotage attacks on transport lines known for their strike-breaking tactics in previous strikes were combined with armed mobilizations in the four "cones" [the main surrounding areas] of Lima. These mass actions were carried out in the towns of Año Nuevo (Comas), Laderas de Chillón (Puente Piedra), Huaycán (Canto Grande) and other places. In these towns, hundreds of fighters marched with red flags and banners announcing the strike and decorating the towns with the proletariat's flag...

...Schools shut down and banks and commercial businesses closed their doors. District governments also went along with the strike...

video equipment and generators over mountain and stream, literally, the "People of the Shining Path" video was shown to peasants in several rural areas, who found it very moving and demonstrated great affection for Chairman Gonzalo and their Peruvian brothers and sisters. In the U.S., guerrilla theatre with Chairman Gonzalo's speech in a cage was performed in 8 different cities across the country, including in front of the Peruvian UN mission in New York. In Los Angeles, youth armed with banners, 1509 flags, and an effigy of a red, white and blue dinosaur that spit out a small Fujimori turned the front grounds of the RAND Corporation (which churns out government counter-insurgency studies) into an outdoor jail cell.

IECs in many areas took up collections for newspaper ads in conjunction with the international days of action. It is also noteworthy that the reactionaries and their police and press reacted fittingly in many places to the powerful statement being made throughout the world. In Copenhagen, Denmark, for example, Peruvian Embassy officials threw an "audio bomb" outside at the successful demonstration in progress to try to scare people off with the noise it makes. In Spain disrupters organized by the Peruvian Embassy harassed the meeting in Madrid, at which a lawyer participating in the 4th International Delegation spoke; the Lima press lied that they had prevented it from taking place altogether, although this had one positive effect of helping to spread news of the international days of action to the people of Peru. □

# On the Death of Comrade Sanmugathasan

— Statement by the Committee of the  
Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

15 February 1993

It was with great grief that the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement learned of the death of Comrade N. Sanmugathasan, General Secretary of the Ceylon Communist Party (Maoist) on 8 February at the age of 74 of natural causes.

Comrade Sanmugathasan devoted his life to the goal of achieving communism. He was a widely respected public figure in Sri Lanka and loved by broad sections of workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and progressives. His life was intertwined with the history of the revolutionary movement in Sri Lanka and the international communist movement. As he put it, "I became a Communist in 1939 and never looked back."

Comrade Sanmugathasan participated in the struggle to establish a genuine Communist Party in what was then colonial Ceylon. He fought against the Trotskyites that had dominated the Left movement in that country. He was an ardent defender of the accomplishments of the proletariat of the Soviet Union under the leadership of Joseph Stalin.

Comrade Sanmugathasan was one of the first Communist leaders to rally around Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China in the great struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism. Comrade Sanmugathasan defended the need for the revolutionary violence of the masses and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrade Sanmugathasan was an ardent defender of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. On the basis of discussions with Mao Tsetung and other revolutionary leaders of the CPC, Comrade Sanmugathasan prepared a pamphlet entitled, "Hold High the Bright Red Banner of Mao Tsetung Thought". This publication, widely circulated throughout the world, helped popularize and spread some of the important teachings of Mao Tsetung.

In 1971 Comrade Sanmugathasan was imprisoned for one year by the reactionary regime in Sri Lanka.

In 1976 following the coup d'etat in China after Mao's death, Comrade Sanmugathasan was among the first to oppose the new revisionist rulers. When Enver Hoxha attacked Mao Tsetung Thought, Comrade Sanmugathasan stood firm while many others wavered.



**Mao greeting N. Sanmugathan at Tienanmen Square in the 1960s.**

Comrade Sanmugathan attended both the First and Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations which resulted in the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. Comrade Sanmugathan played an important role in this process, both through struggling hard for those positions he held firmly and in his striving for unity with others.

Comrade Sanmugathan was one of the few living links between the revolutionaries who came forward under the influence of the Cultural Revolution in China and those who had come forward in earlier great battles. His maturity and staunchness was an important alloy in the forging of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement whose formation he hailed as a "milestone in the history of the international communist movement".

Comrade Sanmugathan was a vigorous opponent of the Sri Lankan government's war against the Tamil people in the North and East of the island.

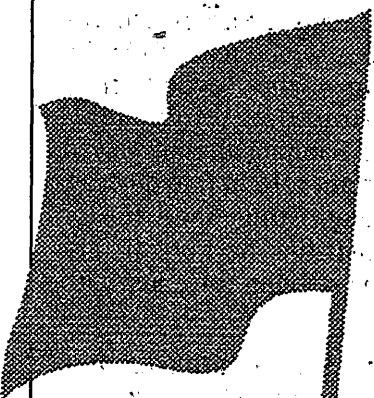
In 1991 Comrade Sanmugathan personally convoked and led an

important conference of the Ceylon Communist Party (Maoist). Thus, even as his health was failing, and putting the cause of the proletariat and the revolution above personal interest, Comrade Sanmugathan took an active role in promoting a new generation of leadership and assuring the future of the Party.

Comrade Sanmugathan was an enthusiastic supporter of the People's War in Peru. His last public act was to speak at the first press conference in London of the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Dr Abimael Guzmán, of which he was a founder.

Throughout his long lifetime of revolutionary service to the proletariat and the people, Comrade Sanmugathan never lost confidence in the ultimate triumph of the cause of communism. Although crucial problems of the revolution in Sri Lanka were not resolved in Comrade Sanmugathan's lifetime, he laid down vital building blocks which the communists, proletariat and people of Sri Lanka will use in advancing toward their liberation.

The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement extends its deepest sympathy to the Ceylon Communist Party (Maoist), and to the family and friends of Comrade N. Sanmugathan. We are sure that the Ceylon Communist Party (Maoist) will honour the memory of Comrade Sanmugathan by carrying forward in deeds the cause to which he dedicated his life. □



# the bright red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought

By N. Sanmugathan, General Secretary, Ceylon Communist Party

*The Bright Red Banner of Mao Tsetung Thought* was published in June 1969. The Chinese Communist Party promoted and helped distribute it broadly. The excerpt below from Chapter IV calls attention to Mao's development of the correct understanding of dialectics. — AWTW

## **THE CONTRIBUTION OF COMRADE MAO TSETUNG TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF MARXISM-LENINISM**

Let us now take Comrade Mao Tsetung's most important philosophical article, "On Contradiction", and study it closely. It was written 30 years ago. In this article Comrade Mao Tsetung has very obviously made a creative exposition of Marxist-Leninist dialectics.

Take the first sentence in this article: "The law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the basic law of materialist dialectics." This is a most profound statement. It is a very short sentence but it would take a day to explain it.

Simply, this law means that motion

is inherent in all forms of matter and that motion, that is, development, takes place as a result of the development and clash of the contradictions that are always present; and further, between the different aspects of each contradiction there is both identity and struggle; and, that, through the process of developing contradictions a thing or a phenomenon changes into its opposite. Thus, Comrade Mao Tsetung in one sentence explains the basic law of materialistic dialectics.

A most systematic exposition of Marxist dialectics by one of the founders of scientific socialism, Engels, is to be found in one of his most famous works "Anti-Dühring". This is a very important book because it refutes all forms of fallacies spread so assiduously by Dühring. The most important mistake of Dühring was that he had negated the law of contradiction. He held that contradictions were artificial. Engels made a comprehensive criticism of Dühring and refuted his wrong theories. He established the fact that the law of contradiction was an objective law of matter. He stated that movement is contradiction, that is to say, things are moving and developing because of inherent contra-

dictions; and that by the law of contradiction we mean the law of the unity of opposites.

That is why Comrade Mao Tsetung has described the law of contradiction as not just another law of materialist dialectics, but its most basic law. In the second sentence of his article, Comrade Mao Tsetung has quoted Lenin's statement that "Dialectics in the proper sense is the study of contradiction in the very essence of objects." It is, therefore, very important for us to understand that the law of contradictions, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the most basic law of materialist dialectics.

In his book "The Science of Logic", Hegel, the philosopher, had stated that there were three basic laws in dialectics. They were (1) the law that quantitative and qualitative changes give rise to one another; (2) the law of the unity of opposites; (3) the law of the negation of the negation.

These were the three basic laws of dialectics put forward by Hegel. Marx and Engels recognised and affirmed these three basic laws of Hegel but put them in the opposite order.

Hegel had presented these three

laws not as the law of objective dialectics but as subjective dialectics. That is, he did not regard these laws as inherent in objective things but only as governing the law of man's thinking i.e. in the logic of the thinking of men. In other words, Hegel interpreted dialectics from an idealist point of view.

However, according to Marx and Engels, the law of contradiction, the law of the unity of opposites, was a law that is inherent in objective things whereas man's knowledge of contradiction is but a reflection of the objective law in man's thinking. Therefore, Marx and Engels had satirized Hegel and pointed out that he had stood truth on its head.

Marx and Engels reversed this position and pointed out that these laws of dialectics are inherent in objective things. This was made clear by Engels in his "Anti-Dühring" and "Dialectics in Nature".

A new development arose in Lenin's time. The question arose as to which of the three laws of dialectics is the most basic. In the third sentence of his article, Comrade Mao Tsetung refers to Lenin's article "On the question of Dialectics" and points out that "Lenin often called this law (i.e. the law of contradiction) the essence of dialectics; he also called it the kernel of dialectics".

Although Lenin pointed out that this law was the kernel of dialectics, he did not live to point out the relation between this kernel and the other two laws of dialectics.

Later, when the philosophical circles in the USSR dealt with these things, they pointed out the three laws but put them in different order. They put them in the following order: 1) the law of the unity of opposites; 2) the law about quantitative and qualitative changes; and 3) the law of the negation of the negation.

This was the formula used in the USSR for a long time.

In 1938, in *The Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*, Stalin presented 4 features of the dialectical method: 1) All phenomena are inter-connected and inter-dependent; 2) All matter is in a process of motion and movement and development; 3) Quantitative changes lead to qualitative changes; and 4) Everything develops on the basis of the struggle of the opposites.

Stalin, thus, put the law of the unity and struggle of the opposites as the last one instead of as the first one. When the philosophical circles in the USSR dealt with the three laws of dialectics or when Stalin wrote about the four features of the dialectical method, both sections were putting the law of contradiction, the law of the unity of the opposites, on an equal footing with the other laws, instead of treating it as the basic law of materialist dialectics.

Comrade Mao Tsetung has systematically studied the laws of Marxist-Leninist dialectics and has developed Lenin's thesis contained in his work "On the Question of Dialectics". Comrade Mao Tsetung does not deny the law about quantitative and qualitative changes or the law of the negation. Engels had dealt with all these things in his *Anti-Dühring*. But, what Comrade Mao Tsetung does point out clearly is that out of these laws, the most basic law is that of the law of contradiction, the law of the unity of opposites. In this way, he has put this question in a monistic way. He has refuted the theory of putting these three basic laws on a parallel footing.

For example, Stalin says that the second feature of the dialectical method is the law of motion or development. Actually, motion or movement is inherent in contradiction and this had been pointed out by Engels in his "Anti-Dühring" when he said "motion itself is a contradiction". If we grasp that the law of contradiction i.e. the law of the unity of opposites is the most basic law of materialist dialectics, then we can understand that all the other laws of dialectics spring from this basic law.

Thus, it is clear that by asserting the primacy of the law of contradiction, the law of the unity of the opposites, Comrade Mao Tsetung has creatively developed Marxist-Leninist philosophy and dialectics.

Although Mao Tsetung's article "On Contradiction" is his most important contribution on Marxist philosophy, he has also developed Marxist philosophy on a number of other points.

Another important philosophical work of Comrade Mao Tsetung is his article on "The Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People". In this work, he deals with the question of how to handle contradic-

tions between the enemy and ourselves. He also deals with the theory of how contradictions of different natures can be converted into each other. He also uses the law of contradiction to explain how to deal with the struggle between different views and ideas inside the Party.

Already, in his article, "On Contradiction", Comrade Mao Tsetung had pointed out that "Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the party of contradiction between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were to be contradiction in the party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the party's life would come to an end."

This was the first time that Comrade Mao Tsetung used the law of contradiction, the law of the unity of the opposites, to explain the question of opposition and struggle between different ideas within a party. This is a creative development of Marxism-Leninism.

In the past, in the history of the Communist Party of China and in respect of some comrades in other parties also, incorrect views prevailed about the attitude to opposition and struggle between contradictory ideas inside the Communist Party. Some comrades admitted the law of contradiction when they dealt with phenomena outside the Party. However, when they came face to face with contradictory views inside the Party, they failed to use the dialectical method and, instead, used the metaphysical approach. In other words, they failed to understand that contradictions are universal and would also exist inside the Party too as a reflection of the contradictions outside the Party. Therefore, when these comrades came across contradictions and struggles inside the Party, they thought that it was terrible and bad.

It was as an answer to such a metaphysical approach that Comrade Mao Tsetung pointed out the universality of contradiction and that, therefore, opposition and struggle between different ideas constantly occurs inside the Party too. This was nothing strange because it was a reflection of class contradictions outside and the struggle between the old and the new inside the Party. If

these contradictions and the consequent ideological struggles to resolve them ceased to exist within the Party, then the life of the Party would itself cease.

Only if we understand this aspect of inner-party struggle and its virtual inevitability in any living and developing Party can we understand the struggle that developed inside the Communist Party of China against Liu Shao-chi and his henchmen.

When the imperialists saw the Cultural Revolution in China and the exposure of Liu Shao-chi and his black gang, they thought that the Communist Party of China would be finished. When the Soviet revisionists saw the same phenomenon they also thought that the Communist Party of China would collapse and that the leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung would be overthrown.

Even some friends did not understand this question correctly and felt sad and thought that everything inside the Communist Party of China is not good. They did not understand that if such contradictions and ideological struggles to resolve them did not occur, then the life of the Party would come to an end.

The reasons why these comrades get these wrong ideas is that they do not look at these ideological struggles from a dialectical view-point. That is why, at the very beginning of the Cultural Revolution, Comrade Mao Tsetung said that the Cultural Revolution was a sign of the sound development of the Chinese Party.

Therefore, comrades and friends should look at the phenomenon of the Chinese Cultural Revolution from this Marxist-Leninist dialectical standpoint. They will, then, realize that it was a good thing and not at all a bad thing. They will then realize the tremendous significance of the struggle against Liu Shao-chi and his wrong views. They will also understand that if this struggle has not been carried out, revisionism would have triumphed in China, capitalism would have been restored and China would have changed colour. This has been proved by the experience of the Soviet Union. □

## Excerpts

# Reminiscences on Comrade Sanmugathan

By M.N. Ravunni

...What is not so known is his consistent internationalist role in assisting and encouraging the anti-revisionist struggle within the Communist Party of India...

When the CPI leadership degenerated into the worst type of national chauvinism during the 1962 Indo-Sino war, he continuously wrote articles in the *Thozhilali*, a Tamil journal published by the Ceylon Communist Party, exposing the real culprits causing the war and the aims of the imperialists as the Indian comprador state....

After the breakdown in Indo-Sino relations it was exceedingly difficult to get copies of CPC ideological documents exposing the Khrushchevites. This put our group in difficulties, especially since the revisionists were well supplied with CPSU material. Comrade Sanmugathan stepped in to help us. He arranged regular supply of CPC literature, translated most of the important documents into Tamil and Malayalam and got them printed in Sri Lanka for our use. I remember reading translations of important texts of the Great Debate such as 'On Togliatti' and 'More on Togliatti' made available by him. This assistance played a major role in spreading the activities of the anti-revisionist group centred in Madras throughout Tamilnadu and Kerala.

In 1964 the CPI split and the CPM was formed. But its leadership soon revealed its revisionist colours. Without violating the norms of fraternal relations Comrade Sanmugathan consistently criticized their errors. When the 7th Congress of the CPM adopted a resolution 'On Revisionism', he promptly responded with a long critique exposing the

revisionism embodied in those views. I happened to be the courier for reaching this critique to the CPM leadership which arrogantly rejected it. But its significance remained as a good direction to the communists within the CPM to continue their struggle and rebel.

When the Naxalbari armed rebellion broke out in 1967 Comrade Sanmugathan and his party saluted it. Though I had shifted to Kerala by this time, he soon found out a channel to keep up clandestine connections with us. An article written by him 'Only Mao Tsetung Thought can lead the Indian revolution to victory' was published in "Liberation" (organ of the All India Co-ordination Committee of Revolutionary) and was adopted as one of the four basic texts. In Kerala alone thousands of copies of its Malayalam translation were published in several editions. Comrade Sanmugathan also took care to raise criticisms of what he perceived as the sectarian errors of the co-ordination Committee....

...Comrade Sanmugathan was of invaluable assistance to us fledgling communists struggling against revisionism. We have yet to redeem his trust and take up our own internationalist responsibilities. □

Comrade M.N. Ravunni is a veteran communist who played an important role in the struggle against revisionism during the '60s. He actively participated in the emerging revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement sparked off by the Naxalbari armed rebellion and was jailed for 13 years. He is currently a member of Kerala Communist Party and is at present secretary of its Propaganda Committee.

On the Demise of Comrade Nagalingam Sanmugathasan

# Comrade Shan: An Unrepentant Communist

By the Central Organizing Committee, Ceylon Communist Party (Maoist)

The death of comrade Nagalingam Sanmugathasan, affectionately known as comrade "Shan" and leader of the Ceylon Communist Party (Maoist) on 7th February, 1993, in England, is a most grievous loss to the International Communist Movement and to the Marxist-Leninist movement in Sri Lanka. His memory will live forever in the hearts and minds of the people.

Comrade Shan participated in the Marxist-Leninist proletarian revolutionary movement when he was still a student at the Colombo University. As he has stated in his autobiography, *Memoirs of an Unrepentant Communist*, "It was my second year at the University (1939-40) that changed the direction of my entire life. In that year I became a communist. I have not looked back since."

... As the leader of the CTUF (Ceylon Trade Union Federation), comrade Shan led the workers in many militant strikes, including the general strike of 1947, the Hartal (general strike) of 1953, the transport strike in 1955.

...Comrade Shan became a fulltime member of the Ceylon Communist Party when it was formed in 1943.

The Ceylon Communist Party (CCP) at that time played a decisive vanguard role in rising to the defence of comrade Stalin. Yet, from the very beginning, the CCP was saddled with an opportunist, class collaborationist, parliamentarist and economist political leadership. This opportunism degenerated into open revisionism when this leadership sided with Khrushchev in the great international ideological struggle between modern revisionism, represented by the new class of state monopolist capitalists headquartered in Moscow which had usurped state power in the Soviet Union following the death of comrade Stalin, and Marxism-Leninism as represented by Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist Party.

...Under his leadership, the 9th Congress of the CCP held in 1969 upheld Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It established the New Democratic Revolution and the

line, strategy and program of Protracted Peoples War as the historic path through which the Sri Lanka revolution must proceed uninterruptedly towards the Socialist Revolution. It also laid out basic policies and guidelines for reorganizing the party, taking work among the peasantry in the countryside as principal and secret, underground work as the basis for party activities. The 9th Congress held under the personal leadership of comrade Shan represents a milestone and a historic achievement in the development of the Marxist-Leninist, proletarian revolutionary movement in Sri Lanka.

Comrade Shan was blessed with the supreme honour of meeting and having discussions with Chairman Mao on one of his two visits to China during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. He had the great honour of addressing thousands of Red Guards during the GPCR. Such was the prestige and honour he enjoyed within the international communist movement.

Following the death of Chairman Mao, when the revisionists led by Deng Xiaoping captured state power in China, restored capitalism and began to distort and betray the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, comrade Shan played an important role in exposing Chinese revisionism, along with that of Enver Hoxha and the Albanian Party of Labour. He played a vital role in rallying and uniting the genuine Maoist parties and organizations of the world in order to accomplish the decisive task of rebuilding the International Communist Movement based on the defence and application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. As a result of his efforts, the CCP (Maoist) had the honour of becoming a founding member of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, which was formed in 1984.

...It is fitting that comrade Shan, who was 74 years of age, should die while being involved in the defence of the life of comrade Gonzalo since, in some ways, his death represents the end of a generation of Marxist-Leninists who had taken up the torch of

proletarian revolution since the time of Stalin, while comrade Gonzalo represents the new generation of Maoists who would take the proletarian revolution into a new 21st century bearing unprecedented challenges and undreamt of truly historic opportunities for advancing the world proletarian socialist revolution towards the final goal of communism.

Under comrade Shan's leadership, during the late '60s, the CCP became the strongest, most militant working class party in Sri Lanka. Its influence spread far and wide. The scarlet banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism was unfurled through the armed clashes of the oppressed caste members in Jaffna who fought against their domination by the upper caste landlords. It blazed from the lush hill tops and verdant valleys of the plantations where the Red Flag Union mobilized tens of thousands of workers to fight against their exploiters in pitched militant economic battles....

...Before he left for England to get treatment and care for his debilitating illnesses, he convened a special congress of the CCP where he established new principles and a new generation of leadership for accomplishing the task of rebuilding the party. Until his end, comrade Shan devoted all his conscious efforts to the cause of advancing the world proletarian revolution. He was truly, "An Unrepentant Communist".

The Central Organizing Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party (Maoist) shares its deep sorrow at the loss of our beloved leader and teacher with the international proletariat and the oppressed people of the world, and vows to uphold his name and his contributions and achievements, and to carry out his wishes to fight for the final victory of Communism upon the ashes and ruins of imperialism. We have the steel confidence that standing firmly on the principles established and the victories achieved under the leadership of comrade Shan, we shall overcome all difficulties and rise up to fulfill our duties and obligations to the world revolution. □

*The Spectre of Mao Tsetung  
is Haunting the New World Order!*

**May 1st 1993 —  
Spread Mao's Legacy  
Far and Wide!**

— Statement by the Committee of the  
Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

1993 marks 100 years since the birth of the great revolutionary leader and teacher Mao Tsetung. This Centenary comes at a momentous time for the international proletariat — the world is in great turmoil and the potential for a new wave of struggle rocking imperialism has already come into view. But whether this round of struggle has the chance to lead to an altogether different outcome — true liberation and proletarian revolution — depends upon one decisive factor: will the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology of the international proletariat command these struggles pounding at the old (and “new”) order? Who shall lead?

The oppressed and revolutionary masses are seeking such an ideology — one that can bury the system and not just batter it. They have seen so many of their righteous struggles sidetracked, bought off or unable to break through the obstacles that a total rupture with imperialism requires. There is no lack of resistance, courage, sacrifice and bitter class hatred, but the masses cannot fully use these qualities to win without the leadership of the proletarian ideology and a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party.

The ruling and exploiting classes are desperate to stamp out our ideology. They have been viciously distorting and trying to erase the history and lessons of the international proletariat, especially its unprecedented achievements, over the past 150 years. With murderous arms and through their brutal, daily grinding of people into profit, they declare that they are invincible. Their bourgeois ideology of narrow self-interest is but a pathetic defence of modern slavery; ours awakens and liberates. Of course they must devote huge cultural arsenals to keep the revolutionary outlook from the eager minds and hands of the labouring people they subjugate and on whose backs they build their empire. How else can they persuasively peddle reactionary capitalist dinosaurs like Yeltsin and Deng Xiao-ping, while mocking Lenin and Mao Tsetung and the two epoch-changing mass revolutions they led? How else can they paint the heroic rebels of Palestine and Los Angeles fighting for freedom and justice as ignorant youth who bite the hand that feeds them and burn down their own communities?

Nowhere today is this clash of two opposite world views clearer than in the rabid way that the reactionaries and imperialists are trying to militarily smash and politically and ideologically encircle the People's War raging in Peru. There the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Communist Party of Peru (PCP) is leading peasants and



**Madrid, Spain**

workers, supported by large sections of intellectuals and others in the middle classes, to overthrow the corrupt puppet regime of U.S. imperialism and to give birth to the new proletarian state. Just when the world's rulers had declared communism irreversibly dead, its ideology "useless" and outmoded, a new people's state led by the proletariat once again is preparing to step onto the political stage and is firing the hopes of the oppressed throughout the world. And hence they are forced to risk going all out to attack and demonize Comrade Gonzalo, the chairman of the PCP and the revolutionary leader of millions, as the world's most dangerous man. Dangerous for whom?!

As the People's War continues to advance, this May First, 1993, the outcome of the historical battle being waged in literally all four corners of the earth to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo is still being fought out. Daily the campaign gains new supporters and this powerful counter-attack is driving the reactionaries and imperialists to jump out even further to outlaw and muzzle worldwide opposition to their crimes in Peru. Class lines between enemies and friends are being drawn more sharply. All this calls out urgently for raising this crucial struggle to defend Comrade Gonzalo's life to a higher level, for the proletariat to lead and to unite its friends and allies even more broadly.

The legacy of Mao Tsetung haunts the world's rulers. Through their anti-communist crusade they want to forbid the oppressed from taking up the only ideology that can liberate them. This May 1st, as we step up our ideological counter-offensive and the struggle for revolution across the world, we will spread this legacy far and wide to train many new contingents of proletarian revolutionaries. As Comrade Gonzalo convincingly called for from behind the enemy's bars, let's celebrate the Mao Tsetung Centenary in an unforgettable way!

**Hold High the Red Banners of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung!**

**Move Heaven and Earth to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo!**

**We Need Comrade Gonzalo at his Post, in the Forefront of the Revolution in Peru and the International Communist Movement! Fight for his Liberation!**

**Long Live Red May First, Day of Proletarian Internationalism!**

**Long Live the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!**

For fifteen years Chiang Ching had been held captive by the revisionists who took power in 1976 and restored capitalism in China, and it was in their ignoble, blood-stained hands that her life came to an end on May 14th, 1991, under very suspicious circumstances.

With the death of Comrade Chiang Ching, the international proletariat has lost one of its finest leaders.

To those who dare to dream of revolution — and even more, who dare to *make it* — Chiang Ching stands as a powerful example of fearlessly attacking the old and outmoded, of boldly charting the way for the emergence of the new through all the twists and sometimes bloody turns of the struggle to give birth to a new social order. Her lifelong devotion to the communist cause — to Mao Tsetung's cause — enabled her to make important contributions to the experience and understanding of proletarian revolution. She defended to the roots of her fiery soul the right of the masses to storm the heavens, to challenge tradition in every sphere. She fought for (and clashed head-on with those who didn't) Mao's far-reaching vision of transforming the world from the bottom up and sweeping away classes and all forms of social inequality. Hers was the ideological stand and outlook of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Although she mainly was prevented from playing a public political role until the 1960s, Chiang Ching took big strides in preparation for this by carrying out investigation in the arts and other areas, including the movement for land reform. In the sharp inner-Party struggle after the Great Leap Forward she stepped to the fore to actively help Mao and the revolutionaries launch the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). She quickly and enthusiastically rose to the heights demanded of her by the tremendous times of the Cultural Revolution, which found her on the front lines injecting forceful political energy and leadership into it, encouraging the rebel youth, and providing practical guidance to people striving to bring about pathbreaking socialist innovations. Chiang Ching rapidly became an indispensable leader of the revolutionary Left.

Her struggle against the revision-



ists who dominated the important arenas of culture and education paved the way for their overthrow during the Cultural Revolution. She was also instrumental in revolutionizing the arts. She fought to bring women forward both by breaking down the barriers to this and by setting a powerful example herself. As a prominent leader of the Communist Party of China (CCP) during the ten last remarkable years of proletarian rule, she became more embroiled in the fierce class struggle inside the Party, fighting unrelentingly to strengthen the revolutionary character and correct line of the Party under Mao's leadership and to defend and fully implement and consolidate the advances of the Cultural Revolution.

The revisionist camps within the CCP, hoping with every turn in the class struggle and every new realignment of forces to crush Mao's revolutionary line, to restore capitalism and drag China down the road

of prostitution to imperialism once again, joined forces after Mao died, and they arrested Chiang Ching and the followers of the Left less than a month later. The capitalist roaders immediately had to suppress opposition. At first they paraded themselves as the true successors of Mao and portrayed Chiang Ching and the Left as the revisionists, the renegades and Mao's enemies. (Just to confuse people, they even put some of their own "bad eggs" on trial with the Four — as she and her comrades were called.) They vilified Chiang Ching, launching a vicious campaign to discredit her whole life, backed up with a show of repression and force in order to intimidate her followers from hewing to the revolutionary road in the face of their revisionist coup d'état and usurpation of state power. But she refused to buckle under their dastardly attacks, and in the face of their threats, she defied them to kill her, continuing, along with her revolutionary

# CHIANG CHING

## THE REVOLUTIONARY

## AMBITIONS OF A

## COMMUNIST LEADER

By Zafra Ryan

comradè Chang Chün-chiao, to heroically raise the red flag, to defend the right to make revolution and to expose them and their social system in the historic trial of 1980.

### **A REBEL AGAINST TRADITION**

"From the time she yanked the binding off her feet as a young girl, Chiang Ching was a rebel. She grew up in a China carved up by the imperialist powers, in the barbarous days of poverty, when, as Mao said, 'the trees [were] as naked as the people because the people are busy eating them', and in conditions of feudal oppression in which 'peasant women longed to be reborn as dogs so as to be less miserable' [38]\* The

German-held areas of Shantung province, where Li Chin (as she was then named) was born into a poor artisan family in 1914, were taken over by Japan in World War I as a foothold to gain access to all of China. Her father, a wheelmaker, took out his fury at being poor by beating his wife and children, until her mother left him to work as a servant for a landlord. Chiang Ching recalls often being hungry, but luckier than many because she could go to school. She told an interviewer that the class she hated most in primary school was self-cultivation in Confucian morality (or, how to obey authorities), and she was beaten for daydreaming. She remembers her nausea and horror as a child at seeing the decapitated heads of debtors hanging on a pole, and the sounds of executions of thieves who had stolen food ringing in her young ears. [47]

Chiang Ching first became interested in acting when, at the age of 15, she studied at an experimental

art theatre school run by the government, having been accepted only because not enough girls had been enrolled. But the school closed shortly afterwards under the pressure of a warlord's army stationed in the town of Tsinan, and she and some of the teachers and students went to Peking as part of a touring theatrical group. It was the Mukden Incident on 18 September 1931, when the Japanese imperialists seized Manchuria, that represented a first political turning point for Chiang Ching. Since a young age she had hated foreign occupation of her country, but now decided she had to take a stand. She soon joined the League of Left-Wing Dramatists (which was led by the Communist Party) in Tsingtao, where she worked as a library clerk at the university, and began to read Lenin.

With friends she formed the Seaside Drama Society which went out to the countryside to put on anti-Japanese plays and popularize the "Soviet" areas that had been set up by the Chinese Red Army. They discovered poverty they had never seen in the cities and realized that more clearly distinguishing between the goals of the nationalist Kuomintang (KMT) forces and the Communists was no academic question. Chiang Ching, in reaction to Japanese aggression, supported a line of "total resistance" and began to be known as a "troublemaker" around the university circles she moved in.

Actually Chiang Ching only had a total of eight years of formal education, including five in primary school, although quite frequently she sat in on university classes that interested her. As she describes it she learned the most from "social education", from the school of experience, which for her started in 1933, when she sought out and was later admitted into the then underground Chinese Communist Party. In the turbulent period of the 1930s she had decided that making revolution was much more important than writing poems and essays.

However, when Chiang Ching was sent to do work in Shanghai in the spring of 1933, becoming an active Party member proved much more difficult. Under the domination of Mao's chief political rival, Wang Ming, and his urban insurrectionist line, the Party structure was almost

\* Bracketed numbers refer to source material which is listed at the end of this article on p. 87.



**TOP LEFT:**  
Chiang  
Ching with  
Mao in the  
revolutionary  
base  
area of  
Yenan -  
1947

**BOTTOM LEFT:**  
"Lu Hsun  
Academy of  
Literature  
and Arts"  
at Yenan.

completely dissolved there and opportunism was rife.<sup>1</sup> Many of these CCP leaders, if they were not collaborating directly with the KMT,

1. In this struggle Wang Ming was influenced by the Comintern, which insisted that the Chinese should follow the Soviet model rather than charting the path of people's war in the countryside. Wang Ming ran the underground Shanghai Party operation mainly from Moscow between 1931 and 1935, returning to China in 1937.

used the fresh forces attracted to communism from among the hundreds of thousands of left wing intellectuals drawn to the cosmopolitan city of Shanghai to shield themselves from the Kuomintang's regular dragnets.

Chiang Ching's first assignment in Shanghai was with the Shanghai Work Study Troupe. She became a stage actress, performing in numerous progressive plays that called on the people to defend China against

Japan. During a later stint as a night school teacher for women workers, she visited many factories and became intimately familiar with the wretched conditions of factory contract labour, especially in the large Japanese-owned textile mills and the British-owned cigarette factories. She was arrested by the KMT (with the "help" of an old friend of hers, who had turned into a renegade from the CCP and joined the secret police) and was held for eight months; at least, she recounted, her jail time taught her some lessons about how to fool her KMT jailers with outward appearances.

Being a film actress in the 1930s in Shanghai meant going up against tradition on every front. It was looked down on, and considered a profession for "loose" and socially radical women. Actresses were targets of widespread personal persecution, with the aim of stirring its victims' feudal "instincts" and driving the women to suicide — a frequent result. The renowned revolutionary writer, Lu Hsun, who was very influential in this period and who sympathized with the Communists, was one of Chiang Ching's mentors. He wrote about this problem and the problem of women's emancipation in general in several essays, notably one called "Gossip is a Fearful Thing", which spoke to the unjust slander against women in the performing arts and to misogynist press attacks.[47]<sup>2</sup>

In the mid-1930s Mao and the Red Army were winding up the

2. Around Lu Hsun especially was concentrated a sharp struggle over the correct orientation for art, which divided cultural figures long after the civil war. He vehemently opposed the nationalists' line of "national defence" with his own slogan: "people's literature for national revolutionary war", a slogan which Mao adopted.

Long March. Chiang Ching became more involved in film acting, mainly in order to eat, and found that it was still totally dominated by Hollywood, with the exception of a few democratic films. She also wrote some articles in the leftist journal *Enlightenment*. After her kidnapping was falsely reported in the press (to pressure her to commit suicide), she denounced this personal threat in a Shanghai newspaper article, called "My Open Letter". In 1937, not long before the Japanese moved in to bomb Shanghai, Chiang Ching journeyed north to the CCP's Eighth Route Army Headquarters in Sian, where she and many other young radicals asked to go join the Red Army base at Yen-an, some 300 mountainous miles away.

### **YENAN: MAO'S STUDENT AND COMRADE-IN-ARMS**

Although Chiang Ching had joined the Party some years earlier, everything in her story indicates that it was the period in Yen-an which represented a real political and ideological leap for her. She attended lectures by Mao Tsetung and joined the Party School while she worked and took classes at the Lu Hsun Academy of Literature and Arts (which among other things trained theatrical troupes to serve at the front). Acting was no longer her main activity — arriving during a lull in the war, she also took six months of military training and got down to the business of seriously studying Marxism-Leninism. Mao was keenly interested in questions of culture and went out of his way to seek discussion of art and politics with the new arrivals, and Chiang Ching, for her part, became an avid student of Mao's. In late 1938, she and Mao Tsetung were married. They had one daughter, Li Na, and raised her with another daughter of Mao's, Li Min.

On the wreath of flowers she made for Mao's funeral in 1976, Chiang Ching's dedication read, "from your student and comrade-in-arms". Throughout their 38 years of marriage she characterized her relationship to the Chairman in this way, and though the political storms they faced together were many and diverse, it was during the intense days they lived through in the cave

dwellings they shared in Yen-an and throughout the last years of the liberation war Mao was leading in China's Northwest that these close bonds were forged.

Foreign visitors describe the radically spirited "war communist" atmosphere of these strenuous Yen-an days, when communist leaders mixed easily with the peasants, young and old danced together and soldiers pitched in to grow food, when life was relatively simple and organized around the single-minded purpose of waging a revolutionary war of the people and when fresh green shoots of a new society were beginning to sprout. As one of Mao's slogans charcoaled on the ancient walls of Yen-an read: "With a Hoe over One Shoulder and a Rifle over the Other We Will Become Self-Sufficient in Production and Protect the Party's Central Committee!" [47]

It is unclear to what extent the CCP intervened in Mao and Chiang Ching's marriage, but it is widely reported that some of the Party leaders consented to it only if Chiang Ching were not allowed to play a public political role, a situation which was to stifle her initiative many times over the coming years after liberation had been won and the tasks of socialist revolution and socialist construction began in earnest.

Chiang Ching joined a group that set off to do six months of manual labour in the hills of Nanniwan as part of a land reclamation project and self-sufficient community Mao had started in 1939 to encourage production in the area. She also began to serve as Mao's personal secretary, for a time, and attended the famous Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art in that capacity.<sup>3</sup> Mao, who always insisted on penning his articles in his own hand, only allowed her to take up this task at a time when disease prevented him from writing, but even in this post she says she was denied full respect by the other men in the CCP leadership. Despite problems battling tuberculosis through the early 1940s, Chiang Ching taught dramatic arts at Lu Hsun Academy and led the production of plays calling on the masses to resist Japanese aggression, which were taken out to the local people and the front.

Chiang Kai-shek bombed Yen-an in March 1947, forcing the Party leadership to move out. Chiang Ching served as a political instructor of the Third Regiment in the Northwest theatre, where she says the most difficult years of the liberation war were fought, from March 1947 to June 1949. This is the period which inspired the celebrated new works developed during the Cultural Revolution — the *Yellow River Piano Concerto* and two of the revolutionary operas — *The Red Lantern* and *Shachiapang*. She remembers the warmth of the masses and their tears of jubilation when Mao and she visited some villages along the march route, as well as the pains they took to protect him by refusing to say his name in public.

Coinciding with Mao's "Double Ten Manifesto" (issued on 10 October 1947) which called on all the people to defeat Chiang Kai-shek and to unite the nation, one of her duties was to organize a campaign to recall past suffering among the troops and to carry out the "three check-ups", which meant overseeing compliance with the Red Army's code of conduct as concentrated in the Three Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention.<sup>4</sup> Soon afterwards, as Mao's writings popularizing New Democracy spread throughout China, a more general campaign to consolidate the army was begun, partly as a prelude to land reform. Chiang Ching also led a debate group as part of the work of a mobile propaganda unit. Later, as the New Democratic state was being organized in Peking, in the spring of 1949, she joined the Party Secretariat.

3. Held in May 1942, this was a forum of several days of sharp and wide-ranging debate. A basic line was hammered out by Mao on the relation of art and politics in front of crowds who had walked from miles around, spilling out of the lecture hall into the streets to hear him, including specifically the many people in the arts who had come to Yen-an to join the revolution.

4. The Three Rules of Discipline are 1) Obey orders in all actions, 2) Don't take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses, 3) Turn in everything captured. The Eight Points: 1) Speak politely, 2) Pay fairly for what you buy, 3) Return everything you borrow, 4) Pay for anything you damage, 5) Don't hit or swear at people, 6) Don't damage crops, 7) Don't take liberties with women, 8) Don't mistreat captives.

Chiang Ching tells of using the time between engagements with the enemy to learn more about the social and political situation of the peasants, as groundwork for launching land reform. One story about the woman question from a coastal province during that period, in which concubinage was common, was revealing. A landlord, who had forced his multiple concubines to do menial tasks like carry him around in a wicker sedan chair and do all the field work, was particularly hated. During land reform, "his" concubines denounced him before the whole community, destroying him; they, in turn, each received a piece of his land to work as their own.

### LAND REFORM AND SOCIAL INVESTIGATION

Chiang Ching's ability to develop her knowledge as a revolutionary critic and to promote a proletarian line on the arts, as well as to lead others in the cultural sphere, was partly rooted in her experience of carrying out bold and extensive investigation in the 1950s as she stubbornly battled the forces who sought to keep her invisible and silent. Along with studying and developing the political and ideological questions involved, her drive to work among the masses, to better know first-hand the conditions and problems faced by the peasants and workers who were fighting to revolutionize society, proved to be of great benefit during the struggle with artists some ten years later over how to portray the revolutionary qualities of these new heroes replacing the landlords and empresses on China's stage, not to mention her being able to take a correct stand in the class warfare raging at the top levels of the Party.

■

Weakened from the war and suffering from a number of health problems, Chiang Ching was sent to Moscow repeatedly over the next decade for long periods of medical treatment, since most of China's hospitals had been destroyed during the years of war. It seems that Mao's political enemies also saw this as a way of keeping her out of their way; she tells of being refused permission



to return to Peking in the late 1950s, even when the Moscow doctors were doing nothing to improve her condition and she was on the brink of death from cervical cancer.

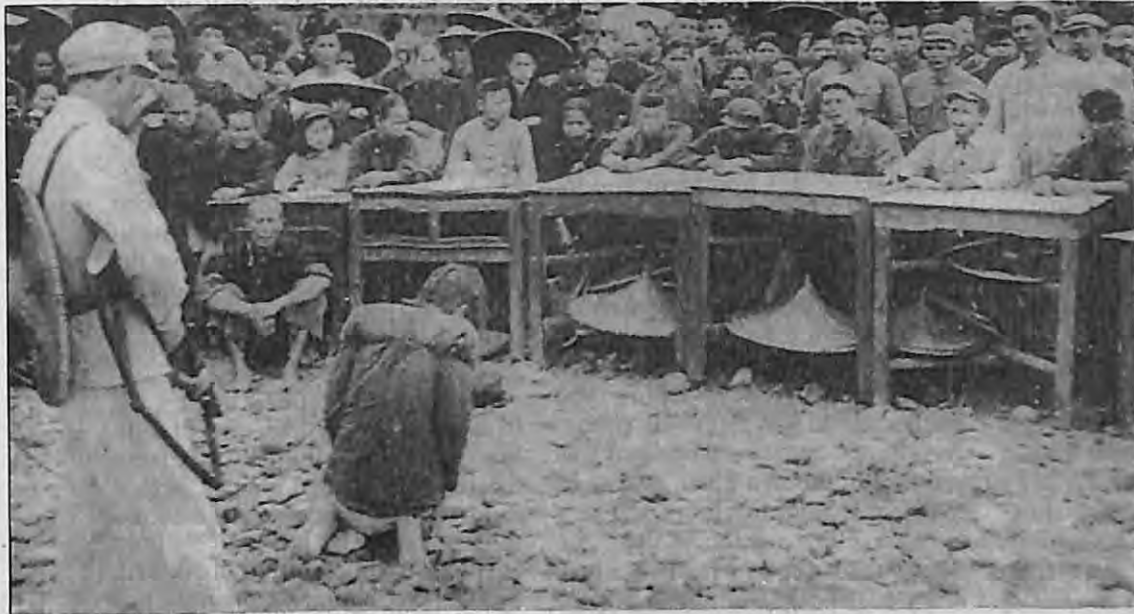
Chiang Ching recalls her elation at news of the bold strike of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) against the lingering British warship, the *Amethyst*, in April 1949, which she heard on Soviet radio. Shortly after the People's Republic was founded in the autumn of 1949, she returned to Peking and made plans to investigate some rural areas near Shanghai, where land reform was getting underway. Already during the Northwest Campaign she had gained some experience putting Mao's revolutionary agrarian policy into effect — leading the peasants to overthrow landlords and to redistribute the land.

After an officially organized trip to the rural areas outside of Shanghai was obstructed by some Party renegades controlling the vast eastern region (seemingly, Wang Ming loyalists who, unknown to the Party, had gone over to the KMT), Chiang Ching was forced to strike out on her own to get to the industrial city of Wusih in Kiangsu province. There she studied the background of the region, the land tenancy system and the local economy before visiting the surrounding countryside. She learned, for example, that peasants were not able to be self-sufficient in food and devoted part of their land to tea and silk production in ex-

change for rice. And the disruption of production from the Japanese occupation period was still preventing them from getting enough to eat.

A few years later she visited what had been a KMT "model county", where although "women did most of the work", as the men gambled and drank tea, they were not allowed to plough. "So I went and ploughed on my own", she said. Material inequalities between men and women were also more pronounced in the countryside than the cities. Although agrarian reform distributed land to both sexes on the basis of equality, such laws were carried out unevenly. Women often got smaller plots or the worst land, and because of the weight of their oppression, did not fight back. Men often took advantage of this also to refuse to share farming tools, and to leave the worst jobs with lowest pay for women, despite the new government policy of equal pay for equal work established by the Communist Party.

The Marriage Reform passed in 1950 was mainly to protect women, to give them free choice and the right to divorce. As Chiang Ching described, old practices and traditional ideas are hard to overthrow, and arranged marriages continued in some areas. She went into some villages during this period to help settle divorce disputes and give guidance to local Party Committees to learn to handle these volatile questions and to create public opinion for persuasion rather than tailing the masses'



**FAR LEFT: Chiang Ching and Mao, Spring of 1949.**

**LEFT: The peasants mete out revolutionary justice after years of oppression endured under ruthless landlords.**

demands for more antagonistic solutions such as death sentences in divorce-type conflicts, for example.

Chiang Ching was eager to take part in the class struggle to transform China's countryside, and in the autumn of 1951 set off with a work team to follow land reform developments in the area of Wuhan, on the Yangtze River. While Mao supported her, others high in the Party apparatus opposed this contact with the masses<sup>5</sup>, and had her along with her bodyguards pulled off the train before it reached the countryside. Refusing to give up, Chiang Ching took her bodyguards and with them organized investigation on their own, in a particularly difficult area which had been a KMT stronghold during the long years of people's war and was exceptionally resistant to land reform.<sup>6</sup>

Land reform had its twists and turns. Mao had set the three big mountains — feudalism, bureaucrat capitalism and imperialism — as targets, which in the countryside meant focusing on the landlord class and local tyrants who ran the organizations of landlords. Working with the community, Chiang Ching's team singled out the 8 to 20% worst offenders and, based on the Agrarian Reform Law, brought them to justice. She recounted the difficulty of

restraining the masses' anger, once unleashed against these hated tyrants: occasionally the work team would have to protect them from being beaten to death on the spot, and at times the team itself was attacked physically in the process. The team brought them before the People's Court for sentencing, sometimes to death. Then land and movable property were redistributed, and for this, careful class analysis had to be made. The spontaneous tendency was to broaden the social targets, meaning that middle peasants (who generally had insignificant small plots) were expropriated, or rich peasants were called landlords; but some "right errors" also cropped up, letting landlords completely off the hook. And, Chiang Ching stressed, the stratification varied from one area to another, so the agrarian laws had to be applied differently. In dividing up the landlord's property, the Party team encouraged "broadness of mind" and that each household take only what they needed. She laughingly recollected an image from

those days, of waddling landlords who put on so many gowns and suits in order to save as much as they could that they were unable to budge!

In order to carry out the land reform work, Chiang Ching's team studied Marxism-Leninism and tried to follow through on Mao's emphasis on the need to "Get Organized". After land was distributed, they devoted themselves to this task, setting up a new, democratic, local government and organizing elections to peasant associations.

About the time Mao put together the collection of articles, "Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside", in order to create public opinion in favour of cooperatives in 1955, Chiang Ching also wrote a piece called, "Do the People Get Enough to Eat from Grain Rations?" Detailing individual needs, she argues for grain rationing in the cities, where there was considerable resistance to the reorganization of production in the countryside.

### **LEARNING TO GO AGAINST THE TIDE**

Chiang Ching used the long intervals she spent recovering from a number of serious illnesses to read widely on a broad range of subjects, focusing on the "main political struggle between the class enemy and ourselves", as she put it. She pored over new books and articles and selected the most important materials for Mao Tsetung to read,

5. Notably Chou Yang of the Ministry of Culture, because of her exposures of his fleet of revisionist writers.

6. The Party led land reform but relied on the masses to carry out expropriation or redistribution and sent teams into various areas to arouse them for that purpose. While this had already been started in areas where the liberation army passed through even before 1949, areas which were under KMT control until liberation remained relatively backward and conservative until this process of arousing the peasants could be organized.

indicating what she thought were the key issues. She was assigned to investigate international questions in particular. While he sat at her bedside in the winter of 1953, she kept him abreast of events and read newspapers and telegrams to him. [46,47]

In 1954 she came across an article written by two students criticizing the bourgeois views of a professor who passed as the expert on the eighteenth century historical novel, *Dream of the Red Chamber*. She showed the article to Mao who had her instruct the *People's Daily* to reprint it. She began to probe into the story and found that both leading literary journals and the *People's Daily* had refused to publish it because it was written by "nobodies", and didn't merit rocking the literary boat — the same reaction Chiang Ching got from the Central Committee's Propaganda Department. Mao issued a directive hailing the article as the "first serious attack in 30 years" against so-called authorities on the novel.

Chiang Ching had already stirred up a hornet's nest over several other works defending the feudal and old bourgeois classes and brought them to Mao's attention. Among them was *Inside the Ching Court*, a film about the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 that portrayed the peasantry as ignorant and barbaric, while glorifying the Manchu emperor, who represents the liberal aristocracy. Chiang Ching objected to its circulation and promotion as a "patriotic" film (by Liu Shao-chi, among others), and when Mao saw it, he called it a film of national betrayal.

At the time *The Story of Wu Hsun* appeared back in 1950 during the land reform movement, she exposed the film's endorsement of bourgeois aspirations and its basic message that preached liberation and social success through education, as well as its conciliatory stand towards the feudal landlords. Wu Hsun was a pauper who carefully saved every bit of cash he could, gaining interest on it from landlords and usurers, until he had enough to buy property and build a school offering free education to poor children. When Chou Yang, Vice Minister of Culture, said he could put up with a little reformism, Chiang Ching flung the door closed, with, "Then go ahead with your reformism!" Although even

Mao at first thought she might be wasting her time, she delved into an eight-month-long investigation into the life and legend of Wu Hsun; she wanted to be in a position to launch a thoroughly informed criticism and to begin to attack the pillars and defenders of this bourgeois line in the arts.

In the beginning Chou Yang tried to prevent Chiang Ching from carrying out this project, but when he failed he sent a secretary to be her assistant and to sabotage the work in Shantung province, where Wu Hsun's legend was especially strong. As it turned out, a local landlord was promoting the Wu Hsun model to the people, and the more she dug into the fellow's past, the more she uncovered about his own class origins. She called on the local people to help get to the bottom of this "spirit" of Wu Hsun. She found out he was not only a landlord with several mistresses, but had been promoted to oppose widespread peasant revolts then shaking western Shantung.

She sent back reports to the Chairman, and *People's Daily* began publishing the results of the investigation; rival "fact-finding" teams appeared, and the debate over the Wu Hsun model became a widespread social question in 1951. Mao himself wrote an editorial for the *People's Daily* based on Chiang Ching's report, pointing out "the degree of ideological confusion reached in our country's cultural circles! In the view of many writers, history has developed not by the replacement of the old by the new, but by the straining of every effort to preserve the old from extinction, not by class struggle to overthrow the reactionary feudal rulers who had to be overthrown, but by the negation of the class struggle of the oppressed and their submission to these rulers, in the manner of Wu Hsun." He called for a discussion on the film and on essays relating to the Wu Hsun story. [23]

Although unknown to the public, Chiang Ching therefore made contributions early on in this area that was almost totally dominated by bourgeois intellectuals with the backing of high-ranking revisionists in the CCP. While Chou Yang whined that she was "upsetting" the writers and artists, she had in mind a different

problem: here were millions of peasants who were making colossal revolutionary efforts to transform agriculture and social relations in the countryside and they had the chance to see maybe one movie or play a year. Was it going to be about glittery emperors and empresses who squashed their rebellions and haughty landlords, counting money, or the new actors, the masses of labouring people sacrificing their blood and devoting their lives to change society?

Chiang Ching refused to back off from controversy and, armed with Mao's pathbreaking analysis from the 1940s of art and politics, helped to break up the peace of the sacred spheres that so far had scarcely been challenged, much less transformed, by the revolution, and she used this controversy to expose the outmoded thinking of writers and artists clinging to the "standards" of the past. Together with Mao she encouraged the fresh "nobodies" to upbraid the staid and mouldy "authorities" and began to develop views on promoting proletarian ideology and revolutionary heroes.

These rumblings of thunder in the cultural arena a decade before the spring storms of the Cultural Revolution broke out fully were encouraged by Mao's initiative in 1957 to open the floor to questions directly affecting the superstructure — the campaign to "Let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend". Mao insisted: we are overtly, not covertly, as often charged, inviting the poisonous weeds to jump out so we can better criticize them. "Class struggle is an objective reality, independent of man's will.... It cannot be avoided even if people want to avoid it. The only thing to do is to make the best use of the situation and guide the struggle to victory." [24]

---

### **ATTACKING THE OLD SUPERSTRUCTURE... AND ITS GUARDIANS**

---

As the 1950s drew to a close, the political struggle within the Central Committee sharpened up dramatically. The two roads and two lines were becoming increasingly clear — to push ahead with socialist construction of the economy and revolution-

zation of society as a whole, or to stop and "rest", as the bourgeois elements, those veteran Party leaders "stuck" in the first, bourgeois democratic phase of the revolution would have it, and develop capitalism. In addition, Khrushchev's call for goulash instead of communism greatly reinforced the danger inside China.

During the stormy Politburo meetings at Lushan in 1959, Mao wrote to Chiang Ching, sending her the response he had prepared to counter Defence Minister Peng Teh-huai's opposition to accelerating the transition to socialism. Peng was about to be knocked down as the leading representative of the line within the Central Committee that advocated forming a modern army like the Soviet Union's (and opposed creating a people's militia), a line linked to the broadside attack on the cooperative transformation of agriculture in the Great Leap Forward in the name of promoting heavy industry and building up the military.<sup>7</sup> Although Mao tried to stop her, warning that the very intense struggle would be too demanding for her fragile health, Chiang Ching insisted on joining him at the meetings in order to fully understand the situation.

In the early 1960s struggle focused on how to sum up the Great Leap Forward and communization in general. Liu Shao-chi, Mao's chief opponent and the chief representative of those Party officials

7. The Great Leap Forward spread into a mass upsurge in 1958, especially in the countryside, as peasants began to rely on themselves to develop small, light industries to serve agriculture (such as local mills and backyard steel smelting), to establish larger collective farms with greater public ownership as well as People's Communes. The ensuing struggle in the CC that accused Mao's policy to "go all out, aim high to achieve greater, faster, better and more economic results in building socialism" of bringing ruin on the economy led to Mao's famous statement, "The chaos caused was on a grand scale and I take responsibility," referring in part to the difficulties and excesses that were a secondary aspect of the tremendous advances and new breakthroughs resulting from the masses' conscious initiative. Shortly afterwards, Soviet technicians and aid were suddenly withdrawn, causing a severe jolt to the Chinese economy, followed by a series of natural disasters, both of which escalated the line struggle over socialist construction and over taking a different path than the Soviet Union.

### *Near the Immortal's Cave*

*A rugged pine stands proudly in the gathering dusk,*

*Oblivious of the swirling clouds*

*That sail swiftly past.*

*Awed by nature's untouched splendor,*

*One is moved to say,*

*"Only on a precipice*

*Does such a magnificent sight dwell!"*

— Mao Tsetung

(Mao's poem is translated by Ma Wen-yee, in *Snow Glistens on the Great Wall*)

**BELOW: One of tens of thousands of photographs Chiang Ching took during the course of her life, this portrays the lone pine standing on the edge of the mountain outside Lushan. It was taken in 1959, just after stormy Lushan meetings where Mao had dared to risk all to defy those in the Party leadership who wanted to abandon the socialist road. In 1961 Mao wrote this poem to Li Chin (the name Chiang Ching used for her artistic photographic works) and inscribed it on the back.**



taking the capitalist road, jumped out more openly, calling for greater monetary incentives for agricultural production, the extension of private plots, more rural (capitalist) fairs and so on. Not coincidentally, Liu began paying visits to Confucius' shrine. Although Mao and the proletarian camp were firmly in command of the Party overall, the bourgeois forces, increasingly concentrated at the top levels of the Party, were strong and energetically creating public opinion for a take-over of power. These revisionists had a strong grip on both the educational system and the arts, areas key to spreading their ideology and influencing the masses.

The Left prepared a counter-attack and began to create their own public opinion for a major offensive against the bourgeoisie in the Party.

Chiang Ching plunged into the political battles alongside Mao. She began publishing articles in her own name in some women's and youth journals, as well as going back out among the masses in 1963 as part of the Socialist Education Movement, Mao's offensive to combat revisionism, bourgeois practices and thinking, which was the precursor to the Cultural Revolution. He called on cadres, artists and writers from the cities to go to the countryside and learn from the masses. At the Tenth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee meeting in 1962 a decision was made after much struggle to let Chiang Ching challenge the revisionist stronghold of the Peking Municipal Committee presided over by Politburo member and Mayor of Peking Peng Chen (which had responsibility for setting national policy on culture). These were the people who controlled much of China's press, its theatres and cultural circles and who fostered a school of thought (opposing Mao's push to further revolutionize society and promoting nest-feathering in the name of modernization) that was influential among intellectuals in general.

They created a haven for new bourgeois writers like Wu Han, author of the play *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* that appeared in 1961, which was a protest against Mao for dismissing Peng Teh-huai as Defence Minister in 1959, covered only by thin analogy to the

Ming Dynasty era. They were also the sponsors of the newspaper column "Three Family Village" that satirically attacked Mao and his line.<sup>8</sup> If the revolutionaries criticized the writings or dramatic productions sponsored by this new bourgeoisie, who were actively working to stamp cultural and intellectual life in general with their class outlook, such criticisms were dodged with phoney self-criticisms or counter-articles that touched on secondary points.

This dilemma was magnified by the fact that the Left could not even get much of what it wanted published, and thus had to partially rely on channels within the army, under the command of Lin Piao. Some time later, in early 1966, Mao was moved to call the central Ministry of Propaganda the "Palace of the Prince of Hell" — "It must be overthrown! It is to the advantage of despots to keep people ignorant. It is to our advantage to make them intelligent." [25]

Chiang Ching tried to get criticisms of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* written and printed in Peking, but this clique threw a fit and blocked it everywhere. Finally, working quietly under Chiang Ching's and Mao's leadership, a young writer named Yao Wen-yuan, who had become active during the anti-rightist movement following the Hundred Flowers Campaign, wrote a blistering critique of this play. But it was only in Shanghai that it could be printed at first and not until November 1965, when Mao called it the "signal" for the Cultural Revolution. The Peking clique of writers then tried to bury the huge controversy that broke out in academic nuances of history, even resorting to distancing themselves from author (and Vice Mayor of Peking) Wu Han in order to save their own positions.

8. One of these anti-Mao writers, Liao Mosha, a co-author with Wu Han of the "Three Family Village" column, whom Chiang Ching had known in her days among radical writers and artists in Shanghai, was brought forward to testify at her trial, accusing her of KMT relations he himself probably maintained. She was removed from court for "abusing the witness" — the "famous writer" — with her continual interruptions of his testimony about being unjustly harassed in the Cultural Revolution. [40]

---

## REVOLUTION IN THE PEKING OPERA

---

A host of bigwig "experts" and defenders of feudal and bourgeois drama and music arrogantly held sway in most all of the arts, opera being among the worst. This dominion over important areas of the superstructure by the new bourgeois elite connected to revisionists in the top ranks of the Party was a reflection of the incomplete transformation of the economic base of society, which, while overall socialist, still had significant capitalist features. The profound truth that Mao enriched — that the *political* struggle to make revolution had to be carried out in the superstructure, in the sphere of ideas, values, customs and culture — stared defiantly at both classes, the proletariat and the new bourgeoisie, locked in struggle.

In over a decade of proletarian rule giant strides towards transforming backward, semi-feudal, semi-colonial China had been taken: private ownership had basically been changed through collectivization and the nationalization of industry, and, since China had been wrested out of the claws of foreign domination, the economy as a whole was based on answering people's needs rather than filling imperialist coffers. The onerous cycle of poverty and debt had been broken, and famine and illiteracy had in the main been wiped out. Women began to enter the schools in much larger numbers and to take an active part in productive and political life. At the same time, breakthroughs in many areas were partial or totally blocked by a revisionist line and the oppressive weight of the past. Nowhere was this clearer than in narrowing the "three great differences" between city and countryside, workers and peasants, and manual and mental labour. In 1964 Mao branded the Department of Public Health the "Health Ministry of Urban Gentlemen". In some factories revisionist-led management urged workers to limit political discussions to thirty minutes per day so as not to interrupt production. And, as one aspect of Chang Chun-chiao's penetrating analysis of bourgeois right revealed, in the countryside ownership was still collective and not "by the whole people", a situation that facilitated

**"I was so excited that I could not sleep.... What Comrade Chiang Ching has given us was not merely a play [The Red Lantern] but in a sense a splendid red lantern radiant with the brilliance of the thought of Mao Tsetung, which lit the way of advance for**



**the reform of Peking opera.**

**"....At a crucial moment when the counter-revolutionary revisionists poisoned the minds of the young literary and art workers with their 'three-famous' and 'three-high' (famous actor, famous director and famous playwright; high salary, high remuneration and high prize) idea, it was again Comrade Chiang Ching who taught everybody to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, destroy self-interest and serve the people, completely smash the bourgeois 'star system' and feudalist habit of forming guilds, and it was she who went deep among the workers, peasants and soldiers to become a true proletarian fighter in literature and art."**

**— Tu Chin-fang, Peking Opera actress and leading member of the Revolutionary Committee of the Peking Opera School of China**

capitalist tendencies[1]; furthermore the quality of land varied tremendously among the different communes, giving rise to important advantages for some. This contradiction between socialism and the remnants of semi-feudalism plus newborn capitalism was also clearly illustrated by the escalating and difficult struggle to liberate Chinese women, who had begun to be integrated into industry, teaching jobs and lower-level Party and government posts, yet still faced tremendous hurdles of feudal ideas and traditional oppressive roles in the home. Only unleashing the conscious struggle in the superstructure could begin to tear off these ideological shackles and in turn lead to further socialist transformation of the economic base.

The struggle in the arts erupted as a reflection of this. The bourgeois line reduced it to a clash over the issue of too "narrowly" handling questions of art, the pace of "socialist reform", or of the "genius" needed for creation. In reality the struggle posed in a concentrated way the fundamental problem of whether the proletariat was going to seize control of this sphere and make revolution in the superstructure or not. Was the cultural realm going to serve the socialist base or undermine it? The Left was not just preparing an offensive against bad ideas, but against those ideas, beliefs and cultural works that preserved the old oppressive divisions of society. The old Peking opera itself was a stubborn stronghold of the landlord and capitalist classes in the ideological field, whose repertoires mainly propagated Confucian virtues of obedience and loyalty. As was to be summed up ten years later, "the selection of Peking Opera as the place to make a breakthrough by the proletarian revolution in literature and the arts is itself a major struggle to criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius; it aims at dismantling the spiritual props on which the reactionary classes have relied for centuries to create a hell on earth." [22]

Chiang Ching carried out a great deal of investigation, visiting many theatre troupes, talking with performers, viewing films and attending plays and operas all over the coun-  
(Continued to page 58)

# Imperialist Troops Out of Somalia Yankee Go Home!

## Oppose Imperialist Invasion and Aggression No Matter What the Pretext!

— Statement by the Committee of the  
Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

31 December 1992

Here we are, witness to imperialist invasion with a new twist, "humanitarian aid". Thousands of American marines and their counterparts, the French Foreign Legion along with a handful of mercenary contingents from a number of lucky regimes of the Third World, pounced on Somalia in the arrogant imperial style of the conquerors of old, seizing Mogadishu its capital. Sanctioned by the United Nations (where imperialist masters and a few others, for show, make deals) although without invitation from Somalia, these imperialist armies, with the U.S. once again leading the pack, sophisticated weapons in hand, trample across a militarily weak and exceedingly poor country to force its population into submission. Roughing up unarmed dock workers and even killing families traveling at night. Do they supply more airplanes to increase food distribution to peasants in the remote interior of the country? Of course not. Even a U.S. general warned against any absurd notion that the marines were in Somalia to distribute food.

We've seen invasions like this before, from the most recent high-tech mass slaughter in Iraq, to Panama, Grenada, need we go on? The U.S. marine force is the "elite force" chosen and trained to be particularly brutal even by U.S. standards, while the French Foreign Legion is made up of criminals promised a new identity for serving as mercenaries for French imperialism. Throughout history the armed forces have been the main tools of enforcing and maintaining colonial and neo-colonial slavery of the masses in the Third World through a variety of brutal means.

With a thick blanket of lies and distortions the U.S. has been able to use the famine

in Somalia to win or at least neutralize international public opinion to unashamedly endorse this invasion. They seek to fool the world's masses into believing that the imperialist's bloodthirsty, repressive and reactionary nature has changed. They blame armed gangsters and the warring factions of the rich and feudals, many of whom are of their own creation, for all the anarchy, disaster and misfortune that has been tormenting the Somali masses. In the name of preventing mass-death, the U.S. military takes on the mantle of saviour of the dying Somali masses, stamping their invasion with a humanitarian seal.

The fact is, as in any part of the oppressed world, the imperialists themselves and especially the U.S. imperialists are directly and mainly responsible for today's famine, starvation, and death of hundreds of thousands of Somali masses.

After Somali independence in 1960, the former Soviet Union became its chief army supplier, but by the late 1970s switched sides to arm Mengistu of Ethiopia. The U.S. stepped in and the Somali military swelled disproportionately to the size of its population and economic ability to sustain it. The military despot and hated anti-people government of Siad Barre was propped up by the U.S. to gain hegemony in a region considered strategically important for superpower rivalry.

Imperialist loans and food aid poured in, creating a dependency, always profitable for the imperialists and ultimately perverting Somalia's economy and agriculture. The result: a military build-up with accompanying bureaucracy to the death of indigeneous industry, national capital and of its diversified, self-sufficient agriculture. Along with imperialist loans come strangulation from International Monetary Fund adjustment programs to insure debt repayment. Somalia became dependent on food imports despite the fact that there are ample agricultural resources to feed the people comfortably within the country itself.

The comprador and rich class and bloated bureaucracy, along with an expanded parasitic intermediate urban strata of the population, had nothing to do with production and mainly depended upon trading, military supply and contract business, involving all sorts of profiteering, bribery, corruption, misappropriation and theft. With the fall of Mengistu of Ethiopia and more decisively the USSR, Mengistu's main backer, the military-strategic importance of Somalia evaporated for the U.S. The Siad Barre regime was gladly dropped by the U.S. as it became increasingly exposed for the dictatorial regime it was. A severe crisis followed as the swollen state and military machinery and the parasitic urban intermediate strata could no longer sustain itself without outside, artificial support. Wildly looting and robbing the masses, especially the rural peasants, became the order of the day. The feudal lords and clan heads remained as before, partners in this crime.

With the end of the Cold War came the end of U.S. imperialist food aid. When the market was exhausted of food and grains, the desperate peasants were forced to eat even the seeds that were meant for planting the next crop. Mass starvation and death drove hundreds of thousands from the countryside to overcrowded urban centres, especially Mogadishu, in the hope of survival.

The overthrow of the decades-long dictatorship of Said Barre gave rise to a power vacuum. There was no government, the state had collapsed. Rival military and comprador factions fought to gain control. To enlist youth into their armies these factions gave a blank cheque to loot relief convoys.

All these factors together, created and conditioned by the imperialists themselves, especially U.S. imperialism, threw the country into a situation of virtual famine. The unfortunate coincidence of drought has only added to this disaster.

Imperialist aid may bring some temporary relief for some of the masses. But these little humanitarian displays do not and can not solve the fundamental problem of the masses — an exploitative society under the imperialist system itself.

Despite all the fanfare about imperialism's humanitarian gestures and the lies and distortions by the imperialist media, it is already evident that the invading troops have not been welcomed as liberators (as they portray themselves) by the broad masses of Somalis except by some toady compradors and a small section of the middle classes.

If there is no material or geo-political strategic interest in Somalia, then why this imperialist invasion? It is clear that one of the goals of the Somalia invasion is to repair and reconsolidate the wrecked central state machinery, in the service of imperialism, to prevent the spread of clan fighting and the armed, rebellious mood of the youth from spilling over to neighbouring oppressed countries. This is what they mean by peace and stability. But most importantly, U.S. imperialism, through leading this invasion, strives to ensure its right to feast on Africa in its proclaimed New World Order, a continent which until the recent past has been a sort of reservoir for exploitation and domination by mainly the European imperialist powers. For the U.S. imperialists, an invasion in Somalia means no risk, no dying on the part of the invaders. Because on the one hand there exists no revolutionary resistance nor viable state army to resist the invasion; on the other hand in the aftermath of the Cold War there is a lessening of intensity in imperialist rivalry for a temporary period. Therefore this was a very favourable opportunity for them to acquire precious practical experience for future precision strikes. And the pretext is perfect, "humanitarian intervention".

Today, hunger, starvation and death threaten many pockets of the Third World — many of which are partly and apparently caused by natural disasters — but mainly caused by the functioning of the imperialists and their plunder machines like the IMF, World Bank and aid consortiums. As the masses in these and other countries increasingly rise up against imperialist-backed reactionary regimes, we may well witness many Somalias led by the U.S. imperialists, posturing as guardian and policeman of the world and repeating the pretext of "humanitarian intervention". A dangerous precedent is being set here.

For example, we can imagine the imperialists developing so much phoney sympathy for the starving masses of Peru, that in addition to another pretext, their so-called "war on drugs", the U.S. imperialists must "in all good conscience" assume the burden of sending even more marines to Peru, again with UN permission and a little help from its allies. That's what the New World Order means for them.

For the masses of the world it can only mean a more intolerable old imperialist order, the same system of plunder, injustice and degradation for the people, under a cunning new slogan.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement calls upon the broad masses of Somalia to contemptuously reject all the deceptive apologies for U.S. imperialist intervention and resolutely oppose U.S. attempts at domination. The imperialists have been able to invade and humiliate the Somali masses because the latter are neither united nor led by a proletarian revolutionary party which alone can lead thoroughgoing anti-imperialist struggle and the necessary people's war to rid themselves of the local exploiting classes and the imperialists' thugs behind them.

The RIM also calls upon the revolutionary proletariat and the masses of the world to firmly oppose and courageously resist the invasion in Somalia and any kind of imperialist intervention, invasion, occupation or aggression in any part of the world no matter what the pretext. □

On the Occasion of  
the 20th Anniversary of  
the Martyrdom  
of the Founder of the  
Communist Party of Turkey/  
Marxist-Leninist,  
Ibrahim Kaypakkaya

— Statement by the Committee of the  
Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

May 1993

20 years ago Comrade Ibrahim Kaypakkaya was the victim of a cowardly assassination while in the custody of the reactionary Turkish regime. At the time of his death Comrade Kaypakkaya was only 24 years old, yet he had already made great contributions to the development of the revolutionary movement in Turkey. His death was a serious loss to the proletariat in Turkey and to the international communist movement, deprived of a leader and teacher who was making important contributions in practice as well as theory to the proletarian revolution.

Ibrahim Kaypakkaya's brief but extremely rich life was integrally connected to the world-wide struggle taking place in the 1960s between revolutionary Marxism and counter-revolutionary revisionism on a world scale. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung and inspired to a large degree by the Cultural Revolution that Comrade Mao Tsetung had initiated, revolutionaries throughout the world launched a fierce struggle against revisionism on the ideological, political and organizational fronts. In most cases this meant a rupture with the old revisionist parties, which had long abandoned even the pretence of revolution, and the creation of new revolutionary parties based on Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology.

In Turkey, it was Comrade Ibrahim Kaypakkaya who led this process in all its aspects. He developed a lucid and devastating critique of revisionism on a whole series of fronts and, furthermore, took the lead in putting this political line into practice — specifically by initiating the first serious attempt to launch a genuine People's War in the history of Turkey. Ibrahim Kaypakkaya was the most thorough and ardent defender in Turkey of the line of Comrade Mao Tsetung and the sharpest opponent of the false "defenders" of Mao Tsetung, who tried to strip out Mao's proletarian revolutionary content.

Ibrahim Kaypakkaya exposed the reformist, legalist and economist activities of the Shefak revisionists which the latter tried to pass off to the masses as "revolutionary mass work". Comrade Kaypakkaya ruthlessly unravelled the revisionists' poisonous eclecticism and convincingly argued that "these bourgeois gentlemen think that by changing the name of a thing one can change its nature". Comrade Kaypakkaya's observation on revisionist demagogy is still valid in understanding today's political struggles.

Comrade Ibrahim Kaypakkaya also clearly showed that the only real solution to oppression of the Kurdish nation is a New Democratic Revolution led by the proletariat and its party.

For all these reasons Ibrahim Kaypakkaya has always been, in death as well as life, the target of all sorts of enemies of the revolution. Those who oppose the development of the revolution have found it necessary to attack the line of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, either directly or shamefacedly. Some who, because of the high prestige of Comrade Kaypakkaya, hypocritically claim to defend his legacy — such as "Bolsheviks" and other renegades and their likes — criticize Ibrahim Kaypakkaya's so-called "shortcomings" and/or caricaturize and twist his line in order to sell their own warped theories to the revolutionary masses. Maoists should guard against these kind of "defenders" of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya.

In Turkey the reactionary regime continues a reign of terror over the masses of people and the revolutionary forces. The followers of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, forces of the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist, continue to be hunted and pursued and large numbers of comrades have been martyred or imprisoned. Nevertheless the reactionary rule is far from solid. Indeed, their terror is a response to their isolation from the masses. The situation in the region, despite the existence of reactionary regimes everywhere, is increasingly favourable for the people's struggle for liberation. The reactionary regime can and will be defeated! Continuing forward along the path charted by Ibrahim Kaypakkaya is essential to bringing about this long-awaited victory.

Comrade Ibrahim Kaypakkaya did not live to see the great advance and great victory for the world proletariat that is represented by the creation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, together with other Maoist forces, are the inheritors of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung, and the formation of this Movement is a precious fruit of the struggle of the proletariat and oppressed people throughout the world. The experience of the proletariat and oppressed peoples of Turkey, of the struggle of Ibrahim and of his successors, is reflected, along with the struggle in different corners of the world, in the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* to which the Communist Party of

Turkey/Marxist-Leninist is a signatory.

Today, even while the imperialists and reactionaries celebrate the fall of the social imperialist East bloc as the "death of communism", they cannot deny that the Maoists are coming forward as the most resolute fighters against their rotten system. The People's War in Peru led by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) and its Chairman Gonzalo is the most advanced expression of this world-wide trend.

The Yankee imperialists have helped their puppet Fujimori regime in Peru to capture Chairman Gonzalo in hopes of decapitating this most important revolutionary movement in today's world. But the Maoists and revolutionary masses of the world and their allies boldly rose to this challenge. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement called upon all Maoists and revolutionary masses to "Move Heaven and Earth to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo". As the Committee of the RIM said, "the capture of Comrade Gonzalo is a bitter blow to the revolutionary people the world over, and the danger to our comrade's life is extreme. This attack is also a challenge, a call for us to stand up and successfully prevent the reactionaries from taking the life of Chairman Gonzalo, and, through struggle, hand his captors a big defeat. Defending the life of Comrade Gonzalo means defending the right of the slaves to rebel, it means defending the revolution and communism." The Maoists the world over accepted the challenge that was thrown before them. Today the battle-cry "Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo" resounds on every continent and a worldwide mass movement has developed and prominently so in Turkey. In this light, it is important to note the crucial work carried out by the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzman. In arresting Chairman Gonzalo, the imperialists and reactionaries have picked up a big rock to hurl against the people but an increasing number of people are fighting to force them to drop the big rock on their own feet.

This year the whole Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is celebrating the Mao Tsetung Centenary. The Committee of the RIM called upon the parties and organizations of this movement and all revolutionary masses to celebrate Mao's Centenary in an unforgettable way and use this occasion to carry out a powerful ideological counter-offensive against the anti-communist offensive of the imperialists and reactionaries.

Comrade Kaypakkaya not only was the most resolute defender in Turkey of Mao Tsetung, but he also was quick to grasp the world historic importance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the development of the science of Marxist-Leninism to a new and higher stage, carried out by Mao Tsetung.

The most important way of honouring the memory of Comrade Kaypakkaya is by persevering and advancing along the revolutionary road. Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology is the basic compass which charts the road ahead. It is this basic orientation that is embodied by the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement*. By persevering on this path, strengthening the unity of the proletariat on a world scale as well as its contingents in each country, we can march ahead victoriously!

**Long live the memory of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya!**

**Move heaven and earth to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo!**

**Celebrate the Mao Centenary in an Unforgettable Way!**

# On the Civil War in Yugoslavia

— Statement by the Committee of the  
Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

18 August 1992

Once again the echo of gunfire in the Balkans is sending nervous shudders through Europe's corridors of power, as Yugoslavia sinks into a violent civil war of nation against nation. This war is horrible, unjust and reactionary on every side. But it did not come about, as Western spokesmen say, because Yugoslavia "got lost" on the path to Western-style democracy. Nor is it merely the explosion of long-simmering national antagonisms in the Balkans. This war is above all the product of the deep crisis of the world imperialist system; it is imperialism's latest earthquake, the surface movement of the profound fissures that rend this exploiting system's very foundations, that in only the last two years have toppled governments and hurled tens of thousands into rebellion in the streets of the world's remaining superpower. Only a brief two years ago Bush and his cronies promised a "new world order" and a "peace dividend". Instead, their system is exploding with ever greater force into crisis and wars. There is truly a "new world disorder".

This crisis of the imperialist system already shattered the Soviet social-imperialist ruling structures, as the former Soviet rulers, re-baptized as Russian imperialists, desperately seek to preserve their domain through a new accommodation with the Western imperialists. This new situation burst weak links in and around the former Soviet empire: under prodding by imperialist and regional powers, various local bourgeoisies, from Nagorno-Karabakh, Georgia and Moldova to Yugoslavia, have been fighting desperately to carve out a position for themselves, or at least to stave off the devastation and dismemberment that even now threaten Bosnia-Herzegovina's elite.

Despite their claims that "communism" bears responsibility for this war, Yugoslavia had long been a rotting corpse of the social democratic model in Eastern Europe. Ever since Tito repudiated Stalin and the international communist movement shortly after World War 2, Yugoslavia had set up its own independent brand of social democracy, reformist capitalism, with its much-hailed system of "self-management", and was part of the worldwide imperialist economy. But the Yugoslav model didn't last long. Its primary export became its own proletarians, millions of whom went to swell the lower ranks of the proletariat in Germany, Switzerland and France. From the early 1980s economic crisis had gripped the country, which had the highest inflation rate seen in Europe since World War 2.

Ruled by an exploiting bourgeoisie, Yugoslavia could no more solve its national question than could the U.S. or Britain — indeed, national antagonisms grew even sharper. The Serbs clawed to keep on top, the Croatian and Slovenian bourgeoisies chafed at Serbian domination, and Kosovo's Albanians were everyone's "whipping boy". For several decades, these conflicts were contained within the centralized Yugoslav state. What has changed today is that the old Yugoslav structures that institutionalized this hierarchy of national oppression have been ripped apart by the imperialist crisis and the turmoil in international imperialist relations following the collapse of the USSR, as well as by the new balance of power in Europe and the world and by the sharpening contention among the Western imperialists.

Yugoslavia, rotting with economic decay and teeming with nationalist antagonisms, did not, however, disintegrate spontaneously — it was dismembered. The claws that ripped into Yugoslavia's carcass first were not Serbian, Croatian or Slovenian, but the more deadly talons of the Western imperialists. What, after all, was the significance of Germany announcing to the world before war broke out that, if Croatia and Slovenia declared their independence from Yugoslavia, it would recognize them — an announcement that the European Community quickly supported? Imagine the howls of indignation if they announced their willingness to recognize a unilateral declaration of independence from, say, Great Britain's Scotland or Canada's Quebec!

This war is a war born of the imperialist system; its death camps and all its other horrors are theirs. Thus even while they genuinely fear the continuation of the war and hope it will subside, each imperialist power is looking out above all for its own interests. Helmut Kohl & Co. have continued to throw their weight around, showing the U.S. that in this region, long a privileged feeding ground of the German ruling class, they should be boss. Germany has secretly armed Croatia, including with the most modern artillery in the world; dramatic efforts to catch up have been made by the French, who have offered the first troops for open intervention on the ground, and by the U.S., which has brought into the Adriatic Sea part of its naval armada that rained death and destruction on the people of Iraq.

For the imperialists, whether there is peace or war in the region, the most important point is that

each one protects and expands its own imperial interests; thus no matter what "solution" is attempted — UN, EC or other — each imperialist is positioning its forces to ensure that it must be reckoned with, both now and in the future.

All are disguising their intervention as "humanitarian aid". But this "aid" is a Trojan horse; what counts is not the blankets but the imperialists' missiles and troops that inevitably come along to "protect" the aid. The United Nations with its "impartial humanitarian concern" has illustrated in Iraqi blood that it is nothing but a marionette of the imperialists. And as for the capacity of the U.S., Germany & Co. to resolve Yugoslavia's ethnic tension, how could these, the greatest oppressors and exploiters of peoples around the world, serve as a model? Perhaps the U.S. will send the Los Angeles Police Chief to give lessons in ethnic relations!

Yet intervention scares the imperialists. They say this is for military reasons, especially the mountainous terrain and the proliferation of decentralized, heavily armed forces. It is true that this would mean the imperialists would take casualties. But the main problem lies in their own ranks. Their unity on what to do about former Yugoslavia is fragile and contradictory, and might well crack under the strains of a highly unpredictable war. And unlike in the war against Iraq, imposing a settlement in the Balkans directly affects the balance of forces in Europe itself. The risks of error are the extension of an armed conflict that is already only a couple of hours down the motorway from Venice and Vienna.

As for the Yugoslav peoples, what solution does imperialism offer them? The imperialists decry the "irrational nationalism" that results in neighbour killing neighbour, yet in fact they promote nationalism. The Germans have been encouraging it directly in Croatia and Slovenia, and in general the highest goal held out to these peoples is becoming small, independent states allied with bigger more powerful partners.

This is the grandiose dream imperialism offers the millions of proletarians of former Yugoslavia — to slaughter each other for the right to have an exploiter who speaks in their own dialect! The national inequality and oppression in the Balkans can never be resolved by competing nationalisms. The vicious deeds of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's stormtroopers as they carry out their program of "ethnic cleansing" by pillaging and raping their way through Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina or Kosovo must be opposed. But however just this resistance might be, so long as it is led by petty nationalist reactionaries the people will only remain pawns in the hands of local exploiters in alliance with one or another imperialist power. Nationalism in the Balkans is the nationalism of small capitalist European nations, whose bourgeoisies want to carve out their own exclusive markets, but who can do so only as junior partners of the bigger imperialist powers. Witness Croatia's ultra-nationalist President Tudjman who, even as he spews chauvinist venom against Serbians, cuddles cooingly under the protective wing of his German big brothers, whose crimes in the Balkans are notorious. And one of the first legislative acts of "civilized" Slovenia's new rulers was a blanket pardon of former Nazi war criminals.

What is needed is to break with this nationalism and take the path of armed internationalist revolution — to find the ways of uniting the exploited of every nationality who see beyond the horizons of the eat-or-be-eaten jungle of Balkan nationalism, who have no stake either in the fake-socialist Yugoslav past or in a future of even smaller, imperialist-dominated nations, but who seek instead to overthrow all exploiters, foreign and local. People whose highest dream is not having Serbian workers exploited by Serbian bourgeois and Croatian workers by Croatians, but having the masses themselves genuinely seize power and uproot the entire system of capitalist exploitation that enforces national oppression and all other inequalities. People who support the right of self-determination for oppressed nations, but whose aspirations go much higher — to a world without classes or national antagonism, where peace does not inevitably give way to reactionary wars, but is the by-product of the destruction of class society. This is the path of revolutionary communism, of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung — a path that has never been taken in Yugoslavia — and it is coming alive right now in the people's war being led in Peru by the Maoist Communist Party of Peru. It shows how a small force can grow and win liberation step by step by relying on the masses to defeat the local exploiters and all imperialists.

The horror of this war has shocked the world, but the Maoists understand that the most important point is that Europe, this hoary old monster that has purchased social peace through its exploitation of worldwide empires where such horrors are part of daily life, is threatened. The old order is ever more fragile. In this situation, the proletarians have no interest in trying to restore some reactionary and illusory peace, and every interest in seizing on the disorder and outbreak of armed conflict to form Maoist revolutionary organizations. It is not easy to embark on this path amidst such fratricidal civil war. But there is no other way to raise the banner of internationalism that is red with the blood of the proletariat and oppressed of all countries, and to launch a revolutionary war to overthrow the vicious patrons of this reactionary war, local and foreign, and place power in the hands of the proletariat and all the oppressed. □

# Support the Los Angeles Rebellion! Spring Thunder in the West!

— Statement by the Committee of the  
Revolutionary Internationalist Movement  
3 May 1992

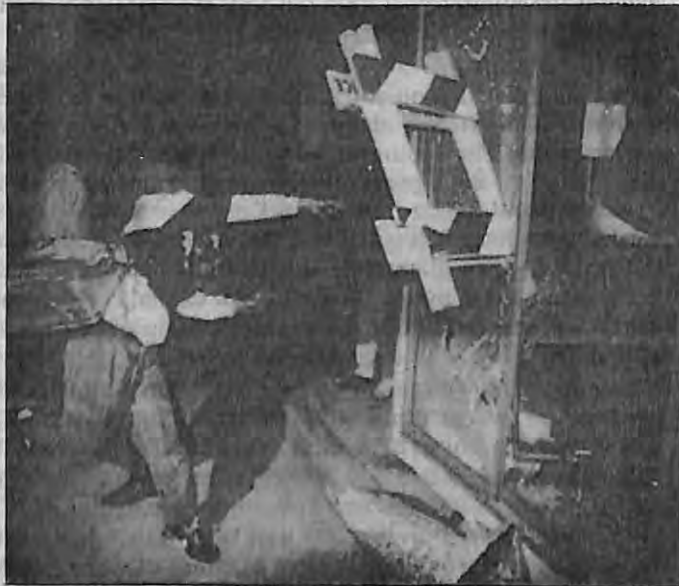
On April 29th and the following days, the United States was heavily shaken by the tremendous revolutionary upheaval of the Black masses and broad sections of the proletariat of all nationalities in the city of Los Angeles and inspired waves of struggle throughout the country. The spark for the conflagration was a court verdict vindicating four police officers who had viciously beaten a young Black motorist, Rodney King, one year earlier. These murderous beasts were acquitted even though their foul deeds were recorded for all the world to see on a home video recorder. The masses refused to cowardly submit before this latest outrage and rendered the verdict of the people, not only on the Rodney King case but on the whole system of white supremacy and class exploitation.

The U.S. authorities have sought to re-establish their reactionary "law and order" by deploying thousands of police and soldiers armed with tanks and other heavy weapons, gunning down dozens of people and arresting thousands. Once again, the U.S. imperialist ruling class revealed the true nature of its "justice" and its "democracy" for the masses of people, within its frontiers as well as around the world.

The Los Angeles rebellion is more than just a well-deserved punishment for the U.S. ruling class's crimes throughout its history. It is more than just a vivid reminder that the U.S. has been built upon the broken bones of its victims, from the days of slavery down to the Gulf War of last year. The Los Angeles rebellion was a big blow against the myth of U.S. "invincibility" and its "new world order", showing the U.S. truly is a "colossus with feet of clay" and that the forces exist within the United States which, in unity with the people of the world, can and will topple this great enemy.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement links together the Maoist forces throughout the world. Our Movement includes a contingent from the United States, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, which is amidst the people, struggling today and preparing for the battle of tomorrow which will establish the rule of the masses and finally rid the planet of U.S. imperialism.

From Peru to Bangladesh, from South Africa to Berlin, wherever people are in struggle against imperialism and reaction, the fires of Los Angeles warmed the hearts of the oppressed. It is the Spring Thunder in the West which is announcing a great step ahead in the revolutionary struggle in the United States and is reverberating around the world, calling on the proletariat and the oppressed to step up their struggle. □



LEFT: April 29,  
1992; outside  
L.A. police  
headquarters.

# To the Oppressed Struggling Masses of Nepal

— Statement the Committee of the  
Revolutionary Internationalist Movement  
April 1992

According to imperialist newspaper reports, during a protest strike and mass demonstrations on 6th April 1992 called by the Nepal Communist Party (Unity Centre), the Nepali government's riot police opened fire on the crowds in the streets, killing at least five people and wounding 50. They then imposed curfew for the following several nights in Katmandu and its suburbs. But instead of being cowed by such a brutal show of force by the riot police and other government forces in the capital, the heroic Nepali masses took to the streets in their thousands in the following days to protest and to reclaim the dead bodies of their fallen comrades. The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement denounces this barbarous act by the reactionary Nepali government and expresses its firm solidarity with and support for the heroic revolutionary masses of Nepal in their just struggle.

Only two years ago the masses of Nepal rose up in a countrywide heroic upsurge against the decades-old oppressive monarchy. But the leading political forces in that historic upsurge, the now governing Nepali Congress Party, in collaboration with what was then the Seven-party Left Alliance led by pro-Chinese and pro-Soviet revisionists, betrayed and deceived the mass movement by making a deal with the monarchy to establish a multiparty parliamentary system under a constitutional monarchy. They acclaimed this deceptive deal a great victory for the masses and hailed it as democracy. It was this so-called multiparty democratic regime which did not stop short at shooting and killing the masses, who were merely trying to exercise their minimum democratic right to protest against its enormous misdeeds and to demand their basic rights.

This shows that while these reactionaries claim that political power comes from the ballot, in fact, as Mao Tsetung taught long ago, "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun". These developments also show that, as in all oppressed countries, mass movements and mass upsurges, however widespread, militant and even revolutionary they may be, even if they lead to a change of government or regime, cannot bring about the liberation of the masses of Nepal. For true liberation the masses need to take up arms in hand and to prepare and launch revolutionary people's war — a protracted people's war along the path charted by Mao. Unless the whole existing social system of feudalism/semi-feudalism, bureaucratic comprador capitalism and imperialist-expansionist domination is overthrown by new democratic revolution, no reform of regimes or change of government or implementation of multiparty elections and so on can bring any fundamental change in the lives of the broad masses.

This is why in its message to the Nepal Communist Party (Mashal) in May 1990, the Committee of RIM emphasized that the masses' struggle "...must have as its aim the total revolutionary overthrow of semi-feudal and imperialist exploitation and domination and the building of new democratic Nepal with workers-peasants' rule under the leadership of the proletariat, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought..."

The Committee of RIM strongly feels that the present re-awakening of the masses in Nepal calls for the Maoist revolutionary communists to step up the preparations for launching protracted people's war and, in order to do that, initiating guerrilla warfare in the countryside based on Maoist strategy and tactics. Only in this way can the blood, sweat and sacrifices of the masses win victory and the aspirations of the masses be fulfilled. The advancing people's war in Peru under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) is providing a glorious, living example of this. RIM, along with the proletariat and the revolutionary masses of the world, will stand firmly with the masses of Nepal in their revolutionary struggles ahead.

**Cast Away Illusions About the Multiparty So-called Democracy!**  
**Forward Along the Maoist Path of People's War to Make New Democratic  
Revolution in Nepal!**

# On the Life of Comrade Nat Gould

— Statement by the Committee of the  
Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

31 July 1992

It is with the deepest regret that we are announcing the death of Comrade Nat Gould, founder and leader of the New Zealand Red Flag Group, a participating organization of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, who died on 30th March 1992. He was over 80 years old.

Comrade Gould was a communist who devoted his entire life to the cause of revolution in New Zealand and around the world. He took part in the struggles of the Unemployed Workers' Movement in the 1930s, in the worldwide fight to defend the Soviet Union against fascist invasion during World War 2, and he carried on the revolutionary struggle in the difficult years of the Cold War. Later, he was out on the streets against U.S. imperialism's war on Vietnam, and towards the end of his life was active in denouncing the imperialist-backed apartheid regime in South Africa. Everywhere he raised the red flag of Marxism and proletarian revolution, including, most importantly, through his staunch support for Mao Tsetung and the Chinese revolutionaries in their battle against Soviet-led revisionism during the crucial years of the 1960s and in the Cultural Revolution which followed.

Although the immediate efforts to build the New Zealand Red Flag Group were not able to be sustained in the past period, in large part because of the failing health of Comrade Gould, his efforts helped lay the basis for a new generation of revolutionaries to pick up and carry forward his lifelong work. His widow, Comrade Flora Gould, writes in one of her letters that Nat "was unemployed soon after leaving school so was very early involved in working class struggle. He joined the Communist Party New Zealand (CPNZ) in about 1936 and of course was a member until he was expelled on trumped-up charges (but basically because like myself and a handful of others, he would not go along with the CP's basic criticism of Mao). After that he did the main work in writing the content for *Red Flag*, even hopefully writing articles during the last few weeks before he died. He had moved from Wellington to Auckland in 1939 as a member of the staff of the *People's Voice* (C.P. weekly) and it was during that period he was jailed for a month, I think, for 'subversion' when acting editor.... Of course his main contribution (as mine too) was the struggle against revisionism first in the CPSU... and finally inside the CPNZ." Comrade Flora also reports that over 100 people attended his funeral, at which various speakers recalled his legacy. □

Report from Bangladesh:

# PBSP Holds Third Congress Amidst Suppression

By the Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (PBSP)

The Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (Purba Banglar Sharbahara Party [PBSP]), a participating party of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), successfully and enthusiastically held its Third Congress in February 1992 despite a renewed campaign of suppression by the reactionary state. This Congress is, for many reasons, extremely significant and marks a turning point in the life of the Party.

The Second Congress of the Party, held in 1987, had decided that in the course of summing up past mistakes in the ideological line of the Party, past and present political lines should also be reviewed. In fact, the Second Congress decided that this task of reviewing the political line should be the Party's principal task. Later, the task of reviewing the military line was added. The main aim of the Third Congress was to bring to a successful conclusion the process of review and the two-line struggle that accompanied it, to resolve the line questions and elect a new Central Committee on that basis.

The Third Congress, with great devotion, has accomplished the historic task with which it was entrusted. While defending and upholding the correct aspects of past lines, it has identified and rectified the mistakes in past lines and reached new, more correct positions on a series of line questions. It has also elected a new central body, the Third Central Committee, which reflects and is based on these new positions. The Congress has also decided that building armed struggle and organization is the main task of the Party in the coming period, while simultaneously, but secondarily, review of certain line questions will be continued.

This Congress was held in a political situation in which the parliamentary autocratic regime of Mrs Khaleda Zia has been carrying out the second

stage of a countrywide counter-revolutionary campaign of suppression, "Operation Durbar" (Operation Irresistible), aimed at the Party. (The first stage of Operation Durbar was launched and carried out by the preceding government of General Ershad, which, though disguised as civilian, was actually a military regime, and was overthrown in December 1990 as a result of an almost decade-long movement of students and urban masses. This was followed by the introduction of parliamentary and "civil" democracy.) It intensified the great difficulties the Party was already facing from the serious setbacks suffered during the heavy, year-long campaign of suppression throughout the country conducted against the Party. In this context, even holding the Congress was complex, risky, and difficult — but it was successful.

The world situation today is marked by the complete collapse of phoney socialism, the extreme bankruptcy of the different varieties of revisionism and the great lies and propaganda by the imperialists that "socialism and communism are dead", the daydreams and vain efforts by the imperialists to impose a new world order, and, on the other hand, the beginning of a new worldwide upsurge of the Maoist communist revolutionaries. In this na-

tional and international situation, successfully holding the Third Congress of the Maoist PBSP, which proudly promises to firmly advance



**Part of the poster carrying the message of the congress to the people. It reads: The Call of the Third Congress of the Purba Banglar Sharbahara Party.**

the revolutionary armed struggle, is an event of importance and a victory of the Maoists worldwide.

The Congress included delegates from the ranks of the workers, peasants, middle class intellectuals and women, and, reflecting the use of three-in-one combinations, there were delegates from the older generation, the middle-aged and the youth. All of the delegates had been tempered in struggle, including the newest ones, who had experienced the great suppression campaign of 1989, and all had played a leading role in rebuilding the Party (after the 1989 setbacks) at its various levels.

After an inaugural speech by the Secretary of the Second Central Committee, Comrade Anwar Kabir, the first resolution adopted by the Congress was to pay revolutionary red tribute to the fallen comrades of

the Party and in other countries, especially Peru and Iran. The Congress stood for a minute's silence in honour of the communist and revolutionary martyrs. A message from the Committee of RIM greeting the Congress was then submitted and read aloud.

The Congress adopted eleven resolutions, ten of which dealt with basic line questions. These eleven resolutions in fact make important changes in a number of the basic lines of the Party. At the same time, the general correctness of past lines on basic questions has been defended and upheld. The Congress also firmly rejected a number of revisionist lines that emerged in the course of the two-line struggle over the past few years, and it identified questions on which further review of line was needed. It has reaffirmed and emphasized that, despite some basic mistakes, in the final analysis Comrade Shiraj Shikder was the representative of the most advanced trend in the communist movement of Purba Bangla (Bangladesh) during the decades of the 1960s and 1970s.

The Congress adopted "Maoism" instead of the previous formulation of "Mao Tsetung Thought".

The central point of the new political decisions taken by the Congress was the advance in the Party's concept of neo-colonialism, and the corresponding basic changes regarding the Party's socio-economic analysis, including agriculture and the principal contradiction. The essence of the new political line on these questions is, briefly: Purba Bangla is a neo-colonial country oppressed by imperialism; the socio-economic character of the country is distorted capitalism that is under neo-colonial subjugation to imperialism; a commodity economy is already the principal aspect of agriculture, yet semi-feudalism is still a basic problem; the contradiction with Indian expansionism is a basic one; the dominant force in the state is the native comprador bureaucrat bourgeois class, who are the lackeys of imperialism-expansionism, and the contradiction between this class and the broad masses of workers, peasants and middle classes is the principal contradiction in society. It is only through overthrowing this class that it is possible to overthrow imperialism, expansionism and the

remnants of feudalism and to establish a new democratic socio-economic order opposed to imperialism, expansionism, feudalism and bureaucrat comprador capitalism. Therefore the stage of revolution is new democratic, and the character of the war is class war, or civil war.

In line with this more advanced understanding of neo-colonialism, the Congress summed up a few basic mistakes, including nationalist errors, made at different times in the past in determining the principal contradiction, the resolution of the national question and the character of the state.

Very important changes were made by this Congress in the military line: it was determined that the central task was war against the state with armed struggle right from the beginning. In regard to this, the Congress summed up that it was wrong to initiate this through annihilation of local enemies and to consider this a stage in itself.

The most important other decisions on line questions included:

- amendments to and changes in the Party Constitution;
- a resolution on the present world situation;
- a resolution on the current domestic political situation;
- nine other resolutions on political and other questions.

These latter nine resolutions mainly dealt with RIM, the struggle against revisionism, the people's war in Peru, the emerging armed liberation movements in South Asia, the Middle East and the Madrid Conference, the situation in the Chittagong Hill Tracts district, the death of Comrade Chiang Ching, the women's liberation movement, etc.

A resolution was adopted to promote debate, discussion and review within RIM on the basis of the new political lines.

The Congress also discussed and adopted an organizational report by the Secretary of the Second Central Committee. This report dealt with practical work and the situation of armed struggle and organizational activity over the four years since the Second Congress. It also dealt specifically with the situation of the Party at the height of the struggle against the suppression campaign and the subsequent setback, as well as with the present situation of the

organization. The report expressed sympathy and solidarity with the masses, who have suffered enormous physical, psychological and material harm, and it paid tribute to comrades who have been injured, crippled or captured during the state's suppression campaign.

The important final session of the Congress was held during the night of February 9th in a rural area of Purba Bangla. The meeting hall was decorated with carefully prepared, nicely drawn banners, posters, festoons and portraits of the five great leaders — Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao — as well as a portrait of Comrade Shiraj Shikder, the founder of the Party. The Party's red flag, with the hammer and sickle, stood proudly at the front of the podium. Photographers, technicians and other comrades were all busily helping. The delegates drank tea and ate a light meal. They wore various kinds of camouflage for security reasons. Selected armed guerrillas stood round-the-clock sentry. In the middle of the night, in this hall lit by flashlights, hurricane lamps and numerous candles, this session commenced with a speech by a representative of the presidium. After a final round of discussion and debate and the adoption of a series of measures which have great significance for the future course of the revolution in Purba Bangla, the Congress elected the Third Central Committee by secret ballot. Of the newly elected Central Committee members, the name of Comrade Anwar Kabir, secretary of the previous Central Committee, was publicly announced. The session ended with an informal cultural presentation, during which the important task of dispersing the leaders and delegates was carried out. By that time, the hall had filled with neighbouring supporters of the Party — men, women, young and old.

As the various delegates headed back to their areas of work around the country, they passed through the fields of winter crops, wet with the morning dew, and, in the pleasant morning breeze of late winter, watched as the rising sun spread its red glow over the eastern sky. The faces of the marching comrades shone with their determination to face the life-and-death revolutionary struggles lying ahead. □

# Message to the Third Congress of the Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (PBSP)

From the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of this important congress of the Proletarian Party of Purba Banglar, the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement extends its warm revolutionary greetings.

Your Congress is taking place at an important juncture in world history. U.S. imperialism has declared its intention to impose a "New World Order", but actually great disorder and turmoil exists, and the crisis of the world imperialist system is deepening.

The imperialist bourgeoisie in the USSR and other East European countries has finally abandoned the red flag behind which they tried to conceal their ugly capitalist nature and which they had been soiling for almost forty years. The imperialists and reactionaries have launched a frenzied and boisterous campaign to pronounce the "death of communism". This self-serving lie must be refuted in theory and in practice, in ideological struggle and on the battlefield.

Our red flag is flying high in Peru, where our comrades of the Communist Party of Peru have been leading the people in waging protracted people's war. Participating parties and organizations of RIM, in the imperialist citadels as well as in the oppressed countries, are preparing to hoist the red flag in their countries in a revolutionary war of the masses. Throughout the world, proletarian revolutionaries have their eyes on Bangladesh and your 120 million people, which represent an important contingent of the world revolution. The world is pregnant with revolution, and we know the day is not far off when the people of Bangladesh will play their full role as gravediggers of the world impe-

rialist system and midwives of the new communist society.

Comrades, the people of Bangladesh, and most especially the workers and peasants, suffer tremendous hardship and deprivation. Hunger, malnutrition and preventable disease are the lot of the great majority of the masses. Natural disasters repeatedly take a monstrous toll. The reason for this inhuman state of affairs is the three great mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism which weigh heavily on the people of Bangladesh. Only the new democratic revolution led by the proletariat can succeed in eliminating these mountains, liberate the country and open the door to socialist revolution.

In the countries oppressed by imperialism such as Bangladesh, the basic point of reference for the elaboration of revolutionary strategy and tactics is the teachings of Mao Tsetung, developed in the course of long years of revolutionary warfare.

Mao taught that the revolution in these countries will take the form of a protracted people's war, in which the revolutionary armed forces wage struggle mainly in the countryside, build revolutionary base areas step by step, and prepare to capture the enemy's strongholds in the cities.

This war is a war of the masses. It is the form in which the worker-peasant alliance is formed under the leadership of the proletariat and its party; it carries out the agrarian revolution; it fulfills the slogan "Land to the Tiller" in a revolutionary way; it thoroughly eradicates the scourge of feudalism and uproots the basis for imperialism and bureaucrat capitalism in the countryside as well as the city. In this process, a broad united front is built under the leadership of the proletariat.

Comrades, the PBSP has a long history of over twenty years of revolutionary struggle. During this time many comrades have given their lives for the liberation of Bangladesh and the cause of communism, including Comrade Siraj Sikder, the founder of the Party, and we join you in honouring the memory of these martyrs. A great deal of precious experience, positive and negative, has been achieved through sacrifice and struggle. Your Congress has the heavy responsibility of correctly summing up this experience on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in order to facilitate the initiation of people's war in your country. In this process of summing up past experience and charting the road ahead, we are sure you will make full use of the experience of the participating parties and organizations of RIM, especially the advanced experience of the Communist Party of Peru in initiating, sustaining and leading toward victory the People's War in Peru.

Comrades, in the past several years the PBSP has undergone savage attacks by the reactionary enemies. Yet the blows of the reactionaries have only strengthened the resolve of the Party to overcome all obstacles and fulfill its responsibilities. You can count on the support of the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement as you boldly and carefully prepare the next stage of the struggle.

**Long Live the PBSP!**  
**Long Live RIM!**  
**Bangladesh Will be Crimson Red!**  
**Rid the World of Imperialism!**  
**Long Live Communism!**

22nd January 1992

## Chiang Ching

(Continued from page 43)

try. What she found was not socialist innovation highlighting the feats and heroism of the masses, but a stultifying mixture of new revisionism and tedious, oppressive old works that defended privilege and class differences and staged ornate and superstitious traditional characters, or the wholesale imitation of foreign plays by bourgeois writers.

Although under Chou Yang new theatres had been set up, the old works persisted, as did the existence of local opera companies performing stuffy, glamorous feudal operas to very meagre audiences. But also new revisionist art was produced, combining tradition with "new theatre". It eclectically blended things together with the effect of preserving evil, negative heroes (one of the hallmarks of Peking Opera) and the old styles and melodies, while preventing the emergence of distinct revolutionary themes and heroes with new artistic forms. For example, plays appearing during the agrarian revolution of the Great Leap Forward featured feudal empresses suddenly showing compassion for the peasant masses they ruled over; the liberation war was the springboard to promote love themes, and under the banner of "realism and naturalism", the masses would be portrayed as tired and shabby, hardly inspiring heroic images.

Chiang Ching's findings in part prompted Mao's famous denunciation of the Ministry of Culture as a "Ministry of Emperors and Princes, Generals, Mummies, Gifted Scholars and Foreign Beauties... if they don't change, we'll rename them." [18] Chiang Ching began work to transform the Peking Opera — investigation started in 1961, "we took action" in 1963. The Mayor of Shanghai, Ko Ching-shih, was one of the few to support Chiang Ching's drive to replace the feudal demons and monsters of the stage with revolutionary dramas featuring the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Artists were called on to carry the class struggle into these spheres and develop new socialist repertoires. Studying Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and*

*Art*, a small number of pioneers under Chiang Ching's lead sharpened their tools of criticism and began both to expose the old works and to vigorously struggle with artists and writers to revise the scripts and to write new ones.

In the space of a few years, some 37 new and revised operas and plays were developed, including the first model works. To create good modern plays Chiang Ching had initiated the method of three-in-one combinations in the arts, linking Party cadres, playwrights (who were sent to live among the peasants, soldiers and workers to better understand the experience they were to convey), and revolutionary masses, who watched and criticized in order to improve the actual productions.

For example, Chiang Ching saw a performance of a Huai Chu (folk) opera in 1963 and proposed adapting it to the Peking Opera, *On the Docks*, which became one of the first plays set in the socialist period. It was originally composed with the help of the Shanghai dock workers, who were very excited: "In the old days we were just coolies, we had no right to watch from the audience, let alone go on stage." But the Shanghai Peking Opera Theatre was a stronghold of the revisionist line in the arts, and its writers immediately began to modify the script, trying to dilute its internationalism and raise "middle characters" to the main roles. The dock workers were furious. "Every one of our families has a history of bitter suffering... When it comes to the revolutionary cause of the Party we veteran workers are alive, ready and decisive. Your opera makes us stupid and sluggish... We will never approve such an opera!" [45]

In March 1965, Chiang Ching led the reorganization of the cast and scriptwriting, recreating the story of Shanghai's advanced dockers who struggle to load a ship with wheat destined for the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America, but encounter sabotage by a backward worker, who has support from revisionists in the Party. The real-life revisionists again counter-attacked, calling this version poor artistically, and criticizing the strong role played by the woman Party leader (who leads the struggle to uncover the plot and get the ship-

ment out on time) as "unrealistic". They tried to block its performances. More struggle followed. Chiang Ching stressed internationalism to encourage the troupe: "The oppressed people all over the world are longing to see our operas on revolutionary contemporary themes. We should have the highest aspirations and resolve to serve the needs of the Chinese people as well as the oppressed people of the whole world." [3] Two years later, after the fires of the Cultural Revolution had focused the struggle between two lines in the political arena, the opera was completed and presented on the 25th anniversary of the Yen-an Forum.

Besides entering into the line struggles over theme and content and over the artists' need to remould their outlook as well as to learn about the lives of the classes they were representing on stage, Chiang Ching also paid close attention to artistic form and the all-important unity between revolutionary political content and perfecting artistic form. She personally went into the theatres to encourage innovation and to struggle with the performers themselves about how to change everything from their acting and posture to the lighting, props, costumes, colour, music, dance and singing to reflect a different class stand. No more wailing like in the old opera. Women cried standing, turning their grief into anger. Instead of covering their mouths when they smiled, as in feudal society, they laughed outright with joy and determination. Militant fists replaced the weak, delicate "orchid finger" gesture of aristocratic China.

Much of Chiang Ching's investigation was revealed in her speech to the Peking Opera Festival, held in the summer of 1964, which brought together 5000 representatives from opera companies in the provinces and cities, under the uneasy watch of the revisionist cultural hierarchy. New revolutionary operas created in the midst of the sharp struggle in the realm of culture were performed, including such works as *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*, set during the Korean War, and *Shachiapang*, which emphasizes the close relationship between the army and the peasant masses during the guerrilla war against the Japanese (also made into a symphony). Experiences in waging

class struggle against the revisionists, who keenly opposed this process of transformation, were exchanged. New shoots of socialist society were springing into being.

In this first public appearance Chiang Ching asks the assembled artists: "Shall we serve this handful [of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists and bourgeois elements], or the 600 million [workers, peasants and soldiers]?... The grain we eat is grown by the peasants, the clothes we wear and the houses we live in are all made by the workers, and the People's Liberation Army stands guard at the fronts of national defence for us and yet we do not portray them on the stage. May I ask which class stand do you take? And where is the artists' 'conscience' you always talk about?" She says that the "foremost task" is to create revolutionary heroes, and calls for fostering some "pace-setters", for producing "some historical operas which are really written from the standpoint of historical materialism and which can make the past serve the present". She insists on the importance of developing new plays, by creative writing and by adaptation.[3]

Behind the scenes Chiang Ching's (and Mao's) political enemies laid a scheme for how to coopt this growing movement that they could not openly oppose. They had to go along with the festival, for example, but at the time they tried to sabotage preparations of the operas for it and afterwards revised Chiang Ching's speech before publication. The original version did not appear in print until three years later, in May 1967, the first time that Chiang Ching's instrumental role in revolutionizing the Peking Opera was broadly made public.

Some time later, in 1965, Chiang Ching directly confronted Peng Chen, Mayor of Peking, about helping to proletarianize the arts, pursuing what had already been started with works like the ballet *White-Haired Girl* in Shanghai: so wouldn't he like to give her authorization to work with a Peking Opera troupe to begin such reforms there? He haughtily refused, tearing out of her hands the opera score she had brought to show him.[47] Preoccupied by the pursuit of fame and fortune, Deng Xiaoping was more

philistine in his attitude towards reforming the opera: "I'll raise both hands and vote yes as long as I don't have to watch any of them!" he was heard to say. His equally broad-minded revisionist chum Tao Chu<sup>9</sup> announced he'd rather play mahjong with Deng than have to watch revolutionary operas.[45]

As things heated up at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, these revisionist chieftains made gestures of rectification to save their positions of authority, but before long they began to trip and fall in the early seizures of power during the GPCR.

Uncovering villains and exposing their preservation and encouragement of the old order was only a part of the work to be done. To fully give rein to the fresh and new rising to smash and replace the old, the masses had to be unleashed to demand and to participate in the creation of revolutionary works of art that reflected *their* proletarian class interests, and this was totally linked to the battle emerging in every area of society to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. These skirmishes between two lines in the arts announced even bigger storms to come, where culture and the superstructure in general became an important arena of the class struggle in the sweeping ten-year battle of the Cultural Revolution.

### **CULTURAL REVOLUTION LEADER**

Although things broke loose in the realm of culture with the Left's stinging counterattack against the play *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, the issue at the heart of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was political power itself. Whether

9. Tao Chu was a prominent figure in the Party's propaganda work and argued, among other things, that writers should also explain the shortcomings of the people's communes. Yao Wen-yuan answered this by saying, "There is a song called *The People's Communes Are Fine*. Is it necessary to modify this title with another sentence 'the people's communes have shortcomings'?"[33]. In the Cultural Revolution caricatures appeared on the walls humourously exposing the capitalist roaders in the Party under fire: one of these in February 1967 depicts Tao Chu setting up an insurance office to protect revisionists.[35]

China would stay on the socialist road and the people would transform the society from top to bottom and move towards the elimination of classes and class differences altogether, there and throughout the world, depended upon the crucial question of who would win out in the struggle for power: the revolutionary communists in the Communist Party leading the proletariat to exercise its dictatorship in every sphere of society, or the new bourgeoisie — the encrusted bureaucrats and conservative Party leaders who stopped making revolution long before and were now squarely opposed to the advance of the socialist revolution and actively working to steer China down the road of capitalism.

Seeing clearly that this was what was at stake, Mao put everything on the line to lead the struggle to consolidate the political power of the proletariat in the only way that he could — relying on the masses and arousing them to overturn the revisionists high in the Party from below and in an all-round way. Needing a revolutionary headquarters to organize and lead this revolution within the revolution, he created the Cultural Revolution Group (CRG), with Chen Po-ta at its head, and brought forward Chiang Ching to be first deputy leader, along with Chang Chun-chiao, a revolutionary Party leader from Shanghai.

Chiang Ching courageously shouldered the challenges and responsibilities given to her in the midst of the rising waters of sharp class struggle; she not only swam with determined strokes against the powerful and swift revisionist current, but in this tremendous revolutionary upheaval, for which no previous road had been charted in the world, she rose to the occasion to play a crucial and leading role throughout the GPCR. Undoubtedly this will be remembered as her greatest contribution. It is certainly this most unpardonable sin, of helping the masses to strengthen their grip on political power and her close identity with the Cultural Revolution overall, that earned her the complete enmity and vilification of the bourgeoisie around the world.

One of her first tasks as part of the committee assigned to draft documents for the Cultural Revolution



**Top: May 1st, 1967. The masses enthusiastically greet Mao and other top members of the CCP at a celebration in Peking.**



**Left: Big character posters flourished everywhere during the Cultural Revolution.**

**Right: Chiang Ching in a meeting with Red Guards, 1967.**



**“Chairman Mao received a million revolutionary youngsters on August 18. How well he respected the initiative of the masses, trusted them and cared for them! I felt I had learned far from enough. Then, afterwards, the young Red Guard fighters turned outward to society and vigorously began destroying the old ideas, culture, customs and habits. We, the comrades of the Cultural Revolution Group under the Party Central Committee, rejoiced. But a few days later, new problems cropped up. We immediately gathered the facts and investigated and were therefore able to keep up with the constantly developing revolutionary situation. This is what I have described as striving to follow Mao Tsetung’s thought closely on the one hand, and striving to catch up with the spirit of daring and courage, the revolutionary rebel spirit, of the young revolutionaries on the other.”**

— Chiang Ching, November 28th, 1966

was to write a circular to counter Peng Chen’s revisionist February Outline Report on socialist culture that sought to derail and defuse the Cultural Revolution.<sup>10</sup> The sharpness of the line struggle in its top ranks became known throughout the Party, as the May 16th Circular (several times revised by Mao, according to Chiang Ching) names “those like Khrushchev who nestle beside us”. Soon, with the appearance of the big character poster at Peking University in May 1966, which Mao wholeheartedly supported, the floodgates of the Cultural Revolution were flung wide open.

Chiang Ching became rapidly involved in the opening salvos, going to Peking University and other schools in July 1966

to talk to the students and to listen to the debate raging there. She soon uncovered the counter-revolutionary role of work teams that were smothering the students’ rebellion. In late July, the CRG dissolved these teams that had been sent out by Liu Shao-chi and Deng Xiaoping to spread confusion about the Party centre’s line on the upsurge. The two-month hold on power by the

10. The Sixteen-Point Decision calls the GPCR a new stage in the socialist revolution. It targets those in the Party taking the capitalist road, and calls for criticism and repudiation of the reactionary bourgeois academic “authorities”, the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and for the transformation of education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure so as to facilitate the development of socialism. It emphasizes that whether the Party dares to boldly arouse the masses will determine the GPCR’s outcome, and insists on the fact that the masses must liberate themselves and educate themselves in the movement, and it hails the new forms of organization being developed by them; the Decision calls for reasoning things out in the course of debate and not using force.

revisionists in Peking (while Mao was away), who through "encirclement" and "white terror" sought to deflect the struggle away from themselves and to "restore order", was short-lived. These leading people, who "puff up the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and deflate the morale of the proletariat", became the targets of Mao's famous big character poster of August 1966, the *dazibao* called "Bombard the headquarters!", encouraging the fires of revolt to spread far and wide, but especially to aim right at those taking the capitalist road in the Party's top ranks, where the class struggle was concentrated.

One of the things that will always be remembered about Chiang Ching was that she, like Mao, was strongly associated with the youth. But in her position as part of the CRG (which in effect had been delegated political leadership of the Cultural Revolution by the Central Committee), she was able to play a different role than Mao, going on the spot and sometimes directly entering the fray to boldly and energetically support the rebellion of the youth. She brought greetings from the Chairman, which encouraged them greatly in the heat of the complex struggle of contending lines and programmes, and she helped to distinguish the threads of class struggle in society related to the struggle inside the Party itself. She and the other members of the CRG met with delegations of students, workers, soldiers, peasants, teachers and artists to battle out questions that came up sharply in the course of the Cultural Revolution, including what methods to use, whom to target, how to deal with divisions and factionalism, how, in short, "to demarcate sharply between the enemy and ourselves", as Chiang Ching frequently put it, but how at the same time to unite the masses and build alliances to carry forward the revolution.

Among the youth and students, for example, the left-sounding but right-in-essence call to castigate everyone from a privileged or conservative family background caused considerable confusion at first. Chiang Ching convinced the youth to change their slogan, "a hero begets a hero, a reactionary's son is a rotten egg", to "if parents are revolutionaries, their children should follow in their path;

if parents are reactionaries, their children should rebel".[34,36]

The Red Guards made their momentous entry into Peking in August and September of 1966, foreshadowing the participation of the workers and peasants in the movement shortly afterwards and signaling that this Cultural Revolution was shaking loose all of society. Chiang Ching began to speak in public, urging the massive rallies of youth, especially, to take history into their hands. Promptly becoming known in her military cap and uniform, she appeared at seven out of the eight receptions of Red Guards by Mao. She also addressed university and middle school teachers, artists and cinematographers, as well as the 100,000 PLA soldiers who came to support and oversee the millions of youth who flocked to Peking in the next few months, many on foot. Throughout the autumn she sponsored performances of the model operas for the Red Guards and in late November delivered an important speech on the cultural revolution and the sharp class struggle within the Peking Opera and on other artistic fronts to 20,000 literary and art workers.

Speaking to the Red Guards, Chiang Ching called on them to pull out the top capitalist roaders in the Party, to wipe out the four olds of ideology, culture, custom and habits, and to carry out the process of struggle-criticism-transformation, in accordance with the revolutionary headquarter's main document issued to lead the Cultural Revolution, the Sixteen Points.<sup>11</sup> "I'm sure you'll do a good job", she told them.[5]

For the revolutionaries had the job of not only sharpening the struggle against the Right, guiding it to victory, but in the process strengthening the Left and bringing forward new revolutionary blood and leaders into its ranks. "I ask you, if the Left doesn't unite and grow stronger, will it be able to wipe them out?" "No!"

11. Chiang Ching had been given the responsibility (back in 1962) when the Left was preparing their public opinion for a showdown, to draft a document, which later became known as the May 16th Circular, setting a basic policy for a proletarian line on the arts. It was first published in the Party journal *Red Flag* as "The Intellectuals' Way Forward".[47]

the crowd of young Red Guards thundered back to her.[7]

In January 1967, as worker and peasant delegations joined the convergence of students and youth exchanging revolutionary experience in the capital, Chiang Ching addressed leaders of the Red Guards, whose responsibility it was to manage the crowds that were now being encouraged to return home. This was a complicated task, for it required a high political level of the youth in order to both bolster the political enthusiasm and drive of those who genuinely came to the capital looking for revolution, and at the same time to struggle with these masses to spread the revolution in their local regions. The massive numbers even became a burden on the city's resources, but this had to be handled correctly. (It should be noted that adding to this burden was the intention of some local revisionist authorities, who tried to get the "rebels" out of their hair with pay hikes or free train tickets to Peking to air their complaints.) "If the people who come to Peking from outside need to take power, we must mobilize them to go back home and take power there", Chiang Ching directed the Red Guards.[10]

At a meeting of the CRG in late December 1966, representatives from a rebel workers' group denounced the contract labour system. They said it divided the workers, encouraged revisionism by developing a "hotbed" for the restoration of capitalism, and stifled the revolutionary activism of the masses. "This system was instituted after Liu Shao-chi's report on his inspection made in various parts of Hopei province in 1964", the representatives said. When they also described efforts in some places to break the fighting spirit of the workers by switching from contract labour to regular workers, Chiang Ching told them not to fall for this: "What you want is revolution!" She ordered the Minister of Labour and trade union federation secretary to come immediately to the meeting and answer the angry workers. Asked what they did all day long, they said, "our responsibility is to educate and organize the workers". Chiang Ching grew furious and retorted, "You don't work for them, you don't serve

them, you don't report to the Central Committee, nor do you solve problems. Have you any quality of a Communist at all?... Contract workers are also proletarians and revolutionaries. How did you big-shot ministers treat the workers? If things should go on like this, what future is there for our workers?"

The rebel workers then took over the trade union headquarters and sealed off the offices of the Ministry of Labour and those responsible for distribution of labour throughout the country. Chiang Ching proposed a mass "accusation-criticism-repudiation meeting" and the drafting of a CRG circular declaring that all contract and temporary labourers must be permitted to participate in the GPCR and that anyone dismissed because of this would be reinstated with pay.[8]

### SEIZING POWER

Following the example of the mighty 1967 January Storm in Shanghai a movement to seize local political power from the capitalist roaders and to organize new organs of leadership swept the country. Chiang Ching enthusiastically supported this and popularized this completely new experience the proletariat was gaining. New three-in-one combinations brought together revolutionary Party cadre, revolutionary representatives from the army and representatives from the revolutionary masses to make up the newborn centres of power, called revolutionary committees.

During this phase of the GPCR Chiang Ching's leadership concentrated in large part on implementing the vital line developed by Mao and the CRG of building great alliances to seize power, setting up revolutionary committees and carrying out the process of struggle-criticism-transformation.

After one of the main bastions of the revisionist power-holders, the Peking Municipal Committee (closely associated with the old Propaganda Department of the Central Committee and the old Ministry of Culture), was finally overthrown, Chiang Ching presided over the celebration of the founding of the Peking Revolutionary Committee. She said that the behind-the-scenes bosses of the Peking clique are the handful of top Party

persons in authority taking the capitalist road. "For 17 years, they have been putting forward and stubbornly persisting in a bourgeois reactionary line. The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has been developed in the struggle against this line", whose influence on the political, economic, ideological and cultural fronts must be thoroughly wiped out, planting in its place the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought.

Chiang Ching linked the changes that needed to be carried out in Peking to the overall task of the Cultural Revolution and pointed to the need to launch a mass movement to carry out the process of struggle-criticism-repudiation and transformation, alongside the forging of an alliance to seize power. "The task of struggle, criticism and repudiation and transformation in the various departments and the work of criticizing and repudiating the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are not mutually exclusive and can be combined." She explained that each can give strong impetus to the other and bring about a fuller and deeper exposure and criticism of the top capitalist roaders; she reminded people that all this requires studying Mao's works well and carrying out thorough investigation. She said it is essential for the socialist revolution and socialist construction to carry through the struggle, criticism and repudiation and transformation in the various organizations and departments successfully. "It is a major task, crucial for the next hundred years." [13]

In one of her speeches to a delegation from the faction-torn province of Anhwei, Chiang Ching struggles vigorously with the two factions to unite and form a great alliance so that power can be seized and revolutionary committees created. Only then "shall we have people to lead us. And the revolution cannot proceed without leaders!" She warns against the strong foul wind already "being stirred up with the object of dissolving all revolutionary committees set up with the approval of the Central Committee", and that in the present "excellent situation we should be alert against this. Naturally there may be some reversals but we should not be afraid of them,"

Reversals of power are a normal thing. And besides, the situation throughout the country is uneven, but unevenness is also normal.[15]

### TWISTS AND TURNS OF REVOLUTION

There are two things that really drive the bourgeoisie mad — the masses making revolution and revolutionary leaders in power supporting and leading them. While it is not uncommon for the bourgeoisie to attribute all of the violence of the Cultural Revolution to Chiang Ching's "personal" energetic support of the revolutionary masses, a close look at her role shows that overwhelmingly she fought rigorously to uphold Mao's orientation that the handful of capitalist roaders high in the Party could be toppled without violence. This was objectively true because the revolution was indeed *within* the revolution — it took place under the dictatorship of the proletariat, whose primary function is to suppress the enemies of the working class and the people. This is quite the opposite from the situation in China today, where a new Communist Party must be formed to lead the masses to violently overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie that has been established there since 1976.

So, although armed suppression of the leading capitalist roaders was not necessary because the proletariat was in command, at the same time Mao did not shrink from the fact that once the masses were fully aroused to make revolution and bring about sweeping political changes, some things were certain to get out of hand. Neither was he surprised, as occurred repeatedly in the GPCR, that lines opposing that of the Centre emerged, fanning violence so as to sidetrack the main political struggle. "In the cataclysmic changes that have developed over the past year there has naturally been chaos everywhere. There is no connection between the chaos in one place and that in another. Even violent struggle is very good, because once contradictions are exposed they are easily solved. The losses in this great cultural revolution have been minimal and the achievements huge." [28]

In the heat of the summer of 1966 when the Cultural Revolution was just getting off the ground Chiang

**RIGHT:**  
Chiang Ching  
speaking before the  
Peking Revolutionary  
Committee, 1969.

**FAR RIGHT:**  
Students join PLA to  
build a road through  
the countryside.

**BOTTOM:**  
Study groups of  
Shanghai workers  
study Mao's Thought  
and criticize  
revisionism.



Ching struggled against an ultra-left tendency to want to attack the capitalist roaders and their supporters physically and avoid the much more difficult process of ideological and political struggle that the Left was calling for. "Struggle by force can only touch the skin and flesh, while struggle by reasoning things out can touch them to their very souls." [6]

In part the turn towards violent clashes was spontaneous and an expression of the sharp class struggle: workers fought verbally but also

in the streets over seizing power from the municipal committees in at least eight different provinces in early 1967. The army was also called in to assist the workers and Red Guards in these seizures and to help restore order. At the same time, forces of the Right in some areas openly advocated violence by distorting certain slogans or by inciting the masses to focus their attack on smaller capitalist roaders in order to divert attention away from themselves. The slogan, "Drag out a handful in the army",

**"To develop the new through critical assimilation of the old means to develop new content which meets the needs of the masses and popular national forms loved by the people. As far as content is concerned, it is in many cases out of the question to weed through the old to let the new emerge. How can we 'critically assimilate' ghosts, gods and religion? That's impossible because we are atheists and Communists. We don't believe in ghosts and gods at all. Again, the feudal moral precepts of the landlord class and the moral precepts of the capitalist class, which they considered to be indisputable, were used to oppress and exploit the masses of people.... To sweep away all the remnants of the system of exploitation of old ideas, culture, customs and habits of all the exploiting classes is an important aspect of our Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."**

— Chiang Ching to Dramatic Arts Performers, November 1966



was taken quite literally in some areas, for instance, and applied everywhere the Right could get away with it, including at times seizing weapons from the regular troops. Chiang Ching exposes this line:

"Let us not fall into the trap. The slogan is wrong. Because the Party, government and the army are all under the leadership of the Party. We can only talk about dragging out the handful of Party capitalist roaders in authority and nothing else. Were we to do otherwise, that would be unscientific, and the result would be that

we got the wrong people everywhere, and almost all military districts would be raided, without distinguishing good from bad. Even if some comrades, a minority of comrades, some individual comrades in our army committed serious errors, they need not be dealt with in such a way...."

Chiang Ching then goes on to say that youth of course like action, but that it was also necessary to "exercise your minds", to carry out the harder process of struggle-criticism-transformation. Travelling around from place to place appeals to youth, but they

may not know the particular conditions everywhere and may make mistakes. "You must believe in the local masses and must not do the things which they should do themselves, just as we cannot make revolution on your behalf. All we can do is consult with you and give guidance."<sup>[15]</sup>

In fact, it was not always so clear how to handle the contradictory nature of the violence produced by the revolutionary zeal of the masses and the intensity of the situation without acting as a brake on the revolutionary momentum that was righteous and necessary for the process of transforming society and for the proletariat to exercise its dictatorship, including in the realm of fully recapturing political power itself. If in revolution there is disorder and excesses, both of which Mao took responsibility for, it is also objectively true that recognizing and correctly handling them cannot always be accomplished until some of the smoke clears. At the same time, some forces take advantage of this for their own opportunist reasons. Within the CRG group itself, which Chiang Ching helped to lead, some elements (such as Chen Po-ta) openly embraced the use of force, and people followed their example, especially after the provocation and mutiny by military units supporting the Right in the city of Wuhan in 1967. These CRG leaders, later identified as ultra-"leftist", whose goal was to create chaos and turn it to their advantage, could not be removed until some time later. The Right also organized violence among a section of the Red Guards it had turned against the CRG.<sup>12</sup> Chou En-lai, on the other hand, who always had a wide Rightist streak despite his alliance with Mao, and who often appeared in public with the Left, played a very centrist role and always stressed calm and restoring order, while accusing the "anarchists" of continuing civil war.

Chiang Ching consistently advocated attacking and overthrowing the enemy ideologically and politi-

12. One of these, the United Action Committee, was composed of the sons and daughters of Party officials upholding the Right, and for a short time in 1967 singled Chiang Ching out for attack in its posters and materials.

**RIGHT:  
On the  
Docks  
performed  
for  
fishermen.**

**BOTTOM  
RIGHT:  
Chiang  
Ching  
with  
drama  
performers  
from the  
People's  
Liberation  
Army in  
1967.**



**“This opera [On the Docks] cannot be presented as one which has as the centre of description the ‘middle-of-the-roaders.’ It should depict the heroic images of the dockers who work on the wharf with their hearts for the motherland and their eyes on the world....”**

**— Chiang Ching talking to the Shanghai School of Peking Opera in 1965**



cally, and called for restraint by the masses whose anger was fully aroused. In her speeches she pointed out that Liu Shao-chi had been dragged from power without force of arms. However, when arms were issued “for defence” to certain Red Guard units and rebel forces against rightist strongholds of the PLA, she went along with this. Her well-known slogan, “Attack by reason, defend by force”, was not promoted because it tended to confuse the dividing line between the two, and ended up encouraging the use of arms among other sections of the people as well, which didn’t solve the kind of contradictions arising among groups and organizations of

the masses. Who was to know exactly where defence ended and attack began? In September 1967 Mao arrived back in Peking after visiting a number of regions, and shortly afterwards a circular was released forbidding further arms from being seized.[17]

**“IT’S EASY TO MAKE  
REVOLUTION AGAINST  
OTHERS AND HARD  
TO MAKE REVOLUTION  
AGAINST ONESELF.”**

During the Cultural Revolution Chiang Ching developed a close relationship with the revolutionary masses, who came to wildly appreci-

ate her as a revolutionary leader of the Party. Observing a meeting he attended, a Soviet sinologist described the animated crowd, which “kept bursting into applause”: “After Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, and Li Hsueh-feng, whose speeches I am completely unable to remember, since they so skillfully said nothing of interest, the floor was given to Chiang Ching, who in her green military uniform and hat never stopped moving. Her speech set the room on fire.... ‘You are the revolutionary new generation’, she said. ‘You are the ones who must carry on the revolution. You must take it further. We, the older generation, are leaving, and as we go, we give you

our revolutionary traditions. Chairman Mao is leaving China to you. The state will be in your hands. The school of the Cultural Revolution is a great school! The effect was immediate. From the moment that the leaders departed, the meeting continued without let-up. Speakers replaced one another, everyone trying to outdo the other by his enthusiasm...."[45]

By her own example Chiang Ching roused others to dare to be like her, to dare to put all they had on the line for the political rule of the proletariat, as she had, to refuse to give in to the shrewd and calculating counter-revolutionaries, and especially to be clear on the enemy, so as to carefully differentiate between top capitalist roaders in the Party and those simply under their influence who were ideologically weak and easily manipulated to oppose their own fundamental interests. She was artful at combining revolutionary confidence in the masses and disdain for the enemy with practical leadership to guide the handling of complex and multiple contradictions erupting everywhere as the people waged struggle to seize power from the capitalist roaders.

Addressing delegations from all over and from diverse sections of society, she stressed the need to strengthen the ideological outlook of the proletariat, to encourage bold criticism and self-criticism, to wrestle with opposing ideas and stand firm in the face of difficulties. Chiang Ching urged the veteran revolutionaries to stay young politically, and to let themselves be tempered by the fire of the youth who were breaking new ground for the proletariat. She encouraged the youth to temper themselves in the struggle too, and to look beyond age and outward characteristics in order to deeply grasp political line and act in accordance with the correct line.

For example, to help create conditions for the masses to take power, in part by struggling against factionalism which arose sharply in several places, the CRG played an important role bringing together leaders and delegates of opposing factions in order to help solve problems and assist them in distinguishing serious disagreements from secondary ones. And, like Mao (who had said that the premises for the great alliance are destroying self-interest and be-

coming devoted to the people along with carrying out healthy struggle), Chiang Ching linked closely the question of outlook to the possibility of uniting to form great alliances:

"Comrades, if you think what I have to say is useful then let's try to implement it. We must become revolutionaries of Mao Tsetung Thought and not members of this group or that faction. The factional mentality is a petit-bourgeois trait; it is the mountain-stronghold mentality, departmentalism, or anarchism in its most serious form.... It is good that both sides make self-criticism.... In this way we shall sit down and talk and seek agreement over the major issues while preserving differences over minor ones. Uniting on the main points, that is revolution, the GPCR.

"...Whether you stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line led by Chairman Mao or on the side of the line taken by the capitalist roaders is a question of big right or big wrong. On this premise, if you are all struggling against the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road (or, in Anhwei, against the small clique led by Li Pao-hua on the capitalist road) is there any reason for being unable to unite and for not uniting? If we judge from your factional character I think that you work for yourselves and not for the revolution, the people and the proletariat.

"...You must make high demands on yourselves and on your own group and not on others. If you quarrel, fight, wage armed struggle, and seize weapons, you cannot keep your heads cool and cannot distinguish between right and wrong.... It is easy to make revolution against others, but hard to make it against oneself." [15]

Mao addressed this from another angle: the possibility of keeping political power itself. Speaking about the Cultural Revolution in March 1967, he summed up that the main task is to seize power from those taking the capitalist road, but, he says, "this is by no means the goal. The goal is to solve the problem of world outlook; it is the question of eradicating the roots of revisionism." Otherwise, he argued, how can the GPCR be considered a victory? In other words, without political power, socialist transformation could not take place, but without increasingly remoulding ideological

outlook, it would be impossible to hold onto power.

When Mao declared that the working class must lead in every sphere of society, including in all aspects of culture and the superstructure, he especially targeted education and the arts. He made the pointed remark, knowing it would offend some and infuriate others, that intellectuals had basically not abandoned their bourgeois outlook. "Please consider whether or not this view is out of date", he asks rhetorically. [29]

---

### BREAKING WITH OLD IDEAS

---

The arena of culture, in which Chiang Ching continued to give leadership, was a major battlefield exactly because of this problem of outlook. Big advances and hard-fought victories had been won in creating new proletarian art but everywhere the political and ideological struggle had to be pushed further. Speaking at a Peking Forum on Literature and Art in November 1967, Chiang Ching points out that the unevenness of the GPCR in the propaganda and cultural units was a reflection of the laws of class struggle. Some still need to form great alliances, while others have done so, but haven't yet made a success of revolutionary three-in-one combinations and need to carry out more widespread debate and criticism, and to solve cadre problems. "Has the movement been carried out deeply and thoroughly?" she asks. "I think not. For the enemy is very shrewd; he has many companies of actors. After you dispose of one company he will turn up in yet another. So I feel there must be a penetrating investigation and study of the literary and artistic circles. We should be steady, accurate and harsh — towards our enemy."

Several questions are raised in this forum: whether enough works are being produced, how to popularize them and to raise standards, whether model works are the "peak" of national art. But from each angle Chiang Ching returns to hit at the chief obstacle to fully unleashing the revolution in the arts: "The central task now is still to combat self-interest and repudiate revisionism, and to organize the revolutionary troops. Otherwise, it would be impossible to produce things really serving social-

ism and really suitable for the needs of workers, peasants and soldiers. To combat self-interest and repudiate revisionism is a difficult matter." She agrees that it is fine to send small teams to the countryside and factories to popularize the works, as a forum participant has suggested, but insists there is no point in going there if it is just to escape from struggle.

Similarly, in responding to those "impatient ones" who believed that not enough new operas have been produced, she says it is understandable, but argues that if they are done crudely, "people will strike us down". At the same time, she calls on the artists to get organized and to get down seriously to producing and reforming more works. She defends the eight model works which have "cleared the stage and screen of emperors and generals and the bourgeoisie", as well as the beginning achievements in reforming ballet and symphony, for, despite shortcomings, they have created a "shock and sensation" in the world.[16]

Tremendous breakthroughs had been made between 1963 and 1965 in the socialist transformation of the arts, with Chiang Ching and a small group of comrades leading the charge. However, until all of society was engaged in the battle for political power in the GPCR, the problem of forming troops to carry out this transformation on a broad scale could not be solved. Nor could the vital problem of making the new revolutionary culture available to the masses in a deep and widespread way throughout the country. In 1967 this began to change, and, among other things, plans were developed to put the model works out in a film version so as to make them more accessible all across China, extensive popularization was carried out through the PLA cultural units, and the work of the popular and innovative mobile cultural teams was greatly expanded.

Chiang Ching had frequently addressed meetings or rallies of artists and writers during the early phases of the Cultural Revolution, challenging them to fully participate in its overall tasks, as well as to make revolution in their units. Yet it appears that it was not until the spring of 1967 that the Party was really able to unleash an offensive to develop the debate over culture among the broad masses, going into the sharp

two-line struggle to transform the arts and popularizing the successful experience led by Chiang Ching in revolutionizing Peking Opera in particular. Numerous articles and essays appeared in the press and theoretical organs. The important summary of the 1966 Forum on Art and Literature in the Armed Forces was also released to the public along with some brief statements by Mao on those questions. The new model operas were given special prominence, with Mao and other central leaders attending performances. And Chiang Ching was given the honour of presiding over the 25th anniversary celebration of the Yen'an Forum, where new model works were performed.

Early on the Left had paid close attention to fully bringing the PLA into the political turmoil of the Cultural Revolution. This had the advantage of strengthening the Left's line among the masses of soldiers, raising their political and ideological level, and enabling them to see the two-line struggle and class struggle in the army as well as in society. Amid other responsibilities, Chiang Ching was appointed cultural advisor to the PLA in February 1966 and advisor to a Cultural Revolution Group set up within the army one year later.

Under Chiang Ching's leadership on the cultural front, major questions of line in developing proletarian arts were struggled out and new works were created and produced. Conferences on creative writing were held and special attention was paid to the raising of an "army" of literary and art critics. Some of the "cultural" fruits of the Cultural Revolution overall and of the Left's line in particular could be easily seen within the PLA in the late 1960s, as the soldiers began to participate on a qualitatively different level in political and cultural activities ranging from political study to writing, producing and performing skits and operas, to organizing forums and amateur arts festivals in local PLA units throughout the country.

---

### NEW ROUNDS OF STRUGGLE

---

Although back in December 1964 she had attended the National People's Congress as a representative from her home Shantung province,

Chiang Ching fully came into her own as a political leader during the Cultural Revolution. This was made "official" only at the Ninth Party Congress in 1969 when she was elected to the Politburo of the Central Committee. From that time on her responsibilities drew her increasingly into the political struggles of the Party's top leadership, and she was able to contribute in her own right to strengthening the position of the Left in these struggles.

In the later years of the Cultural Revolution China was actively engaged in carrying out more thorough socialist transformation in the economy, health care, the arts and culture, especially the old educational system, including through building and strengthening the revolutionary committees. These were changes that hit hard at both the material and political underpinnings of capitalism and made it possible for the proletariat to extend its rule to new spheres. They also reflected the profound ways in which relations among people carrying out production were being recast, reaching into and opening up a future when new social relations in all realms of society have relegated the exploitative and oppressive ones that human history has mainly known to encyclopedias on primitive man in the era of social classes.

This myriad of new things included, among many others: workers, peasants and soldiers enrolled in the universities, the educated youth went to the countryside and Party cadres participated in productive labour; workers took part in administration and the reform of old rules and regulations, variations of three-in-one combinations were implemented in every domain, including for technological innovations in the factories and rural areas and for scientific achievements in general; the slogan red and expert, or politics leading professional skills, combined people armed with a correct political understanding and those with specialized knowledge; women were brought into Party posts and three-in-one leadership combinations, as were older masses, whose rich experience was combined with the energy of the youth; mass movements in science and technology were sponsored, model cultural works were developed and became

the property of the masses, poetic and colourful revolutionary literature sprang up, the widespread study of Marxist theory was organized; a network of free or nearly free health care clinics with barefoot doctors trained from among the peasants was set up to serve the countryside.

Some opposed these "socialist new things", as they were called, which emerged as part of overthrowing the Right. Many of its leading representatives holding important Party posts had been replaced. However, even some who pretended to be Mao's closest comrades, like Lin Piao, began to thwart these innovations of the Cultural Revolution.

As early as his July 1966 letter to Chiang Ching, Mao warns that, "Certain of our friend's ideas greatly disturb me", referring to the way in which Lin Piao was promoting Mao almost like some kind of holy force. "It is all exaggerated", he wrote her.[36] She also recalled the Chairman's extreme annoyance at Lin Piao's stupid refrain in 1959 when he had just been promoted to defence minister, "One of Mao Tsetung's sentences equals 10,000 sentences."<sup>13</sup>

Chiang Ching sums up briefly that Lin Piao, who in the aftermath of overthrowing the capitalist roaders led by Liu Shao-chi was named Mao's successor at the Ninth Party Congress, tried to usurp the leadership of the Party, state and military. Besides publishing in Mao's name (and heavily "editing" his works into "Lin Piao Thought", as she put it), he created great chaos by stirring up fighting, brandishing arms and putting on pointless displays of military force. Chiang Ching also describes the extravagant style of his personal life, his Confucian zeal "to become an official and get rich".[47]

Coming at the time the Central Committee was preparing its case against Lin Piao, which Chiang Ching

was instrumental in putting together, this account is mainly anecdotal, but nonetheless revealing. This traitor, as she calls him, had nestled close to Mao, and thus his brutish stab at power profoundly shook both the Party and society just as the gains of the GPCR and nationwide unity were being consolidated, and in the context of the growing military threat by the Soviet Union. Of the ten major two-line struggles in the CCP in its history (up until 1972), Chiang Ching said the most serious was with Lin Piao.

Lin Piao had been closely associated with the Left in the mid-1960s when they needed allies to get their views disseminated and to bolster their offensive against the Right and against the danger of capitalist restoration. At the time, Lin Piao played an important role in carrying out socialist education in the military, rectifying Peng Te-huai's line (of "modernizing" the army by relying on advanced technology, as did the Soviet revisionists). But Lin Piao and his supporters also used the occasion to build a tighter base of support and to glorify Mao, and even Chiang Ching to some extent, as icons they hoped to knock down. Lin Piao wanted to use the army to restore order, and by 1967-1968 he was already saying production should be above political struggle.

By the Ninth Party Congress in 1969 Lin's fully rightist programme had become clear: the principal contradiction was said to be between the advanced socialist system and the backward productive forces — the same Chinese goulash line as that of Liu Shao-chi, defeated years before. He considered the socialist new things as obstacles to the masses getting "food and fuel", and although he was outwardly opposed to Chou En-lai's capitulation to the U.S. imperialists (since Lin preferred the "bad socialists" of the USSR), he actually shared much in common with Chou's more "moderate" but essentially rightist modernization aims, his surrender to imperialism, etc. Lin also resisted Mao's efforts to re-establish the full leading role of the Party and to curtail that of the army.[32]

At this time intense struggle over the international situation heated up within the CCP leadership. In 1970 Mao agreed (with Chou, but for different reasons) to an opening with

the West, creating an alliance between the Left and centrist Chou forces (primarily the "old guard" of the Party centre and the military hierarchies) against Lin. Politically defeated, Lin Piao continued to organize his coup and assassination plans against Mao, all of which ended instead in his flight to the USSR and death in a plane crash in September 1971. He waved the red flag to defeat it. On one side it was red, but on the other was a black skull and crossbones, Chiang Ching remarked bitterly.[47]

Lin Piao's downfall considerably strengthened Chou En-lai's position. The circumstances required the Left to do what Chou advocated — bring back Rightists knocked down in the Cultural Revolution to fill the posts left by the Lin Piao forces, including in the army. Deng Xiaoping was even brought back, and if by day these Rightists made self-criticisms and promised to uphold the Cultural Revolution, by night they overall gained in strength. The Left faced the necessity of digging further at the roots of the revisionism of Lin Piao, and while organizationally not as strong, politically they had the freedom to arm the masses about the rightist essence of his line, while exposing secondarily his ultra-"left" cover and his idealist "geniuses make history" line. Even though the Right had gained in strength, at the Tenth Party Congress in 1973 the Left — upholding the Cultural Revolution and the socialist new things, as well as their line of "Grasp Revolution, Promote Production" — were overall politically victorious. Chiang Ching was re-elected to the Politburo, but on the Standing Committee only Chang Chun-chiao was fully in Mao's camp.

Chiang Ching speaks of the positive effect of the study organized among cadres to repudiate Lin Piao's line, and the evident raising of the political level of the masses and their conscious ability to act as they more systematically took up Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in this period.

The Left launched the Campaign to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in 1974. Confucian doctrine also preached restoration of the old (slave) order, capitulation to foreign aggressors and blind obedience for the masses, who had only the right to

13. In a document of the Lushan meetings in 1970, Mao responds with his well-known ironic humour towards his enemies: "One sentence equals one sentence. There is one matter on which I have spoken six sentences but which have come to nothing, not even one-half a sentence." Here Mao was referring to Lin Piao's repeated demand to restore the position of head of state, vacated by Liu Shao-chi, so that he himself, preferably, could occupy it, which Mao wanted no part of.[47]



**"I want to  
maintain my  
political youth  
forever!"**

— Chiang Ching

■

**TOP LEFT: Chiang Ching  
and Chang Chun-chiao  
at 10th Party Congress  
- 1973.**

**LEFT: Educated youth  
and commune  
members study the  
dictatorship of the  
proletariat.**

**TOP RIGHT: Every  
brigade has a woman  
barefoot doctor who  
tends to women's  
healthcare needs.**

**BOTTOM RIGHT:  
Oil workers criticise  
Lin Piao and Confucius  
- 1975.**



be ruled over. By historical allusion this campaign targeted Deng Xiaoping, (Confucius) and secondarily Chou En-lai, whose centrist program was the bandwagon for the rise of the Right.

### THE LAST GREAT BATTLE

Chiang Ching began to collide again with the revisionist line in culture, which endorsed imitating Western models in the name of becoming "modern" and sought to degrade proletarian art such as the new revolutionary operas and other cultural achievements of the Cultural Revolution. Wherever this line held sway, it began to reverse the line of these works or to introduce new revisionist ones. In the context of Chou's push for an opening to the West, numerous foreign orchestras were invited to China, most likely at his initiative. This was only one of the fronts on which there was mounting tension between the Premier and Chiang Ching, as there was a growing offensive by the Right on the cultural front and an emboldened political offensive overall between 1973 and 1975. It is not that the Left opposed foreign symphonies visiting China as such, but they demanded that it be clear for what political purpose they were being welcomed. A penetrating article on "absolute music" was published about that time, challenging the premise that this music had no meaning or class content and was above place and time, with rich examples from history and the development of class society. It argued that such a view tried to disguise the bourgeois class character of these untitled instrumental pieces, although some

techniques of classical music could be critically assimilated.[2]

(It is important to note that as the number of international visitors mushroomed during this same period, Chiang Ching frequently received foreign heads of state and delegations and presided over numerous international sporting exchanges and other public events.)

The tenth anniversary of the revolution of Peking Opera in 1974 featured articles and celebrations upholding new socialist culture and rather openly polemicizing against those who judge as "improper" putting heroic workers and peasants on stage and who clamour for a return to the days where princes and emperors had their proper place there instead!

At the same time new works appeared popularizing the socialist transformation in various spheres, feats in agricultural production, the model developments in industry, such as the Taiching oilfields and socialist new things like barefoot doctors. There were some minor differences among the Left over which works to approve, and how high standards should be. Chiang Ching argued strongly against compromising on high standards either politically or artistically, and due to her knowledge of the cultural world, was able to recognize and criticize nuances and veiled allusions that others missed. In addition, it seems that Mao approved some films which Chiang Ching had objected to on various points; this is significant only in that it became wildly exaggerated when the Right took power and arrested the Four, and dragged this out as "proof" that Mao didn't approve of Chiang Ching, and other such ridiculous charges.

Chiang Ching and the Left also exposed and temporarily aborted the film debut of Hua Kuo-feng, who had filmed a light opera about education called *Song of the Gardener* which extols the virtues of wise teachers and likens them to refined flower cultivators.[39] Such glossy opposition to politics interfering with young people's studies contrasts markedly with a film produced under the Left's revolutionary line in this period, *Breaking With Old Ideas*. This film vividly portrays the class struggle in society over *who* gets to go to school and the difficulty of going up



against both rigid traditional teachers and a curriculum more suited to bourgeois education than to the needs of the masses in transforming society. Although the film is set during the Great Leap Forward, these themes prove just as relevant for the 1970s, and the film became indeed a lasting work of universal significance. Together the students and Party leaders overthrow the academic snobbery and irrelevance of the old ways, winning over many vacillators in the process.

This arose in the midst of sharpening class struggle in the Party between two lines and two roads. A number of revisionists had been restored to key positions. And in January 1975 at the Fourth National People's Congress, while the Left again won out politically, the Right's organizational position and initiative continued to grow. The Left called for strengthening the revolutionary committees at all levels, while Chou En-lai laid out a plan to modernize China by the year 2000 (by depending on imperialism, restoring capitalism and fueling class differences). This was echoed by Hua Kuo-feng's project to mechanize agriculture in the same rightist political vein. Chiang Ching, who had been following the developments of the Tachai agricultural brigade closely,<sup>14</sup> was reported to have labelled Hua's report "revisionist" at a "Learn from Tachai Conference" in October 1975, where keen struggle erupted. The report was actually part of the rising rightist wind and attempted to divert the central question of whether revolution would lead the overall development of the economy.<sup>[37]</sup>

Mao and the Four had responded with a campaign to study and reinforce the dictatorship of the proletariat, pointing out that although ownership was in the main socialist, there were many holdovers from capitalism, such as the commodity system, graded wage scales and material inequalities. Bourgeois right — material and social privileges based upon the unequal value

of the labour power of different individuals and their different requirements to maintain their families — had not been eliminated. In the summer of 1975, Mao called for criticism of the historical novel *The Water Margin*, exposing the modern-day Sung Chiangs (the character who capitulates to the Emperor after having first joined the peasant rebels) to focus the aim on traitors Deng and Chou and others like them.

This two-line struggle broke out in education shortly afterwards, over whether revolutionizing education held back production; some teachers at Tsinghua University wrote to Mao complaining of the "lowering of academic standards", in fact accurately referring to the deterioration of bourgeois standards. Mao called for a mass debate, and the Four actively helped to carry this out, with Chang Chun-chiao playing an especially key role. His now famous point was probably made in this struggle: "Bring up exploiters and intellectual aristocrats with bourgeois consciousness and culture, or bring up workers with consciousness and no culture — which do you want?" The Right twisted this to mean he said workers did not need culture, dropping of course his reference to culture serving the bourgeoisie.<sup>[37]</sup>

The struggle continued to sharpen up against Deng Xiaoping, long the open representative of the rightist pole in the CCP characterized by his motto, "black cat, white cat, who cares, as long as it catches mice"; his views were concentrated in his General Programme of taking the "three directives" (instead of and to negate proletarian class struggle) as the key link.<sup>15</sup> After Chou's death in January 1976, the Left's ability to more thoroughly expose Deng (without Chou to protect him) was heightened, and they seized the initiative. However, they were not strong enough to get Chang Chun-



chiao appointed Premier in the struggle for succession. (In addition to Chang Chun-chiao's key role in the Cultural Revolution — as a member of the CRG, and in Shanghai, where the powerful January Storm swept away the old revisionist officials — he had developed as a key leader in the Party overall. He was the author of pathbreaking theoretical articles such as "On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie",<sup>[1]</sup> and was instrumental in the Shanghai political economy study group as a whole, which authored important works making a class analysis of the economic laws under social-

14. In the mid-1960s Mao had approved of Tachai as a model brigade for the nation because it had surmounted natural disasters and obstacles to reach high yields by mobilizing the masses against revisionism and bourgeois ideology in general.

15. The three directives — developing the national economy, promoting stability and unity and studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat — were all separate instructions of Mao's in 1974, which Deng combined into one whole as a guide to modernization. Mao remarked in 1975 or 1976, "What! 'Take the three directives as the key link'! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it."<sup>[37,41]</sup>



**LEFT:**  
September, 1976. Worker-peasant-soldier students with the worker theorists of the "factory school" jointly beat back the right deviationist attempt to reverse the correct verdicts of the Cultural Revolution.

**TOP RIGHT:**  
Teachers and students putting up big-character posters to criticise the attempts to reverse the revolutionary measures in education, made during the Cultural Revolution.

**BOTTOM RIGHT:**  
Commune members and cadres in the Tachai brigade denounce Deng Xiaoping's crimes - June 1976.



**"You have been wronged. Today we are separating into two worlds. May each keep his peace. These few words may be my last message to you. Human life is limited, but revolution knows no bounds. In the struggle of the past ten years I have tried to reach the peak of revolution, but I was not successful. But you could reach the top. If you fail, you will plunge into a fathomless abyss. Your body will shatter. Your bones will break."**

— Mao in a letter to Chiang Ching, July 1976

ism and of its contradictory nature.) While blocking Deng, the Left had to settle for Hua, who was not a prime figure of the rightest front and had no strong personal following.

Chiang Ching was active in this struggle and again played a very public role, which annoyed Deng Xiaoping. In an attempted show of strength, the Right instigated the counter-revolutionary Tienanmen riots in April 1976 in order to attack Mao and his policies under the signboard of paying tribute to Chou En-lai and his line of "modernization". But the revisionists openly targeted Chiang Ching instead, with their cheap Confucian label of "Empress Dowager" (the feudal ruler who put down the 1900 Boxer Rebellion and historically more resembled the bloody Deng regime that massacred students and workers in 1989). After this reactionary display had been put down by the PLA and people's militia, it was reportedly Chiang Ching's task to organize the removal of the memorial wreaths from the square — an act the Right was deeply offended by and later tried to use against her.<sup>16</sup>

Deng was knocked down from all his posts for staging the riots, and Mao and the Left accelerated the dictatorship of the proletariat campaign, directing the fire at him and the right deviationist wind. It was at this time that Mao made his famous statement, "You are making socialist revolution and don't know where the bourgeoisie is — it's right in the Communist Party. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." This was the heart of the question, and the offensive of the Left — with the "Five", Mao and the Four, its political core — stung the Right badly, often provoking open confrontations between the two headquarters within the Party, including strikes, sit-ins and the toppling of ministers, though as much as possible the revisionists tried to block the campaign and the de-

veloping mass movement.[37]

### **MAO'S DEATH AND THE CAPITALISTS' COUP**

On September 9th, 1976, Mao Tsetung died. As the masses in China, alongside millions in every country throughout the world, mourned this immeasurable loss, the revisionists in China rejoiced and prepared their takeover. With "official" successor Hua Kuo-feng at their head, and based upon the portions of power they had already seized, including within the armed forces, they were able to mount a military coup d'état within a month of Mao Tsetung's death, and arrested the Four and their close supporters. Proletarian rule came to an abrupt and brutal end in China, bringing back like a rude wake-up call Mao's warning in his 1966 letter to Chiang Ching of the possibility of the Right using some of his words to stage an anti-Communist coup d'état in China after his death but also assuring her that they would know no peace.

In fact many knew it was the end of the revolution and saw right through the barrage of political propaganda, and for this reason the coup was presented alongside gleaming gun barrels, as if to illustrate another important point of Mao's. The mass media announced that the Four were the "real revisionist Right", that they, especially Chiang Ching, were KMT renegades, that these Four — Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao, Yao Wen-yuan, and Wang Hung-wen — along with a goodly number of their comrades, were actually enemies of Mao; it was even fancied that Mao would have supported this clamp-down against "counter-revolution". The low political level of the invective revealed the magnitude of the coup-makers' quandary and, in a desperate need to consolidate power, they quickly supplemented it with an even lower, that is gutter-level, slur campaign, filled with the wildest personal slander they could think of as well as insignificant incidents they exaggerated into mad fairy tales.

These modern-day Confucians, working at the same time to tighten tradition's chains with the rumour mill they generated, chose to most savagely victimize the woman, Chiang Ching. As the Chairman's

wife she was also supposed to suffer and bear the responsibility for all the "evils" China had ever experienced, ancient or modern, but especially during the Cultural Revolution. For these capitalist roaders, the worst of these "evils" was, of course, having to endure almost 30 years of Mao leading the masses to revolutionize the society they wanted to get rich off of and, related to that, their failure to unseat Mao and his revolutionary comrades from the centre of power long before.

Yet people resisted. In many ways. One of the major accusations at the historic 1980-81 "trial" would be that of plotting an armed rebellion in Shanghai against the coup d'état. Chang Chun-chiao and others had a strong political following in this city, forged through the sharp struggle and important changes of the Cultural Revolution. Shanghai was famous for the January Storm, when millions of workers, joined by peasants and students, seized back power from the revisionist-led Municipal Party Committee in 1967. In August 1976, as expectations of a show-down in the Party grew, arms and munitions were handed out to the million-strong Shanghai militia that had been set up by the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee several years earlier.

After news of the Four's arrest filtered out, detailed plans were laid to block the harbours and airports, to shut down the press and radio, to launch work stoppages and demonstrations and mobilize the militia men and women, along with the garrison command of Shanghai. An older Communist leader, Zhu Yong-jia, a close comrade of Chang Chun-chiao and head of the writing group of the Shanghai Party Committee, rallied the revolutionaries to prepare for action, calling on them to "do a Paris Commune. If we cannot keep up the fight for a week, five or three days would suffice to let the whole world know what's happening...." In other words, this rebellion would be a declaration that a revisionist coup in China had taken place and that it was being actively resisted by revolutionaries. Most reports are based on Hong Kong newspapers and even accounts by the revisionist press itself, so details of the plan are scanty.

The rebellion was delayed when the leaders were purposely called to

16. Asked about the event during her trial, Chiang Ching retorted, "I was not responsible for the suppression of the Tienanmen incident. You can ask the Minister of Public Security at that time to come act as my witness", referring to none other than Hua Kuo-feng himself.

Peking, and it seems the revolutionaries lost the initiative for the full-scale uprising they planned as the coup-makers swept into the city to prevent it. Nonetheless, there was reportedly armed fighting in some militia units on October 13th, one week after the Four were arrested, and as soon as word of the arrests spread on October 10th, thousands of people gathered every day at key headquarters to see what actions the leaders would take. Zhu had correctly pointed to the crucial need for "quick, decisive action drawing wide support" not only in Shanghai but throughout the country.[42,40] For a number of reasons the leadership failed to move at the critical moment. This underlines even more the importance of the decisive, unwavering stand of defiance of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao.

Despite the smokescreen put up by Hua that he was acting on Mao's behalf, on the streets of China, among many of the masses, a five-finger salute behind officials' backs was common, needing no verbalization: Mao and the Four were the revolutionaries being overthrown. A foreign observer in Shanghai during the coup reported that conversations and movements were tightly controlled, and that tension was extremely high among the people. Official posters of the Central Committee denouncing the Four were stripped from the railway station walls in Nanjing.[39] Undoubtedly many other stories have yet to see the light of day, as the counter-revolutionaries clamped down quickly and brutally, arresting and jailing known sympathizers of the Left, many of whom were executed.

The coup in China represented a tremendous blow to the peoples of the world and the international proletariat as a whole. Revolutionary China was a beacon to hundreds of millions of people who yearned to liberate themselves. For ten incredible years, the GPCR led by Mao and the revolutionary headquarters inside the Party had prevented this reversal of proletarian power and the restoration of capitalism by unleashing the conscious activism of the masses. For ten long years, breathtaking strides were being made by history's formerly forgotten and downtrodden, breaking new socialist ground for the international prole-

ariat. In the course of all this, the revolutionary science was developed to a qualitatively new level and became recognized as Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. New organizations and parties based on this ideology sprang into being all over the world.

To see history's most radical and far-reaching transformation of society under proletarian rule snatched away by the arrogant handful of bourgeois reactionaries inside the Communist Party usurping power for their own narrow get-rich aims was indeed unbearable. At the same time, in the very depth and breadth of the socialist revolution, Mao had laid the basis for Marxist-Leninists to pick up the weapons he enlarged and sharpened to understand both the nature of this reversal and how to continue to chart the way forward. This was not an easy task — it required sharp struggle over summing up the nature of socialist society and Mao's contributions to the science as well as the events in China themselves. Yet, fired in no small way by Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao's courageous stand, many Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations not only refused to abandon the course of revolution in the face of the Chinese revisionists' betrayal and the simultaneous anti-communist ideological offensive by the international bourgeoisie, but succeeded in making qualitative advances in turning around the crisis in the international communist movement and forging an embryonic international centre based on this understanding, represented today by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

After the arrest of the revolutionary headquarters, the regime carried out waves of purges in the Party, and in 1977 executions began in earnest. Within two years of the coup, revolutionary committees had been abolished, and entrance exams and privilege (benefiting primarily Party officials' children) became the criteria for access to higher learning. Films and other works produced under Chiang Ching's leadership were revised or banned outright. The revisionists brought back the pre-Cultural Revolution version of the ballet *White-Haired Girl*, for example, featuring its central love theme. Infanticide against baby girls returned as capitalism put a premium

on male offspring. As the waiting foreign vultures like Coca Cola and Mitsubishi pounced to set up new markets in China, production began to accommodate imperialism's needs and was boosted through bonuses and greater wage differentiation. In short, capitalism was restored with a vengeance. All this in a climate of heavy repression, toeing the official line, and the shutting off of the political struggle which had guided and promoted *socialist* construction for more than 20 years.

---

**THE TWENTIETH  
CENTURY'S  
MOST NOTORIOUS TRIAL:  
"I AM HAPPY TO PAY  
CHAIRMAN MAO'S  
DEBT!"**

---

For four years Chiang Ching and her comrade Chang Chun-chiao were imprisoned without any official charges. Hong Kong papers claim Hua tried to get her to confess for two years, to which Chiang Ching scoffed, "I dare you to release me!" In 1978 Hua was replaced by the real figure pulling the strings, Deng Xiaoping. As a special revenge, Deng put arch-revisionist Peng Chen (of the old Peking Municipal Committee, knocked down in the Cultural Revolution) in charge of interrogating her before the 1980 trial. In one of her statements at the trial Chiang Ching says that while in prison she prepared herself physically for the trial, so that she could do her best in court to defend the Cultural Revolution. "Every day at the cock's crow, I got out my sword", referring to a well-known general readying himself for battle.

The revisionists' primary tactic was to reverse the verdict on Lin Biao, brand him an ultra-leftist, and try the ten defendants as one "clique". They threw in some old military generals who had plotted as part of the Right against Mao in the early 1970s, just to confuse the political lines even more. It is reported that the pre-trial arraignment film had to be shot three times because Chiang Ching's unpredictable outbursts made "unsuitable" public viewing. Asked if she wanted a lawyer, her reply sharply exposed the kangaroo court: Only if he took the Ninth and Tenth Party Congresses as the political basis for the defence! Request

denied... Chiang Ching announced that she would defend herself.[40]

She prepared a 181-page statement slamming the revisionists with their own indictments: if the Left "framed up" veteran leaders, what are *you* doing now? What's wrong with the Cultural Revolution overthrowing the capitalist headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and company and restoring the true face of the Party? She got right to the heart of the matter: "I'm not going to admit to any crimes, not because I want to cut myself off from the people, but because I'm innocent. If I have to admit to anything, I can only say I lost in this struggle for power.

"You have power now so you can easily accuse people of crimes and fabricate false evidence to support your charges. But if you think you can fool the people of China and worldwide, you are completely mistaken. It is not I but your small gang who is on trial in the court of history."

This is exactly what her testimony did in the trial itself, which started November 20th, 1980, and went into January 1981. Unlike Wang Hung-wen and Yao Wen-yuan, who capitulated before the court, admitting everything they were charged with in exchange, they hoped, for a lighter sentence, Chang Chun-chiao remained defiantly silent (except when he rejected the indictments), refusing to recognize the court of some 35 judges and its jeering, hand-picked spectators and televised spectacle. Chiang Ching showed nothing but contempt for her would-be executioners and boldly turned the fire of interrogation right back at them: "Most of the members of the court present, including your president Jiang Hua, competed with each other in those days to criticize Liu Shao-chi. If I am guilty, how about all of *you*?"

She drew out clearly the link between her actions and Mao's revolutionary line, again silencing her judges, who of course could not prove otherwise and were reduced to telling her to "shut up" again and again. "Since you won't let me speak", Chiang Ching would then retort, "why don't you put a clay Buddha in my chair and try it instead of me. I was Chairman Mao's wife for thirty-eight years... I followed Mao's line and the Party's



line. What you are doing now is asking a widow to pay her husband's debt. Well I'll tell you, I am happy and honoured to pay Chairman Mao's debt!" And in one dramatic moment, she repeated a well-known statement of Mao's that true revolutionaries are bound by neither heaven nor law. The authorities could stand no more. As she was dragged from the room she shouted, "It's right to rebel! Down with the revisionists led by Deng Xiaoping! I am prepared to die!" Shaken, the revisionists postponed their frame-up for a few days to decide what to do.

Chiang Ching's actions inspired people throughout China and everywhere, as even reactionaries there have admitted. Around the world, support demonstrations and meetings were held, from Sri Lanka, where the Chinese embassy was attacked, to the U.S., Paris and London. An ad signed by 2000 people to "Save Chiang Ching" was published in the French daily, *Le Monde*. A new leap was forged in

■  
"I have accomplished what I set out to do!"

■  
"I'm not going to admit to any crimes, not because I want to cut myself off from the people, but because I'm innocent. If I have to admit to anything, I can only say I lost in this struggle for power.

"You have power now so you can easily accuse people of crimes and fabricate false evidence to support your charges. But if you think you can fool the people of China and worldwide, you are completely mistaken. It is not I but your small gang who is on trial in the court of history."

— Chiang Ching, at trial

the international communist movement at the First International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations, which started the process of regrouping the Maoists worldwide, helping to lay the foundation of RIM in 1984.

The regime (Deng's Politburo) agonized for nearly a month before announcing the death sentence against Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao. The revisionists were unsure which would do themselves more harm — executing these two revolutionaries, or letting them live as two of the world's foremost political prisoners. They were given two years to "confess". When she heard the word "death", Chiang Ching yelled out, "It's no crime to make revolution!"

Chiang Ching was held in the centuries-old prison of Quin Cheng, and spent many of her 15 years there in isolation. When she refused to cooperate with the authorities, she was denied food or exercise, or was beaten by guards. Much of this time she had no right to speak except under interrogation. The only person she was allowed to see was her daughter Li Na.

In prison Chiang Ching sewed dolls with her name on them, making them "useless" for sale, and refused to write the monthly self-criticisms required of political prisoners. A 1983 *New York Times* article reported that she defied her jailers to "chop off her head" in written slogans slashed across her cell walls. She demanded to meet with Deng Xiaoping, who refused, and she wrote political position papers exposing the revisionist regime. She reportedly also asked to present her views in an open debate at the Twelfth Party Congress in the summer of 1982. In 1983 Chiang Ching's sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. There were reports of leaflets appearing on the streets of Peking and Shantung, supporting the Cultural Revolution and denouncing the capitalist roaders in power, said to be written by her and smuggled out.

On the outside, a message was clandestinely published in China and sent to Marxist-Leninists abroad in late 1980. It hailed the heroic stand of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao as well as entering into some of the problems of political line

which held back revolutionaries from acting decisively at the moment required to carry through the armed uprising after the coup in 1976. It calls on the people to judge the four years of bourgeois dictatorship they have lived under and vows to put power back in the hands of the proletariat. Later Japanese sources confirmed its wide and bold circulation in China, along with some open agitation on the streets.<sup>17</sup>

---

### MAO'S WIFE AND COMRADE FOR 38 YEARS

---

Significantly, Mao made sure he accomplished two more things before his death on September 9th, 1976. He met with the Politburo and in July wrote a letter to Chiang Ching. At the meeting he rebuked the Right for hoping he would die soon so they could get on with their plots, and at the same time warned that both the U.S. and USSR must be fought. His lines to Chiang Ching contain a challenge with a self-critical edge, urging her to firmly take hold of the political baton. "You have been wronged. Today we are separating into two worlds. May each keep his peace. These few words may be my last message to you. Human life is limited, but revolution knows no bounds. In the struggle of the past ten years I have tried to reach the peak of revolution, but I was not successful. But you could reach the top. If you fail, you will plunge into a fathomless abyss. Your body will shatter. Your bones will break."<sup>18</sup>

Among his last words aimed squarely at the revisionist power holders who wanted to create a rift between them, were "Help Chiang Ching raise the red flag".

The Chinese revisionists dredged up whatever they could, inventing when necessary, to try to show that

Mao and Chiang Ching were on opposite sides at the end of Mao's life. This is patently untrue and merely an awkward stab at trying to use Mao's tremendous prestige to help mask their own fascist deed of October 1976, which, in order to succeed, meant undermining, confusing and attempting to neutralize the revolutionary masses who loved and supported both Mao and Chiang Ching.

If Mao, on the other hand, instructed people on his deathbed to help Chiang Ching raise the red flag, it is because he thought she was one of the few left in the top ranks of the CCP who could do so!<sup>19</sup>

The plain truth is, Mao supported Chiang Ching and she supported and was led by Mao throughout the entire time they made revolution together, though affirming this is not to be naive and pretend such strong unity came without any struggle. But it was struggle to advance the tremendous revolutionary wave they were part of, the historic nature and earthshaking importance of which they both firmly grasped, and for which they assumed great responsibility to lead forward.

When her political enemies and international critics paint her as "without a single virtue" and as plotting out of pure self-interest to "steal Mao's throne", as they say, their main point is that Mao should never have had power anyway. But close behind is that certainly no woman should dare to stand up tall, to be ambitious — one of their big and often-echoed charges against Chiang Ching — and have the audacity to fight for revolutionary political power! And since many are not easily fooled by their logic that revolutionary ambitions to lead and serve the people are a "lost cause", these critics and political enemies with their narrow Me-First outlook try to prove

17. The underground messages were signed by the "Chinese Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) Central Committee", and printed January 1981. Several months later, this same group wrote a pamphlet denouncing the revisionists' "summit of Mao" approved at the "Sixth Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee" in June 1981 and called for revolutionaries to "don battle gear" in the struggle to overthrow the revisionists in power. [30,31]

18. This last phrase he had used in a letter to her 10 years earlier as the Cultural Revolution unfolded, referring to the risk he too faced in his all-out bid to continue the revolution and prevent the restoration of capitalism.

19. One unconfirmed report from a Hong Kong newspaper cites Chiang Ching declaring in court that she, "With you in charge, I'm at ease" quote by Mao, referring to the compromise candidate of Hua Kuofeng as his successor, had several more characters that were suppressed: "If you have any questions, ask Chiang Ching."

that her ambition was merely "personal". From there it is a short dive to probing into the marriage, and in this the feudal and decadent bourgeois specialists have a lot in common. With their chauvinist noses they rummage through empty closets looking for dirty laundry, since for them a woman's merits should ultimately be judged on the basis of her individual relations, especially with men.

One thing is no secret. Chiang Ching never had a moment's peace since she married Mao. But personal "peace" was not what Chiang Ching was about. She courageously fought to play a crucial role in the history-making battles shaking China, but she did have to *fight* to play that role. Undoubtedly in the 1940s and 1950s, Mao's strongly anti-feudal sentiments against the custom of little family fiefdoms becoming centres of power prevented him from personally promoting Chiang Ching within the Party. While it seems some of the CCP leaders insisted she be kept out of the public eye, as Chiang Ching developed into a revolutionary communist in Yenan, Mao supported her activities and correct line, and years later, very obviously chose to bring Chiang Ching forward to take up leading responsibilities to prepare for what was to develop into the Cultural Revolution. He did this knowing she would face even more trouble and come under direct fire as a public figure defending his political views. It must be said at the same time that he certainly recognized the urgency of bringing more women forward to play leading roles, and overall strongly encouraged this within the Party.

As for Chiang Ching, hers was a lifetime of rebellion and going against the tide of women's oppression — against feudalism and tradition, against chauvinism and the "woman's place" in society, against the Confucian sanctity of the home and the hypocritical ritual of blaming the wife for the husband's faults. As the Chairman's wife, this meant endlessly enduring the petty rumormongering and backbiting as well as the vicious attacks of his political enemies who dared not directly attack him.

This also had repercussions in their personal lives. On one occasion

back in the 1950s these same enemies apparently took advantage of Chiang Ching's absence during a treatment for cancer to take away from her one of Mao's children from a previous marriage whom she raised as her own and had grown especially fond of.<sup>[47]</sup>

Throughout her political life Chiang Ching forcefully and continuously encouraged women to come forward and struggled with others over this. In the arts she fought against the male-dominated theatre — not just the playwrights, directors and musicians, but on the stage itself the actors were all men — to bring forward women as proletarian artists, and she wrote and revised revolutionary heroines into the new scripts. A central theme of a number of the model works she led is women throwing off the stifling yoke of the old days to follow the Party's call to take up revolution. One of the first things she eliminated was the degrading feudal tradition of male actors impersonating women. And, in the real-life struggles of the Cultural Revolution, she constantly paid attention to the role the women were playing, and encouraged the advanced to shoulder more responsibilities.

But Chiang Ching also struggled hard on this front within the Party leadership.<sup>20</sup> For the CCP was a product of Chinese society — emerging overwhelmingly as a force in opposition to its oppressive nature — and although qualitatively different and representing the future of total emancipation, it was not entirely free from this overall semi-feudal and colonized social fabric, heavily laden with backward notions on women, the family, and relations between men and women. These were habits and ideas the Party as a whole fought against and, especially, proved bankrupt by first actively engaging women in the liberation war<sup>21</sup> and then, after liberation, by proceeding to tear down oppressive

barriers to women participating in production on as equal a footing as possible to men, bringing them into the Party and carrying out political education to develop women cadres and leaders. Men were struggled with ideologically to share household responsibilities. Central eating facilities, nursery schools and child care, for example, were set up to free women from stifling household work as part of the Great Leap Forward and the movement to establish communes.

Formal socialist policies are very important in setting guidelines, but ultimately how fast and how thoroughly the inequalities between men and women can be reduced in the process of building socialism is linked to the revolutionary transformation of people's outlook and to women themselves stepping forward to rebel against the old ways and fighting to bring alive the new and higher forms of "holding up half the sky" that proletarian power for the first time in history makes possible.

At the same time, the question of women developing as leaders in China was closely related to the two-line struggle itself inside the Party. The revisionists (and bourgeois statesmen, with their Thatchers or Aquinos for that matter) never objected to women leaders who preach enslavement, even the modern variety, and taking the capitalist road, such as Liu Shao-chi's wife, Wang Guang-mei.<sup>22</sup> But women leaders who arouse the masses for all-around liberation and not just for superficial bourgeois equality for a minority, that is something else altogether, and that is in no small part the resistance Chiang Ching ran into from the veteran leaders of the Right.

Chiang Ching was a powerful model in this regard. As a communist leader she fought for the cause of total emancipation until she died, and by this alone pulled many

20. For example, she told representatives of Szechwan (a backward area and former KMT stronghold) where disturbances had broken out during the early years of the Cultural Revolution: "Today we bombarded you, tomorrow you may bombard us"; she pointed out that women comrades had done good work and told these representatives not to be so feudalistic — "Why not recruit some women generals!"<sup>[47]</sup>

21. Both the ballet *Red Detachment of Women* (1964) and the film *Island Militia Women* (1976) were based on historical events.

22. Another of Chiang Ching's "towering crimes" was to have harassed chief capitalist roader Liu Shao-chi's wife, Wang Guang-mei, herself a firm and active Party revisionist ally of her husband.

women (and men) to their feet. And not just in China. But no one should assume that as a woman, or as Mao Tsetung's wife, this was an easy accomplishment.

### **MURDERED UNTIL PROVEN OTHERWISE**

Chiang Ching was ripped away from us after fifteen years of enduring the Chinese regime's dungeons. In addition to the foul stench emanating from those in Peking's high quarters who withheld the announcement of her death until the anniversary of the 1989 Tienanmen massacre, *three weeks later*, is the very suspicious description of this as "suicide". Again relying on Confucian nonsense to try to pass this ancient "tradition" off to the world as an act of final defiance of authority, the regime tried to wash its hands of the whole affair.

Needless to say, their blood-stained hands look ever bloodier, and until proven otherwise, everything points to them as the instruments of Chiang Ching's death. She has never given in to difficult conditions or personal attack and has always fought to drag rats like those running China today into the light of day and to put the question of seizing power back on the table. Reports of a last "testament" by Chiang Ching, which the regime has apparently tried to deny, claim this is one of its key points. Another one is said to be denouncing them for the Tienanmen massacre and predicting that their rule will be short-lived.

Her suicide is also contested by scholars and other "China watchers", according to reports published in several Hong Kong newspapers.<sup>23</sup> For one thing, her daughter Li Na visited her a week before her death, and reported her to be in good health and better spirits than before, partly because she had been moved to relatively more spacious quarters within the prison. Secondly, Chiang Ching's every move was followed on remote control monitors. She had announced she would write an autobiography, according to these sources, and was furious that the authorities had taken away the memoirs she had written. These accounts also make mention of a poem one of her guards recently wrote for her, which excited her and moved her to work on to-

gether with him until the prison found out and discharged him back to his home village.

Even in her death, the Chinese rulers had a big problem. A Hong Kong magazine notes the appearance of 16 different protest signs all over Peking, including a slogan posted on the gates of a primary school that read, "Long Live the Victory of Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line! Down With Deng Xiaoping's Phoney Communist Party!" On the side of a hotel, they reported a military-style portrait of Chiang Ching, with the words, "Chairman Mao, We Will Always Remember You". In what must have resembled stormtroopers trying to stomp out sparks here and there, the Deng Xiaoping police then banned the sale of any books or materials about Chiang Ching, or even old photos, and raids were to be carried out to confiscate any such items. Television and radio were forbidden to play any selections from the revolutionary operas and ballets.[42]

### **DARE TO BE LIKE CHIANG CHING!**

The loss of Chiang Ching is a momentous loss: she, who never abandoned Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought and in fact lent her life and passion to strengthening it, who confidently and uncompromisingly stood with Mao and with revolution. She was a leader who had represented the international proletariat in power, and gave enormous inspiration and courage to commu-

23. These articles quote a Chinese professor who argues, "It is impossible for Mao's widow Chiang Ching to kill herself." In speculating about why Deng Xiaoping won't succumb to his own illnesses as long as Chiang Ching is still alive, he adds, "Because Chiang Ching knows best Deng's undersides. Only Chiang Ching understands best why Mao purged Deng back then, and knows best how Deng, after Mao's death, unseated Hua Kuo-feng and grabbed the supreme power of the party, the state and the army." He accuses the authorities of foul play and regrets that "precious historical materials" along with Chiang Ching's sole ability to set history's record straight are "buried for good". (The articles are from *Cheng Meng* and *Sing Tao*, both extreme right anti-Deng Xiaoping publications. The person quoted here has published his views against the Cultural Revolution.)

ists and revolutionaries around the world, who also refused to abandon revolution when socialist China was being strangled by the bourgeoisie inside the Communist Party. In this sense, her stand and that of Chang Chun-chiao's reflected the truth that the Cultural Revolution and the experience in China as a whole had taken world proletarian revolution a twist higher in the spiral of its development. How different from 1956 when Stalin died and *no* leading CPSU members stepped forward to defend the red flag, to hold it high out of the muck and mire of the Soviet revisionists' seizure of power! And how astute Mao was, encouraging her again just months before his death to strive to take the revolution all the way, knowing that as high as the stakes were, so were the risks.

The role Chiang Ching decided to play should by no means be taken for granted. The history-making epoch she was part of did objectively take revolution higher — to the highest peak that the international proletariat has achieved to date. But at the same time individuals can be decisive in furthering or obstructing this cause (or being plain irrelevant). This GPCR produced a Chiang Ching, and a Chiang Ching who did not waver, whose firmness and determination gave inspiration and courage to millions worldwide who watched and judged the revisionist debacle. A Chiang Ching who ridiculed her jailers, prosecutors and China's ruling counter-revolutionaries and filled even them with awe at her resilience and stand. She threw the political grenade back in their faces, seizing the occasion not to "clear her name" but to expose even more what stuff these revisionists are made of. She became a very dangerous woman — for them and for the bourgeoisie in general. The whole world saw an unrepentant communist confess only to the "crime" of following Mao Tsetung to make revolution.

Her life reflects a strategic confidence in the masses and in the ultimate justness and victory of the communist cause, a sense of having given fully to the mounting of the proletariat onto history's stage, even if in this round we were temporarily pulled off that stage. What attitude one adopts and what role one decides to play in the face of obstacles

and even great setbacks can assume qualitative proportions. Whether it is a long-term, spiral-like view of defeating the enemy, or one of compromise to obtain some kind of self-seeking, immediate rewards to avoid death, unpleasant conditions of imprisonment and so forth — all this is a crucial reflection of one's attitude towards the science and ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Compare Chiang Ching's attitude and responsibility towards the world's oppressed and revolutionary masses, towards the making of history itself, with that of Wang Hung-wen and Yao Wen-yuan, who had made contributions to the Cultural Revolution, but who floundered and crashed ideologically when put to a very crucial test of their class stand and willingness to sacrifice.

The enemy call Chiang Ching an aspiring empress, for their own tyranny and rule thrive on demolishing revolutionary heroism; her outlook was the opposite of that of their bourgeois (and feudal) dynasties. She acted on behalf of the international proletariat and not for herself; she defiantly spit on all the enemy's schemes in order to deflate their arrogance, to reveal the emptiness of their historical cause at a time when disappointment and demoralization in the wake of the enormous loss from the overthrow of the revolution in China was widespread. With confidence, she was heard to remark after the trial, "I have accomplished what I set out to do!"

Comrade Chiang Ching's vision of a society without barbarous class divisions and social inequalities, just like the spectre of the masses consciously wresting political power, in no matter what country, chills the blood of the oppressors everywhere, and they despise her for it. As for the sour and mainly sensationalist chorus of attacks on her from bourgeois journalists and academic mouthpieces, hitched to the fashionable refrain these days of the "collapse" of communism — what we have to say is, the contempt is completely mutual! Summing up this historic period that left big scars on an injured bourgeoisie around the world, while enabling the international proletariat to soar to new heights, will continue to be a battle

between the two sides. But more than that, we can, and will, scale even greater heights in the years to come.

Like Mao before her, Chiang Ching is not an easy model to live up to, but she has handed the political baton on to us, their successors. She has helped us to raise the red flag.

## SOURCES (PRIMARY)

1. Chang Chun-chiao. "On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie", AWTW No. 14, originally published by Foreign Languages Press (FLP), Peking, 1975.

2. Chao Hua. "Has Absolute Music No Class Character?". *Peking Review* (9) 1974. Reprinted in Lotta [37]

3. Chiang Ching. Most of these speeches are reprinted in two collections. \* marks those reprinted in Chung-Hua-min & Miller [34] and \*\* marks those found in *CCP Documents of the GPCR* [20].

———. July 1964. "On the Revolution in Peking Opera", FLP, Peking, 1968. A collection of articles, including one cited about *On the Docks* by Hsieh Wen-ping, "A Fierce Struggle for Control of the Peking Opera Stage", pp 30-33.

4. ———. February 1966. "Summary of the Forum on Literature and Art in the Armed Forces with which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching", *Peking Review*, May 1967.\*

5. ———. 6 August 1966. Speaking to Two Groups of Red Guards, *Current Background*, 26.6.66, American Consulate General, Hong Kong. Cited in Chung Hua-min pp 146-47.

6. ———. 28 November 1966. "Chiang Ching Speaks at Peking Cultural Revolution Rally of Literary and Art Workers", Hsinhua News Agency-English, Peking, 3.12.66.\*

7. ———. 17 December 1966. Speech at the Workers Stadium in Peking. Published in *Red Guard of the Capital*, 21.12.66.

8. ———. 26 December 1966. "Minutes of Talks of the Leading Comrades of the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee of CCP at Interview Granted the Representatives of the All-China Red-Worker Rebels General Corps". Reprinted by Liaison Office of Revolutionary Rebels of the Economic Institute of Peking stationed in the Ministry of Labour, 4.1.67.\*

9. ———. 10 January 1967. "Speech Delivered by Chiang Ching at a Reception Given to the Representatives of Red Guards at People's Assembly Hall", published by Red Guards in Peking, 18.1.67.\*

10. ———. 17 January 1967. Speech to Peking Red Guards, in *Dongfanghong* (The East is Red), organ of the Peking Polytechnic Institute, 21.1.67.

11. ———. 1 February 1967. "Comrades Chiang Ching and Chi Ren-Yu's Talks with the Representatives of the Revolutionary Masses of the Central Documentary Films Studio and the August 1 Movie Studio".\*

12. ———. 27 March 1967. "Chiang Ching Speaks at Congress of Red Guards of Peking

Middle Schools", *Peking Kuangming Daily*, 27.3.67.\*

13. ———. 20 April 1967. "Chiang Ching Speaks at Inaugural Meeting of Peking Revolutionary Committee" (edited version), Hsinhua News Agency, English, Peking, 20.4.67.\*

14. ———. 3 July 1967. "Instructions on the Symphony *Shachiapang*", from *Kuang-ung Wen-i Chan-pao*, 5.7.67.\*

15. ———. 5 September 1967. "Important Talk Given by Comrade Chiang Ching on Sept. 5 at a Conference of Representatives of Anhwei Who Have Come to Peking". Printed by the Great Preparatory Committee of People's Automobiles, *Red Flag*, Municipal Communications and Transport Department. Released with 9.9.67. Circular of CCP/CC and both are reprinted in *CCP Docs*.\*

16. ———. 9 & 12 November 1967. "Talk of Comrade Chiang Ching", Issued as a Document of the CCP/CC, in *Chung-fa*, No. 354 13.11.67.\*\*

17. Chinese Communist Party, "Order of the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Central Military Commission and the Central Cultural Revolution Group Concerning the Prohibition of the Seizure of Arms, Equipment, and other Military Supplies from the PLA", (5 September, 1967); *Chung-fa* No. 288 (67).\*\*

18. ———. Ninth Party Congress documents. Peking: FLP, 1969.

19. ———. *Chinese Literature*. Nos. 2-1969, 6-1972, 3-1974, 10-1976, Peking.

20. *CCP Documents of the GPCR, 1966-1967*. Hong Kong: Union Research Institute, 1968. Contains some key speeches of Chiang Ching.

21. *Documents of the CCP/CC, Sept. 1956-April 1969, Vol. 1*. Hong Kong: Union Research Institute, 1971.

22. Chu Lan. "A Decade of Revolution in Peking Opera". *Peking Review*, (31) 2.8.74; Reprinted in Lotta [37]

23. Mao Tsetung. "Give Serious Attention to the Discussion on the Film *The Life of Wu Hsun*", 20 May 1951. In Jerome Chen's *The Mao Papers* (1970), pp 78-79.

24. ———. "Wen Hui Pao's Bourgeois Orientation Should be Criticized". (July 1957), *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. 5, p 454 (FLP: Peking, 1975). Also cited in Avakian's *MIC*, p 230.

25. ———. "The Intelligence of the People". 14 February 1966. in Chen, p 103.

26. ———. Letters from Mao to Chiang Ching, July 1966 and July 1976. Both widely reprinted. 7.66 in Han Suyin's *Wind in the Tower*, p 319; 7.76 in *Manchester Guardian* 7.11.76

27. ———. "Mao's Latest Instructions". A selection of Mao's remarks between 1966 and 1969 made by editors Wheelright & McFarlane, in *The Chinese Road to Socialism*, London: Pelican, 1973.

28. ———. "Mao Tsetung Analyzes the Cultural Revolution". An unofficial collection of Mao's remarks from 1967 as appendix in Daubler, p 309.

29. ———. "Talk to the Albanian Military Delegation". (May 1967) in AWTW No. 1, 1985.

30. Chinese Communist Party (Marxist-

Leninist) Central Committee. "Statement by Shanghai Revolutionaries on the Restoration of Capitalism in China", Shanghai, January 1981. Reprinted in *AWTW*, No. 14. Message smuggled out abroad, translation by the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper.

31. ———. "Persevere to the End in the Struggle Against the Counter-Revolutionary Capitalist Roaders", Shanghai, August, 1981. In this pamphlet the underground revolutionaries respond to the revisionist CCP 6th Plenum of the 11th Central Committee Report and its "summation of Mao Tsetung". Reprinted in *RW*, 4.9.81.

## (SECONDARY SOURCES)

32. Avakian, Bob. *The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung*. Chicago: RCP Publications, 1978.

33. ———. *Mao's Immortal Contributions*. Chicago: RCP Publications, 1979. (Communes are fine, p.218.)

\*34. Chung Hua-min & Miller, Arthur. *Madame Mao, A Profile of Chiang Ching*. Hong Kong: Union Research Institute, 1968.

Contains several speeches by Chiang Ching. (Slogan "children-parents" p 146)

35. Daubier, Jean. *A History of the Chinese Cultural Revolution*. New York: Vintage, 1974. (Tao, Chu caricatures, p 135)

36. Han Suyin. *The Wind in the Tower, Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Revolution 1949-1976*. Herts: Triad Panther, 1978. ("children-parents" slogan, p 327.) For liberation war see her *Morning Deluge (1893-1954)* (1972).

37. Lotta, Raymond (ed.). *And Mao Makes Five*. Chicago: Banner Press, 1978. Contains introduction on last battle of 1973-76 and reprints of key documents from the Left and the Right. (Tachai p 35; Chang Chun-chiao & culture p 36; for Deng and 3 directives, see Cheng Yueh's "A General Program for Capitalist Restoration", reprinted p 274.)

38. Malraux, André. *Anti-Memoirs*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968. Interview with Mao Tsetung.

39. Masi, Edoarda. *China Winter*. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1982. Original title: *Per la Cina*, 1978. (for *Song of the Gardner* p 178; posters stripped down p 175)

40. New World Press. *A Great Trial in Chinese History*. Peking, 1981. Chinese revisionists' rendition of the trial. (Liao Mosha p 53; the armed rebellion, pp 25, 191-93 is one of their major charges. Chiang Ching's defence, p 26)

41. Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. "Revisionists are Revisionists and Must Not Be Supported; Revolutionaries are Revolutionaries and Must Be Supported", in *Revolution and Counter-Revolution* (Report on China by Bob Avakian, Chairman). (For 3 directives vs class struggle as key link, see especially pp 23-42.)

42. *Revolutionary Worker*, Voice of the RCP, USA, Chicago. "The Shanghai Rebellion 'Plot'", 30.1.81; "Walls Salute Chiang Ching", 11.8.91, citing 7.91 issue of *Chang Ming*, Hong Kong.

43. Robinson, Joan. *The Cultural Revolution in China*. Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1969.

44. *Sing Tao*, Hong Kong, 7.6.91 (right-wing

newspaper) p 3.

45. Tai, Dwan. *Chiang Ching*. Hicksville, NY: Exposition Press, 1974. (*Docks* pp 102-3. Also see *Peking Review* 25.8.67. (Deng & Tao Chu vs opera, p 99; Soviet observer of Red Guard meeting, p 124, citing Zhelokhovtsev, A. *The Cultural Revolution Seen by a Soviet*.)

46. Wilson, Dick. *Mao, The People's Emperor*. London: Futura Publications, 1979. (reading to Mao and convalescing, p 392)

47. Witke, Roxanne. *Comrade Chiang Ching*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977. (Chiang Ching describing her early childhood, heads on pole, pp. 49-51; her "social education", p.62; Chiang Ching on Lu Hsun, p 138; Yanan wall slogans p 167 citing *The Red Flag Waves*, 16, p 134; Chiang Ching denied respect p 186; Chiang Ching tells concubines and hated landlord story p 210; Moscow and health p 271; Chiang Ching on her Wusih experience, pp 227-29; Chiang Ching on divorce practices, p 230, pp 251-53; Chiang Ching's description of land reform, pp 244-248; "Do People Eat Enough" p 264; keeping abreast, p 260; Chiang Ching's investigation into Wu Hsun, pp 238-243; May 16th Circular, p 517; Chiang Ching recounts Lin Piao affair, pp 365-67 (see Doc. 12 of the CCP/CC (68) for Mao's original remarks); women generals p 354; son, pp 164-65.)

Because it is based on the account of her interviews with Chiang Ching in 1972, this book by academic historian Roxanne Witke seems to be the most informed available source in English about Chiang Ching's early life, and consequently it has been used extensively for this part of the article. A word of caution: her book is sprinkled with the poison of her thoroughly bourgeois outlook that leaders make history as individuals and only out of self-interest. However if one can manage to cast aside Witke's annoying parenthetical interruptions and her summations that generally stand things on their head, one can glean quite a bit about Chiang Ching's remarkable life from Chiang Ching herself (or what she might have said) through the parts in which Witke lets her speak. Nonetheless, it can in no way be honestly maintained that Witke fulfilled her promise to Chiang Ching to do a book on the history of the revolution mainly from Chiang Ching's point of view. And, it is highly unfortunate that someone who fails to grasp the class struggle in China and has as much distaste for revolution as Witke does (areas she assumes are as incomprehensible to her reading public as to herself) should have taken on Chiang Ching's story. Witke also waited to publish her book until after Mao's death and Chiang Ching's arrest, lending her voice to the prescribed anti-communist liturgy performed by the international bourgeois media and some academicians that presumptuously aimed to put the seal of death on Maoist revolution after the coup d'état of 1976.

This violation of Chiang Ching's trust by the "moderate" Witke displayed in the 1977 biography turned into rabid revolutionary-bashing and base rumour-mongering about Chiang Ching's personal life in Witke's articles after her death in 1991, as though Witke willingly surrendered any credibility as a serious source today. □

## Gonzalo/Rectification (Continued from page 16)

Socialism unfolded in the USSR under Lenin and Comrade Stalin until the revisionist Khrushchev usurped political power; the situation was similar in China, where socialism lasted until 1976 when Deng unleashed a counter-revolutionary coup d'état following the death of Chairman Mao. If we count from 1848, when the fundamentals of socialism were first laid out by Marx and Engels (just two people) in the immortal *Communist Manifesto*, or from 1917, when socialism was first realized in practice, we can see that socialism is still young, it has only existed for a short time. Today it continues to exist as an experience, it is alive in the world's communists and revolutionaries. It exists as an ideology, as a body of politics, as a theory and a practice, and it also lives in us, the communists and revolutionaries of Peru.

Thus we are talking about a counter-revolutionary general offensive aimed at thwarting revolution as the main historical and political trend in today's world. Who is attacking revolution? Both the imperialists and the revisionists. But of the two, Yankee imperialism is principal — they are heading up this offensive, in an attempt to establish themselves as the sole hegemonic superpower in their contention with the other superpower, Russia, and the other imperialist powers. This offensive is being unfolded principally by Yankee imperialism, the principal hegemonistic power. It is a general offensive for two reasons: because it is being unleashed everywhere by the world's imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries, and because it is occurring in every sphere: the ideological, political and economic spheres, though it is centred on politics.

We must grapple with this, very seriously, analyse it and grasp it well, just as we should with every question. The point is to understand reality in order to ascertain the laws that govern it, and to use these laws to transform reality in the interests of the world's proletariat and peoples.

Here we should note that this is not the final offensive. This is an important distinction. It is a counter-revolutionary general offensive. Generally speaking, a final offensive refers to the last part of the strategic

offensive of a revolution. Revolution goes through three stages, in political and military terms, and of course politics guide military matters and is the principal of the two. These stages are the strategic defensive, strategic equilibrium and the strategic offensive. We hold that we are witnessing the strategic offensive of the world revolution — we do not say that the final offensive is taking place today. Furthermore, we view the strategic offensive of the world revolution as a protracted process — not something brief — consisting of twists and turns and even setbacks. What we are referring to here is not revolution but counter-revolution, a counter-revolutionary general offensive aimed at thwarting the development of the world proletarian revolution.

Another point that must be noted is that despite all their bombast, their economic assaults, their unfounded mud-slinging and wild attacks, they are doomed to defeat. Since we know that revolution can run up against restoration and even be reversed, the fact that we are facing a counter-revolutionary general offensive should not surprise us. Instead we should analyse it so as to deal with it and defeat it. Attacks on Marxism have always heralded its further development and advance. Let us recall what we put forward in 1979: fifteen billion years of matter in motion — the part of this process we know about — have given rise to the irresistible march to communism. This is the reality, so let us grasp this law and apply it. Our goal of communism is not some idea unrelated to this material process; it is a part of it. Communism arises from this process and constitutes its future; it is part and parcel of the unfolding of this material process and is an expression of matter's irrepressible motion. No other class has a future like the proletariat. The bourgeoisie was a revolutionary class once but it became historically obsolete. It is lashing out wildly like any cornered beast, seeking to make its own inevitable destruction more costly. It knows it is finished, that it is an unburied corpse, but even at the foot of its open grave it resists burial at the hands of the proletariat. The final monster, imperialism, ill-begotten child of the bourgeoisie and oppressor of the world's peoples, must be swept off the face of the earth together with revisionism and world

reaction. It falls to us, the proletariat and the people, to bury it. From the historical viewpoint, this task is necessary and it falls to us to carry it out. We must be absolutely convinced that we shall smash the bourgeoisie and bury imperialism along with all its partners and flunkies.

In the first part of the document, where it takes up the political situation in Peru, it refers to the question of "legitimization". In several meetings since the Congress we have analysed this concept put forward by Yankee imperialism in the context of their thesis of "low-intensity warfare". This is an important question for us and we need to ask what they have achieved. The answer is they have achieved nothing. Fujimori has not gained the slightest legitimacy from the elections, not only because of the reactionary and comical character of elections in Peru but also because he didn't get many votes. Instead, these elections put his legitimacy into question, since the number of people who abstained (27%) was greater than the number who voted for him (24.6%) in the first round and far below the 50% plus one required by the Constitution. In the second round, even with the help of the APRÁ party, the United Left and the Socialist Left, the best he could do was a plurality. His actions have hurt this "legitimacy" even more. Everything he has done has been directed against the people, which is natural since he is a representative of the big bourgeoisie, principally the compradors, and of the landlords as a whole, and is the most obsequiously pro-Yankee imperialist president the country has ever seen and the most rabid enemy of the people's war — in short, a genocidal national traitor.

He has been de-legitimized and thoroughly unmasked at a dizzying pace. The people feel that there is no right nor reason for so much evil, for so much oppression, and the people's war strengthens this understanding. The systematic violations of the people's human rights, Fujimori's genocidal policies following in the footsteps of Belaunde and Garcia — the facts cannot be covered up because the people have experienced them personally. The reappearance of mass graves; the slaughter of the sons and daughters of the people; the cowardly murder of the fighters and their families, with absolute impunity; the take-no-prisoners policy in this

war — these things cannot be hidden from the people because it is the people who have endured them. The monstrous crimes committed against the families and the masses who marched on the Fifth Anniversary of the Day of Heroism in the public plazas and the shantytowns of Lima; armed only with banners and slogans — how can they cover up the massacre at San Gabriel? Can they deny that Fujimori offered his congratulations to the soldiers who committed it? The protests that occurred when a university student and two poor youth were killed for carrying knapsacks — can they be disregarded and the murderers once again be shielded? The genocide committed against tribal communities, the genocidal Armed Forces' use of peasants as cannonfodder, the free hand given to the paramilitary *ronderos* to commit all sorts of crimes — how can all this legitimize the Fujimori government? The brutal wage cuts, the total neglect of the people's education and health care by the "cholera government", the systematic denial of the people's rights and the gains won by the proletariat and people, the continuous and growing repression against the masses, the introduction of land mortgages and usury and the current concentration of land ownership principally through expropriating the poor peasants, the starvation of millions of people cast into the starkest poverty, the profound economic recession that has reduced the income of the Peruvian masses to levels unseen for decades, the destruction of national resources and the wholesale auctioning off of the country to imperialism, etc, etc — can all this legitimize the Fujimori government? On the contrary, the Fujimori government has become utterly exposed in less than a year.

In summation, in studying the first part of this document we should consider: 1) The vicious counter-revolutionary general offensive, 2) The growing de-legitimization of the Fujimori government and the rotten Peruvian state.

In the second part, "The Political Crisis Deepens and the Contradictions Escalate", we should focus on the process of bureaucrat capitalism. Our Party's thesis of bureaucrat capitalism is that it is the mode, the form, that capitalism assumes in backward semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries such as ours. This process is linked to the country's

historical development. In eighteenth-century Peru capitalism developed only in the most embryonic way. This process picked up speed in the mid-nineteenth century, when the country was subjugated by British imperialism and suffered the consequences of the war with Chile.

After 1895 bureaucrat capitalism underwent three periods: 1) From 1895 to 1945, centred in the 1920s. This is the period of the development of bureaucrat capitalism. 2) From 1945 to 1980, centred in the 1960s and 1970s (following the 1968 corporatist, fascist coup by Velasco). This is the period of the deepening of bureaucrat capitalism. The Party put forward that the fascist coup was meant to fulfill three objectives: First, deepen bureaucrat capitalism; second, restructure Peruvian society; and third, prevent a revolution in Peru. Obviously they were not able to completely succeed in any of their objectives, although they laid a certain basis. The most devastating proof of their failure was the initiation of the armed struggle in 1980. Thus began the third period, the destruction of bureaucrat capital, which continues today.

Bureaucrat capitalism was critically ill from birth. Today it has entered a general crisis and is approaching its doom. But if one examines the development of bureaucrat capitalism one can see that within the various periods there are sub-periods. For example, within the first period there was a prologue, a preparatory phase. Then in the 1920s there was another phase, which laid the foundations for bureaucrat capitalism's development, only to be followed by a collapse. When the level of development that had been sought could not be achieved, that drove the country into crisis and led to a greater decline. Historical facts show this to be the case. During the second period, the period of the deepening of bureaucrat capitalism, once again there was a preparatory phase or prologue, a phase of building up the basis for development, and finally another crisis leading to an even worse collapse.

In the third period, the destruction of bureaucrat capitalism, which began in 1980, yet again there has been a prologue, a long and muddled phase of preparing conditions, extending into the nineties. Today they are laying the foundations for carry-

ing out neo-liberal policies, and blabber about how they are carrying out a "revolution", but just as in bureaucrat capitalism's two previous periods, this phase of building up foundations during the third period will inevitably lead to another crisis, which will in turn give rise to an even more disastrous collapse. In order to differentiate between the second and third periods, we should emphasize that the state served as the main economic lever during the second period, while today they seek to have non-state enterprises play this role. History shows that this building up of a foundation does bring some results, but that it also leads to deeper crisis. All this demonstrates that today, in its third period, bureaucrat capitalism is in the midst of a general crisis in the ideological, political and economic spheres. This situation has been becoming increasingly critical since 1974, and there is no way they can overcome it. The state is falling apart politically: the president governs by decree, abusing the powers granted by Article 211, Paragraph 20, of their Constitution. The parliament cannot fulfill its assigned function as a legislative body, and the judiciary, ridiculed even by Fujimori and cut off from all funding, is increasingly at the mercy of the president's beck and call. Furthermore, the laws themselves, such as the recent new penal code, are becoming increasingly fascist. Every day is witness to new signs of fascism and fascist positions. In the ideological sphere, they — like their imperialist masters — are staggering under the burden of an increasingly rotten and future-less ideology. Their only remaining option is to raise the banner of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, liberalism. That banner was already a tattered rag by the time of the First World War and today is long outmoded. These people are stubborn, but they have no future, while socialism has already proved that it has a brilliant future. Capitalism is a corpse and like many corpses it needs burying.

Thus, ideologically, politically and economically they are sinking into a deeper and deeper general crisis and are being demolished by people's war day by day.

The government faces an increasingly difficult situation, the most complicated and difficult situation Peru has ever known. They cannot handle it. Whatever measures they

may adopt will lead to only the most fleeting improvement and complete bankruptcy. The main instrument of their destruction is the people's war based on the class struggle of the masses of people.

It is important to indicate bureaucrat capitalism's three periods and the specific character of each, especially the last period. This is what permits us to understand that they can never succeed in carrying out the three tasks faced by the Peruvian reactionaries and their imperialist masters, principally Yankee imperialism: to kick-start bureaucrat capitalism, restructure the state and wipe out the people's war. These tasks are historically and politically impossible. Even the reactionaries in Peru are saying that the Fujimori government is accomplishing nothing, that it is simply stumbling from failure to failure. This is only a part of the truth, because the problems that it increasingly faces are inevitable — they are the concrete reality of the bureaucrat road of the exploiters, the big bourgeoisie and big landowners and imperialism. They are the embodiment of a law, the law that the development of bureaucrat capitalism ripens the conditions for revolution, and the revolution, with the development of people's war, accelerates and grows more powerful, bringing the country-wide seizure of political power closer.

This second part of the document also takes up the special local elections. There has already been a lot of the usual prattle about them, as the kept hens of the press start their predictable clucking, but they cannot hide reality: today the Armed Forces not only vote, they directly appoint local officials. As their Cangallo document says, they will continue to do so. The truth is coming out. They used to brag about what they called the triumph of democracy but today they have to admit that there are over 400 districts where there are no local officials whatsoever. So much for their democracy. Furthermore, even though they cannot provide protection for candidates standing for local office they refuse to allow these candidates to withdraw. This is what happened with the United Left candidates in Ayacucho. In Junin, they have put forward the ringleaders of their paramilitary forces as candidates.

Therefore, for this rotten system elections are no more than a means to continue exploiting and oppressing the people. That is why the

Party's tactic of boycotting elections is good. It develops the tendency of the people to turn against elections and serves the people's war:

The third part of the document, "The Boycott Develops the People's Tendency to Turn against Elections and Serves the Development of the People's War", centres on the advances that refute the slanders hurled against us in 1989, and emphasizes the evaluation made by the Second Plenum of the Central Committee: that in 1989 the People's War won a big victory with the establishment of Open People's Committees, and in 1990 it achieved strategic equilibrium. All it took was a simple phrase — Hail the strategic equilibrium! — and the reactionaries and revisionists began to tremble and gnash their teeth. Almost all of them have shouted themselves hoarse trying to deny it. They have even unleashed bloody and pointless military operations against us, venting their fury on the masses, as always, trying to "prove" that there is no strategic equilibrium. Why are they in such a mortal panic? Because the old order is about to die and be buried. The Party has always made good on its word. We have always done what we said we would. We said we were going to initiate the armed struggle and we did in 1980. Today we are embarking on the seizure of power country-wide; we have proclaimed strategic equilibrium and defined it concretely, and given it greater emphasis than ever before: "Strategic equilibrium and the preparation of the counter-offensive means, for the enemy, striving to recapture their lost positions in order to save their system; for us it means preparing for the strategic offensive by organizing the seizure of state power." We have to grasp this well in order to deal with it increasingly well in practice. We have to thoroughly examine the question of strategic equilibrium, not only in terms of Chairman Mao's teachings but also in terms of the specific form it will take here in our country.

Furthermore, we should see how the Third Campaign to Advance in the Development of Base Areas, a part of the overall Great Plan for Developing Base Areas to Seize Political Power, is a product of the whole process of eleven years of people's war. The importance of the Third Campaign is that it successfully concludes the Plan to Advance

and is therefore the link to a new plan. In short, the completion of this Third Campaign in May, June and July has been magnificent. Never before has the People's War, principally in the countryside and complementarily in the cities, penetrated so deeply nor risen to such heights. All of us, at all levels, should feel a great joy at having served whole-heartedly in such a far-reaching task. A few bricks and then a few more bricks all joined together make a solid wall. Let traitors try and negate it; if they do so, it is because of their class interests and in order to fill their own pockets, no matter how badly the Peruvian reactionaries and the imperialists pay them. We are very well acquainted with the reality we have personally experienced and created. So we in the Party, the People's Guerrilla Army, the New Political Power and the masses understand the great achievements of this heroic People's War.

Is the people's war having an impact? There is clear evidence that it is. For example, for the first time now there is debate in the U.S. Senate about the people's war in Peru. The reverberations of the people's war are reaching into the very lair of world reaction. This is not the main sign, but it is an important one. Meanwhile, in Peru, some people are building ultra-modern castles in the air. They include the genocidal national traitor Fujimori; the butchers General Malca, Minister of the Interior, and General Torres Aciego, Minister of Defence; dyed-in-the-wool pro-Yankee elements like Minister of Economies Boloña; groveling social climbers such as Bernales, Tapia, Gonzales, etc. These people, all obsequious flunkies for imperialism and the exploiting classes, are begging for imperialist "aid" — mainly from the U.S. — and imagine that it will lead to the defeat of the people's war. They try and use the very advances of the people's war as an argument for why the imperialists should "re-admit Peru into the world financial community" and defend the ultra-reactionary Peruvian state.

In the U.S., the opening moves for next year's elections are taking place, and Bush is going all-out to be re-elected. In the Middle East he won some raggedy success, a victory that was good enough though everyone knows that he did not fulfill his goals. We put it this way because committing a cowardly and bullying assault against a people cannot be considered

much of an achievement, especially today when every struggle of the peoples of the world for their liberation is a component part of the world revolution (we are fully conscious of Saddam Hussein's class limitations). Still, this was Yankee imperialism's "victory". Moreover, they embarked on the war in the Gulf in order to give their economy a boost, but it did not turn out as they expected and they are continuing to suffer serious economic difficulties in relation to the other imperialist powers. This does not, however, mean that they are no longer an imperialist superpower. Further, Bush declared a war on drugs, and here, again, he is running up against the people, because just as his attempts to deal with their economic problems by raising taxes and reducing spending on social programmes have given rise to resistance by the people of the U.S., so also his war against drugs is bringing him up against the poorest and most exploited masses, especially the oppressed minorities, and again he has had little success. This war on drugs is closely linked to the fight against the people's war in Peru and the class struggle in the Andean region, and this has its repercussions in U.S. political affairs. Thus we must conclude that this matter will not be over in September, when in order for U.S. aid to be "unfrozen" the Peruvian government must comply with an "anti-drug" treaty stipulating, among other things, its respect for human rights — which this government systematically violates. The people's war in Peru has become an electoral issue, and we find it very interesting that its repercussions are being felt in their Congress. In addition, this is a contributing factor to the struggle being waged by our comrades of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA and the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and unites us further, as does the carrying out of a common campaign against imperialism, principally Yankee imperialism, under the slogan Yankee Go Home! This is another example of the achievements and impact of the Third Campaign.

The fourth part of the document, "Elections, No! People's War, Yes!" is the main one. Here we lay out our criteria for how to evaluate Marxism today. We examine the basic theses of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, in four fields,

and reaffirm our principles. There is even an exposition of how we understand it as an integral whole, taking up, in ascending order and proportionally, the contributions made by Marx, the greater contributions made by Lenin, and the much greater contributions made by Chairman Mao, which also shows the development of Maoism as a new, third and higher stage.

A first and most timely conclusion to be drawn: *In order to develop the world proletarian revolution, demolish imperialism and international reaction, and smash revisionism, it is decisive to uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.* This is the heart of the matter. In the 1960s Maoism was called our most powerful weapon, our atomic bomb, an unbeatable weapon. Today we should be even more aware of Maoism's historic importance, its invincibility, that Marxism is all-powerful because it is true. This is the decisive factor, on which everything else depends and from which everything else flows. If we were to stray from Maoism the revolution would suffer, but they would never be able to stop the revolution because Marxism-Leninism-Maoism would assert itself anew to take the lead. What we need principally is Maoism and we need to raise its banner very high, higher and higher; this means that we have to defend it and not just uphold it — we raise banners to defend them — but the principal thing is to apply it.

*Why should we uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism? In order to advance the world proletarian revolution.* Revolution is the main trend in the world today. There is no future for humanity without the complete and total victory of the revolution, in other words, communism. Therefore the question is how to advance the world revolution, and that means carrying it out, making revolution. As has been pointed out, the question is not how many of us there are but how determined we are to do it. In 1848 there was just Marx and Engels. Today, 143 years later, there are millions of us around the world. Then we had nothing; today we have two glorious and tremendously rich historical experiences, experiences that live on in the proletariat and peoples, in us, and once again we must emphasize that the restoration of capitalism does not

negate the fact that revolution is the main trend. The reactionaries may dream of refuting this fact, but in vain, because the world proletarian revolution is advancing and we are part of that advance. It is true that this advance comes at a price that must be paid in blood, but what does not? Without the blood shed by communists and revolutionaries around the world we would not be here.

We need Maoism to *demolish imperialism and international reaction* and sweep them off the face of the earth. No matter how much rubbish they throw at us, in the end we will bury them and all their debris along with them. There is no way to stop this great historical housecleaning.

We also need Maoism to *smash revisionism*. Imperialism and revisionism will go down the drain together but you can't fight imperialism without fighting revisionism.

*We reaffirm Maoism's decisive importance.* We are absolutely convinced, untroubled by the slightest doubt, much less paralyzed. We — the communists, the class, the revolutionaries — are optimists, and nothing can stop us.

All this brings us to the slogan *Beat Back the Counter-revolutionary General Offensive!* This must be our watchword.

We should also draw a second conclusion: We must concretize a task we have already agreed upon: *Create public opinion and unleash deep-going ideological work among the masses.* Let's carry out this task resolutely and immediately. Marxism teaches the importance of agitation and propaganda. Marx's words have flowered all over the world, in almost every language. Lenin taught that no matter how much time may pass between the sowing and reaping, propaganda always bears magnificent fruit. Chairman Mao said that both sides, the reaction and the revolution, need to create public opinion: they need to create public opinion against revolution in order to perpetuate exploitation, while we need to create public opinion in order to use revolutionary violence to seize and defend political power. Without winning public opinion for the revolution we cannot seize power.

We have a glorious ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, the most powerful weapon in the world today. We have its creative application, Gonzalo

Thought. So let's arm minds — arm more and more minds and do it more and more thoroughly. Win over people's minds and their hands will be armed. It is not for nothing that our Party has always had a reputation for being strong on politics, because politics is nothing but the concrete application of ideology in the struggle to seize political power. Today our ideology is under attack from all sides and in every sphere, and these attacks will mount. But they are afraid to confront us directly — in a straight-on ideological debate with Marxism they could only lose. The bourgeoisie's critique does not go beyond wild assertions and baseless epithets. What do they have to counterpose to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism? The new bourgeois ideologues are ephemeral. For example, Fukuyama, whose star seemed to shine so brightly for a little while and then flickered and went out like a match. He denied that there is any development in history and proclaimed the death of ideology. Actually, he especially proclaimed the death of the ideology of the proletariat and excluded the ideology of the bourgeoisie from this fate because imperialism had supposedly prevailed as an economic and political system. But history and ideology continue to do battle, driven by the class struggle; his ravings have smashed up against history and the battles have continued between the ideologies of different classes, whether it be Arab fundamentalists, with their religion; neo-liberals, neopositivists and fascists, with their various forms of bourgeois ideology; or us, the communists, including in the people's war led by the Communist Party of Peru, with our scientific ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Thus once again the bourgeoisie's ranting and pseudo-theories blow away like smoke in the wind.

Lately they have been going back to Joseph de Maistre, which is truly ludicrous. Even Uslar Pietri, whose work was awarded a prize by the King of Spain, says de Maistre was the enemy of everything progressive, which of course he was since he was a die-hard Papist fanatic. By wrapping itself in the cloak of its most backward "theoreticians" all the bourgeoisie is doing is reinfesting itself with its own pustulence. Lacking any fresh blood with which to reinvigorate their rotten corpse, the bourgeoisie and reaction in

general can only fill their veins with more and more poisonous pus.

How should we respond to their ideological attacks? We must thoroughly expose them, rip off their fraudulent and stinking cover, and confront them with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, applied to concrete reality. Marxism is the only scientifically true ideology. It can move mountains, change the world and set it right-side up. Idealism can only stand reality on its head. Marx said that philosophy had been enchained, snatched away from the masses, entangled in words and cobwebs to hide it from the masses. We should liberate philosophy and give it back to the masses. *We have to wield our philosophy by mobilizing the masses.* Creating public opinion is a matter of mobilizing the masses — let them be agitators and propagandists. Let's launch a mass movement to educate the masses in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, and in Gonzalo Thought. The necessity for this has been a basic Marxist teaching since the beginning, and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was a living and glorious example of mobilizing the masses with Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology in order to continue building socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to persist in revolution and not allow its fruits to be snatched away, to defend the revolution. Mobilize the masses in an immense and profound theoretical, ideological movement, with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. Liberate them from this feudal, bourgeois, pro-imperialist muck that makes them see the world upside-down. Let philosophy out of the desk drawer, liberate it from the hands of book worshippers and phoney academic institutions and take it to the masses, to the day-to-day class struggle, to the people. They have been robbed of their soul — reclaim it and give it back to them so that they no longer let themselves be fooled. Philosophy and science do not belong to the erudite but to the masses. Today the masses are becoming increasingly dialectical but this must be made conscious, so that they consciously employ the laws of dialectics and apply the law of contradiction with a full understanding of what it means and apply it to nature, society and ideas. The masses are capable of this

achievement because they are the makers of history and the creators of everything. Furthermore, all knowledge arises from practice — above all, human beings change things, in their daily social practice, and it is through this process of changing things that they learn and understand. This understanding acquired in practice is again returned to practice, giving rise to further changes, to development, advance and transformations, but since everything bears the stamp of one class or another, this practice, this knowledge, these transformations will also have a class character — for or against the proletariat and the people. The source of all knowledge is practice, the transforming historical action of the masses, of humanity. At any given time in history it is through social practice that the masses arm their minds with the ideas corresponding to that time and therefore arm their hands to realize the tasks assigned by history. Study is an indispensable complement to this process. People enter into action within a particular class context and in the interests of a particular class, and this gives rise to ideas, to ideology. Their organized action leads to social transformation, an advance for the majority of people. Engels teaches us to hammer home ideas with actions. We in the Party have been applying this approach since the 1970s, and we should persist in it.

How, then, can we arm the masses with the ideology and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought? The masses become ideologically armed by dealing with the concrete problems they face in the ideological, political and economic spheres, on the basis of our work of raising their level and of popularization. As part of evaluating the experience of the rectification campaign launched by the First Plenum of the Central Committee, we should take up the question of raising standards and popularization. In this we should distinguish between leadership and cadre on the one hand and basic Party members on the other, and among different levels of Party organization, that is, the Party's membership, the People's Guerrilla Army and the mass organizations generated by the Party, as well as among the different mass organizations fighting alongside us.

Among the advantages at its dis-

posal the reaction has many means of information. Its highly developed mass media system includes newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations, etc. We don't have all that but we can count on an unbeatable resource — the fact that the masses are the makers of history. Knowledge arises from practice and practice is what the masses do. We've said that the masses must be trained as agitators and propagandists; it is they who fight and resist, they know how to do all that because they have always done it and therefore they can do this as well. What should be our method? The spoken word. The oral method is readily at hand and it allows us to go lower and deeper among the masses. It allows a more flexible approach since it can be adapted to the particular audience — peasants, workers, students, intellectuals, soldiers, shopkeepers, etc. It is more flexible and tactical, within, of course, the context of an overall strategy. We should also employ the printed word, using clear and simple language, and fight with the pen as well as with the sword. We should use graphics, which are especially good, for example, for illiterate peasants. We should use all the modern methods we can get our hands on, without forgetting that the spoken word is the principal method because it is the most accessible to the masses of people.

To reiterate, since we serve the masses and wield the spoken word — which doesn't cost a penny, we have all the tactical means we need. For example, we should encourage people to express their grievances. All you need is that a group of people recount their experiences with increasing oppression and exploitation. If just one person starts another will follow and soon they will all feel the explosive strength of their anger. This spurs people on and moves them to take action against the causes of exploitation and against the oppressors. We should encourage different groups of people in many different places to express their grievances so that their words join together like a raging hurricane. One person alone is weak but many people joined together make up a mighty force. Another form of written mass propaganda is *dazibaos*. Chairman Mao taught that these wall writings are very effective for democracy. The masses don't even need

paper — they can write on the walls with chalk, coal or paint if they have any, using big letters to write simple phrases to say what their demands are, what forms of struggle to use, which experiences are positive and which are negative, how they evaluate their leaders. This is an expression of mass democracy. It is the complete opposite of phoney bourgeois democracy, which is so highly touted but democratic only for the rulers and exploiters and not for the people. When the masses think and act they have an inexhaustible strength and can make contributions in every field: politics, military affairs, economics, the arts and sciences. Let's keep developing people's democracy; let the masses discuss plans and evaluate their implementation as the soldiers do in the People's Guerrilla Army — this will lead to a better understanding, greater unity and more powerful action. Let the masses show their abilities as agitators and propagandists in the midst of democracy.

A great mass ideological movement needs the leadership of the Party, because the Party is the most conscious element, as long as it grasps, wields and applies Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, the laws that govern revolution and politics, in other words the laws of the class struggle for political power, of people's war as the principal form of struggle. Without the Party the masses couldn't even be equipped with a plan, and it is indispensable that the Party lead them with a good plan. We know that a plan is an ideological form, and the Party's plan is an expression of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. Once the plan is formulated the Party has to set the various organizations into motion, because a political line cannot become a material force without organizational forms to put it into concrete practice. These forms can be Party organizations, the army, the organizations generated by the Party, organs of political power or organizations created by the lowest and deepest layers of the masses. Let the masses carry out this great ideological mobilization to uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism (as the universal truth) and Gonzalo Thought (as specifically principal for us as its creative application to our conditions), and let armed actions drive these ideas home.

Thus only the Communist Party

can lead this great process of mass agitation and propaganda. As Chairman Mao taught, "As long as there are masses and a Party all sorts of miracles can be accomplished."

#### **IV. THE RECTIFICATION CAMPAIGN**

At this meeting today we are implementing the decision of the Second Plenum of the Central Committee. Our duty was to carry forward the rectification campaign, and the duty of the lower organizations, Party members, fighters, activists and masses was to carry it out. Right now we are bringing this campaign to its culmination. We have studied "Elections, No! People's War, Yes!", individually and collectively, debated it and applied it.

From what has been said so far certain observations can be made regarding these discussions. The main problem is how to apply the study of this document to the current political situation. We communists learn to do study in order to apply it; otherwise we would be worshipping books instead of using Marxism to solve burning problems. Abstract study is metaphysical, idealist and bourgeois. We aren't pragmatists, either, we don't study for narrowly utilitarian reasons like the imperialists and vulgar materialists. We study theory in order to apply it in practice and transform reality, to change the world in the interests of the class and the people. So the question is how to apply it, on three levels:

1) *To the world proletarian revolution.* Here there is only one issue. The document lays out the burning questions of Marxism today: revolutionary violence, the class struggle, socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the struggle against revisionism. Of these four, socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat is principal. Here the point is that Maoism is a new, third and higher stage, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, because it is with Maoism that we shall storm the heavens. In this lies the value of the document — it reaffirms Marxism and holds that to be a Marxist today means being Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, principally Maoist; it grasps that Maoism is a new, third and higher stage, in force and valid throughout the world, for the communists, for the proletariat and peoples of the world. This is the deci-

sive thing. Therefore, our first stand flows from this, from Maoism, and it has been agreed by our Congress: The principal element of Gonzalo Thought is that it has defined Maoism as the new, third and higher stage.

2) *The Peruvian revolution.* Here the principal thing is that the document serves the building of the new state through people's war. This state is being built by the People's Guerrilla Army and under the leadership of the Communist Party, based on the masses of people. This document serves the country-wide seizure of power. It deals with extremely important points that should be applied in the new state today.

3) *How should we apply the document on the individual level?* It is incumbent upon each of us to assimilate and embody the document in order to better serve the revolution. In this regard, all those here are directly concerned with being intellectuals and with artistic questions, and the point is to always put politics in command. When people study Marxism, it shakes them up and the contradiction between the two world outlooks comes to the fore; Marxism deals blows to the non-proletarian aspect and drives on the process of steeling people ideologically. As in every task, there are three stages, each with its own contradiction. At first the question is whether or not to take up study, and once begun the task is half-way done. Then, as things unfold, the question is whether to persevere or quit. This is another struggle, which came up here in the form of drawing out the process until it became burdensome. This was a bad situation because it meant that the old and bourgeois would prevail. We discussed the problem and agreed to carry out this task by giving it priority and using shock tactics to make a breakthrough. This is a very useful method, part of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought style of work. It means concentrating all our energies on the task at hand and spending as much time as necessary until it is completed. This is analogous to carrying out a forced march when the enemy is after us so that we outmanoeuvre him instead of letting ourselves be caught. In study, instead of letting proletarian ideology be defeated by the bourgeois ideology contending with it in our own minds, we take up this new ideology that we

embody and use it to defeat the bourgeois, idealist, alien class outlook. The old ideas resist and we all have to consciously and voluntarily wage a battle in our own minds until we finally break and defeat this resistance arising within ourselves. The old calls out to us: How can you leave behind the ways you know so well! How can you abandon the ways that sustained you for so many years! The old paints everything rotten in rosy colours in order to weaken our will. Shock tactics are very effective against this resistance.

In the third stage, the conclusion, there arises a contradiction between carrying the task through to the end or not, until you decide that you are going to carry it through and actually do so. When a particular course of study is completed, that represents a leap, and shock tactics are a very helpful method to aid in making that leap.

You have carried through this rectification campaign. This is simply a form in which to unfold the struggle between two lines in order to mould ourselves to the ideology of the proletariat.

How much advance have you achieved? Starting out from ignorance of the document's content you have gone on to study and debate that has allowed you to arm yourselves with the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought outlook concerning four basic burning questions facing Marxism today. From the opinions that have been expressed here, it can be seen that you are applying it to current problems.

The accomplishment of this task has given rise to a leap and a transformation in regard to these four basic problems of Marxism today.

In conclusion, we should emphasize that the document is a serious contribution to the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought counter-offensive against the converging counter-revolutionary offensive by revisionism and imperialism, and to confronting the counter-revolutionary general offensive. Therefore in arming ourselves with this document we are serving the Peruvian revolution and the world proletarian revolution. No question can ever be regarded as exhausted — all knowledge is relative since it reflects matter only partially and must be further developed; but this document conforms to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, and therein lies its merit. Further, its way of looking at things follows Gonzalo

Thought. Therefore it is Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought.

## V. CONCLUSIONS

1) This has been a very good meeting. The work has advanced. Taking up study in the midst of war helps us handle it better. Our study has prepared the conditions for a bigger leap in practice.

2) In summing up the opinions expressed earlier, we have dealt with the contradiction between analysis and synthesis in regard to study and have said that the initial discussion tended to focus on analysis. But now, afterwards, in the subsequent discussions, a synthesis has been achieved, and the essence has been grasped; to take a stand for Maoism.

A qualitative leap was being prepared, and now it has taken place. The study suffered from the limitation of neglecting synthesis but it prepared the conditions for a leap. If you grasp analysis and synthesis, study becomes more powerful and the essence is grasped, and a leap takes place.

3) Marxism has been grasped in regard to four basic burning questions.

4) We study in order to apply it to today's class struggle, to win ourselves some manoeuvring room in our fighting by taking up burning problems. We should look at what is ahead of us and not just at what is in the document.

5) This meeting has been helpful in gaining an understanding of problems that are being confronted throughout the Party. Thus our experience here and what we have done will be very helpful for everyone. For example,

the whole Party will benefit from the method of giving priority to this task and applying shock tactics to it, in order to complete our study in the rectification campaign.

6) It is necessary, of course, to gain a better grasp of specific political tasks in relation to the building of new political power through people's war in order to seize power country-wide, but for you concretely this means your work as intellectuals and artists. Therefore your watchword should be "Serve the people and follow the Party's leadership".

7) How much have you advanced? You have taken a leap through studying systematically, intensely and with concrete problems in mind. There is a better understanding of what Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought is, and why it must be upheld, defended and applied to thoroughly transform Peruvian society and serve the world revolution.

8) If there's been a leap, how should we consolidate it? How should this new leap be developed? How to consolidate it and how to develop it are two questions to be taken up from the point of view of how to increasingly and better serve the Party, the revolution in Peru and the world proletarian revolution, to serve the emancipation of all humanity and advance towards communism.

We propose continuing with the study of VI. Lenin's essay "Karl Marx" to strengthen our ideological training and the reports from the Second Plenum of the Central Committee to strengthen our political training.

This has been a worthwhile effort. We congratulate everyone. □

### Statement about ownership and other particulars about 'A WORLD TO WIN'

#### FORM - IV (See Rule 8)

1. Place of Publication	:	Ernakulam, Cochin
2. Periodicity of Publication	:	Quarterly
3. Printer's Name	:	K. Muralidharan
Whether citizen of India?	:	Yes
(If foreigner, state Country of Origin)	:	—
Address	:	Karuna, Irimpanam P.O., Ernakulam Dt., Kerala
4. Publisher's Name	:	K. Muralidharan
Whether citizen of India?	:	Yes
(If foreigner, state Country of Origin)	:	—
Address	:	Karuna, Irimpanam P.O., Ernakulam Dt., Kerala
5. Editor's Name	:	K. Muralidharan
Whether citizen of India?	:	Yes
(If foreigner, state Country of Origin)	:	—
Address	:	Karuna, Irimpanam P.O., Ernakulam Dt., Kerala
6. Names and addresses of individuals who own the newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one percent of the total capital	:	K. Muralidharan Karuna, Irimpanam P.O., Ernakulam Dt., Kerala

I, K. Muralidharan, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Date: 1.3.1993

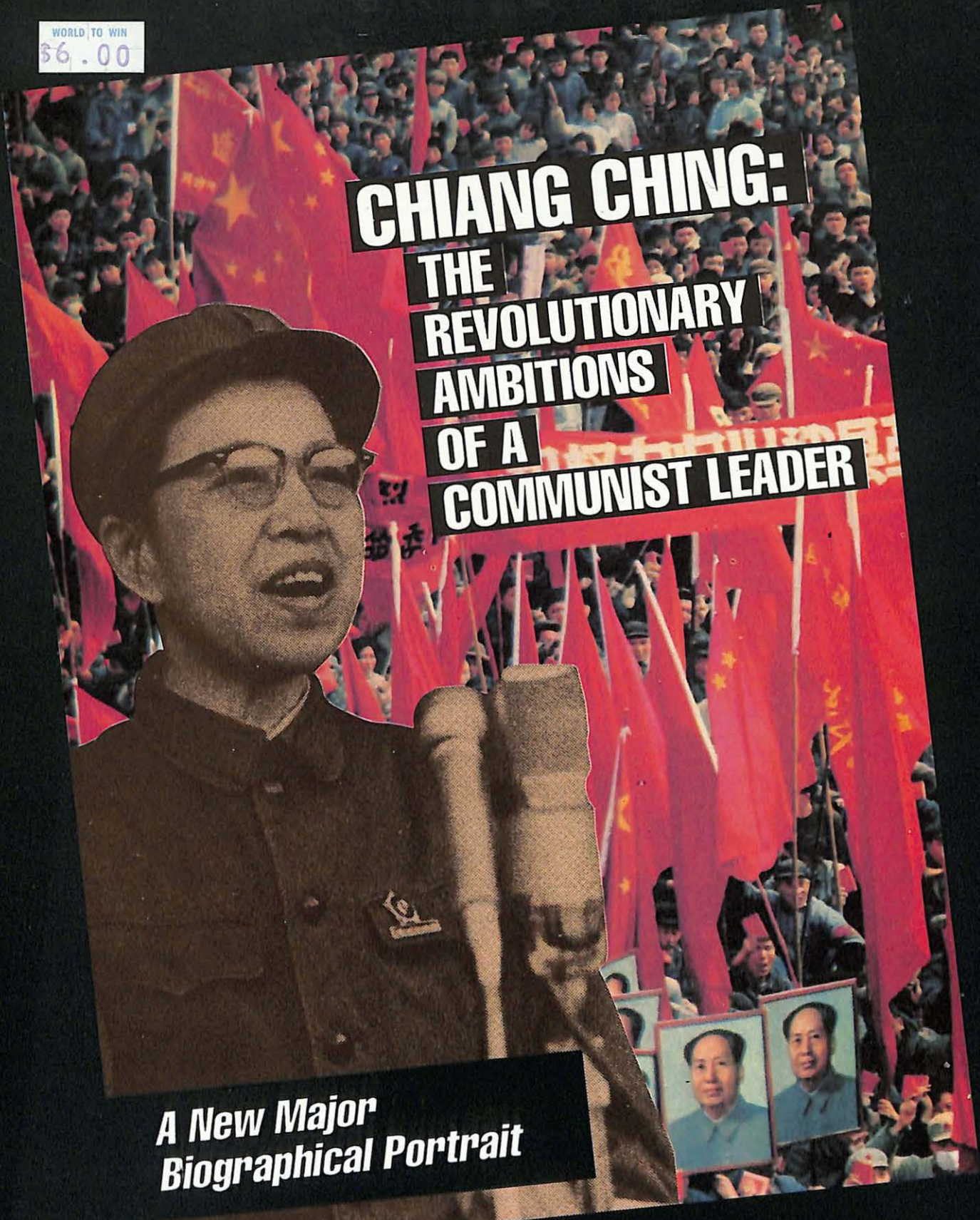
Signature of the Publisher

Sd/-

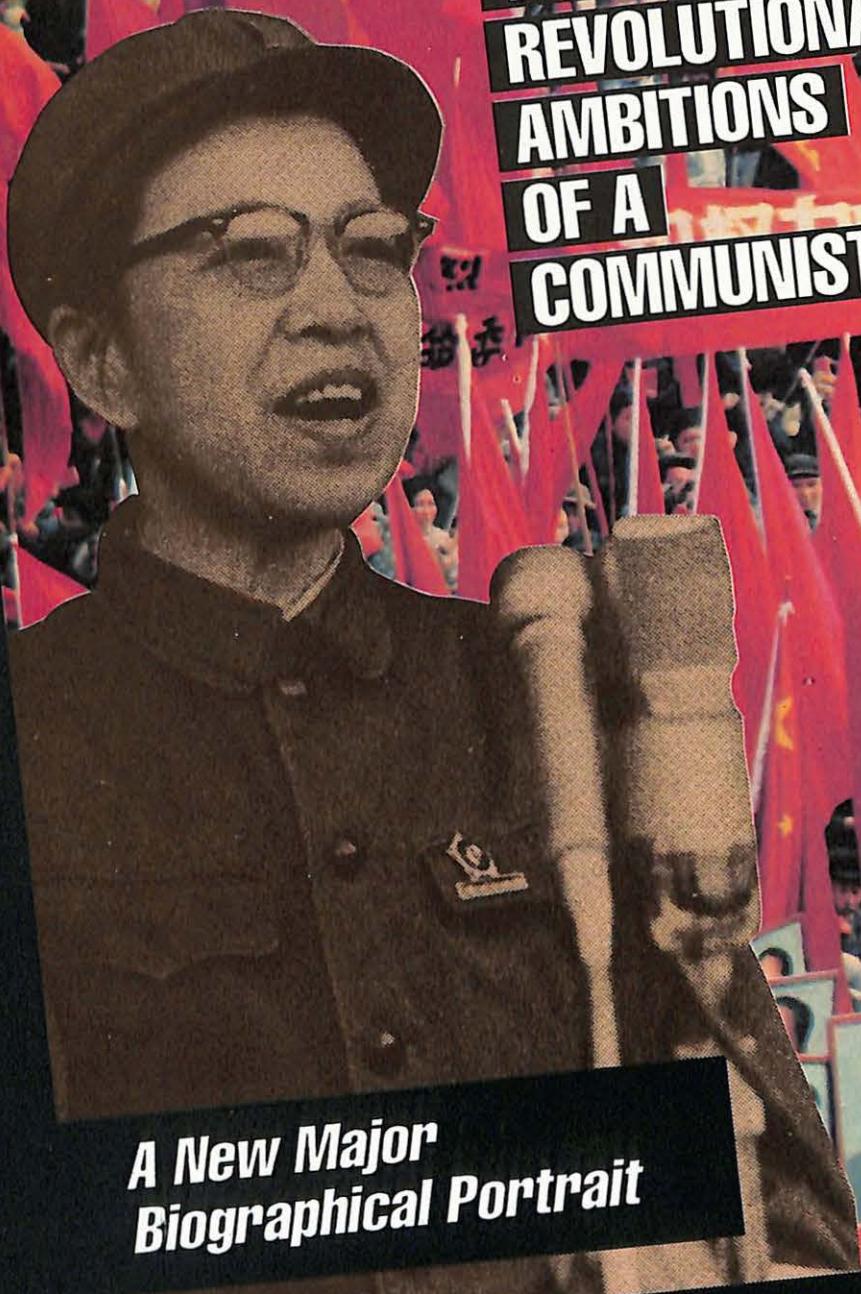
K. Muralidharan



WORLD TO WIN  
\$6.00



# **CHIANG CHING: THE REVOLUTIONARY AMBITIONS OF A COMMUNIST LEADER**



***A New Major  
Biographical Portrait***

