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Proletarian Revolutionaries Turn China Trial Upside-Down

Long Live Chiang Ching! Long Live Chang Chun-Chiao!

January 26—The revisionist kangaroo court in Peking handed down its verdict on Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao: Guilty of making revolution, Guilty of upholding the line and practice of Mao Tsetung. They were sentenced to death, with execution suspended for a two year period to life imprisonment in solitary confinement at hard labor.

Right through the final proceedings, Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao continued to drive the revisionists wild in anger and fear. On the heavily censored Chinese TV footage broadcast by satellite, Chiang Ching could be seen sitting erect in the docket, snapping her head back and yelling at the judges. According to the Hong Kong pro-revisionist daily *Wen Wei Po*, as the presiding judge declared, "The defendant Chiang Ching is sentenced to death."

Continued on page 6



Special

Revolutionary Messages Received from Shanghai

The following letter and document that accompanies it were recently received from China by the Revolutionary Worker. The translation is ours.

Dear Comrades:

Unfortunately for our Party and our state, a counter-revolutionary coup to restore capitalism has taken place. Recently this counter-revolutionary coup clique furthermore arbitrarily set up a "court" to conduct a "trial" against outstanding leaders of the Chinese Communist Party who persevere in the Marxist-Leninist road, Comrade Chiang Ching and comrades Chang Chun-chiao and Wang Hongwen and others. Because of this, our Marxist-Leninist Party center specially issued a solemn statement to forcefully express our strong and unbending determination to fight to the end. At this time, we are giving this small pamphlet to you. Please give us comradely support. Revolutionary greetings.

(signed) XXX
A worker at (a Shanghai factory)

For pamphlet text see page 4

January 3rd, 1981

Chingkangshan Revisited

Mao Tsetung May 1965

*I have long aspired to reach for the clouds,
Again I come from afar
To climb Chingkangshan, our old haunt.
Past scenes are transformed,
Orioles sing, swallows swirl,
Streams purl everywhere
And the road mounts skyward.
Once Huangyangchieh is passed
No other perilous place calls for a glance.*

*Wind and thunder are stirring,
Flags and banners are flying
Wherever men live.
Thirty-eight years are fled
With a mere snap of the fingers.
We can clasp the moon in the Ninth Heaven
And seize turtles deep down in the Five Seas:
We'll return amid triumphant song and laughter.
Nothing is hard in this world
If you dare to scale the heights.*



The Banner Has Been Held Brilliantly Aloft, A Call Has Been Righteously Sounded

Statement by Bob Avakian,
Chairman of the Central Committee of the
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA on the
Heroic Stand of Chiang Ching
and Chang Chun-chiao

The greatest of things in the past, the grandeur of the ages, cannot be compared to the heights being attained in the present—to find true heroes one must look to this era. So proclaimed Mao Tsetung through the powerful symbolism of poetry, celebrating the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. Unflinchingly loyal to the legacy of Mao, unbending standard bearers of that revolutionary struggle and its historic mission of communism, Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao are indestructible symbols of the heroism and of the inevitable triumph of the international proletariat.

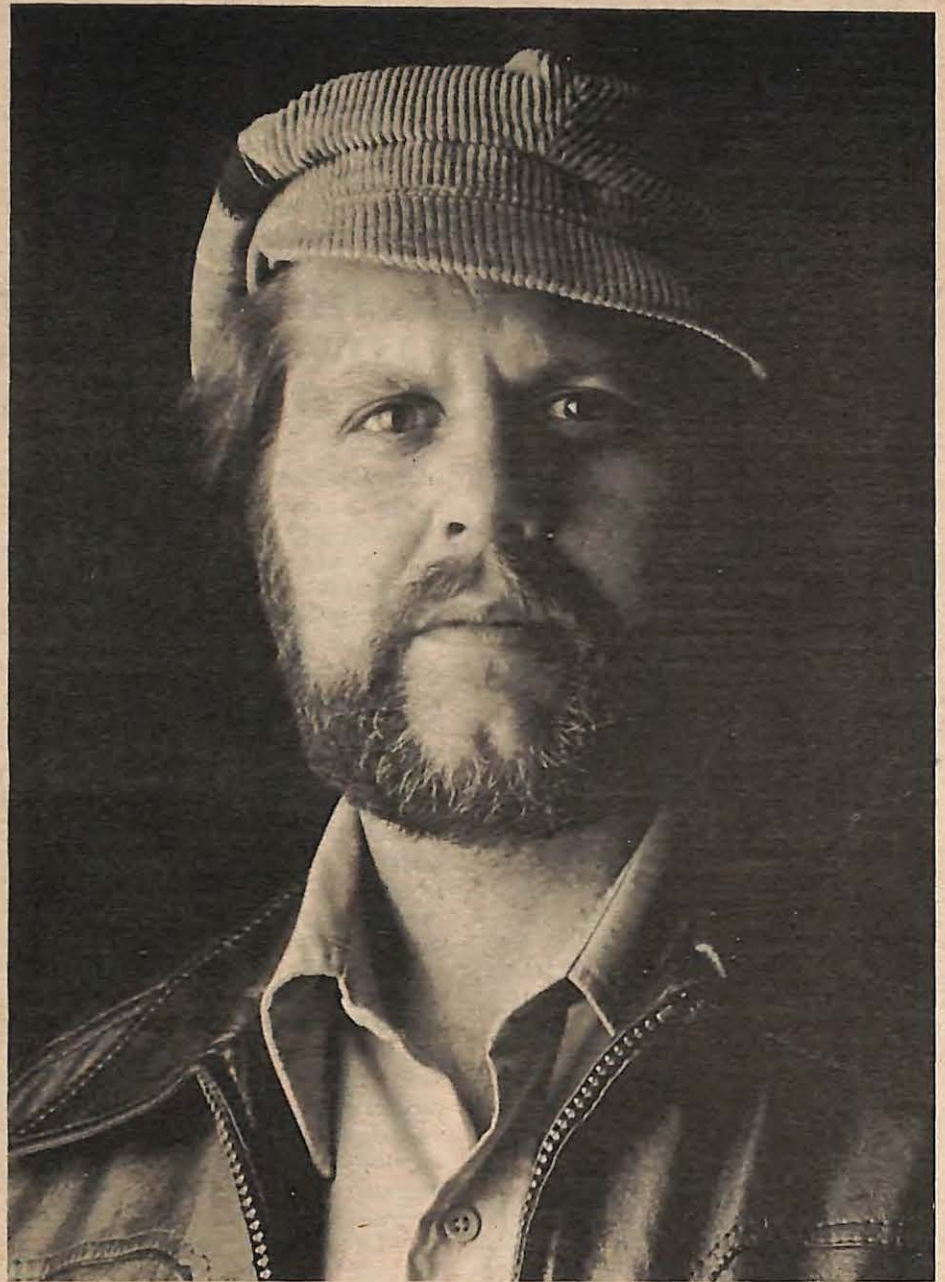
Heads high and vision far and firm in the face of isolation, slander, torture and the threat of death, with conquering contempt for the howlings of dying beasts and the whinings of miserable traitors; theirs is not the over-bloated arrogance of those whose gain is measured in the suffering of the masses and whose future is oblivion, but the confidence of the new-born, self-emancipating *force whose strength lies in billions beginning to awaken*. Oppressed all over the world know that these two are of them and that their stand is for them.

Those still-living mummies who, for a time, sit in seats of power, pronouncing guilt to hide their own monstrous crimes, who seek to bury the earthquake moving beneath them—they and their hatchet men and hollow heroes—on what do they rely? On the rotting hold of tradition's chains, on stolen wealth and on weapons of "legal" terror and destruction, which is their claim to glory and the right to rule. Despite—no, because—of this, they quake and stutter, even as they bare their fangs, rattle their swords and declare death sentences on revolution. Who is afraid of whom? Who after all can at most delay but not avoid their doom? Who, even in temporary defeat, represents the future of humanity? There in the trial in Peking the answer has been shown in concentrated form.

"The Cultural Revolution—a complete disaster and its leaders criminals." So say the revisionist rulers of China, the imperialists they ape and reactionary dregs everywhere. Yes, definitely—a disaster for them, but for the international proletariat, the highest peak yet scaled in the tortuous ascent toward communism, a hewing of the path further toward the future of humanity. And as Chiang Ching has defiantly declared speaking on behalf of the international proletariat: Making revolution is no crime. It is right to rebel! "Chiang Ching—a brazen woman, seeking to make herself empress." So say the upholders of tradition's chains in China and those like them elsewhere, but to the international proletariat she is an inspiring leader and signal that age-old inequalities and divisions can and will be struck down. "China—a backward, defenseless piece of meat." So say the pimps now in power there and ravaging parasites of capitals of West and East. But for more than 25 years under the rule of the proletariat, and with the leadership of Mao Tsetung and his revolutionary comrades—China was a powerful bastion of revolution throughout the world and a true beacon for the proletariat in all countries and the oppressed peoples and nations, proof that imperialist enslavement and the torment of centuries can be overturned. When, as Mao said, hundreds of millions of the Chinese people stood up, they truly raised with them the cause of billions of people the world over.

What has forced its way through in that trial, what shines above all, is not so much what has been lost, if only temporarily, in China, but what the proletariat is capable of—and will achieve through even fiercer, more arduous struggles in the future. Not only in that the proletariat can and has already produced great leaders like Mao and genuine heroes like Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao remaining staunchly loyal to the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat, but even more that it has already, in the face of tremendous difficulty and in the face of tremendously powerful opposition, produced such a powerful bastion of revolution, advancing to such heights and showing such a beacon throughout the world whose light and the lessons left as the legacy have not been and cannot be extinguished.

And what is of great significance in the stand of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao is not that they are the first heroes or martyrs of the proletariat and oppressed masses throughout history who have stood up to torture, death and denunciation. In fact, there have been thousands, millions who have done this. But Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao have been leaders of the proletariat in power; they themselves held important positions in the party and state—and yet, with power seized from the proletariat, with their positions transformed into that of defamed and brutalized prisoners, they continue to hold high the red flag of the international proletariat. This is because, in the most thorough, deep-



Bob Avakian

going and consistent way of all revolutionary leaders in China following Mao, they used their positions of authority to further, to champion, to urge and guide forward the continuation of the revolution, they continued to struggle to grasp the liberating science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, apply it and make it the weapon of ever-broader masses, toward the final goal of the international proletariat—communism worldwide. Here stands out a crucial difference with the Soviet Union where, when revisionism rose to power and capitalism was restored from within more than 20 years ago, there were no leaders who raised high the banner of the international proletariat and refused to let it drop regardless of the price. And here, too, stands out the sharp contrast between Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao on the one hand and Wang Hongwen and Yao Wenyuan on the other, who even the revisionists and reactionaries in general cannot give any significance to and who will only stand as a negative example to teach the proletariat and oppressed masses worldwide to grasp more fully and firmly the tortuous but ultimately victorious cause of revolution, to be prepared for twists and turns, sudden setbacks as well as advances and to be determined to take, wield and develop the weapon of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and to follow the revolutionary course it illuminates.

What shines through then, in the heroic stand of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, and in the basic reasons for it, is that the proletariat throughout the world can and will continue to learn more deeply and wage the struggle to seize power to keep it and advance, and most fundamentally to make and continue the revolution worldwide until the historic mission of the proletariat—a communist world free of exploitation, oppression and class distinctions altogether—has been achieved.

Despite the setbacks and reversals that have occurred in this revolutionary struggle, a struggle without precedent in human history, despite the blustering and fear-covering smirks of the decaying guardians of the past, despite their attempts to hold up and hold together what is dead and dying, their system continues to be propelled by its own contradictions toward its own extinction and the basis for revolutionaries to consciously grasp the lessons of history and accelerate the historic process of proletarian revolution continues to grow greater. And this is now imbued with heightening urgency, because the basic contradictions in the world are rapidly intensifying and the trends toward world war on the one hand and toward revolution on the other are not only continuing to develop in an accelerating way, but are increasingly giving rise to eruptions in various parts of the world, sending more powerful shockwaves throughout it. Fear—and fury, but fury without justice, and ultimately in vain—fear, that is the response that represents the imperialists, reactionaries, revisionists and all those who would desperately cling to the past; daring—the daring to seize the future out of the most tumultuous and wrenching conditions—that is the stand that represents the international proletariat.

It is in this context and with this significance that Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao have with boldness and inspiration held high the banner and trumpeted forth the call. The task, the duty before us, is to heed this call, to carry aloft this banner, to bring forward thousands, and then millions, hundreds of millions to raise it even higher and march forward into the gathering storms and the epoch-making battles for which the clarion is being sounded. □

Revolutionary Messages Received from Shanghai

The following document (in small pamphlet form) came to us from China recently, along with the letter on the front page. While it is always possible that such things can be forgeries, it is far more likely that it genuinely represents the views of a group of revolutionaries. Our Party has expressed

its views on a number of the questions touched on in this pamphlet—especially in the books on China and Mao by our Chairman, Bob Avakian. While our opinions differ on some points from those expressed here, we felt it was quite important to translate the pamphlet and make it

available for study and discussion here and internationally. What stands out especially as an exciting and important development is the further evidence this pamphlet provides of organized revolutionary forces inside China who are today actively upholding and fighting for Mao and his revolutionary comrades,

Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao. Besides engaging in resistance and exposure of the counter-revolutionary clique of current rulers, it is also clear from this pamphlet that some revolutionaries inside China are also engaging in political summation around the past and the future of the revolution.

BY PUTTING THE PARTY ON TRIAL, THE REACTIONARY FORCE FOLLOWING THE ROAD OF CAPITALIST RESTORATION HAS ITSELF BEEN INDICTED

The Deng, Hu, Zhao clique who are clamorously, blatantly, smugly and ferociously going down the road of capitalist restoration, through a long period of planning and repeated reversals of their rigged up "Supreme People's Special Prosecution" and "Supreme People's Special Court," put on a series of most unjust and ugly dramas in the history of the international communist and Chinese revolutionary movements—the so-called "Great Trial of the Ten Evils," at No. 1 Justice Road, Peking. Among the "Ten Evils," Chiang, Chang, Wang, Yao, the good sons and daughters of the Party and upholders of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought who are labelled as the "Gang of Four," are the main targets of the "Trial" and revengeful attack. Chen Boda and Hwang, Wu, Li, Qiu and Jiang only serve as props!

Precisely because the Deng, Hu, Zhao clique's power of restoration was stolen directly from the hands of Chiang, Chang, Wang and Yao, therefore from the beginning they plotted the use of super fascist and change-of-dynasty methods to take care of the other side which was deprived of power. If we are to look for fitting words in the literature of the international communist movement to describe what has happened to Chiang, Chang, Wang and Yao, and also to condemn Deng, Hu, Zhao and their gang's contemptible poison, then Marx's phrase talking about the positive and negative aspects of the Paris Commune can be used fully and fittingly: "What elasticity, what a historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians!... However that may be, the present rising in Paris—even if it be crushed by the wolves, swine and vile curs of the old society—is the most glorious deed of our Party since the June insurrection in Paris. Compare these Parisians, storming heaven, with the slaves to heaven of the German-Prussian Holy Roman Empire, with its posthumous masquerades reeking of the barracks, the church, cabbage-Junkerdom and, above all, of the philistine."

In The Final Analysis, What Crime Did Chiang, Chang, Wang, Yao Commit?

Any person who has been illegally arrested and sent to jail and deprived of all political rights can be arbitrarily saddled with a whole big load of charges according to the wishes of the rulers. To artificially include Chiang, Chang, Wang, Yao in the "Ten Evils" already fully exposes their devious intentions of scheming day and night and recklessly implicating people. Furthermore, what stands out in the part of the indictment that refers to the Four—Chiang, Chang, Wang, Yao—in the so-called "crimes" under 4 sections and 48 charges, is the clique's use of reformism, which Marx opposed with all his strength throughout his life, to oppose the extraordinary measures that need to be taken in a revolution. If one wants to persist in saying that Chiang, Chang, Wang and Yao, especially the two proletarian heroic fighters Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, really committed "crimes" which

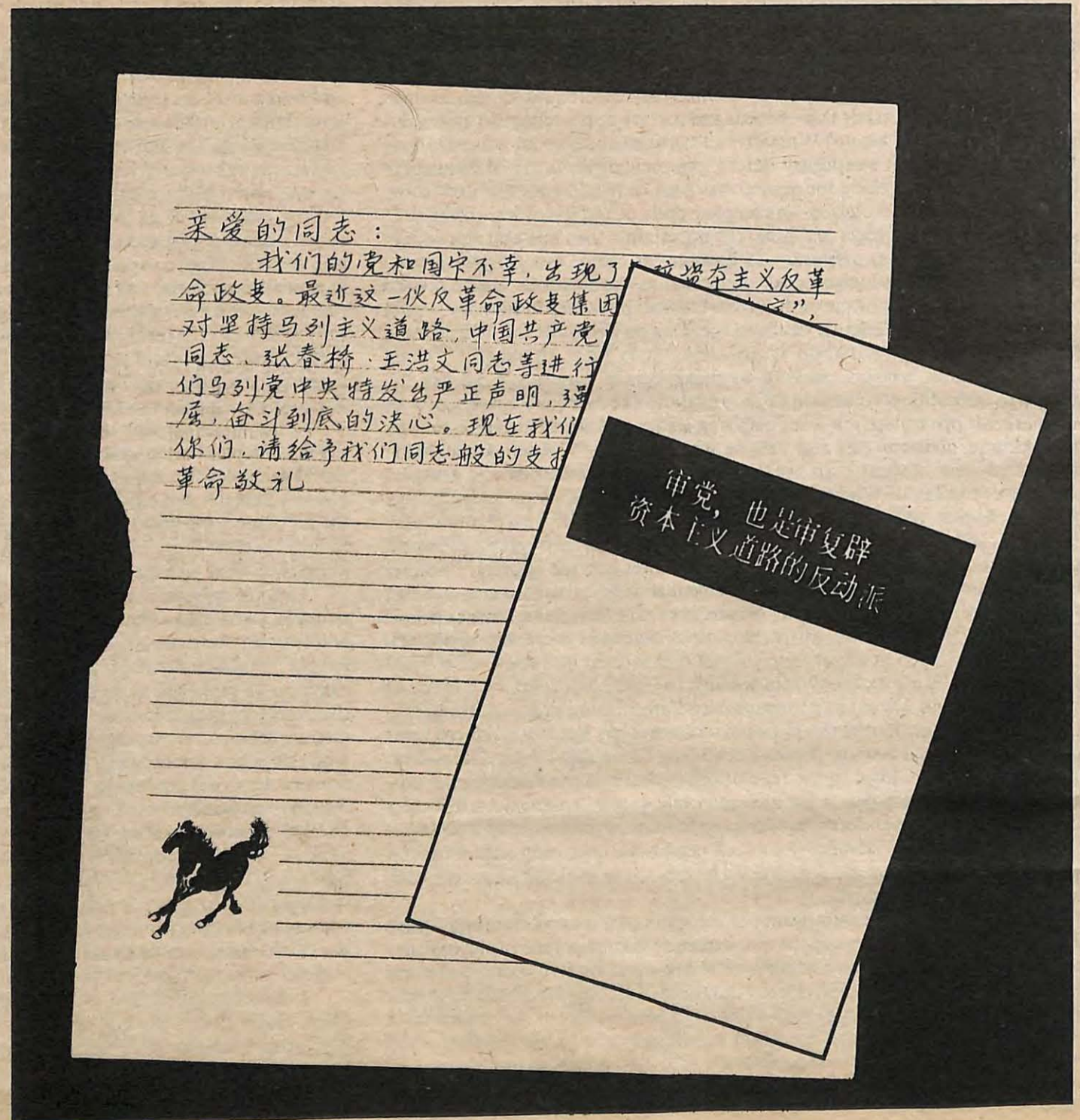
warrant punishment, then their crimes can be summarized as:

1. Chiang Ching should not have been Mao Tsetung's wife, shouldering all the crimes that should not be shouldered that derive from the feudal practice of "the wife pays back the husband's debt." Comrade Mao Tsetung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time. In the struggle to oppose imperialism and internally reactionary classes, in the line struggle against inner-Party right and left opportunism, in the struggle against various shades of revisionism, in combining the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, as well as in the cause of liberation of oppressed nations and oppressed people all over the world, Comrade Mao has left a brilliant record that will never be diminished in the annals of history of our country's revolution and that of the revolutions of the peoples of the world. But Comrade Mao Tsetung was a man, not a god. In facing the attack and retaliation of imperialists, internal reactionary classes, inner-Party right and left opportunists, assorted revisionists, as well as those wolves, swine and vile curs, he could not be so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous, or treat them as if doing embroidery, holding a dinner party or writing an essay. Therefore in

sweeping away all ghosts and monsters, in the fierce struggle to uphold Marxism-Leninism and continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it was inevitable that a small number of self-styled "saints and heroes" would be treated as ghosts and monsters and swept away, or that one or two ordinary human heads would be treated as dog heads and be smashed. This is an unavoidable sacrifice in the process of any revolution. But today, the traitorous clique Deng, Hu, Zhao and gang who restored the capitalist road are posthumously giving the title of "saints and heroes" to all those ghosts and monsters that were struck down, making into human heads all those dog heads that were smashed. They want not only to howl "frameups," but also want to use all this to throw mud on Comrade Mao Tsetung who was a great revolutionary figure looked up to by the Chinese people and people of the whole world, and furthermore want to make Mao's wife, Comrade Chiang Ching by herself, or the so-called "Gang of Four," shoulder the responsibility for a few, small, unavoidable mistakes made by Comrade Mao Tsetung in leading the Chinese Communist Party and establishing great achievements for the Chinese revolution. Can this be called just?

2. Comrade Chiang Ching and a few close comrades in arms were too civilized and suffered a lot from "too good a heart and too soft a hand." Conducting revolutionary struggle cannot be so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous, and it is not so refined as embroidery, a dinner party or writing an essay. Furthermore one must not, during times when the revolutionary situation seems favorable, be careless and speak of equality with antagonistic classes, speak of peaceful coexistence. The "May 16 Circular" personally drafted under Mao Tsetung's supervision clearly pointed out: "In the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the truth of Marxism and the fallacies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, either the East wind prevails over the West wind or the West wind prevails over the East wind..." Furthermore it is stressed: "...faithful lackeys of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, together with the bourgeoisie and imperialism, cling to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system, and they oppose Marxist-Leninist ideology and the socialist system. They are a bunch of counter-revolutionaries opposing the Communist Party and the people. Their struggle

Continued on page 14



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This Time, The Proletariat Was NOT Defeated Politically

Below are excerpts from a speech given on behalf of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA at one of the many meetings which were held across the country in late December in solidarity with Mao's revolutionary comrades.

Mao did not believe in iron-clad guarantees in the short-run sense. Mao had, as he said, a sober understanding of the problem of capitalist restoration. He had a Marxist-Leninist line, and he had strategic confidence based on *that*, and not on blind bravado after a couple of initial victories, even in spite of how important they were. His statement at the time of the 9th Party Congress still has significance in China. This is his attitude toward the victories, initial victories, of the Cultural Revolution and it has significance for us today:

"We have won a great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance. According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated. Therefore, it is wrong to speak lightly of the final victory of the revolution in our country; it runs counter to Leninism and does not conform to facts."

So even at that time, in the midst of the greatest victories of the Cultural Revolution, Mao was warning about the struggles to come and arming the masses of people. Mao was not a pessimist. Mao was arming the masses of people in China to deal with that problem and to be prepared, both mentally and in every way, for the next round of struggle.

We have to recognize and uphold the advances of the Cultural Revolution and Mao's understanding of the acuteness of the class struggle under socialism—not that we have to make no criticisms of the experience in China, but we have to do so only on the basis of understanding and upholding this tremendous revolutionary advance in the whole struggle of the international proletariat toward communism. And people who take the attitude, as many people do, that because the Cultural Revolution was defeated, because, after all, Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao are now in jail and the revisionists are threatening them with execution and may even carry it through, that there really is something flawed in Mao's line and that Mao really isn't very good after all, such people become either pessimistic or outright revisionist in their understanding. What we said at the time of the Mao Memorial meetings in 1978 is still true today—which is, that such a line amounts to nothing but vicious pragmatism: that is, if in a short-term sense only, something succeeds, then it's correct; if in a short-term sense something fails, then it must be incorrect.

What this amounts to, in a funny and ironic way, if you think about the quote that I just read from Mao, is like saying that exactly because Mao was so far-

sighted and correct in his understanding that therefore there is something wrong about his understanding. In other words, Mao's understanding about the complex and twists-and-turns nature of the struggle under socialism has been fully borne out by history; but for some people, pragmatic as they are and looking for short-term results as they are, the fact that Mao's analysis has been borne out somehow leads them to believe that Mao's analysis was flawed. Well, we don't go for that vicious kind of pragmatism, not just because it's an attack on Mao personally but—because of what the Cultural Revolution is and what it represents internationally—it's an attack on the key to the advance of the international proletariat under today's conditions as well, and we'll be damned if we're going to throw it down.

Again, and this has everything to do with why we say that the question of Mao Tsetung and the question of Mao Tsetung Thought is precisely the dividing line today in the international communist movement: it is the dividing line between being able to advance in the gathering storms and the gathering opportunities for revolutionary struggle that are already appearing in the world today, to have a correct Marxist-Leninist line and a party leading it forward, or a line that will disarm the Marxist-Leninists and disarm the people of every country and lead to once again throwing away another revolutionary opportunity. That isn't to say that success is guaranteed with a revolutionary line in command—but success is surely the opposite of guaranteed, in other words, failure is a foregone conclusion if a revolutionary line is *not* in command. History has shown, that there have been plenty of opportunities for revolutionary struggle. They exist in the world today, outbreaks of revolutionary struggle exist today. But it's proven to be difficult to seize on those revolutionary opportunities and to take them somewhere, to take them in the case of Mao's China to 25 and more years of successful revolutionary struggle, and in particular to socialism and proletarian dictatorship and a tremendous contribution to the international advance of the proletariat. It has proven difficult to take them in *that* direction, rather than flushing them away and flushing them down the toilet of failure—either an immediate defeat, or a Castro-type failure for a revolutionary struggle, which is something that the international proletariat has seen enough of and which we're in a position internationally not to be stuck in and to be able, exactly because of the experience of the international proletariat, to be able to seize upon this experience and to make far greater contributions and advances than that.

Historic Contributions

So I think it is important to step back for a minute and look, in spite of the present setback in the Chinese revolution, at the magnitude of the contribution of the Chinese revolution. First to the whole world situation and to the experience of the world proletarian revolutionary struggle, and second, even within China, at what it was that was accomplished. If you look at this from the point of view of the historic sweep and understanding of the process

of the revolutionary proletariat and the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat internationally, you begin to get a sense of the kind of optimism and political understanding that's guiding Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao to make that kind of stand in the courtroom, and their behavior is calling on us to take up this stand and move forward to the next higher level because things have gone *forward* in the international revolutionary struggle. There was the Paris Commune; there was the experience under Stalin, the primitive experience of the first workers' state over a long period of time in the Soviet Union; and then the tremendous contribution of Mao. If you think about it for a minute, even aside from the tremendous contributions to the international proletariat that Mao and the Chinese revolution made, I know the words have been said many times—but still, *one quarter of humanity!* To not only lead one quarter of humanity, 800 million people, out of a state of backwardness and feudalism, in a country that was divided up and carved up by various imperialists, stuck in the feudal past, dominated by various forms of reactionaries and imperialist armies marching around and about, and to lead them, not only through the struggle to abolish feudalism and throw out the foreign imperialists and establish the socialist system, but to take a country of 800 million people and to lead it to the high level of advance for the international proletariat that was achieved through the Cultural Revolution in China, is an incredible historic accomplishment and something that is great testimony to the strength and potential of the international proletariat, and something that we can't lose sight of.

And not to get nationalist, but even to separate this for a minute from its international significance to the proletariat, just to *unify* a country like that—and exactly only on a socialist basis could that be done—is a tremendous accomplishment. 800 million people—a country that was divided up among different warlords, different imperialists, and so on and so forth, and even to bring it as a country into the international arena, let alone with that kind of line and with that kind of revolutionary experience, is a tremendous thing. Now the reactionaries accused Mao, at one point in the struggle, of being Ch'in Shih Huang; it was an analogy they developed to mean Mao. Ch'in Shih Huang was the first ancient emperor in China to actually unify China. And the reactionaries aimed this accusation of being Ch'in Shih Huang at Mao; and in particular they accused him of it because Ch'in supposedly buried the scholars of Confucianism who were defending the old decaying slave system against the rising feudal system which Ch'in Shih Huang represented. So the revolutionaries took up the gauntlet that the reactionaries had thrown down and said, yes, let's use the analogy of Mao and Ch'in Shih Huang. And Mao made the point by saying that Ch'in Shih Huang only buried 460 Confucian scholars, reactionary defenders of the old order, and "You accuse us of acting like Ch'in Shih Huang, but you are wrong; we surpass him 100 times." But the other Ch'in Shih Huang point was that Mao was able to unite China into a whole country and to bring China

forward into the international arena as a tremendously powerful beacon. Just to do *that* is a tremendous historic accomplishment.

Of course, in our revolution we may end up being sort of the opposite of Ch'in Shih Huang. That is, it may well be that these "sacred" capitalist-forged borders of the United States of America may not end up being the borders of this country when it gets right down to it at revolution time. Maybe we won't be able to thoroughly vanquish the imperialist armies out of all the territory of the United States. Or maybe, for example, the Mexican people will be able to rise first in revolution, ahead of us, and a section of the Southwest in this country will decide to go along with a Mexican socialist state, and that will be fine with us. We're accused of being "national nihilists." Fine. We're not wrapped in the Red, White & Blue; we're proletarians and communists in an imperialist country, and we're in favor of the interests of the whole international proletariat—not just the proletariat that happens to live in the U.S.

But China was an oppressed country, an oppressed nation, and developing the struggle against imperialism and feudalism and unifying the nation on that kind of basis was a tremendous historic contribution of Mao Tsetung. Now sometimes, we go back and forth and debate which way is China going to go in the coming imperialist war—with the United States, where it is now, or is it going to switch over to the Soviet camp. Maybe, if you think about it for a minute, the answer to that is going to be *both* camps. That is, maybe part of China will end up going with the United States camp and part of it will end up going with the Soviet camp, exactly because of the tremendous forces that are being unleashed and exactly because of all the capitalist anarchy that is being unleashed in China. It's reflected in all the power struggles between the pack of dogs, revisionist thieves, and all the different regional power group interests that exist, the so-called "socialist" warlordism that exists in China. That is, the result of the capitalist restoration may well be that temporarily what the revisionists refer to as the Ch'in Shih Huang days *will* be done, and China will be carved up among the different imperialists once again. And that will be another crime of the imperialist system and another one that the Chinese people will have to rise up against, along with the whole international proletariat, to put an end to it. But we have to understand the kind of magnitude of the contribution of the Chinese revolution and to look at the temporary setbacks of that revolution in that light and not in some narrow pragmatic light that somehow we're going to take all those tremendous treasures to the international proletariat and throw them down the toilet because of the twists and turns of history.

Not Defeated Politically

And another accomplishment, this time, in this round of struggle, and a further advance and a testament to the strength of the international proletariat, is that the proletariat in China was not defeated politically in this struggle. In a temporary sense in the balance of forces they lost, but *politically*—and this trial makes it even clearer—they were in no way defeated. The proletarian banner

Continued on page 26

This statement has just been drafted by the National Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants. It will be circulated for signatures and donations over the next brief period and run as an ad in the Washington Post around March 10, when a legal petition is due at the Supreme Court.

Drop All the Charges Once and For All!

STOP THE RAILROAD OF BOB AVAKIAN

FREE THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS

To the U.S. Supreme Court:

We, the undersigned, condemn the continued and escalating government persecution of Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants. In decisions of October 21, 1980 and January 2, 1981, the D.C. Court of Appeals reinstated the previously dismissed and outrageous charges which threatened each defendant with 241 years in jail. With this, the government has unmasked even further the political motivation that has been behind this case all along.

The government's legal vendetta against the Mao Tsetung Defendants originated with a demonstration against the visit of Chinese Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping on January 29, 1979, which was attacked by police, injuring dozens and arresting 78. Immediate and continuing protests against the police attack and the flagrantly political prosecution which followed have poured into Washington. Yet so determined is the government to carry through this thinly-veiled act of political repression, that every legal mechanism to prevent this political railroad has been closed off except for direct appeal to the Supreme Court. A petition is now being filed with the Supreme Court.

WE DEMAND THAT THE U.S. SUPREME COURT HEAR THIS CASE, AND THAT THIS BLATANT POLITICAL PROSECUTION BE DROPPED ONCE AND FOR ALL.

The facts reveal undeniably the character of this case as one of political repression:

- Arrested on misdemeanor charges, the defendants were then charged with felonies, only to be followed by two grand jury indictments eventually upping the charges to 25 felony counts!
- The great majority of the charges are described as being committed by "unidentified attackers" or committed against "unidentified officers." Almost half of those indicted, including Bob Avakian, are charged with no specific criminal act. According to the government, "by presence and knowing participation each defendant aided and abetted each assault which took place..."
- A pre-trial motion, filed by the government, gets to the heart of the political offense which it is actually prosecuting: "The government intends to introduce into

evidence those portions of the speech made by Defendant Avakian at a press conference on January 25, 1979." "The government's theory is that Avakian's speech and the activity and statement at the church are admissible against all of the defendants because they were in furtherance of a joint enterprise in which all defendants were involved." In other words, the charge is essentially one of conspiracy, and the offense is Bob Avakian presenting his views and critique of the new government of China and of its alliance with the U.S. following the death of Mao Tsetung.

- In response to a defense request to combine the trials of two sets of defendants originally charged in different indictments, the government produced a new single indictment doubling the charges against all the defendants. In court, the government stated that it only "gave the defendants what they asked for." Under the pressure of mounting protests across the country, all the charges were thrown out by the trial judge who declared the government was obviously engaging in "prosecutorial vindictiveness."
- On appeal by the government the charges were reinstated by a 2-1 appeals court decision which by their own admission disregarded established legal precedents to redefine "prosecutorial vindictiveness." This provided convenient cover for the contradictory and politically motivated acts of the prosecution, clearing the path for the government to proceed full speed ahead with the railroad.

The obvious flimsiness of the government's case serves only to highlight more vividly the vicious and openly political nature of this attack.

While Klansmen and Nazis stand acquitted of murder in open daylight in Greensboro, while Miami police officers guilty by their own admission of murder are set free, and while the U.S. government steps up its preparations for war, 17 people, the Mao Tsetung Defendants, now face three life terms in prison.

This is not the first time we have seen such political attacks by the U.S. government. **WE WILL NOT STAND BY SILENTLY AND ALLOW THIS BLATANT POLITICAL REPRESSION TO PROCEED. WE DEMAND THAT ALL CHARGES IN THE CASE OF THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS BE DROPPED AND STAY DROPPED.**

Long Live Chiang Ching!

Long Live Chang Chun-chiao!

Continued from page 1

Chiang Ching started shouting at the top of her voice, "Making revolution is no crime, it's right to rebel!" "Down with revisionism!" "Down with Deng Xiaoping!" Three armed guards immediately swooped down on the docket and clamped handcuffs on the struggling Chiang Ching. Of course, no one expected Chiang Ching to escape from this room packed with guards, 35 judges and various ornaments of bourgeois "legality," as well as 800 hand-picked spectators consisting of assorted revisionist mummies and widows of bygone reactionaries. The handcuffs were meant to signify her helplessness and defeat. But as the judge droned on, Chiang Ching continued to attack the revisionists until finally she was ordered removed from the courtroom. The guards had to grab her by the back of the neck and half carry her out as she shouted, "Long live revolution!" China's official Xinhua news agency said only in describing this whole scene that Chiang Ching disrupted court order and was removed.

According to the *L.A. Times*, Chiang Ching also denounced the judges and the current rulers as "fascists, renegades, traitors," and mocked, "You do not even have the courage to carry out the sentence." It is this kind of impudence and contempt for the enemy, flowing from a grasp of the correct line, that has earned her the special hatred of China's new Confucian overlords. What gall to challenge, as Chiang Ching did last month, "I dare you to sentence me to death in front of a million people in Tienanmen Square!" And this, coming from the mouth of a woman!

Chiang Ching's comrade, Chang Chun-chiao, who continued to remain silent in total contempt and defiance of the court, was also handcuffed. Looking gaunt from the torture he has no doubt been subjected to by his accusers and perhaps from cancer, which they report he is suffering from, Chang was seen in the TV footage putting up

resistance as two guards locked the handcuffs on.

Contradictions Sharpen for China's Rulers

The 15,000-word text of the verdict and sentence took a whole month to be completed—and it wasn't because the judges of the revisionist court were not yet well practiced in the workings of Western bourgeois legality. The main work of drafting the verdict and sentence, as well as the indictment, took place in the highest levels of the Chinese leadership—in Politburo meetings, not in the judges' chambers. This was clear from the very beginning, when some of the top revisionists, including Peng Chen, directed and presided over one or more "dry runs" of the trial to be sure everything would go all right. Even then, there were signs of trouble, as Chiang Ching continually upset the proceedings and Chang Chun-chiao refused to cooperate.

The revisionists hoped to bury Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao in an avalanche of petty charges, but the two refused to get caught up in this trap, and instead made clear for all to see what was clearly on trial. As Chiang Ching said, in a 181-page declaration written early last year, "I'm not going to admit to any crimes, not because I want to cut myself off from the people but because I am innocent. If I have to admit to anything, I can only say I lost in this struggle for power." Their great crime was to defend and advance the rule of the working class, and in this process to "persecute," that is to expose, subject to mass criticism, and oust from power the top revisionists in the government and Communist Party.

The fact that the defiant stand of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao has forced the Chinese rulers to opt for a two year suspended death sentence rather than immediate execution (as they had clearly intended to at the beginning of the trial) is revealing. It is both a testament to the profound ef-

fects of the actions of the revolutionaries in the courtroom and the weakness of the revisionists. That they had to make such a move says a lot about the serious contradictions wracking the ruling class in China and even the imperialists internationally. And the rapidly sharpening world situation, with the two superpowers preparing to square off in another world war, has heightened these contradictions with various forces in the Chinese ruling class being pulled in different directions toward one or the other superpower. They certainly didn't come up with this verdict, after much delay and haggling, because Chiang Ching was "too old" as they have absurdly declared recently or because they have suddenly acquired pangs of guilt.

They had certainly wanted to execute her. One of the first public attacks on Hua Guofeng by Deng's forces came after he had said she wouldn't be sentenced to death. Even during the trial itself, the revisionists printed front page letters in the *People's Daily* calling for her execution. The force of Mao's line as upheld by these two heroic comrades in court upset these plans—and more.

Much more to the point is that Deng & Co. have run up against some real problems. Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao's stand during the trial, although heavily censored, is no doubt having a profound effect on revolutionaries within China who still adhere to Mao's line and are continuing to do revolutionary work under very adverse political conditions. The recent revelations in the Chinese press about disturbances by people "inciting and agitating" and "using the methods of the Cultural Revolution" leave no doubt that a significant force of revolutionaries still exist within China. The revisionists' concern that to execute Chiang Ching would make her a "martyr" precisely reveals their fears about the inspiration she has given to the revolutionaries and the respect and admiration she has aroused even from the

intermediate elements among the Chinese people. They fear that the execution of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao at this point would have an effect of raising this to an even higher level.

The suspended sentence may give the revisionists the opportunity to "quietly" execute these revolutionaries, anyway, and/or they may try to weakly slither around and recoup their political losses by lying at the end of two years and announcing that these two are "making political progress"—hoping that no one will know better.

Wang Guangmei, widow of "China's Khrushchev," Liu Shaoqi, made a statement upon hearing the verdict, saying that this "will have an active effect on further achieving unity and stability and readjustment of the economy." But in reality, the inability of the ruling clique to deal with Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao in a decisive way and the impact this has had on the revolutionary masses in China is having far from a unifying and stabilizing effect on the revisionists. Party Chairman Hua's sudden disappearance from public view right in the midst of the trial and thinly disguised attacks against him in the official press was the boil of revisionist in-fighting bursting.

The revisionist clique is not a homogeneous whole but a coalescence of different forces that came together to carry out the 1976 coup based on the common goal of overthrowing proletarian rule and restoring capitalism to China. Once that unifying goal was achieved, all sorts of contradictions—between different regions, between those advocating capitulation to one or the other superpower, etc.—were bound to intensify. Further intensifying this rift within the revisionist clique is the anarchy of capitalist economy that has been unleashed by the dismantling of socialism. Growing inflation, unemployment and deficits in the national budget—all unheard of in revolu-

Continued on page 20

Excerpts from Trial Testimony

Chiang Ching Exposes Plot to Steal the Sky and Change the Sun

In spite of the attempts of her revisionist accusers to silence Chiang Ching, repeatedly dragging her out of the courtroom, editing and re-editing her testimony, and trying to prevent her defiant denunciations and exposures from penetrating the walls of their tightly sealed courtroom, a small amount of what has gone on has come out. Even the glimpses of Chiang that have been released throughout the trial have added up to a brilliant and powerful revolutionary statement to China's rulers and the world. Here we reprint some that have appeared in recent issues of the *RW*.

Before the trials began, Chiang Ching reportedly wrote a 181-page declaration blasting the revisionists. Below are the few passages from this leaked to the press:

"If, as you say, the Cultural Revolution really produced so many frameups of innocent people, do you mean to say that the same thing did not happen in the 17 years prior to the Cultural Revolution? Aren't the present party chairman, Hua Guofeng, as well as Ye Jinying, Deng Xiaoping, Peng Chen and Hu Yaobang all also responsible for the numerous cases of frameups?"

"Looking at Party history you can ask how many people in China were destroyed with trumped-up charges by Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping and Peng Chen before the Cultural Revolution. Didn't

many outstanding cadre become victims? The aim of the Cultural Revolution was precisely to reverse the verdicts on the good cadres that were victimized, overthrow the fascist dictatorship of Liu (Liu Shaoqi), Deng (Deng Xiaoping), Peng (Peng Chen), Tao (Tao Chu), Zhou Enlai, and restore the true face of the party. What's wrong with that?"

"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."

The following exchange is reported to have occurred during the pre-trial hearings:

Judge: I think it's best for you to admit your crimes.

Chiang Ching: Unfortunately, party principles and revolutionary principles do not permit me to exchange a confes-

sion for a lighter sentence.

Judge: You have no qualification to talk of revolution. You are an enemy of revolution. You should understand this point.

Chiang Ching: If I don't have qualifications, do you mean to say you do?

Judge: At least I have more than you.

Chiang Ching: Why?

Judge: Because the party, the mass organizations and the people have dispatched me to handle this case.

Chiang Ching: Who represents the party? Who represents the mass organizations? Who represents the people?

Judge: I don't need to answer these questions. I am the judge, you are the accused. You don't have any say.

Chiang Ching: If you don't have to answer my questions, then I don't have to answer yours. Go tell Hua Guofeng, Deng Xiaoping and Peng Zhen to come here and interrogate me. Actually, I think they are thoroughly rotten.

Judge: Your ugly attitude can only alienate you from the masses. Such conduct will only add to your crimes. You will not be forgiven by the people.

Chiang Ching: I did nothing wrong. Why do I need people's forgiveness? It is you who have become alienated from the party and the masses, not I.

Judge: You cannot continue talking like this.

Chiang Ching: I can. I want to talk about revolution.

Judge: Isn't it preposterous for you to talk about revolution?

Chiang Ching: I am here in this investigation room defending socialism, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. That is revolution.

Judge: Nonsense.

Chiang Ching: When did you join the party?

Judge: I don't have to answer that question.

Chiang Ching: Then go home. I don't have anything to say.

From the beginning of the trial Chiang Ching made it very clear that it was Mao and his line that was on trial, saying:

"If you are going to strike a dog, think first of its master." And recently she told the court, "I was Chairman Mao's dog. Whomever he told me to bite, I bit."

At the conclusion of her 2 1/2-hour defense statement to the court, Chiang Ching utilized poetry and historical analogies to make her points. (Explanatory notes by the *RW* appear in italics after each quote.)

"While Xiang Zhuang performs a sword dance, His real target is the Duke of Pei."

This historical reference is to the period of turmoil in the 2nd century after the breaking up of the first emperor Qin Ch'in. One of those struggling for power, Xiang Yu, invited a rival of his, Liu Bang (Duke of Pei) to a banquet as a trap. Under the guise of putting on a sword play act as entertainment, Xiang Yu intended to kill Liu Bang. Chiang Ching is pointing out that although the revisionists hold a sword over her neck literally and figuratively, their real intent is to stab at Mao.

"You are capitulating and betraying, Submitting yourself to others' control."

As Chiang Ching points out, revisionism means betrayal of Marxism as well as to the people of China, and

Continued on page 18



Chiang Ching and Mao Tsetung in Yen-an, headquarters of the leadership of the Communist Party of China during the war of liberation.

After the Revisionist Coup

The Shanghai Rebellion "Plot"

"Plotting an armed rebellion in Shanghai"—this is one of the major charges that the revisionist rulers of China have brought up against the Gang of Four in the trial. It is a charge to which we can only say, "The more they plotted, the better." A rebellion was supposed to have unfolded in the crucial days immediately after the Four were arrested. Although the full details of the near-rebellion in Shanghai will probably never be unveiled as long as the capitalist rule exists in China, the revisionists have let out certain parts of the story in conjunction with the trial. They gave some clues as to what was planned and also why it never happened as planned. Even with its gaps and distortions, the story gives us a valuable insight into the situation in Shanghai at that time. The following narrative is put together from various sources—the revisionists in China, Hong Kong pro-revisionists, China scholars in the U.S., and news accounts.

Ever since the Cultural Revolution, Shanghai had been a city closely associated with the Four. Chang Chun-chiao (Zhang Chunqiao), Yao Wen-yuan, and Wang Hongwen were all leaders in Shanghai before Mao brought them forth to national leadership based on their revolutionary practice in leading the masses in Shanghai. In fact, these three, along with their supporters in the city, had been dubbed by the revisionists the "Shanghai gang." The founder of the "Shanghai gang" was one Ko Ching-shih. Ko headed the Shanghai municipal Party committee and worked with Chang Chun-chiao and others to carry out Mao's line up to his death in 1965. Ko, who had been at odds with Liu Shaoqi ever since they worked together in underground organizations in the '30s, was a firm opponent of Liu's revisionist line. Even though Ko died before Mao had fully developed his line on the dangers of capitalist-roaders in the Party, he struggled against bourgeois influences on the Party, thereby earning the hatred of those high-Party officials who wanted to maintain, and even widen, the gap between themselves and the masses. Speaking in particular of the situation in Shanghai, Ko said, "It is a place where the bourgeoisie is most concentrated, it is a place where you will find class struggle most complicated. Once you have been taken in by this world oppressor, you will fall into the dye vat of the bourgeoisie. It is easy to see the struggle against the enemies with guns. But we cannot see bourgeois ideology when it penetrates our minds. Not only that, but some of our comrades may even feel quite comfortable. This is most dangerous!"

What stands out most vividly in the minds of revolutionaries all around the world about Shanghai is that it was the stage for the 1967 January Storm. Millions of workers, joined by peasants and students, stormed and overthrew the municipal Party committee which had become a nest of capitalist-roaders after Ko's death. This political uprising was immediately hailed by Mao and became an example for revolutionary masses throughout China in kicking out the bourgeoisie which had seized portions of power in many places.

The Army

A section of the indictment against the Four dealing with the Shanghai rebellion starts off with a quote made by Chang Chun-chiao in 1967 (right after the January Storm—p. 7): "Back in July, 1967, Chang Chun-chiao wrote in a report approved by him, 'Use a gun to protect revolution made with the pen,' and instructed Wang Hongwen and others to organize in Shanghai an armed force under their control." Chiang Ching is also said to have remarked that, "We have the pen, but not the gun." According to the indictment, Wang Hongwen told leaders in Shanghai in 1975 that, "What worries me most is that the army is not in our hands," and "You should be wary of

revisionists coming on the stage," "You should prepare for guerrilla warfare."

The revisionists hoped to show that the Four were just a small band of putschists trying to seize power for themselves. But if Chang Chun-chiao did in fact say, "Use a gun to protect the revolution made with the pen," it was based on the understanding he had gained from a talk with Mao in February, 1967. In criticizing the initial commune form set up in Shanghai after the January Storm, Mao had said that it was "too weak when it comes to suppressing counterrevolution. People have come and complained to me that when the bureau of public security arrest people, they go in the front door and out the back." Under Mao's direction, a form was found—the revolutionary committees—to keep the initiative in the hands of the masses while at the same time dealing with the counter-

though its commander, Zhou Zhunlin, was a well-known opponent of Chang Chun-chiao. (The garrison command is a sort of police force set up in certain strategic areas, such as Shanghai.)

Mao Dies, Revisionists Move

Mao's death in September of 1976 was a signal to both the revisionists and the revolutionaries. For the revisionists, it meant that their greatest foe was gone and it was time to move against those who would carry on Mao's legacy to deepen the gains of the Cultural Revolution. For the revolutionaries, it was a call to heighten their vigilance. According to testimony during the trial, Chang Chun-chiao sent a message to revolutionaries in Shanghai, urging them to "frequently analyze the class situation and beware that there will be twists and turns in the struggle. The bourgeoisie still retains some strength. The problem is who will get the upper hand." Chang

Prepare to "do a Paris Commune," Zhu said. "If we cannot keep up the fight for a week, 5 or 3 days would suffice to let the whole world know what's happening..."

revolutionaries and running the government, schools and factories. In the summer of 1967, Chang Chun-chiao and Wang Hongwen set up a mass, armed organization operating under the Shanghai municipal revolutionary committee to deal with the counterrevolutionary disruptions. The organization later evolved into the Shanghai militia, which was a million strong by the time of the coup.

Thus the revolutionary forces exercised considerable influence over the militia in Shanghai. But the army was another matter. Although in 1959 a major revisionist chieftain in the military, Peng Dehuai, had been overthrown, his line of making "modernization" the key and capitulating to imperialism was by no means thoroughly rooted out. The revisionists did their utmost to restrict the Cultural Revolution from going deeply into the army. And especially after the Lin Biao affair of 1971 when there was an objective need to clean up the extensive network of influence that he had built up, the current top revisionists took advantage of this to increase their strength. Many of the regional military commanders were like the old warlords, jealously guarding their own interests and pledging their allegiance to one or another powerful revisionist.

Of course, the Four were not without allies in the army. Mao Yuan-hsin, Mao's nephew and a close associate of the Four, for example, was the political commissar of the army in Liaoning Province in northeast China. The indictment against the Four states that in August 1976, Ding Sheng, the commander of the Nanjing (the province where Shanghai is located) units of the People's Liberation Army met with leaders in Shanghai and told them that he could not control the army units being deployed along the Wuxi-Suzhou-Shanghai line, adding that, "We must prepare for any eventuality." He also said that "Shanghai is an important area. Shanghai must be defended for sure. The Shanghai military is a very important strength." Right after this, 74,000 rifles, 300 artillery pieces and 10 million rounds of ammunition were handed out to the militia. Again according to the indictments, Chang Chun-chiao said to the leaders in Shanghai after hearing of Ding Sheng's report, "You must be careful and pay attention to the trends in class struggle."

The Four also had some supporters in the Shanghai garrison command, al-

though it is also reported to have said that Shanghai would face a severe test and should be ready for war. Wang Hongwen also told people in Shanghai that "The struggle has not finished so that you people should heighten your vigilance. The bourgeoisie inside the Party will never be reconciled to their defeat. There are always some people who want to bring Deng Xiaoping forward." Although Wang has renounced such words during the present trial, they turned out to be prophetic.

The Four were secretly arrested by the revisionists on October 6. The next day, leading cadres from various areas around the country, including Ma Tianshui, one of the secretaries of the municipal Party committee and vice-chairman of the revolutionary committee, were called to Peking for a meeting. Once in Peking, they were prevented from communicating back to their regions.

Wang Xiuzhen and Xu Jingxian, also secretaries of the municipal party committee and vice-chairmen of the revolutionary committee, tried repeatedly to reach Chang Chun-chiao, Yao Wen-yuan, and Wang Hongwen by phone, but of course, there was no answer. Finally a messenger was sent to Peking to scout the situation with instructions to call back in code.

On October 8, the scout called back a code, indicating what was up: "Mother has died of heart disease." At the same time, the public security bureau sent a record of the monitoring of a Voice of America broadcast which said that the Four had been arrested. Now there was no question in the minds of the Shanghai leaders what was going down in Peking, although the arrest was not yet public knowledge and there was no official word from the center.

Cheng Ming, a Hong Kong pro-Deng magazine, describes in its December 1980 issue a meeting with the leading Shanghai cadres that was held on the night of October 8. Upon hearing the confirmation of the Four's fate, the magazine says, the whole group fell silent and nobody spoke for a long time. Then Zhu Yong-jia, a close comrade of Chang Chun-chiao and the man who headed up the writing group under the Shanghai Party committee, broke the silence with a stirring speech.

Zhu pointed out that after the fall of the Four, those taking over would sooner or later lash out at the followers of the revolutionaries, that is, all those who were present at the meeting. None of those present at the meeting would escape this, and there should be no illu-

sions. This was determined by the laws of inner-Party struggle, Zhu said. There was no other solution than to set their minds to act, and act immediately. Taking immediate action would draw support from comrades in other areas, as well as draw out some that secretly sympathized but dared not openly express these feelings right now.

Zhu further pointed out that forces in various parts of the country had their eyes fixed on Shanghai, waiting to see what course Shanghai took before deciding on their own course of action. If nothing happened in Shanghai, the opportunity would be lost. Everyone must prepare for battle to "do a Paris Commune." Then, speaking of the international and historic significance of the actions they were about to take, Zhu said, "If we cannot keep up the fight for a week, 5 or 3 days would suffice to let the whole world know what's happening here." The Shanghai rebellion was to be a manifesto to the whole world that there had been a revisionist coup in China and that there was revolutionary resistance to it.

October 8, Plans Laid

According to the *Ching Ming* story, Zhu's speech swept away the shock caused by the announcement of the arrest of the Four and fired up the enthusiasm and initiative of the Shanghai revolutionaries. Concrete plans were put forward. Steel slabs would be scattered on airplane landing strips to cut off air communications; ships would be sunk in the harbor to block the docks; railroad tracks into the area would be blocked off; 2500 militia men and women would be immediately mobilized, and 31,000 would be standing by ready to be activated on short notice. Wang Xiuzhen and Xu Jingxian, the two top-ranking leaders, each set up a command headquarters in order to make it harder for the leadership to be wiped out in a single stroke. Zhu Yongjia made the rounds of all the newspapers and TV and radio stations to inform the responsible persons of the current situation. On order from the municipal Party committee, they were not to print or broadcast anything from the center and must follow the decisions of the municipal committee. The Shanghai garrison was also put on alert, ready to take over control of strategic spots in the city and assist the militia.

The new revisionist rulers in Peking were well aware of and alarmed about the activities of the followers of the Four in Shanghai. When pressed to use his influence to stop these activities, Ma Tianshui told them that he did not have control of those back in Shanghai. According to the revisionists writing in the *Peking Review*, Ma had a phone conversation on the morning of October 9 with the leaders in Shanghai, and when asked about what had happened in Peking (including the arrest), he "hemmed and hawed." (It should be pointed out that this is the revisionists' version of the story and, possibly, "hemming and hawing" might have meant Ma at least did not tell them the lies he was likely ordered to tell with a gun at his head.) The same story also states that on the night of the 9th, it was Ma who ordered Wang Xiuzhen and Xu Jiangxian to come to Peking to join the meetings still going on. It is unclear exactly why these two, who were then the top leaders in Shanghai and had been making preparations for the uprising, agreed to go to Peking when they already knew that the Four had been arrested. But in any case, as they left, they instructed those taking charge to postpone the uprising until further notice.

Upon hearing no word from Wang or Xu for more than a day, Zhu Yongjia and others still in Shanghai suspected that the leaders called to Peking had either been forcibly detained or compromised. They decided that if necessary they would not follow Ma, Wang or Xu but rather take independent action. They were given encouragement

Continued on page 28

Talk by Chang Chun-chiao to the Anhwei Delegation

Seizing Power in the January Storm

Below is the full text of the "Talk by Chang Chun-chiao to the Anhwei Delegation," apparently given in the first part of 1968. The subject is the famous "January Storm" of 1967, which Mao popularized all over the country as a model for the masses uniting and seizing power from below by overthrowing the old revisionist leadership groups. Chang's description of its goals and methods, as well as its process of development are very enlightening. The translation comes from "People's China, Social Experimentation, Politics, Entry Onto the World Scene, 1966-72," ed. D. Milton, N. Milton and F. Schurmann.

Comrade K'ang has asked me to talk about the "January Revolution" in Shanghai and how the seizure of power came to take place. I will try to do so in the hope that it may be of some help to your judgment of the seizure of power and to the solution of your problems. However, because the situation in Shanghai then was not the same, it cannot be wholly applicable in your case.

The mobilization of the masses in the "January Revolution" in Shanghai was the same as in other parts of the country. Because the old Shanghai Municipal Party Committee had misled the masses to a serious extent, the masses there were mobilized a little later than those in other localities. This is particularly true of the workers as only a few of them rose in rebellion until August-September. Even by October, only several thousand rebels stepped forth out of a total of more than a million in-

dustrial workers. At a rally of rebel organizations formed throughout the city held in early November, more than a million people attended. Actually, some of the participants were conservatives and people secretly planted by the old municipal Party committee to watch how things were going at the rally; only five thousand were genuine rebels.

During November-December, the mass movement in Shanghai appeared to have gained momentum to an appreciable extent. There were fierce struggles between both factions which were equally matched in strength. The main force in Shanghai stemmed from the workers who made up two major factions, namely the rebels called the "Workers' Rebel H.Q."—a force of several thousand people that had grown to fifty to sixty thousand strong, and the "Workers' Red Militia Detachment" which claimed to have a following of eighty thousand strong, a contingent of at least fifty to sixty thousand people. The two factions were equally matched in strength, explaining the reason why massive armed clashes were rife between them. By the end of December, however, the "Workers' Red Militia Detachment" had collapsed. At this juncture, the revolutionaries had the workers as the backbone plus revolutionary Red Guards and cadres of public organs. By the end of December, the revolutionary peasants on the outskirts of Shanghai had also come forward, thus spontaneously forming an alliance with the revolu-

tionary workers.

The situation in Shanghai then was excellent because the "Workers' Red Militia Detachment" and the Red Guards antagonistic to the revolutionary workers had collapsed while the conservatives of public organs had not yet formed an alliance. Under these circumstances, the old municipal Party committee resorted to "economism" [money and material inducements] to corrupt and disintegrate the rebels among the workers.

I recall going to Shanghai with Comrade Yao Wen-yuan on January 4. The old municipal Party committee had then been paralyzed. Many factories, including vital industrial plants, had stopped production. The stoppage of operations of Kao-chiao Chemical Works led many other plants to halt production. The piers and railway stations were also immobilized, causing severe dislocations. Under such circumstances, the revolutionary rebels in Shanghai began to seize power [from those holding power in the old Shanghai Municipal Party Committee].

In the early stage of the seizure of power in Shanghai, we never thought of the "capture of power" nor did we use the words "January Revolution." We proceeded in the main from the Party spirit with no thought of factionalism. This is because we saw with our own eyes stoppages of work in industrial plants, and the piers were in such a state of paralysis that foreign vessels entering Shanghai harbor were unable to unload or load cargoes. Taking advantage of

the situation, imperialists lost no time in broadcasting to the world, saying that wharf workers in Shanghai went on strike. They did so with the malicious intention to attack and slander us. Some foreign merchant ships displayed our national flag upside down. This greatly irritated the rebels and wharf workers.

Because large numbers of members of the "Workers' Red Militia Detachment" quit their jobs after drawing their pay, many [revolutionary] workers worked for several days on end without leaving their jobs, instead of working the usual eight-hour shift or sixteen-hour [double] shifts. Railway stations were also manned by a skeleton staff and only two runs were scheduled each day. Sometimes, not even a single train was run.

At the time, we were not motivated by factionalism nor did we think of recapturing power [from the power-holders]. What was uppermost in our minds was what we were going to do [about the widespread dislocations]. After discussing the situation as a whole, we set about putting the vital departments such as the piers, railway stations, waterworks, power plants, broadcasting stations, postal offices and banks under our control. We did so to prevent counter-revolutionary acts of sabotage. Therefore, we mobilized troops and students and the rebels of industrial plants and railway stations to assist the revolutionary workers.

In the case of the Shanghai Railway
Continued on page 29



The 1967 January Revolution in Shanghai. Thousands rally to welcome the release of a statement by the central leadership of the Chinese Communist Party in support of the revolutionary seizure of power in Shanghai.

Revolution Must Sweep the Stage

In the August, 1976 issue of Chinese Literature, an article appeared titled, Continue to Advance Along Chairman Mao's Line on Literature and Art. The article, signed by Yen Feng, is subtitled, Notes on Studying the "Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art."* The article was written in the midst of

the movement to "Criticize Deng Xiaoping and Beat Back the Right Deviationist Wind" and shows how the revisionist line of Deng (and other counter-revolutionaries) is thoroughly in opposition to Mao's. The article is reprinted in full here.

Continue to Advance Along Chairman Mao's Line on Literature and Art

Yen Feng

Notes on Studying the "Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art"

Ten whole years have passed since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao. During these ten years, with Chairman Mao's *Yenan Talks* as the shining beacon, the proletarian revolution in literature and art exemplified by the model revolutionary theatrical works, an important component of the Cultural Revolution, has also won great victories.

Chairman Mao's *Yenan Talks* summarizes comprehensively the historical experience of the struggle between the proletarian and the bourgeois lines on the cultural front and criticizes all manner of bourgeois and revisionist ideas in literature and art. It has formu-

lated for our Party the only correct revolutionary line on literature and art.

In his *Yenan Talks* Chairman Mao points out clearly: "This question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle." "...all our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use." This line specified by Chairman Mao that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers expresses the demand made on literature and art by the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, the demand of the masses, and the clearly partisan principle of

proletarian literature and art. It is by advancing along this line that the proletarian revolution in literature and art exemplified by the model theatrical works has won victory.

The start of this proletarian revolution in literature and art was by no means fortuitous but the inevitable outcome of the struggles between the two opposing classes, roads and lines during the socialist period. After our country advanced from the new democratic revolution to the socialist revolution the bourgeoisie within our Party, Liu Shaoqi and his ilk, whose counter-revolutionary aim was to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat, simultaneously carried out a revisionist politi-

cal line to restore capitalism and a revisionist line in literature and art to oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. During the seventeen years before the Cultural Revolution the whole field of literature and art was dominated by this black revisionist line; the glorious teachings in the *Yenan Talks* were distorted, and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was not implemented. As a result, poisonous weeds grew apace and monsters were rampant, while a swarm of zombies emerged to fill our literary and art works—films, dramas, stage entertainments, fine arts, music and dance. The bourgeoisie, both inside and outside the Party, used all these literary and art forms to create counter-revolutionary mass opinion for the restoration of capitalism. With the backing of Liu Shaoqi, a small clique of revisionists usurped the leadership of literature and art, recruited a host of renegades and capitulationists as their followers, and put bourgeois intellectuals in control of all departments of art and culture.

Under the domination of this black revisionist line, the situation in the cultural field became extremely grave. As Chairman Mao pointed out sharply in his two instructions concerning literature and art in 1963 and 1964, "The social and economic base has changed, but the arts as part of the superstructure, which serve this base, still remain a serious problem." "In recent years, they have slid right down to the brink of revisionism. Unless they remould themselves in real earnest, at some future date they are bound to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club." This serious warning issued by Chairman Mao pointed out explicitly that revisionism was currently the main danger. If we allowed the bourgeoisie both within and without the Party to occupy the realm of literature and art, this would inevitably lead to the complete restoration of capitalism, with the dictatorship of the proletariat turning into dictatorship by the bourgeoisie. "We couldn't do without the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." A proletarian revolution in literature and art was also imperative and inevitable.

Chairman Mao instructed us in his *Yenan Talks*: "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines." Politics, whether revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, means a struggle between classes. Revolutionary struggles in ideology and art must be subservient to the political struggle. Guided by the *Yenan Talks*, the revolution in Peking opera which started in 1964 raised the curtain for the revolution in literature and art. After this, Chairman Mao himself initiated and led the movement to criticize the opera *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*;* thus the attack against Liu Shaoqi's bourgeois headquarters was launched by first criticizing representative figures of the bourgeoisie in the ideological and cultural spheres. The May 16, 1966 Circular of the Party Central Committee drawn up under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao laid bare the reac-



1975. Members of a mobile cultural troupe from Inner Mongolia on their way to perform for commune members.

* A reactionary opera concocted by the bourgeois scholar Wu Han who used the story of the feudal official Hai Jui in Chinese history to attack by insinuation the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system and to reverse the verdicts passed on the Right opportunist within the Party, Peng Teh-huai who was dismissed from office.



A scene from the modern revolutionary ballet "The White-Haired Girl."

tionary nature of the "February Outline Report"*** produced by the counter-revolutionary revisionist Peng Chen with the backing of Liu Shaoqi. A clarion call to start a great political revolution, the *Circular* called on the Party members and people of the whole country to raise high the banner of proletarian cultural revolution, to thoroughly expose and criticize bourgeois representatives within the Party and to seize the leadership in various sectors which they had usurped. The great victory of the Cultural Revolution smashed Liu Shaoqi's bourgeois headquarters and eradicated the black revisionist line in literature and art. Rushing forward like a mighty torrent with the victorious tide of the Cultural Revolution, the revolution in literature and art swept away the filth in this field, bringing in new scenes to replace the old in our socialist literature and art. Profound changes of great historic significance have taken place in ideology and creative practice as well as in the contingents of writers and artists.

*** A reactionary programme produced by Liu Shaoqi, Peng Chen and their ilk to suppress the rising tide of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and protect the capitalist-roaders in the Party.

Chairman Mao has pointed out in his *Yenan Talks* that to start a struggle in the realm of literature and art "requires our first doing so ideologically, our launching a struggle of proletarian ideology against non-proletarian ideology". Instances of class struggle in the realm of literature and art show that unless we criticize bourgeois and revisionist ideas in this field we cannot ensure the advance of our proletarian literature and art along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The rule of the revisionist line in literature and art during the seventeen years before the Cultural Revolution was manifested above all in the dominance of revisionist ideology opposed to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Clap-trap such as "truthful writing", "the broad path of realism", "the deepening of realism", "opposition to subject matter as the decisive factor", "writing about middle characters", "opposition to the smell of gunpowder" and "the merging of various trends as the spirit of the age" was typical of this revisionist line in literature and art; while its central slogan was "a literature and art of the whole people".

This slogan, derived from Liu Shaoqi's theory of the "dying out of class struggle", epitomises the reactionary

nature of the revisionist line in literature and art. Politically, it denies that during the socialist period there still exist classes, class contradictions and class struggle; it opposes our Party's basic line. In literature and art, it denies the class character of literature and art and opposes Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in this field. In essence, this reactionary line aims at doing away with proletarian literature and art and going all out for bourgeois and revisionist literature and art. The bourgeoisie and the revisionists who deny the class character of literature and art refuse to acknowledge the objective fact of class struggle, precisely so as to cover up the class struggle they are waging against the proletariat.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "Liu Shaoqi advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle, but he himself never ceased to wage class struggle. He wanted to protect his bunch of renegades and sworn followers." It was the same in the realm of literature and art. The bourgeoisie inside the Party, Liu Shaoqi and his ilk, preached "a literature and art of the whole people" in order to oppose the line that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. They wanted literature and art to serve the

bourgeoisie and those "high officials" who were carrying out the revisionist line, to protect those renegades and enemy agents and their accomplices within the Party.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the revolutionary literary and art workers and the revolutionary masses thoroughly debunked such revisionist theories as "a literature and art of the whole people", exposing their reactionary class nature and clearing up the confused thinking which had long prevailed in this field. Only then did Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought truly begin to occupy the ideological front in literature and art and clear away the obstacles to the proletarian revolution in literature and art, opening up a wide road for proletarian literature and art, expediting their flourishing and further development and ensuring that literature and art became really "powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy".

As a result of the Cultural Revolution, our writers and artists became quite clear through practice about the problem of what to depict and whom to eulogize, and the representatives of the

Continued on page 22

Heard Round the World

Partido Comunista Revolucionario de Chile

Public Declaration

In the face of the threat of the death sentence against Comrade Chiang Ching and serious punishment against Comrade Chang Chun-chiao, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile denounces this new criminal and reactionary act by the new bourgeois of China, and expresses its warmest communist solidarity with these two comrades, continuators of Mao Tsetung's revolutionary line.

The new Chinese bourgeoisie came to power after Mao's death, through the October 1976 coup d'etat, taking advantage of the positions which it had in the organs of the Communist Party and the State. It imprisoned the CCP leaders who agreed with Mao's political line, among them, his comrade Chiang Ching, as well as Chang Chun-chiao; and today it is putting them on trial because of their role in the different movements aimed at preventing the new Chinese bourgeoisie from getting into power and at defending the dictatorship of the proletariat. In other words, it is putting them on trial for making revolution.

What the new Chinese rulers are out to attack, essentially, is the whole revolutionary process which developed in China from the latter part of the 1950s on, and in particular, the Proletarian Cultural Revolution and its further development. It is Mao Tsetung

who is on trial through those who have followed him, on trial are the revolutionary ideas of those who have fought to bring the Chinese people towards communism.

The history of revolutions has shown us that they never develop in a straight line, without obstacles, without difficulties, without defeats. But also the dialectic of history teaches us that in the end, despite twists and turns, the new triumphs over the old. That is why we have confidence in the future of the worldwide revolution, and that the Chinese people will be able to draw lessons from their defeats, overthrow their oppressors and take up the march towards communism again. They will then pay homage to their heroes, to those who, like Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, maintained their revolutionary stand to the end.

NO TO THE DEATH PENALTY
AGAINST COMRADE
CHIANG CHING!

FREE THE CHINESE
REVOLUTIONARIES!

IT'S RIGHT TO REBEL!

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION
REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST
PARTY
OF CHILE

(Translated by the RW)

1-15-1981

Re-Organization Committee, Communist Party of India (ML)

Condemn the Mock Trial of the Socialist Roaders of China

The mock trial of the socialist roaders along with the collaborators of Lin Piao that is going on in China now is something like the climax in the drama staged by the Teng-Hua clique after usurping the Party and state leadership through a military coup just after the death of Mao Tsetung. If we are closely watching the dramatic developments in China since Mao's death and analyse them objectively, we can see two specific stages in the fierce class struggle taking place in China between the new bourgeoisie and the proletariat represented respectively by the capitalist roaders and socialist roaders. The third plenary meeting of the 11th Central Committee of the CPC held in December 1978 marked the demarcating line between these two phases. During the first phase the most treacherous characters grouped under the leadership of Hua Kuo-feng and pretending to be 'centrist' were leading the struggle against the socialist roaders, of course, in close collaboration with the arch-reactionaries led by Teng. This former group were pretending to be the genuine followers of Mao Tsetung and so claimed to uphold the basic principles of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and all the fundamental tenets of Mao Tsetung Thought. They were pretending to be the genuine Left in China and so claimed to be continuing the struggle against Liu Shao-chi and other capitalist roaders. Hence they depicted the socialist roaders who were arrested and persecuted by this clique as rightists in 'leftist' garbs. They unleashed the most unprincipled and non political vilification campaign against the leaders of socialist roaders.

This phase ended with the above said meeting of the CC at which the Teng group seized the unquestionable leader-

ship of the capitalist roaders. They changed the entire nature of the struggle against the socialist roaders. They were honest enough to openly declare that they vehemently opposed all the correct verdicts of the GPCR, that they would consider modernisation, not class struggle, as the key link in the socialist period. As a natural continuation of this stand they began to openly attack all the basic principles of class struggle under the dictatorship of proletariat upheld by Mao. They did not hesitate to start a campaign for undermining the authority and prestige of Mao Tsetung; because they were well aware of the fact that without attacking Mao, they would not be able to implement their policies of restoring capitalism in China. So they attacked the socialist roaders as the representatives of the GPCR itself. They put forward the explanation that the socialist roaders were representing 'Left' and that they were not Rightists as Hua group was claiming. Teng Hsiao-ping himself openly declared that Mao was really responsible for all those leftist 'mistakes' since the middle of the 1950s. And actually the socialist roaders who are now being 'tried' by Teng were implementing these 'leftist mistakes' of Mao. But that cunning bourgeois politician in Teng knows more than anybody else that it would not be beneficial for him to link up Mao openly with the socialist roaders during this mock trial. Hence this drama that is now being staged in Peking.

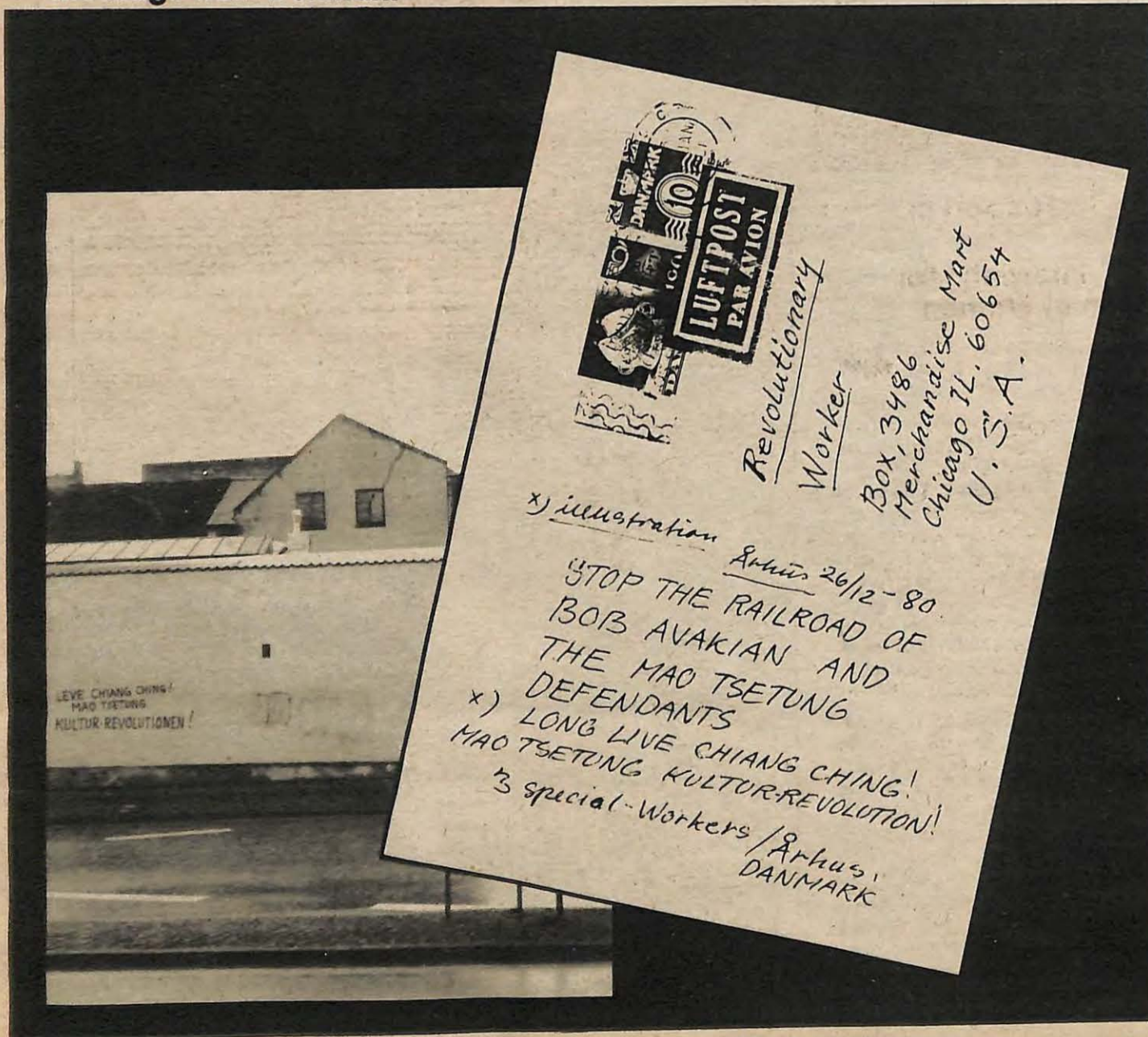
The capitalist roaders in China wish to tarnish the image of the socialist roaders by taking them up with the collaborators of Lin Piao in his attempt to assassinate Mao. It is a well known fact of history that Lin Piao was trying to peddle the line of capitalist roaders represented by Liu Shao-chi. The 10th Congress report of the CPC has shown us how the socialist roaders could expose that conspiracy in time and smash that anti-Party clique headed by Lin Piao. After that, the socialist roaders under Mao's personal guidance launched an ideological struggle against the philosophy and politics of Lin Piao. This struggle really represented a new stage in the development of the GPCR. But the capitalist roaders like Teng utilised this opportunity to worm into the party and state leadership. At all stages of this struggle against the Lin Piao clique, the four prominent leaders of the socialist roaders who are now under attack were playing a decisive role in exposing and defeating the plotters while Teng and his gang were actually conniving with the Lin Piao clique by conspiring to restore capitalism in China.

In the name of "socialist legality" Teng is using all the notorious methods of persecution employed by the reactionaries all over the world against the communists and revolutionaries, in order to persecute the socialist roaders in China. They are concocting so many silly charges of torture and murder supposed to have been committed during the GPCR. Nobody will deny that Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was an unprecedented revolutionary upsurge during which innumerable clashes between the socialist roaders and capitalist roaders took place all over China. It was a fierce class struggle. At that time socialist roaders were in the dominant position. They implemented the principles of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, they unleashed the enthusiasm of the masses by politicising them and making them capable of exposing and overthrowing the capitalist roaders at all levels, instead of resorting to bureaucratic and the so-called legal

Meeting in Britain to Support Chinese Revolutionaries

An early January meeting was held here in Britain to support Mao's comrades on trial in China and Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants facing trial in the U.S. People from a number of different groups attended, including from Turkey and Iran, British Marxist-Leninists and others. The purpose of this meeting was to make preliminary plans for a public mass meeting in London to denounce the expected verdicts in China.

Message from Denmark



Above, front and back of postcard received from Denmark.

Continued on page 20

Shanghai Messages

Continued from page 4

against us is one of life and death, and there is no question of equality. Therefore our struggle against them, too, can be nothing but a life and death struggle, and our relation with them can in no way be one of equality. On the contrary, it is a relation of one class oppressing another, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie." Under this brilliant and incisive directive, the proletariat launched the earth-breaking Great Cultural Revolution. At that time Comrade Chiang Ching and her comrades in arms gained the complete trust and powerful support of Comrade Mao Tsetung. They no doubt had enough strength to put the whole string of anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements in the fields of the Party, government, army and literature, consisting of Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, Peng Zhen, Lo Ruiqing, Lu Dingyi, Yang Shangkun and others into a position from which they could never recover. But very unfortunately, Comrade Chiang Ching and her close comrades in arms were able to do so but did not do so. In the ten glorious years of the Cultural Revolution, in general the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements going down the capitalist road were given the opportunity to turn over a new leaf, and were even given a certain way out politically, except for a few whose crimes were very serious, who could not face up to the Party and the people and walked into a dead end street of self-destructive suicide. However, because Comrade Chiang Ching and her comrades in arms failed to note that in revolutionary work there is no need to use the principle of being kind and soft, and could not dig out the roots of these anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements, even believing the schemes of the heads of the leading reactionary gangs to admit mistakes in order to resurface and hold power to spread even more poison and rescue dogs who have fallen into the water. This gave them the opportunity to retaliate later.

3. Those comrades that Comrade Chiang Ching could trust and who would persevere in the revolution to the end and would not capitulate even up to death were too few! Unqualified people were even used so that at key junctures determining success or failure of the revolution, there arose surprise incidents of people turning against us. In investigating the reasons why this was so, it was found that in the past several decades, our Party's Marxist-Leninist education and the work of implementing Mao Tsetung Thought appears to be very shallow. All along, the majority of Party cadres, especially many cadres in important leadership positions, have not firmly grasped the ability to distinguish real from false revolution. Also we were not able to develop the kind of lofty revolutionary moral character needed by professional revolutionaries—not giving a second thought to being beheaded or having their house searched in order to find evidence. Therefore in such revolutionary ranks as ours, there infiltrated those turtles who pull their necks into the shell, cunning rabbits who run away from the battlefield, and those who only recognize selfish material interests. Even such well-known standard bearers as Wang Hongwen and Yao Wenyuan could fail to pass through the harsh test of revolutionary struggle. In the end, under torture and the carrot and stick tactics of the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements, they are brazenly slandering the destruction and violence that are necessary in revolutionary struggle, as well as self-defense which is rightly so part of revolutionary struggle. They have also been manipulated by the enemy to admit to all kinds of "crimes" and "mistakes" arrogantly thrown at them in the thoroughly reactionary and extremely ridiculous "court" that was set up to show off the temporary anti-Party and counter-revolutionary victory.

Only true gold can withstand a test by fire, and only those that dare despise the

Two Birds: A Dialogue Autumn 1965

*The roc wings fanwise,
Soaring ninety thousand li
And rousing a raging cyclone.
The blue sky on his back, he looks down
To survey man's world with its towns and cities.
Gunfire licks the heavens,
Shells pit the earth.
A sparrow in his bush is scared stiff.
"This is one hell of a mess!
O, I want to flit and fly away."*

*"Where, may I ask?"
The sparrow replies,
"To a jewelled palace in elfland's hills.
Don't you know a triple pact was signed
Under the bright autumn moon two years ago?
There'll be plenty to eat,
Potatoes piping hot
With beef thrown in."
"Stop your windy nonsense!
Look you, the world is being turned upside down."*

MAO TSETUNG

enemy like Comrade Chiang Ching and Comrade Chang Chun-chiao can show the great spirit of sacrifice of fearing not even death.

4. Our military armed actions were not able to closely coordinate with the change of the political situation. During the Cultural Revolution, relying on the brilliant guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and relying on the theoretical inspiration and leadership in action of Comrade Chiang Ching and Comrade Chang Chun-chiao, our revolutionary ranks deeply won the hearts of the people, and we became the common goal that the masses of workers and peasants and revolutionary intellectual youth of the whole country rallied around and fought hard for. Especially in the People's Liberation Army, we had the absolute majority as our supporters, so that even today, when our revolutionary cause has suffered a temporary setback, the unmatched strength that we deeply planted in the various branches, various military academies, and various levels of the command structure in this invincible peoples army are still a reliable strength in defeating all anti-Party and counter-revolutionary renegades. Besides this, we had spread throughout the country militia troops made up of workers and peasants. This was a mass armed force in combatting revisionism, preventing revisionism, smashing attacks by class enemies, anti-Party and counter-revolutionary renegades. But while we deepened and broadened the political call and built up a political situation extremely favorable for a revolutionary situation, on the one hand we did not take initiative to strike at the various anti-party and counter-revolutionary strongholds; on the other hand we were off guard, that is, we did not see that the reactionary forces might seize the opportunity of the death of our great revolutionary leader and great revolutionary teacher Comrade Mao Tsetung, and the period when the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country were in deep mourning, to launch a sudden attack to arrest and imprison several leaders of our revolutionary ranks headed by Comrade Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao. Also after the surprise incident took place, the Liberation Army and the militia in various areas were not able to take initiative and take immediate action

in response which would have been favorable to continuing the revolution and broadening the fight. The abandonment of the Shanghai armed insurrection as it neared completion was because our vigilance during ordinary times was not enough, and emergency measures which should have been taken were delayed for quite a while before being launched. Therefore a good opportunity for resistance was lost.

Among the many "criminal" charges thrown at Comrade Chiang Ching, some she herself could not avoid under the conditions of the continued existence of feudal ideology in Chinese society; some are because in this historically unprecedented revolutionary struggle, facing such tough, cunning, widespread and hidden anti-party and counter-revolutionary enemies, Comrade Chiang Ching as the leadership center of this revolutionary organization, as well as the revolutionary newborn forces under her leadership, both lacked experience. Because of this, we don't avoid talking about shortcomings and mistakes which existed in our revolutionary work and recognize our temporary reversal and setback. That is, it cannot be the sole responsibility of Comrade Chiang Ching, Comrade Chang Chun-chiao and other leading comrades. Our reversal is the reversal of the perseverance of the Chinese Communist Party on the road of Marxist-Leninist line, it is the reversal of Mao's revolutionary line of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; it is also a reversal of the line of Chinese revolutionary people and revolutionary people of the world in combatting revisionism and preventing revisionism. And also because of this, the more faults and mistakes we can consciously discover and point out in a more concrete way, the more beneficial for us it will be in taking warning from the past to be more careful in the future. Thus these faults and mistakes can be avoided, overcome and corrected one by one, so that our revolutionary cause can go through a thousand forgings and a hundred smeltings, and we can unyieldingly persist in carrying it out to the end.

**The People Are The Judge Of
Everything**

The masses are the makers of history.

In the same way, every anti-Party, and counter-revolutionary element must pass through the people's trial and be given a final verdict. Today, the Chinese proletarian state power has been usurped by a handful of reactionaries who were knocked down before and who now have restored the capitalist road. Ghosts and monsters are all coming out, wolves, swine, vile curs—are strutting around restoring all the bourgeois rights; together with this, they worked up a bourgeois form of "court" and, using a bourgeois viewpoint, exercised arbitrary dictatorship over and put on "trial" outstanding proletarian revolutionary leaders. This kind of farce and ugly display, just as Comrade Chiang Ching righteously and forcefully pointed out; "is to put the Chinese Communist Party on trial!"

Exactly because this handful of reactionaries who have restored the capitalist road is blatantly carrying out anti-Party, counter-revolutionary activities, in their bourgeois "court" they are therefore viciously depriving Comrade Chiang Ching of the minimum right to defend and argue on behalf of the Marxist-Leninist line which the Chinese Communist Party has consistently persevered in, and the interests of the Chinese proletariat and revolutionary people. Isn't this a clear proof that they are afraid to death of the truth? Isn't this an exposure of them desperately and nakedly putting the Party on trial and exercising brutal dictatorship over the proletariat?

But for these reactionaries who have restored the capitalist road, the more they, in fear of truth, try to bury and persecute it, the more truth will become an indestructible beacon in the minds of hundreds of millions, and the more people will see clearly from the past to the present the vicious intentions and ugly faces of that bunch of reactionaries who have restored the capitalist road. Today, if these reactionaries who have restored the capitalist road really take seriously the cries about the so-called "seeking truth from facts" and "practice is the sole criterion of truth," then people cannot help but look at these four years of practice since they have usurped the Party, restored bourgeois dictatorship and went all out to "promote bourgeois ideology and liquidate proletarian ideology." People can line up things item by item and use the magic mirror of Marxism-Leninism, dissect the sterile, compare and examine. It's not hard to distinguish between what they want to achieve and what they have already carried out, to see whether it is the Marxist-Leninist criterion of truth or what the bourgeois revisionists regard as the "criterion" of truth which is directly opposed to Marxism-Leninism.

We can say for certain: for that small handful of diehards, wolves, and vile curs who have restored the capitalist road all the slanders, frameups, curses and even all the unimaginable rumors that they have thrown upon those in the proletarian ranks who have persevered in the Marxist-Leninist line, the successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause, now especially directed at Comrade Chiang Ching and Comrade Chang Chun-chiao, this can very fittingly be turned back against them because from "judging" their own "practice", their anti-Party, counter-revolutionary, anti-people activities, the precise facts are:

1. Exercising feudal dictatorship.

The aim of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was to open up a forum for the people's political expression, to let the people of the whole country, particularly the workers, peasants, revolutionary educated youth freely express themselves, to make them concerned about the cardinal affairs of the Party and the state, promote the Party's mass line, to prevent anyone, especially Party members and cadres from using their position to seek privileges and self-interest, and further link up with the masses to carry out a determined struggle against bourgeois thinking. This was in order to help the socialist revolution and construction, and further create a political situation where there is both centralism and

Continued on page 18

Speech to the Albanian Military Delegation (May 1, 1967)

Mao Tsetung On the Cultural Revolution

The following is a speech by Mao Tsetung given in China to an Albanian Military Delegation on May 1, 1967. In a famous passage here, Mao points out that while the main task of the Cultural Revolution is to "struggle against power holders who take the capitalist road," the goal of the Cultural Revolution is to "solve the problem of world outlook; it is the question of eradicating the roots of revisionism." The Albanians didn't agree.

The English translation of this speech is taken from the U.S. government publication, Miscellany of Mao Tsetung Thought.

I once said at a rally of 7,000 people in 1962: "In the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, it is yet uncertain as to which will win and which will be defeated, it being highly possible that revisionism will triumph and we will be defeated. We used the possibility of defeat to alert the public, and we found this to be highly conducive to heightening our vigilance against revisionism, as well as to preventing and opposing revisionism..." Actually, the struggle between the two classes and the two lines within the Communist party has always existed. Nobody can deny it, and being materialists ourselves, we of course should not deny it. Since that rally, the struggle between the two classes within our party has manifested itself in the forms of "left" in appearance but right in essence and the opposition to same, a denial of the existence of class struggle and emphasis on the existence of class struggle, and in compromises and accentuation of proletarian politics, etc. This has been discussed in pertinent documents that appeared prior to that occasion.

Today the military delegation of Albania has come here to understand our nation's Great Cultural Revolution. Let me first of all talk about my approaches to this problem.

China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began with Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's criticism of "Hai Jui Dismissed From Office" in the winter of 1965. At that time, certain departments and certain localities in this country of ours were dominated by revisionism. It was so tight that even water could not seep in and pins could not penetrate. I then suggested to Comrade Chiang Ching that she organize some articles to criticize "Hai Jui Dismissed From Office." But this was impossible to accomplish here in this Red metropolis, and there was no alternative but to go to Shanghai to organize it. Finally the article was written. I read it three times, and considered it basically all right, so I let Comrade Chiang Ching bring it back for publication. I suggested that some of the leading comrades of the Central Committee be allowed to read it, but Comrade Chiang Ching suggested: "The article can be published as it is, and I do not think there is any need to ask Comrade [Zhou] Enlai (Chou Enlai) and Kang Sheng to read it." (Comrade Lin Biao [Lin Piao] interrupted, saying: Some people say that Comrade Mao Tsetung used one faction to fight another faction. But now all of the central leadership comrades have prestige among the revolutionary masses, and they were all briefed beforehand by Chairman Mao on the Great Cultural Revolution, and so they did not commit any errors. I think the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is an examination without examination, and whoever follows closely Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is a proletarian revolutionary. So I have always said that Mao Tsetung Thought must be implemented both when we understand it and when we may temporarily not understand it.) After Yao Wen-

yuan's article was published, most of the newspapers in the country published it, but it was not published in Peking and Hunan. Later I suggested that a pamphlet be issued, but it was also opposed and did not go through.

Yao Wen-yuan's article was merely the signal for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Consequently, in the Central Committee, I was especially keen on drawing up the May 16 Circular. Because the enemy was especially sensitive, once the signal was sounded here, we knew that he would take action. Of course, we also had to take action on our own. This circular had already been very precise in bringing out the question of line, and the question of the two lines. At that time, the majority did not agree with my view, and I was left alone for a time. They said that my views were outmoded, and so I had to present my views to the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth CCP Central Committee for discussion. After some debate I gained the endorsement of a little over one-half of the Comrades. There were still many people who would not agree with me, including Li Ching-chuan [2621 0064 3123] and Liu Lan-tao [0491 3482 3447]. Comrade [Chen] Po-ta went to talk with them, and they said: "I couldn't endorse it in Peking, and after I returned [home] I still could not endorse it." Finally I had no choice but to let practice make further examination!

After the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth CCP Central Committee, the emphasis was on the criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line that had been taking place during the three months of October, November and December 1966, and this resulted in public disclosure of contradictions within the party. Here, I would like to mention another problem and that was that the broad masses of workers and peasants, and the hardcore cadres of the party and league were deceived during the process of criticizing the reactionary line. Having studied the problem what could we do with regard to those comrades who were deceived? I have always felt that the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers are good, the overwhelming majority of party members and league members are good, and that they have all been the principal forces during every stage of the proletarian revolution. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is certainly no exception. Since the broad masses of workers and peasants are involved in actual labor, they naturally know very little about conditions in the upper echelons. Moreover, the vast number of hardcore cadres of the party and league have heart-felt devotion to the party and have boundless love for the party's cadres, while the "power holders taking the capitalist road" have raised the red flag to oppose the red flag. For this reason, they were so deceived that for a relatively long period of time they could not get out from under their delusions, but there were historical factors behind all of this. As long as those who were deceived reformed themselves, it was all right! As the movement developed, they again became the main force. The "January Storm" was launched by the workers, and it is just as true for the democratic revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The "May 4th" Movement was launched by intellectuals, thereby fully demonstrating their foresight and awareness. However, we must depend on the masters of the time, the workers, peasants and soldiers, to serve as the main force in carrying through thoroughgoing revolutions on the order of a real Northern Expedition or Long March. In point of fact, workers, peasants and soldiers are really only workers and peasants, since soldiers are only workers and peasants dressed in army uniforms. Although it was the in-

tellectuals and the broad masses of young students who launched the criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line, it was, nonetheless, incumbent upon the masters of the time, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, to serve as the main force in carrying the revolution through to completion, once the "January Storm" had seized power. Intellectuals have always been quick in altering their perception of things, but, because of the limitations of their instincts, and because they lack a thorough revolutionary character, they are sometimes opportunistic.

From the standpoint of policy and strategy, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution may be generally divided into four stages. From the publication of Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's article to the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth CCP Central Committee may be considered the first stage, and it was primarily a stage of mobilization. From the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth CCP Central Committee to the "January Storm" may be considered the second stage. The third stage consisted of X X X's [Chi Pen-yu] "Patriotism or National Betrayal?" and "The Key Point of 'Cultivation' Is That It Betrays the Proletarian Dictatorship." The period thereafter may be considered the fourth stage. During the third and fourth stages the question of seizing power was paramount. The fourth stage was concerned with seizing the powers of revisionism and of the bourgeoisie ideologically. Consequently, this was a crucial stage in the decisive battle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, and this was the main and proper theme of the whole movement. After the "January Storm," the Central Committee repeatedly concerned itself with the problem of a great alliance, but it did not work out. Later, it was discovered that this subjective wish was not in keeping with the objective laws of the development of class struggle. This is because each class and political power wanted to exert itself stubbornly. Bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideologies burst forth like unbridled flood waters, thus undermining the great alliance. It was impossible to work out a great alliance, and even if it were, it would eventually be broken up. Thus, the present attitude of the Central Committee is merely to promote it, not to work it out. The method of pulling the sprout to accelerate its growth is unfeasible. This law of class struggle can not be changed by anyone's subjective will. On this question there are many examples which can be cited. In the workers' congress, the Red Guard congress, and the peasants' congress in X X municipality, it seems that with the exception of the peasants' congress, the workers' and Red Guard congress have had many squabbles. I think the revolutionary committee of X X municipality may yet have to be reorganized.

I had originally intended to train some successors from among the intellectuals, but this would now appear to be impractical. It seems to me that the world outlook of intellectuals, including those young intellectuals who are still receiving education in schools, and those both within and outside the party, is still basically bourgeois. This is because in the more than ten years since liberation, the cultural and educational circles have been dominated by revisionism, and so bourgeois ideology has seeped into their blood. Thus, revolutionary intellectuals must carefully remold their world outlook during this crucial stage of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Otherwise, they will go contrary to the revolution. Now I would like to ask you a question: What would you say is the goal of the Great Cultural Revolution? (Someone answered on the spot: It is to struggle against power holders within the party who take the

capitalist road.) To struggle against power holders who take the capitalist road is the main task, but it 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.

The Central Committee has emphasized time and again that the masses must educate themselves and liberate themselves. This is because world outlook cannot be imposed on them. In order to transform ideology, it is necessary for the external causes to function through inner causes, though the latter are principal. If the world outlook is not transformed, how can the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution be called a victory? If the world outlook is not transformed, then although there are 2,000 power holders taking the capitalist road in this great Cultural Revolution, there may be 4,000 next time. The cost of this Great Cultural Revolution has been very great, and even though the question of the struggle between the two classes and the two roads cannot be resolved by one, two, three or four Great Cultural Revolutions, still, this Great Cultural Revolution, should consolidate things for a decade at least. In the course of one century, it may be possible to launch such a revolution two or three times at most. Thus we must focus our attention on eradicating the roots of revisionism in order to strengthen our ability to guard against and oppose revisionism at any time. Here I would like to ask you another question: Who would you say are the power holders taking the capitalist road? (No response from the audience.) The so-called power holders taking the capitalist road are those power holders who take the road of capitalism! What I mean by this is that during the time of the democratic revolution, these people actively participated in opposing the three big mountains, but once the entire country was liberated, they were not so keen on opposing the bourgeoisie. Though they had actively participated in and endorsed the overthrow of local despots and the distribution of land, after the country's liberation when agricultural collectivization was to be implemented, they were not very keen on this either. He who would not take the socialist road and is now in power—is it not he who is a power holder taking the road of capitalism! Let's just say that it is "veteran cadres encountering new problems!" Nonetheless, those who have a proletarian world outlook will [not] follow the road of capitalism. This means that the bourgeoisie wants to transform the world in accordance with the bourgeois world outlook, while the proletariat wants to transform the world in accordance with the proletarian world outlook. There are those who have committed errors of orientation and line in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and this has been said to be a case of "veteran cadres encountering new problems." But the fact that you have erred tells us that you veteran cadres have not yet thoroughly remolded your bourgeois world outlook. From now on, veteran cadres are bound to encounter even more new problems. To ensure that you will resolutely take the road of socialism, you will have to undergo a thorough proletarian revolutionization ideologically. Let me ask you, how can you actually proceed from socialism toward communism? This is a great event for the nation, and a great event for the world.

I say the revolutionary spirit of the revolutionary little generals is very strong, and this is excellent. But you cannot step onto the stage now, because if you step onto the stage now, you will be kicked off the stage tomorrow. But this word has been leaked out by a Vice Premier's own mouth, and this is highly

Continued on page 26



Mao during a battle in Shensi in 1947; behind him, at left, is Chiang Ching.

Philosophy

Marxism consists of thousands of truths, but they all boil down to the one sentence, "It is right to rebel." For thousands of years, it had been said that it was right to oppress, it was right to exploit, and it was wrong to rebel. This old verdict was only reversed with the appearance of Marxism. This is a great contribution. It was through struggle that the proletariat learned this truth, and Marx drew the conclusion. And from this truth there follows resistance, struggle, the fight for socialism.

From a speech at the Rally of People of all Walks of Life in Yen-an to Celebrate the Sixtieth Birthday of Stalin. (People's China)

How can there be no wrangling in this world of ours? Marxism is a wrangling *ism*, dealing as it does with contradictions and struggles. Contradictions are always present, and where there are contradictions there are struggles.

1957, "Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees" (Vol. 5)

It is only when there is class struggle that there can be philosophy. It is a waste of time to discuss epistemology apart from practice. . . . The oppressors oppress the oppressed, while the oppressed need to fight back and seek a way out before they start looking for philosophy. It is only when people took this as their starting-point that there was Marxism-Leninism, and that they discovered philosophy.

1964, "Talks on Questions of Philosophy." (Schram)

"The Internationale" and Lenin's article express throughout a Marxist standpoint and outlook. What they say is that slaves should arise and struggle for truth. There never has been any supreme saviour, nor can we rely on gods or emperors. We rely entirely on ourselves for our salvation. Who has created the world of men? We the labouring masses. . . .

1971, "Talks on the Lin Piao Affair." (Schram)

Philosophy comes out of the mountains and valleys. . . . Philosophy is only able to emerge amidst adversity and struggle. Philosophy arises from an adverse situation.

1963, "Speech at the Hangchow Conference." (Miscellany)

Everything is one divided into two. I personally am also one divided into two. I was a primary school teacher, and when I was young, I also believed in the spirits. I went with my mother to distant temples to burn incense. Before the October Revolution, I did not even know there was a Marx, or anything which occurred after Marx. . . .

Marx was also one divided into two. Marx's philosophy was learned from Hegel and Feuerbach, his economics from England's Ricardo and others, and from France he studied utopian socialism. All this was bourgeois. From this, one divided into two and produced Marxism. Let me ask you, when Marx was young did he ever read Marx's works?

1964, "Remarks at a Briefing." (Miscellany)

In reality it is only after undergoing a million years (of evolution) that man developed a large brain and a pair of hands. In the future, animals will continue to develop. I don't believe that men alone are capable of having two hands. Can't horses, cows, sheep evolve? . . . Horses, cows, sheep, and insects will all change. Animals have evolved from plants, they have evolved from seaweed. . . . Water has its history too. Earlier still, even hydrogen and oxygen did not exist. Only after hydrogen and oxygen were produced was there the possibility that these two elements could combine to give water. We must study the history of the natural sciences, it won't do to neglect this subject. We must read a few books. There is a great difference between reading because of the necessities of our present struggles, and reading aimlessly.

1964, "Talks on Philosophy." (Schram)

According to the basic law of dialectics, the unity of opposites, there is at once struggle and unity between the opposites, which are both mutually exclusive and interconnected and which under given conditions transform themselves into each other. . . .

If life and death cannot be transformed into each other, then please tell me where living things come from. Originally there was only non-living matter on earth, and living things did not come into existence until later, when they were transformed from non-living matter, that is, dead matter. All living matter undergoes a process of metabolism: it grows, re-

produces and perishes. While life is in progress, life and death are engaged in a constant struggle and are being transformed into each other all the time.

1957, "Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees." (Vol. 5)

The Chinese people consider weddings as red happy events and funerals white happy events. I find them very rational. The Chinese know dialectics. Weddings will produce children. A child is split out of the body of the mother. It is a sudden change, a happy event. One individual is split into two or three, or even 10, like the aircraft carrier.

The common people find the occurrences, changes, and deaths of new matters happy events. When a person dies, a memorial meeting is held. While the bereaved weep in mourning, they feel it is also a happy event. Actually, it is. Just imagine if Confucius were still living and here at this meeting in Huai-jen Hall. He would be over 2,000 years old, and it wouldn't be so good! If one subscribes to dialectics and yet disapproves of death, it will be metaphysics. Disasters are social phenomena, natural phenomena. Sudden changes are the most fundamental law of the universe. Birth is a sudden change; so is death. In the several decades from birth to death, it is a gradual change. If Chiang Kai-shek should die, we would clap our hands in joy. If Dulles should die, none of us would shed a tear. This is so because the death of matters of the old society is a good thing, hoped for by everyone. While the birth of new things is good, their death is naturally not good. The failure of Russia's 1905 revolution and the loss of our base in the South were equivalent to the seedlings destroyed by hailstorm and downpour. It is naturally not good. And the problem of replacing the destroyed seedlings arises. We communists hope for changes. The so-called leap forward means a change from the past. . . . Sudden change is better than quantitative change. But without quantitative change, there can be no sudden change. Quantitative change is indispensable, and negating it will lead to adventurism. The destruction of balance constitutes leaping forward, and such destruction is better than balance. Imbalance and headache are good things. . . . Balance, quantitative change, and unity are temporary and relative. Imbalance, sudden changes, and disunity are absolute and permanent. Many disunities have been overcome and changed to unity. Unification is proposed because of disunity.

1958, "3rd Speech at the 2nd Session of the 8th Party Congress." (Miscellany)

It used to be said that there were three great laws of dialectics, then Stalin said that there were four. In my view there is only one basic law and that is the law of contradiction. Quality and quantity, positive and negative, external appearance and essence, content and form, necessity and freedom, possibility and reality, etc., are all cases of the unity of opposites.

1965, "Speech at Hangchow." (Schram)



Mao Tsetung in 1961 at Lushan Mountain, site of the Red Army's first revolutionary base area.

What do we mean by advanced? To be advanced is to do the work of the backward, to analyse those who are around us, to be intent on making inquiries and making friends wherever we go. Our young people must study dialectics, and master the use of dialectics in analysing problems. Take me, for example. I am not at all more intelligent than others, but I understand dialectics and I know how to use it in analysing problems. If we use dialectics to analyse an unclear problem, the problem becomes clear in a trice. You must diligently study dialectics, its efficacy is very great.

1966, "Talks with Mao Yuan-hsin." (Schram)

One thing eating another, big fish eating little fish, this is synthesis. It has never been put like this in books. I have never put it this way in my books either. For his part, Yang Hsien-chen believes that two combine into one, and that synthesis is the indissoluble tie between two opposites. What indissoluble ties are there in this world? Things may be tied, but in the end they must be severed. There is nothing which cannot be severed.

1964, "Talks on Philosophy." (Schram)

Lenin said that all things can be divided. He gave the atom as an example, and said that not only can the atom be divided, but the electron, too, can be divided. Formerly, however, it was held that it could not be divided; the branch of science devoted to splitting the atomic nucleus is still very young, only twenty or thirty years old. In recent decades, the scientists have resolved the atomic nucleus into its constituents, such as protons, anti-protons, neutrons, anti-neutrons, mesons and anti-mesons. . . . As yet, the electron has not been split, but

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Quotations from Mao T

Here is a compilation of quotations from Mao and thoroughly revolutionary viewpoint and his reading these quotes it becomes clear why Mao's ideas are so important to the revolution. These short pieces are mainly from the period after the publication of Chairman Mao Tsetung—a publication now being translated into English. The quotes appear under four broad headings: philosophy, revolutionizing the superstructure of society (political institutions, but the art, philosophies and revolution. Some of these quotes are from translations done in this country and are appearing in parenthesis at the end of the citations. A key to these sources appears

some day they will certainly be able to split it. Chuang-tzu said, "A length of one foot, which is divided in half each day, will never be reduced to zero." (Chuang-tzu, Chapter (33G) "On the various schools", quoting Kung-sun Lung.) This is the truth. If you don't believe it, just consider. If it could be reduced to zero, then there would be no such thing as science. The myriad things develop continuously and limitlessly, and they are infinite. Time and space are infinite. As regards space, looking at it both macroscopically and microscopically, it is infinite, it can be divided endlessly. So even after a million years scientists will still have work to do. . . .

1964, "Talks on Philosophy." (Schram)

The life of dialectics is the continuous movement toward opposites. Mankind will also finally meet its doom. When the theologians talk about doomsday, they are pessimistic and terrify people. We say the end of mankind is something which will produce something more advanced than mankind. Mankind is still in its infancy. Engels spoke of moving from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom, and said that freedom is the understanding of necessity. This sentence is not complete, it only says one half and leaves the rest unsaid. Does merely understanding it make you free? Freedom is the understanding of necessity and the transformation of necessity—one has some work to do too. . . .

1964, "Talks on Philosophy." (Schram)

. . . matter can be transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter. . . .

1963, "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" (SR)

We should always be bringing forward new things. Otherwise what are we here for? What do we want descendants for? New things are to be found in reality, we must grasp reality.

1964, "Talks on Philosophy." (Schram)

We should strive for discovery, invention, creation and advance. The propositions for standstill, pessimism, arrogance and complacency are all wrong.

Quoted in a talk by Wang Hong-wen to Central Study Class. 1974. (MM5)

No need to be afraid of tidal waves; human society has been evolved out of "tidal waves."

July 26, 1966. People's Daily Editorial. (Ch'en)

Truth stands in contrast to falsehood and develops in struggle with it. . . . It is a dangerous policy to prohibit people from coming into contact with the false, the ugly and the hostile, with idealism and metaphysics and with the twaddle of Confucius, Lao Tzu and Chiang Kai-shek. It will lead to mental deterioration, one-track minds, and unpreparedness to face the world and meet challenges.

1957, "Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees." (Vol. 5)

There is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation, it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction.

1966, "May 16 Circular." (Daubier)

Truth, all truth, is ever in the hands of a minority in the beginning. They will always have some compulsion exerted on them by the majority. Four hundred years ago Copernicus

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Mao Tsetung that reflect his lofty, sweeping, unwavering and pugnacious stand. After Mao drove both the revisionists and the im-

are on a few selected topics and come from the famous Red Book of Quotations from Mao Tsetung, planned in China by the current rulers. The philosophy, the dictatorship of the proletariat, which includes not only the legal and economic ways of thinking, etc. of society), and war in official Chinese sources and others come from various other sources. The abbreviated titles appear at the end of this compilation.



Mao Tsetung talking with peasants in Yen-an, 1939.

nicus, a great Polish astronomer, discovered that the earth moves. The theory that the heavens revolve about the earth had ruled astronomy for over 1,000 years. The greatest achievement of Copernicus in his lifetime was to replace this theory with the scientific theory that the earth revolves about the sun. The religious circles of that time rallied together to attack him, to oppose him and accuse him of heresy. He was oppressed on all sides. His *De Revolutionibus* was not published until he was on his deathbed (1543). He rejoiced in it. In Italy during that period the brilliant physicist and astronomer Galileo (1564-1642) subscribed to Copernicus' "heliocentric theory." Beginning in 1609 he observed the heavens with a homemade telescope to see whether the stars moved, but he was persecuted by the religious circles of that time and convicted by the reactionary Roman court. Another person was burned to death. Burning an individual is nothing! Truth does not lie in his hands! Burn someone to death and the earth still moves.

1964. "Remarks at a Briefing." (Miscellany)

From time immemorial, nothing progressive has ever been favourably received at first and everything progressive has invariably been the object of abuse. Marxism and the Communist Party have been abused from the very beginning. Even ten thousand years hence, things progressive will still be abused at the outset.

1957. "Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal, and Autonomous Region Party Committees." (Vol. 5)

Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle.

Quoted in 10th Party Congress documents. (MM5)

In social struggle, the forces representing the advanced class sometimes suffer defeat not because their ideas are incorrect but because, in the balance of forces engaged in struggle, they are not as powerful for the time being as the forces of reaction; they are therefore temporarily defeated, but they are bound to triumph sooner or later.

1963. "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" (SR)

Everything in the world develops in twists and turns. For instance, when you walk, you never walk in a straight line. Have you ever been to Mogan Mountain? There are eighteen hairpin bends on the way up. Society invariably moves forward in a spiral.

1957. "Beat Back the Attacks of the Bourgeois Rightists." (Vol. 5)

Swimming in rivers with counter-currents builds up will-power and courage.

Cited in "Proletarians are Revolutionary Optimists." Peking, 1976. (MM5)

There is a kind of microbes which are called germs. Though small in size, from a certain standpoint, they are more powerful than men. They have no superstition and are full of energy. They strive for the upper reaches and for greater, faster, better, and more economical results. They are not afraid of heaven or earth. They do not respect anyone. If they want to eat people, they will crawl into them regardless of who you are. Even if you should weigh 80 kilograms, they can destroy you. No one counts as far as they are concerned. Isn't their fearless spirit much stronger than certain people?

1958. 1st Speech at the 2nd Session of the 8th Party Congress. (Miscellany)

Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless.

1957. "Speech at the CCP National Congress on Propaganda Work." (SR)

Idealism and metaphysics are the easiest things in the world, because, being neither based on objective reality nor submitted to its test, they permit people to talk as much nonsense as they like. Materialism and dialectics, on the other hand, demand effort. They must be based on and submitted to the test of objective reality. Unless one makes the effort, one is liable to drift into idealism and metaphysics.

1955. "In Refutation of 'Uniformity of Public Opinion.'" (Vol. 5)

Nothing is hard in this world If you dare to scale the heights.

1965. "Chingkangshan Revisited." (MM5)

The future is bright; the road is tortuous.

1945. "On the Chungking Negotiations." (Vol. 4)

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the co-operative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois right, they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party—those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road.

1975 OR 1976. cited in *People's Daily* Editorial, March 10, 1976. (MM5)

The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie.

Cited in the 10th Party Congress Documents.

If the Right stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived, because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 per cent of the population.

1966. cited in "On the Social Basis of the Lin Piao Anti-Party Clique".

Great disorder across the land leads to great order. And so once again every seven or eight years. Monsters and demons will jump out themselves. Determined by their own class nature, they are bound to jump out.

1966. cited in 10th Party Congress Documents. (MM 5)



Mao in a Yen-an cave in 1938.

This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of "white cat, black cat," making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism.

1975 or 1976. cited in "Criticisms of Deng Xiaoping's '20 Points.'" "Study and Criticism." April 14, 1976. (MM5)

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.

1975 or 1976. cited in "Criticisms of Deng Xiaoping's '20 Points.'" "Study and Criticism." April 14, 1976.

The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.

Cited in "Report to the 9th Party Congress."

In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below.

1967. cited in "Report to the 9th Party Congress."



Greeting actors during Cultural Revolution.

We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance. According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated. Therefore, it is wrong to speak lightly of the final victory of the revolution in our country; it runs counter to Leninism and does not conform to facts.

1968. cited in "Report to the 9th Party Congress." Documents.

The root cause of being afraid of disturbances on the one hand and handling them crudely on the other is the refusal to recognize in one's thinking that socialist society is a unity of opposites, in which contradictions, classes and class struggle exist.

1957. "Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees." (Vol. 5)

In general, counter-revolutionary statements will naturally be prohibited. However, if they are made not in a counter-revolutionary form but in a revolutionary guise, you will have to allow them. That will help us see these statements for what they are and wage struggles against them. Two kinds of plants grow in the fields, grain and weeds. Weeding must be done every year, indeed several times a year. Weeds are useful in a way—when plowed under they can be turned into manure. You say they are of no use? Well, uselessness can be turned into usefulness. Weeds will grow even ten thousand years from now, and so we must be prepared to wage struggles for that long.

1957. "Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees." (Vol. 5)

... only an alliance created through struggle can be strong, because struggle is absolute while unity is relative. Some say that the Chinese people are passionately fond of peace. I don't think they are so fond of it. The Chinese people are pugnacious.

1967. "Mao Tsetung Analyzes the Cultural Revolution." (Daubier)

(Emperor Chin Shih-huang) was an expert in respecting the modern and belittling the ancient. (Lin Biao interrupts: "Chin Shih-huang burned the books and buried the scholars alive.") What did he amount to? He only buried alive 460 scholars, while we buried 46,000. In our suppression of the counterrevolutionaries, did we not kill some counterrevolutionary intellectuals? I once debated with the democratic people: You accuse us of acting like Chin Shih-huang, but you are wrong; we surpass him 100 times. You berate us for imitating Chin Shih-huang in enforcing dictatorship. We admit them all. What is regrettable is that you did not say enough. We have had to say it for you.

1958. Speeches at the 2nd Session of the 8th Party Congress. (Miscellany)

Tell them our power is given by the workers, peasants and soldiers, is given by the broad masses of people who occupy more than ninety per cent of the populace. The Communist Party will, for the existence of this political power, exercise dictatorship over those who oppose (our) seizing power, never wavering. What is desire for power? The proletariat has the proletarian desire for power and will never share a bit of its acquired power with the bourgeoisie. What is the

Continued on page 30

Shanghai Messages

Continued from page 14

democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. Thus at the Second Plenum of the Ninth Party Congress, we passed a constitutional amendment to officially guarantee in the highest legal form that "people have the right to speak out freely, air their views fully, hold big debates, write big character posters." But exactly because the four freedoms are a weapon to link up with the masses to carry out determined struggle against the bourgeoisie, it made the actual agents of the bourgeoisie—that is the reactionaries who have overthrown the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat and restored the capitalist road—concoct the idea of using it to erect the so-called "socialist democratic legality." But then they found that the four freedoms are extremely unfavorable to them in consolidating their rule to restore the capitalist road. They turned around to slander the four freedoms as "disrupting democracy, disrupting law and order and production, splitting the unity of the Party and the masses," and viciously wrote them off. This kind of vile step backwards, these anti-Party counter-revolutionary activities in transforming socialism into fascism, force us to add a supplement to the earlier "From bourgeois democrat to capitalist roader." To "from capitalist roader to fascist dictator." This is determined by their reactionary character, we have not slandered them at all.

2. They have pushed the national economy into depths of an "appalling catastrophe."

Since the reactionaries restored the capitalist road some four years ago, they've heaped malicious slander on the radiant, fruitful 10 years of the Cultural Revolution as "10 years of appalling catastrophe." But the eyes of the people are clear. Who created "an appalling catastrophe"? It is them. Because in fact before the 1976 October counter-revolutionary coup our country was a financially sound and economically stable socialist country with no external or internal debts and a treasury of over tens of billions in reserve. However, by 1978, under these wasteful squandering reactionaries who have restored the capitalist road, we only had around one billion left. As we entered 1980, due to their going against correct principles and the serious effects from this, our country went from a surplus to a deficit, saddled with \$17 billion deficit. It is predicted that in 1981 to 1982, we'll still be saddled with over \$10 billion in deficits. What makes this shocking deficit happen? It cannot be separated from the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary restoration of the capitalist road. Under the frantic direction of the handful of swine, vile curs, self-proclaimed "supermen" who can summon wind and rain, and who regard themselves as "condescending saviors," they've picked up what others spit out, making the "four modernizations" the brainchild of their genius. The so-called "Ten-Year Economic Plan," followed by the so-called "Eight Point Program" for a three year readjustment—this bullshit has been blown apart. One after another program has fallen flat, especially as they see only dollar signs in their eyes, worship anything foreign, and create so-called "special economic districts." These in fact serve to attract overseas and foreign capital, for wholesale exploitation of the sweat and blood of our people's labor. They want to make these special districts in a socialist country into a "paradise" for openly conducting illegal activities, profiteering, smuggling and avoiding taxes, and hoarding.

They have completely lost confidence in socialism. They have blown apart the policy of self-reliance and building up the country through hard work and

frugality. They recklessly turn towards capitalist countries to import machinery and equipment, bringing in so-called "advanced technology." In less than two to three years time, the total amount shot up to \$16 to \$17 billion U.S. dollars. And all these imported goods were bought through high interest loans. For just one item, the Baoshan Steel Mill, they spent several billion dollars. They're truly the ones "blindly directing," and disregarding economic accounting. The end result is insufficient raw materials, lack of knowledge of how to run and maintain the machinery, no matching or spare parts. And in turn, it has become a serious burden. The sweat and blood of the broad masses of people are being wasted by them in this way! As far as their turning tail and begging for

We vow that we will seize political power and put it back in the hands of the proletariat. If you do not believe it, just watch!

capitalist countries' aid, they stick their head into the capitalist noose, letting the capitalist "big daddies" play, laugh and pull them around, but still they don't feel any shame. These kind of actions not only disgrace socialism, but are a disgrace for the Chinese people.

3. Creating a Serious "Crisis of Confidence."

Ever since the founding of the Chinese Communist Party and the nation in the last several decades, the Party has built up tremendous prestige among the people of all nationalities in the country, especially in the brilliant ten years of the Cultural Revolution. Masses of youth, hungrily, thirstily, studied Marxism-Leninism and the works of Mao Tsetung. More than a few Red Army fighters, old cadres rejuvenated their revolutionary vigor, fiercely advanced forward to serve the people. Educated youth went to the countryside, conquering nature, and from that emerged group after group of Lei Fang-type heroes like Zhu Hejia and others.

"721 Workers College," "May 7 College," village political night schools, theoretical study groups, etc. and other such open-door education were important educational reforms and also popularized upsurges in mass study campaigns. It allowed the workers, peasants, soldiers to climb into the political superstructure, training for our socialist revolution and construction countless revolutionary cadres through the "three great Revolutionary Movements," tempering them as fighters capable of struggling and winning. All these creative developments not only shed light on the glorious milestone of our socialist cause but also received the respect and confidence from all the anti-revisionist Marxist-Leninist fraternal parties around the world. However, even when we advanced one step it became a thorn in the side of those anti-Party, counter-revolutionary cliques. Therefore, as soon as the conspiracy to restore the capitalist road held sway, they desperately and with vengeance went all out to sabotage and trample upon the Cultural Revolution. They frenziedly distorted Marxism-Leninism, threw mud on socialism and slandered revolutionary leaders, and persecuted revolutionary cadres and masses. They drowned justice, making good people suffer. They promoted the semi-feudal, semi-colonial philosophy of bowing to the almighty dollar, looking only after profits, "whoever feeds you, you call them mother," and worshipping anything "foreign." To build up this evil atmosphere and let bad people run rampant, they painted socialism all dark. The broad masses of youth feel empty and purposeless; workers, peasants, soldiers have no hopes, no future. This naturally created a "crisis of confidence" unheard of since the birth of socialist China.

Today it is hard to find the Party's true sons and daughters who seriously study Marxism-Leninism. Many of the sons and daughters from the ranks of workers, peasants and soldiers who contributed in the various battlefields of production and were given important leadership positions are now being kick-

ed out, and also suffer brutal persecution.

Going to the countryside is no longer the goal of those dedicated to making revolution. It is just the opposite. These revisionists opened the back door wide, "blatantly pursued privileges, and whipped up an insidious atmosphere of competing to send children abroad. At the present time an ugly display is being put on by some scum who can distinguish a few ABC's, scheming in a thousand and one ways in a mad rush to go abroad to pay their "pilgrimage," eat capitalist bread and refuse to eat Chinese steamed buns and rice! Even more pitiful and despicable is how this bunch of half-assed "going abroaders" spend hard-earned foreign exchange saved through the sweat and blood of the motherland. Either they indulge in

the capitalist criminal "civilization" while they are abroad, or they turn their backs completely on the motherland, and grease their shoes to slip away; and some even commit suicide. This provides abundant propaganda material for capitalist countries and the Taiwan KMT, who talk of shocking "defectors to freedom," who are dissatisfied with China's "totalitarian" rule. When you insult yourself, others then can do it easier. Judging from this serious situation, this anti-Party clique not only created a "crisis of confidence" in our country but is swinging the wrecking ball to destroy every last brick of our socialist building.

4. Enlarging Bourgeois Cultural

* Pulling official strings to get a youth into college—RW.

Chiang Ching Exposes Plot

Continued from page 7

capitulation to imperialism. These "mighty" revisionists are selling China to the imperialists—particularly the U.S.; maybe the Soviets tomorrow. She might be also taking a jab at former "Gang of 4" revolutionary Wang Hongwen, who has reportedly asked he be given a chance to "reform and repent."

"The vital question, is the two programs, Take class struggle as the key link, When the key is grasped, other factors will follow, Continue making revolution; Or take the three directives as the key link, And raise the secondary to confuse the key."

"Taking the three directives as the key link" is the infamous formulation that Deng and the revisionists peddled, under the guise of following Mao's instructions, to push their revisionist program in the period after the upsurge of the Cultural Revolution, as they actively and openly prepared for a coup. The three directives were separate instructions that Mao issued at different times in 1974 to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, promote stability and unity, and promote the national economy. By eclectically raising all three as a whole as the key link, the revisionists were trying to bury the real key link of class struggle, specifically in the form of the mass campaign to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat that was initiated and led by Mao. Mao himself blasted Deng's thinly-disguised ploy, saying, "What! Taking the three directives as the key link! Stability and unity do not mean writing off the class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it."

Pollution and Spreading Bourgeois Ideological Poison.

In the ten glorious years of the Cultural Revolution, spring lights were bright, orioles sang and swallows swirled.** There could not have been enough praise for the heroic achievements of our worker, peasant, and soldier literary workers who were active in all battlefronts of the "Three Great Revolutionary Movements"; there were more military epic poems than could be recited; pictures depicting the development and progress of workers and peasants, technology and national defense were numerous; even more, on the road of socialist construction, weeding out the old to let the new emerge, we had endless enjoyable, inspiring, colorful and poetic revolutionary literary works. However today, the proletariat has not only lost state power, but also power in the field of literature. Therefore, a metal bell was discarded and replaced by the thunderous noise of tile banging together and those ghosts and monsters in the field of art and literature who were knocked down before have now floated back to the surface, and they issue sour and stinking "revenge literature," "settling-accounts literature." And some shameless prostitutes who are used to kissing ass and pursuing stinking stuff to please the reactionaries who restored the capitalist road seized the opportunity to put out their "wound literature" and "conspiracy literature."*** They thought as

Continued on page 20

** From a poem by Mao—RW.

*** "Wound literature" is literature bemoaning the "mistreatment" these people received during the Cultural Revolution; the "conspiracy literature" is literature portraying the Cultural Revolution as factional fighting among leadership cliques.—RW

"Revisionist reaction, Inexhaustively murderous and extremely vile, is exposing its true face in a big way, trying to cover up its crimes, beautifying its hide, erect prestige, deceive the world and steal a name for itself, manifest the new and establish the novel. Uttering sinister words, its big lies cover up the sky, hiding the truth. In this scheme to steal the sky and change the sun, There was a despicable conspiracy from top to bottom, to put Zhang's cap forcibly on Li's head, transplant the flower on another branch, use fake gods to frame up others, shift the blame and steal public opinion, maneuver people's line of vision, attempt in vain to wash clean their stained names, and pick out little things to frame up the Central Committee Cultural Revolution Group in order to persecute and shut off the voices of those who know the real story."

The sun referred to above refers to Mao. The phrase "steal the sky and change the sun" is very possibly meant to evoke the song recently banned by the revisionists, "The East is Red," which starts off, "Red is the east, rises the sun, China has brought forth a Mao Tsetung," and goes on to sing the praises of Mao and the Communist Party.

"The ability of the revisionists is like that of a mantis' arm, the ability to make world history belongs to the heroic masses of people."

There is a Chinese folk saying that goes, "A mantis trying to stop a cart." That is, a mantis [an insect] if looked at from the point of view of another insect, might look powerful and imposing, but it would just get squashed by the wheels of a cart. In the long run, the revisionists are like a pitiful mantis trying to stop the wheels of history made by the masses of people.

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Long Live Chiang Ching! Long Live Chang Chun-chiao!

Continued from page 6

tionary China—are the outward symptoms of deep problems in the economy which in turn are another force tearing apart the revisionist clique.

Another major contradiction the clique faced in deciding on the sentence is that they still need to use to a certain extent the mantle of Mao, even while they sink to new lows in viciously attacking Mao's line and policies. Mao is irrevocably bound up with the prestige and the very existence of the Communist Party. To kill Chiang Ching now, the revisionists seem to have figured, would go too far in eroding Mao's prestige and further damaging their ability to exercise bourgeois dictatorship under the signboard of the Communist Party.

Imperialists Reactions

The revisionists no doubt also weighed "international reaction" in making the decision on the sentencing—not of the revolutionary masses, but of their imperialist masters, such as this "advice" from the *New York Times*: "the question has to be asked whether the execution of Chiang Ching would signal confidence on the part of Deng's regime, or insecurity." From the title of this editorial, "China's Trial, And Error," it seems the U.S. rulers evidently were telling the revisionists, "Don't make a bad situation worse."

The reaction of the imperialists to the final sentence shows a frantic, and feeble, attempt to recoup losses incurred internationally by the inability of their revisionist servents in China to wipe out Mao's line and Mao's comrades. Oppressed people in every country have been inspired. Retaliating, the imperialists have lashed out at Chiang Ching and Mao resorting to the most ridiculous slanders. For example, an Associated Press (AP) article wishfully entitled "Chiang Ching, A Rebel In A Lost Cause," stoops to amazing depths pointing to her "lurid love affairs" (a subject that a good many of the bourgeois media prostitutes are no

doubt experts on) and insinuating that she became a leader of the Cultural Revolution because of her personal ambition. Check out this unbelievably grotesque passage:

"Until then (the Cultural Revolution), her only claim to attention was as Mao's self-effacing third wife, a former Shanghai movie actress without a starring role.

"She found it in her husband's struggle to regain the political power he had lost to Communist Party pragmatists... She gave a bravura performance, scolding, taunting, ridiculing, and denouncing Mao's real or fancied enemies. Soon she became the heroine of an audience vaster than any she had known in her early acting days: Millions of militant youths enrolled in Mao's comeback fight under the name 'Red Guards'..."

Here is some good imperialist logic: promote "me first" thinking everywhere, then tar with its brush the revolutionaries who rise to fight it and the whole bourgeois system.

Surely this is proof that the imperialist's newsprint will stand up to any trashy nonsense they find necessary to scrawl on it and that there are quite a number of hack writers that they can rouse out of a drunken stupor to do the scrawling. But more importantly, such cheap slanders betray their real fears. The U.S. imperialists are precisely afraid that Chiang Ching and Mao's cause was not at all lost on the masses of people in China and the world over.

Capitalist-Roaders Make the Sentence Fit the Crime

In contrast to the handcuffing of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, the other eight defendants in the trial all quietly accepted their sentence and were led out in a peaceful procession at the end of the court session. The other two members of the "Gang of Four," Wang Hongwen and Yao Wenyuan, received a life sentence and 20 years prison term, respectively. Wang, from all evidence, has lapsed into most

craven capitulation, praying for his life because "he is too young," and asking for a chance to "repent and reform himself." He has also taken the stand against Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao. Yao has apparently played a conciliatory role. According to the *Peking Review*, lawyers for his defense argued that Yao "was involved in the counter-revolutionary clique," but that "his position and role were different from those of Chiang Ching or Chang Chun-chiao," and that as far as his involvement in a planned rebellion in Shanghai, "It could not be established and he should not be held legally responsible."

The text of the verdict and sentence characterizes the overall stand that each of the Four took during the trial this way: "Wang Hongwen... admitted to (his) crimes... Yao Wenyuan said his crimes were mistakes, and did not admit to crimes. Chang Chun-chiao did not answer the interrogation of the court. Chiang Ching disrupted the order of the court." The reason for the severity of the sentence against Wang and Yao, despite their apparent capitulation, is not that the revisionists do not appreciate their role during the trial. If the two continue their "good behavior," they might very well be let off early. By passing these hard sentences, the revisionists are hitting at Mao's revolutionary line that both Wang and Yao were carrying out at the time of the Cultural Revolution. As we pointed out before the trial began, even if any of the Four did capitulate, it would not change the objectively revolutionary role they did play at one time, and it definitely would not in any way diminish the correctness of the revolutionary line they were following. Wang's more open role, especially in Shanghai where he had a lot of followers, and the higher position in leadership he held, probably account for the harsher sentence that he received compared to Yao, even though Wang seemed to take a more open capitulationist stand than Yao during the trial. The others on trial, the six members

of the counter-revolutionary Lin Biao clique, were given sentences ranging from 16 to 18 years in prison. These people were thrown into the trial in order to cloud the fact that what was on trial was Mao's line. Although there was a great deal of enmity between the Lin Biao clique and the Liu Shaoqi-Deng-Zhou Enlai revisionist headquarters, actually they were like two vultures fighting over the same piece of meat. Both shared a common revisionist outlook and a common enemy—Mao. In fact, the sentences for the trial revealed just where the sentiments of the present revisionist rulers lay. The Lin Biao men are sentenced to prison for a plot to assassinate Mao, while Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao were sentenced to death for upholding him.

The Revolutionary Example of Mao's Comrades

What it means for the banner of revolution to be rescued from the mud and held high by Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao can already be seen in a beginning way around the world. (See article Page 22) Hundreds of revolutionaries marched on the Chinese consulates and embassy in the U.S. the day after the sentencing to uphold Mao and his comrades. A pro-Mao crowd marched on the Chinese embassy in Ceylon. Revolutionaries met in Britain to plan actions to support Mao's comrades. Feminists in France marched in support of Chiang Ching. The revolutionary struggle internationally, including in China, has been advanced by these revolutionaries. And the understanding of revolutionaries and even broader ranks of the masses is on a higher level because of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, and they are in a better position to take hold of the opportunities for further leaps that will arise out of the sharpening contradictions in the world. We owe a great debt to these proletarian leaders—a debt which we will repay by stepping up the revolutionary struggle to abolish imperialism from the face of the earth and usher in a new period of human history. □

Mock Trial

Continued from page 13

methods of persecution. Now the capitalist roaders have seized the leadership and they are incapable of employing the principles of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat as they have established a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Hence this bourgeois methods of persecution, this mock trial in the presence of a selected audience and the stories of confessions.

In spite of all these preparations and precautions taken by Teng and his clique, nobody is going to be hoodwinked. Not only the Marxist-Leninists, but also the informed people all over the world have understood the real nature of the drama that is being staged in Peking. They know that Teng and his gang have put nobody else than Mao in the dock. But as Chiang Ching has very well put it, it is this gang of Teng that is being put on trial in the dock of history.

Marxist-Leninists all over the world have already taken up the task of exposing the true colours of the revisionist leadership of China. We join with all the Marxist-Leninist forces and the revolutionary people of the whole world in condemning this mock trial of the socialist roaders in China who represent the vanguard forces of the world proletariat.

Reorganization Committee,
CPI(ML)
reprinted from *Mass Line*,
January 1, 1981

Shanghai Messages

Continued from page 18

long as they could squeeze out a few drops of tears, then they could portray the bright sky of the Cultural Revolution as a clouded, blue mess. But the radiance of the Cultural Revolution is not something they could cover up, but rather the "revenge literature," "settling-accounts literature," "wound literature," "conspiracy literature," purposely cooked up and put forward by the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary clique which restored the capitalist road, has already spread a dark cloud and filthy air throughout the sky of our motherland. Under the cover of this cloud, without any light of sun or moon, some capitalist decadence—pornography, tight pants, long hair, dark glasses, disco, degenerate music, etc.—at first quietly smuggled in—has become brazenly marketed. All the education about revolutionary tradition, the hard and simple lifestyle, has been wiped out by this handful of wolves, swine, and vile curs who restored the capitalist road! Judging from all this, we ask can you find a single iota of Marxism-Leninism in their body and soul?

Through the Party on Trial, What Comes Out Is the Ugly Face of the Ruling Clique Who Restored the Capitalist Road

In order to find reason, and excuse, for their criminal conspiracy of usurping the Party and seizing power, their anti-Party, counter-revolutionary, anti-people conspiracy pushed Chiang, Chang, Wang, Yao—these Marxist

fighters who had opposed them but are now in prison due to their surprise attack—onto the stage and copied bourgeois legalities in order to stage this thoroughly farcical ugly show—the so-called "trial." But everybody knows that what Chiang, Chang, Wang, Yao implemented were the instructions of Comrade Mao Tsetung, who was supported by the whole Party, whole nation, and the whole army, and Comrade Mao Tsetung's instructions were issued after summing up and were based on the common will of the Party Center and the people of the whole country. Even that small handful of people who are today sitting high on the judge's seat at the "trial" were at that time yelling "Long Live Chairman Mao!" and closely following Chairman Mao's brilliant leadership. If they are not two-faced people who say one thing and do another, and indulge in intrigue and conspiracy, then why did they not openly uphold the capitalist road while Comrade Mao was still alive, directly oppose the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, or even apply this special talent of surprise attack to arrest and imprison the great revolutionary leader who was supported by the people of all nationalities in the whole country? This is because the people did not stand on their side, and truth also did not stand on their side. Therefore they had to wear an obedient mask of following Chairman Mao and following the Party Center. Following the important battle to rectify through criticism of revisionism, criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius, they showed an even more extraordinary willingness in order to falsely gain trust. Only when Comrade Mao Tsetung died, as the people of the whole country were in grief, did they launch a sudden attack and finally completely expose what has always been their true anti-Party, counter-

revolutionary and anti-people face. Precisely because they are two-faced plotters, when they "try" Chiang, Chang, Wang, and Yao today, actually they are putting on "trial" the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time, the great founder of the Peoples' Republic of China, Comrade Mao Tsetung. Furthermore, they are putting on "trial" the great Chinese Communist Party, which has a 60 year history and has gone through 28 years of revolutionary struggle to overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratism.

But when they perform this ugly drama of a "trial" of the revolutionary teacher and a "trial" of the Chinese Communist Party, they also by necessity bring to trial the wild ambitions of their own small handful of people to attempt in vain to restore the capitalist road. Actually the serious damage, outlined in this pamphlet, to our politics, economy, society as well as to education and culture inflicted by them after they took control of the Party and seized power, is already sufficient to make each one of us, especially every Marxist-Leninist, recognize that their anti-Party, counter-revolutionary and anti-people crimes have already reached such a point that they are hated by all the people. What is especially so hateful is that they are not ashamed of their treachery to the Party and the country, but instead have taken one scene after another from their ugly drama of putting the Party on "trial" and putting themselves on trial, and chosen TV footage that most brings out their "arrogant frenzy" to be relayed by satellite. The rights to the footage were sold to the American Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) for \$40,000. The American ABC station, not wanting to be left behind, also broadcast footage

Continued on page 24

The Forging of Two Revolutionary Communists



The following are more excerpts from the speech on page 5 of this issue, giving some biographical background on Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao.

I want to speak about the background of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, Mao's revolutionary comrades, who are standing firm, not so much to give a history of their background but because it's very illustrative of the tempering they received, the political understanding they have, and why it is that they're able to stand up under difficult circumstances, when it's obviously not a period of mass upsurge and when the revisionists seem fairly secure in their power and large sections of the masses are at least going along with them and some are even supporting the revisionists. Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao have both been through a lot, and it seems that their fortunes as revolutionary leaders go up and down through the twists and the turns of the Chinese Revolution which is exactly where they earned their revolutionary mettle and their revolutionary leadership which is what they're showing today and showing before the entire world. There's a lot of talk about how Chiang Ching made it in China because she was Mao's wife and so on and so forth. Well, she certainly fiercely carried out and applied Mao's line, and even developed it in certain spheres; Mao's line overall led in the cultural sphere, and Chiang Ching not only carried it out but also developed it in major ways. But there is another side to all of the revisionists' speculation that Chiang Ching made it because she was Mao's wife. As the biography which appears in the book, *And Mao Makes Five*, points out, a number of people in China said, quite correctly, of Chiang Ching that she knew no peace from the day that she married Mao. In particular she became a tremendous target for everyone in China who wanted to attack her, in her own right, for her own accomplishments, for the transformation she carried out in various spheres, not only the cultural sphere but others as well; but also she became a target for those who wanted to get at Mao. They got at Chiang Ching instead and picked on her

and picked on some mistakes. This was true right from the very beginning, even to the point that when Mao and Chiang Ching married in Yenan, the Politburo was very upset about all this at the time and even imposed the condition on their marriage that Chiang Ching would have to assume a low profile in political affairs and couldn't assume a leading stature as a revolutionary. And because of the balance of forces at that time and the overall interests of the revolution, apparently Mao and Chiang Ching had to go along with that, and it was only in the period leading up to and during the Cultural Revolution that this was able to be reversed on the basis of the strength of the revolutionary struggles among the masses.

Before the Cultural Revolution, when she was in Shanghai, she was in the same kind of position. She'd gone to Shanghai when she was recovering from some health problems. She had done revolutionary work in the cultural sphere all along, but in Shanghai she undertook a very serious study and criticism of the revisionist line in culture and really launched the creation of the model revolutionary works that dominated the stage in China through the period of the Cultural Revolution. When she was there, she began the major work that we published in our December 12, 1980 issue of the *Revolutionary Worker* (No. 84), a speech of hers, "On the Revolution of Peking Opera." And to give you an idea of the kind of fire Chiang Ching and the revolutionary line in general was under, this speech was not able to be published for three or four years after it was given; and, again, its publication was made possible on the basis of the revolutionary upsurge of the Cultural Revolution. When she began carrying out some of this work and began revolutionizing some of the Peking operas, began making changes in various of the old operas and so forth, the Ministry of Culture—headed by a revisionist Zhou Yang, who was resurrected after the coup—criticized all the changes Chiang Ching made. These revisionists said that the culture of emperors and kings, culture of foreign mummies and beauties was fine; this was their line and they suppressed and stopped even her initial efforts and the efforts of those

engaged in revolutionary cultural work in China from even reaching the stage. So for all their talk about how Chiang Ching viciously suppressed all the artistic freedom in China, I think once again the question of what class is served by these things is fully brought out here. And it shows how the tempering and testing of Chiang Ching's revolutionary line and understanding and revolutionary mettle was carried out under fire, throughout a whole period of time, and it was only with the upsurge of the masses in the Cultural Revolution that she was able to come to the fore as a leader in an all-around way in the Cultural Revolution and did so on the basis of a revolutionary political line and understanding.

Chang Chun-chiao

Chang Chun-chiao was in Shanghai himself for a number of years, before the Cultural Revolution, and had a position on the municipal committee in the Party under a revolutionary leader called Ko Ching-shih. Ko was a very strong foe of Liu Shaoqi and somebody who, at the time, opposed Liu in an all-around way—this was before the Cultural Revolution and before Liu's headquarters was identified as a bourgeois headquarters. Chang Chun-chiao was Ko's comrade; during the liberation struggle Ko was in the same underground network in the cities as Liu Shaoqi (later the revisionist chieftain) and they had a number of disputes. Liu advocated a policy that when people were captured by the enemy they could talk and get off and even politically renounce things about their stand and so forth. Ko said this policy, besides being reactionary, was also dangerous to the Party and it was bringing all sorts of renegade agents into the Party. So Liu had a grudge against Ko going all the way back and apparently even succeeded at a certain point in throwing Ko Ching-shih in jail for two and a half years and subjecting him to various abuses, to the point that Ko's wife committed suicide. These are the kinds of things that the revolutionary leaders in China had to go through, even in the midst of the liberation war, when they were fighting against Japanese imperialism, U.S. im-

perialism and Chiang Kai-shek; there was tremendous class struggle within the Party going on and this was the furnace in which the leadership of these revolutionaries was forged.

Through Mao's intervention, Ko got out of jail and later became Mayor of Shanghai. Right before the Cultural Revolution, Ko died in 1965, and at that point Chang Chun-chiao, who'd been carrying out a revolutionary line down there, was basically shoved aside by the revisionists who took over the Party Committee in Shanghai. Chang Chun-chiao was left out with no work to do. Although Chang Chun-chiao played an overall leading role in the country during the Cultural Revolution, he played a particular and the main leading role in Shanghai. He was subjected to tremendous attacks by the revisionists; they broke into his house on several occasions; they attempted to hold rallies, to bombard him; and they dragged out things from the past, and did all kinds of stunts in an attempt to discredit him. Chang Chun-chiao was subjected not only to personal physical danger but politically was a symbol of the revolutionary line which was very viciously slandered.

So this is the kind of tempering that these revolutionary leaders had to undergo and in the midst of the upsurge in the Cultural Revolution this was all the more true. There was a very famous story in China about Chang Chun-chiao during the revolutionary upsurge of the Shanghai workers—it was around the time of the January Storm in Shanghai which overthrew the old Party Committee and established proletarian revolutionary power in Shanghai and was a model for the whole country. In the course of that process, of course, there were many different complicated forces at work among the workers, people misleading different sections of the workers under a "revolutionary" banner to go off and engage in counter-revolutionary activity; and one little trick that was pulled was spreading the line that there was no one that the workers could trust other than Chairman Mao personally. In other words, these counter-revolutionaries spread the idea that it wasn't a question of political line, it wasn't a question of the revolutionary line—only Chairman Mao personally, who of course was inaccessible, could be trusted, so therefore a big section of the workers should leave the revolutionary struggle in Shanghai and go up to Peking to see Chairman Mao. Apparently Chang Chun-chiao got wind of this and took a helicopter or something, and intercepted the train; and right on the spot they had a big mass struggle meeting during which various counter-revolutionaries were inciting different sections of the masses against Chang Chun-chiao. It was not only a physical danger but again a tremendous political struggle. Chang Chun-chiao managed to convince the workers, out of the higher interests, that they had a responsibility to carry out the revolution in Shanghai and how the hell were they going to do that in Peking; but more to the point, what kind of example was it going to be to the workers of the whole country, when Shanghai was at the forefront of the revolutionary struggle, if the Shanghai workers left their posts in revolution and also in production and went stomping off to Peking. What kind of example was that going to be for the entire process of the proletarian revolution in China? And he was able on that basis to win over enough of the workers to call off this little reactionary ploy that was at work.

So both Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao had a sense of what it meant to be in the thick of the struggle, and more than that on the bottom end of the struggle, at times, when even large sections of the masses of people were against them; and they were very well tested and trained in revolutionary struggle overall and well-grounded in Mao's line and the line of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. And it's all that training and all that experience that brings out precisely how it is that they are able to do what they're doing and provide this revolutionary example on behalf of the entire international proletariat in the revisionists' courtroom.

Broad Support for Mao's Revolutionary Comrades

Below are some of the statements of support received by the RW; we were unable to print all of the statements in this issue and more will be printed next week.

Republic of New Afrika

Detroit Cadre of Republic of New Afrika upholds the revolutionary legacy of Chairman Mao, and his comrades, as he supported the liberation struggles of Black people in the U.S. and Afrika.

Republic of New Afrika
Detroit

Walla Walla

To the Comrades of the RCP and Supporters of Mao Tsetung:

As prisoners of the states of Washington and Arizona, we are as grieved as those of you here today concerning the revolution in China. It is a sad day for the class struggle to see the Chinese masses being led down the revisionist path to capitalism.

Even so, we have faith in the victorious struggle of the Chinese proletariat and have little doubt that they will again put an end to the bourgeois relations that control and oppress them. China is a big country with a lot of courageous revolutionaries like Mao, Chang Chun-chiao and Comrade Chiang Ching to restore the power of the working class over its bourgeois traitors.

As prisoners, we denounce the trial of the Chinese comrades and the Mao Tsetung Defendants of the RCP. The revolution cannot be tried and convicted by the bourgeoisie or its courts. The proletariat and its party represent the only true revolutionary class in the world and cannot be executed or permanently squashed by the repressive apparatus of the state's judicial system or its prison system.

We call upon revolutionaries and oppressed people to take up arms and smash the state that attempts to silence the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people!

Written by a prisoner in the segregation unit of Walla Walla Prison on behalf of the Northwest Prisoners Organization in Washington State

Nommo

The recent events in China compel all people of revolutionary thought to express their discontent and protest over the facade being presented by the ruling class. Mao's revolutionary leadership can never be eroded. It is the responsibility of revolutionary-thinking people throughout the world to let the masses know that the struggle continues throughout the world, even in China, where the leaders of the bourgeoisie are once again asserting their ugly heads in the personality of Deng Xiaoping and Company. *Nommo*, the Black student publication at UCLA recognizes the collaboration of the Chinese revisionist press and the U.S. ruling class to defame the honorable achievements of Mao and his comrades currently on trial. We support all demonstrations to pro-

test the efforts being made by the ruling class to belittle our true heroes, and commit ourselves to publishing the truth concerning Chiang Ching, her comrades, and all people of revolutionary action throughout the world.

Prentice Deadrick
Editor in Chief of *Nommo*
Black student publication at UCLA

Conrad Lynn

Chiang Ching reminds me of Dimitroff in the great Reichstag fire trials who refused to qualify or compromise in his communist principles. The Chinese people will not give up the revolution because the revolution against decadent capitalism is a worldwide phenomenon. And this sentence by the new ruling class in China is only an effort to hold back the basic drive of the Chinese people for socialist renovation. And, in the end, it will only be a temporary block because the Chinese people are determined to find a new revolutionary way of life. This is an example not only for the Chinese people but also for all other exploited peoples in the world. Capitalism has had its day. The social revolution will mark all people before the end of the 20th century.

Conrad Lynn
Black revolutionary lawyer
One of the original attorneys for Lolita Lebron and the Puerto Rican nationalists, and author of *There is a Fountain*.

Patrice Lumumba Coalition

The shameless Deng Xiaoping clique mete out suspended death sentences to Chiang Ching (Jiang Qing) and Chang Chun-chiao (Zhang Chunqiao) but they cannot suspend the death sentence that progressive peoples throughout the world will one day finally render in judgment against imperialism and its counter-revolutionary lackeys.

In effect, the verdict of the Chinese Supreme Court at No. 1 Righteousness Road, in Peking, was neither "supreme" nor "righteous." What was evident, however, was the fact, that in reality, Deng Xiaoping is far more a master at cheap theatrics than his radical nemesis, Chiang Ching.

Thus, the Deng "gang of one" will be remembered as not only the clique that betrayed China's historic revolutionary process, but, even more important to those of us who consider ourselves African revolutionary internationalists, the group that finally carried China completely into the camp of U.S. imperialism by brazenly attempting to place the death sentence on some of Mao Tsetung's most potent contributions to world revolutionary thought.

In defying the Beijing bureaucrats' mock court, Chiang Ching has placed the question

of Mao's legacy of China's Proletarian Cultural Revolution clearly on the side of the world's progressive forces who struggle daily against U.S. imperialism. In contrast, her inquisition mandarins have displayed that their four modernizations are no more than submission to the whims of western decadence, counter-revolution, neo-colonialism and capitalism.

Cultural Revolution may not be pragmatic for capitalist-readers trying to reverse the process of radical socio-economic development, but it is a necessary phenomenon to be engaged in by true revolutionaries who are attempting to free themselves from the so-called "free world." Indeed, as both Amilcar Cabral and Ahmed Seku Ture pointed out, "Before anything else, liberation is an act of culture."

Those of us who fondly remember such dynamic works as "Drums Along The Equator," the great Chinese internationalist cultural presentation that championed the heroic struggle of the Lumumbist forces in the Congo, will always side with the patriots of revolution over the harbingers of reaction and counter-revolution.

To us revolution is not an abstract concept, nor a romanticized or rhetorical exercise for academics, hustlers or dilettantes. Revolution is rooted in the concrete day-to-day struggles of people desirous of wresting back their cultural dignity, national independence, social values and economic priorities. People who demand revolution are a people that are seeking to liberate themselves from foreign domination that has been imposed on them. Mao Tsetung understood this, and so do we.

Likewise, oppressed people all over the globe also understand that, to cleanly break the alien hegemony over their respective groups, cultural revolution is a necessary factor—even if there are sometimes excesses in its implementation. This dialectic is crucially reflected today by the courageous struggle of the peoples of Iran, El Salvador, Guatemala, Granada, the Congo (Zaire), and Namibia and South Africa, among others.

To understand these factors then is to appreciate Chiang Ching's defiant words to the Beijing bureaucrat court jesters: "Making revolution is no crime!"

On the contrary, far from being a crime, "making revolution," based on the objective and subjective conditions of each respective people's social environment, is the sacred and central task of all genuine revolutionaries in the world today!

Long live the progressive peoples of the world!

Long live the international solidarity of all oppressed peoples!

Down with imperialism and its counter-revolutionary agents!

The Patrice Lumumba Coalition

African American Workers and Tenants Committee

The African American Workers and Tenants Committee fully supports today's demonstration in support of the two courageous revolutionaries, Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao. Their kangaroo trial was nothing but a veiled attack on Mao Tsetung and his revolutionary legacy. The current leaders in China today, who have subjected these two revolutionary leaders of the working class to intimidation, harassment, and now a death penalty for standing with the oppressed, have only revealed their true reactionary nature. We are confident that the Chinese people and all workers and oppressed peoples around the world will join us to condemn this reactionary move by Deng Xiaoping and his flunkys.

Carl C. Nichols
African American Workers and Tenants Committee

Florynce Kennedy

I am calling for an extension of an international boycott which we called for in Copenhagen, in July 1980—on the theory that media are responsible for the lack of information, for brainwashing, for sociophobia in all the world in varying ways—and I think the failure to tell the women's story of China is due to the pigocratic media of our country.

All of what I am doing, as far as the Chiang Ching situation is concerned, is to reinforce the socialist end—to reinforce the coalition between women throughout the world and feminists who regarded Chiang Ching as a hero—or heroine, whichever you prefer. And we used to quote from the little Red Book, and we regarded the Cultural Revolution as a part of our liberation struggle, and I therefore would appear at the invitation of any group that would be talking about the way she is being treated. Moreover, insofar as the American pigocratic media are concerned, I am interested just as an attorney—just as a consumer—that the press in America has given us a totally unbalanced view of the trial of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao.

I feel for a woman to have been that strong and that political, to ignore her is an insult, to abuse her is an outrage and to kill her or sentence her or keep her hostage another day is a matter of the first political importance.

Florynce Kennedy, attorney, delegate
First World Feminist Conference in
Copenhagen, July 1980*

*For identification purposes only.

Sweep

Continued from page 11

exploiting classes who had long dominated our stage were swept away. Already thirty-four years ago in the *Yenan Talks* Chairman Mao had emphasized that revolutionary literary and art workers should depict the new people and the new world. Chairman Mao said: "Why should we not eulogize the people, the creators of the history of mankind?" In 1944 Chairman Mao further pointed out in his letter to the Yenan Peking Opera Theatre: "History is made by the people, yet the old opera (and all the old literature and art, which are divorced from the people) presents the people as though they were dirt, and the stage is dominated by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters." To reverse this reversal of history and make the heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers occupy the stage is the basic task of our socialist literature and art. Unless we solve this problem, we cannot consolidate the political and economic control of the proletariat. The landlord and bourgeois classes who had always monopolized culture would not allow the labouring masses any place either in politics or in culture. Even after their political and economic rule was overthrown, they tried to use their advantageous position in the ideological and cultural spheres to keep a stubborn grasp of the stage which they had usurped for centuries. The clearest manifestation of the black

revisionist line in literature and art during the seventeen years before the Cultural Revolution was their desperate attempt to make lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters dominate the stage. Under the control of Liu Shaoqi and his followers, the Ministry of Culture turned into a ministry of "feudal princes and high officials, feudal young masters and young ladies, and dead foreigners". This domination of the stage by the "dead" showed that the overthrown landlords and bourgeoisie were unwilling to relinquish their past position; it also showed the wild ambition of Liu Shaoqi and his henchmen, the bourgeoisie within the Party, to sabotage the dictatorship of the proletariat and to restore capitalism.

In our socialist society, workers, peasants and soldiers have become the masters of our country, but on the stage they were still presented as "dirt". How could we tolerate such a situation? To do so would have been tantamount to allowing the landlords and bourgeoisie to reverse history and monopolize our culture, and giving free rein to capitalism and revisionism. The great achievement of the proletarian revolution in literature and art is that it has swept away all those feudal characters and zombies from the stage, and created more and more model revolutionary theatrical works which are enthusiastically

welcomed by the masses, making the splendid heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers dominate the stage. Inspired by the model revolutionary theatrical works, other forms of literature and art are now depicting and eulogizing the workers, peasants and soldiers too—this has become the new vogue. Now, for the first time, the masters of our socialist society have become the masters of our stage as well. This is of immense practical and historical significance in opposing and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Another important achievement of our proletarian revolution in literature and art is that bourgeois intellectuals can no longer control our art and literature, and the foundation has been laid for establishing a revolutionary contingent of writers and artists for the proletariat. Chairman Mao has always paid great attention to this question. As he stated clearly in the *Yenan Talks*, "To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy."

However, before the Cultural Revolution, many literary and art organizations and "associations" controlled by Liu Shaoqi's clique had become strongholds of bourgeois rule. Thus a thorough transformation of our contingent of artists and writers was needed to avoid jeopardizing the cause of proletarian revolution. In the course of the Cultural Revolution the proletariat eli-

minated the renegades, enemy agents and counter-revolutionary revisionists who had infiltrated the ranks of our writers and artists and wrested the power from them, and during this struggle a contingent of revolutionary writers and artists grew up and gained in strength. The process of producing the model revolutionary theatrical works build up an important contingent of cadres for the proletariat; and new blood has been infused into it by the growth of a large group of writers and artists of worker-peasant-soldier origin; while as a result of the lessons they learned in the Cultural Revolution the majority of former literary and art workers have transformed their outlook.

These profound changes in the ranks of our cultural workers, especially the emergence of new forces, are fine achievements of the revolution in literature and art. We must consolidate and further develop them and, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, build up our contingent into a powerful cultural army for the proletariat to unite our own ranks and defeat the enemy.

The proletarian revolution in literature and art exemplified by the model theatrical works has faithfully carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art and has won through a splendid series of struggles. Since it is an important component part of the Cultural Revolution, every victory it has won adds to the achievement of the Cultural Revolution. To belittle it means belittling the Cultural Revolution. Deng Xiaoping, the arch

Upholding Mao's Comrades Successful Demonstrations Held in Four U.S. Cities

On Monday, January 26, successful demonstrations, called by the RCP and endorsed by many progressive and revolutionary groups and individuals, were held at the Chinese embassy and consulates in four cities in the wake of the sentencing of Mao's revolutionary comrades. The slogans of these actions were Long Live Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao! Long Live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution! and Mao Tsetung Did Not Fail, Revolution Will Prevail All Over the World!

San Francisco, California. Several hundred marched behind a sea of crimson banners from Chinatown's Portsmouth Square to the Chinese embassy. During the rally that preceded the march, speaker after speaker denounced the Chinese revisionists and stepped up to be counted with Mao's revolutionary comrades. One man from Turkey recalled, "the communist movement in Turkey was founded as a product of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." A statement from a teacher who had gone to China in 1973 as part of a group from the California Federation of Teachers exposed the new elitist power base in education from which the revisionists ride the backs of the workers. Pat McGuiness, an abortion rights activist in the area, powerfully voiced her condemnation of "China's new mandarins."

The march wound 4 miles through the streets of San Francisco with many new forces joining in and many of them taking bundles of *RWs* as well. On the march route alone over 1100 *RWs* were distributed along with hundreds of leaflets, while armbands and red flags with Chiang Ching's picture proudly emblazoned across it were sold.

Near the downtown Civic Center the police tried to halt and intimidate the marchers. Earlier, in the struggle to gain march and sound equipment permits, the city police had said straight up: "We're waiting to hear from Washington," citing a federal law that prohibited anyone from demonstrating within 200 feet of an embassy or consulate. When a member of the demonstration committee called the Secret Service to check on such a law they were told: "Oh, you must mean the demonstration on Monday at the Chinese consu-

late—we were just talking about that." When the committee spokesperson identified themselves the Secret Service replied; "That's not our jurisdiction, call the FBI." But not only did the authorities and the political police fail in the permit scam, they failed in stopping or provoking the marchers on the day itself. A fierce rebuke to the revisionists and their imperialist masters was given by a worker, who lives in Chinatown, who stepped to the gates of the locked up consulate and spoke, his voice rising in defiance; "While I feel mad about the verdict, I feel very inspired and very proud of what we are doing today. Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao; these two comrades carry out and defend Mao Tsetung's line, defending proletarian revolution. And they dedicate their whole lives to revolution. They're always putting forward and foremost the interests of the proletariat worldwide. That's why no matter what verdict comes down from the revisionists the revolution is moving forward, because all the revolutionaries around the world have been inspired and have been moved forward by their courageous stand."

Houston, Texas. It was the defiance of Chiang Ching, along with a hatred of yellow ribbons, one woman explained in her solidarity message, that compelled her to travel all the way from Denver, Colorado to Houston, Texas to join the 25 demonstrators who marched on the Chinese consulate. Other solidarity statements were delivered by an Iranian student, and one by a veteran who first heard of Mao and the revolution in China when he was stationed there during WW2. The preceding week of activity and struggle over the significance of the demonstration had drawn forward revolutionary-minded people from El Salvador, Marxist-Leninists from Greece and Indonesia—even a couple of former Red Guards were wrangling over what was going on in China! And while the revisionist diplomats and consulate flunkies tried to hide out inside, everytime a window shade was drawn back, the very prophetic words of Mao, quoted across a large banner, would greet them; "If the Rightists stage an anti-communist coup d'etat in China, I

am sure they will know no peace and their rule will most probably be short-lived..."

New York. "Long Live Chiang Ching/Long Live Chang Chun-chiao/Pick Up the Red Flag—Right Now!", was the resounding chant as the marchers who numbered between 50 and 75 along the way, cut a red swath through New York's Garment District in a highly charged atmosphere. Garment worker co-conspirators ran to meet and greet the march as it passed by the sweatshops, going boldly up in the face of the massive police mobilization to "escort" the marchers. Between 30-40 uniformed pigs swarmed as guards to the march while other police, paddy wagons and patrol cars filled the route itself. Numerous NYPD "intelligence" division (best known as the "red squad") circulated, openly directing the operations of the film crew and the photographing of individual demonstrators. Captain Finnegan of the "squad" told the marchers that despite the agreed upon route the demonstrators would be allowed nowhere near the embassy, bragging "This came straight from the top. There's nothing you can do about it—why don't you sue." And then finally, he blurted out that the heavy precautions were because, "you are a semi-military organization." Despite Finnegan's lame attempt to try and say he was referring to his "red squad," and not the marchers, it was not lost on the masses of people who witnessed their "military mobilization" that this was obviously designed to set up the march for violent suppression and also aimed at terrorizing and intimidating workers in the Garment District, where a politically volatile situation exists and where revolutionary sentiment is strong.

At the rally at Lincoln Center, there were speeches by the RCP and the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants; and solidarity statements from Black revolutionary attorney Conrad Lynn, the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, the African American Workers and Tenants Committee, and activist in the feminist movement, Florynce Kennedy. And despite the attempts by the thugs of the bourgeoisie, it was a day of looking ahead to revolution. As a Black revolutionary nationalist who joined the march and rally, with his book of his revolutionary poems exclaimed; "Chiang Ching is about what I've been dreaming about all my life. I'm just damned glad I ran into you people today."

Washington, D.C. A striking aspect of the 100-strong Washington demonstration was its international character, as the foul attacks on China's revolutionary leadership drew forth revolutionaries of all nationalities to take a stand in their defense. Solidarity messages were delivered by representatives from Iran, Tigre (a nationality in Ethiopia), Kurdistan, Peru and Gambia, with a written message from an activist supporter of the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Other supporters included a revolutionary Black activist from the Yulanda Ward Memorial Fund; a founder of the USCPFA (U.S. China People's Friendship Association) who resigned in protest after the revisionist coup; an activist from the anti-nuke Direct Action Coalition and messages of support from a rock band and a revolutionary d.j.

As the march approached the embassy, the cops blocked Connecticut Avenue entirely and forced the demonstration into a side street a block away. But this itself was a telling exposure as pointed out by the speaker from the RCP. "When China was a socialist country led by the line of Mao Tsetung, it enjoyed the respect and friendship of the peoples of the world. Today the Chinese have few friends and must be protected by the bourgeois police." As the demonstration was leaving the area, an official was seen to emerge from the Chinese embassy and heartily pump the hand of a police commander.

Along its route the march drew derisive jeers from the neanderthals festooned with yellow ribbons and unleashed the advanced sentiments among the masses. A young construction worker with his buddies stopped to cheer the march. "They put her on trial to make an example of her," he said of Chiang Ching, "she made a great example for me!" A sanitation worker said, "I don't know much about the Cultural Revolution. I know that Mao stood for armed revolution, and Chiang Ching was his wife—she couldn't have been far behind him." A man from India stopped to contribute \$10 as the march went past, and two young Vietnamese women came over to say, "We know what China did for Vietnam, and Chiang Ching was a leader." Another woman from Venezuela was so excited by the demonstration that she bought several papers and took subscription cards promising to buy subs for each of her 8 sisters. Nine months pregnant, she swore that she would name her new child either Chiang Ching or Chang Chun-chiao. □

unrepentant capitalist-roader in our Party, formulated the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" *** and fanned up a big Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts. He fulminated that this, that and the other must all be "put right", including our literature and art. What he wanted, essentially, was to negate the revolution in literature and art, reverse the correct verdicts passed in the Cultural Revolution and settle accounts with it. As everyone remembers, before the Cultural Revolution when black clouds loomed over the cultural field and sinister winds were springing up on all sides, Deng Xiaoping never suggested that literature and art must be "put right". Instead, he and Liu Shaoqi were the men behind the scenes supporting the black revisionist line in literature and art. Today when the proletarian revolution in this sphere has

won great victories, he wants to "put right" literature and art. Isn't his vicious scheme to negate the revolution obvious?

By "putting right" literature and art, Deng Xiaoping meant annulling Chairman Mao's revolutionary line which he had wildly attacked as incorrect. In essence, his attack was aimed at Chairman Mao's line in literature and art. The struggle between these two lines is irreconcilable. What Deng regarded as "correct" was the domination of the revisionist line in literature and art. It was because the revolution in literature and art ended the domination of Liu Shaoqi and his clique's revisionist line and faithfully implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, winning a great victory, that Deng felt things were "wrong". By slandering our revolutionary line as "wrong", he showed that his purpose in "putting things right" was to sweep away the correct line. As a result of his counter-revolutionary instigation, fantastic ideas were spread in literary and art circles. Typical of these was the proposal for "a reevaluation of the literature and art of the seventeen years before the Cultural Revolution"—a blatant attempt to reverse the correct verdict on the former revisionist line. This proves beyond a doubt that Deng aimed at a return to the revisionist line which would make literature and art instruments to sabotage the dictatorship of the proletariat and to restore capitalism.

If Deng had succeeded in "putting right" our literature and art, all those feudal characters and zombies would

have returned to our stage. The revolution in literature and art had sent them packing, and a very good thing too, approved of by the proletariat and the broad labouring masses. Yet Deng leapt to the defence of those old emperors, generals and ministers, vociferating, "Those old operas were shown for years, but the revolution succeeded, didn't it?" This fully discloses the hatred this bourgeois representative in our Party felt over the fact that worker-peasant-soldier heroes are now dominating the stage. Since time immemorial no reactionary class has willingly relinquished its rule. Deng's hysterical ranting makes it clear that his attempt to "put right" literature and art was aimed at driving away our worker-peasant-soldier heroes from the stage and bringing back the old feudal characters by counter-revolutionary revanchism.

Deng Xiaoping is an excellent teacher by negative example. His deep-seated hatred for the model revolutionary theatrical works and the revolution in literature and art, as well as the Right deviationist wind he whipped up in order to reverse correct verdicts, give us a good lesson by negative example of what class struggle means. He enables us to see that the struggle between the two classes and the two lines in literature and art is long-term, complex and sometimes very sharp. As long as the bourgeoisie exists, the struggle on the literary and art front will never cease. When the proletariat wants to advance, it must wage struggles and make revolution. Chairman Mao has instructed us: "Without struggle, there

is no progress." "Will there be need for revolution a hundred years from now? Will there still be need for revolution a thousand years from now? There is always need for revolution."

Our task is a great one and the path is long; we must be mentally prepared for a protracted struggle. We must persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, persist in going forward. We must oppose retrogression and capitalist restoration. In our present movement to hit back at Right deviationism, we must take Chairman Mao's *Yenan Talks* as our weapon and criticize Deng Xiaoping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line from a firm, unequivocal standpoint, exposing his criminal attempt to attack and negate the revolution in literature and art. We must defend and further develop the great achievements of our revolution in literature and art and of the whole Cultural Revolution.

Recalling our past victories, we are filled with jubilation; looking at the revolutionary path ahead, we are full of confidence. As long as we abide by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the correct orientation of our revolution in literature and art, we will surely be able to bring about a transformation in ourselves and in our works, "to create many fine works which will be warmly welcomed by the masses of people", and to go from victory to greater victories in our fight to seize the position of literature and art from the bourgeoisie. □

***A revisionist programme dished up by Deng Xiaoping in the spring of 1975. It is a distortion of Chairman Mao's instructions by putting his directives on promoting stability and unity and on pushing the national economy forward on a par with the directive on studying the theory of the proletarian dictatorship and combating and preventing revisionism, describing all three as the key link of all work. This trick of confusing the primary with the secondary and replacing the primary with the secondary is an eclectic sleight-of-hand aimed at covering up the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie which is the principal contradiction under socialism. The programme opposes taking class struggle as the key link, distorts the Party's basic line and its essence is to restore capitalism.

Stung by Chiang Ching, U.S. Gov't. Drags Up Old Slanders of Mao

Last week the UPI wires were buzzing with a "hot item" for national distribution in the bourgeois media. The story, run under various headlines such as "MAO'S 'MEIN KAMPF' PLAN REVEALED," claimed that: "In 1953, China's Mao Tsetung reportedly proposed to the Soviet Union a plan for world conquest under which every nation except the United States would be Communist-dominated by 1973." This "plan" is allegedly contained in a document entitled "A Memorandum on a New Program for World Revolution" in recently released transcripts of secret hearings held by the House Foreign Affairs Committee in 1951-56. They claim it was written by Mao.

The State Department was of course careful to add that "we have no absolute confirmation of its authenticity." But one thing this little newsflash has definitely confirmed is that the U.S. rulers have been stung to the quick by the unyielding and heroic stand of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao in upholding Mao's revolutionary line and exposing the bankruptcy of China's current revisionist rulers, while setting a brilliant example for revolutionary-minded people all over the world. So much so that they have been obliged to counterattack by launching this feeble and transparently ridiculous 1950s-style, red scare à la Joe McCarthy.

To back up this monumental fairy tale, the UPI release dredges up an ancient quote from the ghost of an old McCarthyite, Rep. Walter Judd. Judd, in case anyone has forgotten, headed up something called The Committee of One Million back in the 1960s, a right-

wing organization that used to sponsor full-page ads in the *Washington Post* detailing bogus "atrocities" supposedly committed by the revolutionaries in China and signed by such luminous reactionaries as Barry Goldwater and Anna Chennault—all for the purpose of sabotaging recognition of the Peoples Republic of China. Judd is supposed to have said of the memorandum in a 1954 hearing: "It's just like 'Mein Kampf', but nobody would believe that either."

There you have it—your standard variation on the old theme of a "Commie military plot to take over the world." According to this purported "plan" by Mao, the Korean Peninsula, Formosa and Indochina would be communist-ruled by 1960 followed in rapid succession by the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore and Burma which would all "fall to the communist camp like ripe fruit" (or, perhaps, like dominos?). Then by 1965 Japan would also fall, followed by India (where the memorandum reportedly says "only peaceful means should be adopted"), Southwest Asia, the entire Middle East and Turkey. Then, the memorandum supposedly continues "With Asia and Africa disconnected from the capitalist countries of Europe, there will be a total economic collapse in Western Europe in 1973. There, capitulation will be a matter of course." After the subsequent collapse of Canada and South America, the U.S. would have been left alone and surrounded by 1973, the year in which the document allegedly states that "world revolution will be an accomplished fact."

In order to lend an aura of legitimacy

to this latest "revelation" we are also told that Judd "thought the Mao plan was authentic." And just in case we are not exactly inclined to believe the ravings of this mummified reactionary back in 1954, we are assured that "Witnesses from the State and Defense departments were inclined to agree." "We looked it over," the UPI release quotes Everett Drummond, an assistant deputy Secretary of State. "It sounds logical. It sounds in line with Communist outlines of objectives."

Indeed, communists have never made any secret of the fact that our objective is nothing less than world revolution, and the sooner the better. But how? By military conquest from the socialist camp, as the document puts it? Or by revolutions made by the oppressed of every country, as a detachment of the world proletarian revolution? Anyone with the slightest acquaintance with Mao's line knows that he always held that far from exporting revolution or imposing it from without, it is necessary for the masses to rely on their own efforts to overthrow their own ruling classes and move on to socialism. To give just one example, in 1963 Mao declared, "In the fight for complete liberation the oppressed people rely first of all on their own struggle and then, and only then, on international assistance."

Whether this alleged "Mao memorandum" actually exists or not outside the fertile imagination of the members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee is beside the point. If Mao ever did issue such a memorandum on the question of world revolution, it has obviously been twisted and distorted beyond recognition by the U.S. rulers and their

UPI mouthpieces. Just one point, could anyone with half a brain possibly imagine that Mao would have called for "adopting peaceful methods" for making revolution *anywhere*, let alone imperialist-dominated India, or that he could have possibly believed that the Western imperialists, armed with the nuclear teeth in the NATO alliance, would ever capitulate as "a matter of course"?

Of course Mao's line is not the only thing our rulers are trying to distort by running out this little red-baiting propaganda piece under the headlines like the one that appeared in the *Chicago Tribune*—"MAO'S PLAN FOR WORLD CONQUEST BARED." Mao's plan for world conquest? Come again? What about the U.S. imperialists' world domination and further plans for world conquest? All you have to do is glance at the *same page* of the *Tribune* as the Mao article appeared. There you find an article headlined "\$5 MILLION IN ARMS TO EL SALVADOR." They have to be quite confident that the U.S. masses are blind and dumb. Who is really interested in grabbing up the entire globe? The accompanying photo shows U.S.-trained and supplied government troops dumping the body of a slain guerrilla fighter into the back of a truck after a week in which some 700 people were massacred for the purpose of maintaining the U.S. conquest of El Salvador.

If the imperialists want to understand why the communists do *in fact* desire world revolution—and why the present day imperialist-conquered world cries out for it—then all they have to do is study their own pictures. □

Shanghai Messages

Continued from page 20

from the satellite. Seeing that ABC could get the film without paying, and unwilling to suffer any losses, CBS refused to pay up. Seeing a sure jackpot slip out of their hands made this handful of white cats, black cats, greedy dogs, hungry dogs who have restored the capitalist road yell like mad and charge the other side with violating the contract. Now this fight is really getting heated! In addition, this bunch of shameless trash have put fragments of their dirty act onto a cassette and are selling each tape for 230 Hong Kong dollars marketing it in great quantities abroad and in Hong Kong and Macau. This further proves that these bad elements that have restored the capitalist road will do anything to make money, even making shameless interna-

tional laughing stocks out of themselves, and are willing to commit any criminal schemes to harm the country and the people's interests.

But we seriously warn this handful of bad elements, your clumsy performances will not only fail to subdue the Chinese Communist Party, thousands and millions of heroic fighters who firmly uphold Marxism-Leninism; in fact under your tortures and threats, Comrades Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao dared to despise the performances of your pack of rats and clowns, having long since disregarded the question of their own lives and deaths. The spirit of the two comrades Chiang and Chang in upholding the truth and persevering in struggle has greatly encouraged the revolutionary people of our country, the revolutionary comrades of our Party, and all those in the Liberation Army who refuse to be dragged into the swamp by these reactionary capitalist-roaders, and to be determined to make revolu-

tion and fight to the end. Countries want independence, people want revolution, and we want Marxism-Leninism, not revisionism and especially not capitalism—this road towards the future nobody can block. As long as we live, you bunch of wolves, swine and vile curs who have restored capitalism, you'd better not swagger too soon. We must intensify our vigilance a hundredfold, correct our mistakes and shortcomings. We must also increase our work a hundredfold, strengthen our fighting ability and persevere. We vow that we will seize political power and put it back in the hands of the proletariat. If you do not believe it, just watch!

Chinese (Marxist-Leninist) Communist Party Central Committee (printed January 1981)

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These are two statements made by Mao Tsetung in the midst of the Cultural Revolution. Both are inspiring examples of Mao's proletarian internationalism.

People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs Mao Tsetung, May 1970

A new upsurge in the struggle against U.S. imperialism is now emerging throughout the world. Ever since World War II, U.S. imperialism and its followers have been continuously launching wars of aggression and the people in various countries have been continuously waging revolutionary wars to defeat the aggressors. The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today.

Unable to win in Vietnam and Laos, the U.S. aggressors treacherously engineered the reactionary coup d'état by the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, brazenly dispatched their troops to invade Cambodia and resumed the bombing of North Vietnam, and this has aroused the furious resistance of the three Indochinese peoples. I warmly support the fighting spirit of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, in opposing U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. I warmly support the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples. I warmly support the establishment of the Royal Government of National Union Under the Leadership of the National United Front of Kampuchea. Strengthening their unity, supporting each other and persevering in a protracted people's war, the three Indochinese peoples will certainly overcome all difficulties and win complete victory.

While massacring the people in other countries, U.S. imperialism is slaughtering the white and black people in its own country. Nixon's fascist atrocities have kindled the raging flames of the revolutionary mass movement in the United States. The Chinese people firmly support the revolutionary struggle of the American people. I am convinced that the American people who are fighting valiantly will ultimately win victory and that the fascist rule in the United States will inevitably be defeated.

The Nixon government is beset with troubles internally and externally, with utter chaos at home and extreme isolation abroad. The mass movement of protest against U.S. aggression in Cam-

bodia has swept the globe. Less than ten days after its establishment, the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia was recognized by nearly twenty countries. The situation is getting better and better in the war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation waged by the people of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The revolutionary armed struggles of the people of the Southeast Asian countries, the struggles of the people of Korea, Japan and other Asian countries against the revival of Japanese militarism by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries, the struggles of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against the U.S.-Israeli aggressors, the national-liberation struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, and the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of North America, Europe and Oceania are all developing vigorously. The Chinese people firmly support the people of the three Indochinese countries and of other countries of the world in their revolutionary struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

U.S. imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in essence a paper tiger, now in the throes of its death-bed struggle. In the world of today, who actually fears whom? It is not the Vietnamese people, the Laotian people, the Cambodian people, the Palestinian people, the Arab people or the people of other countries who fear U.S. imperialism; it is U.S. imperialism which fears the people of the world. It becomes panic-stricken at the mere rustle of leaves in the wind. Innumerable facts prove that a just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support. A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history.

People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs!



Congolese youth.

On a dock in Italy in the 1960s. Italian dockworkers and Chinese seamen with copies of Chairman Mao's Red Book.



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

Some days ago, Martin Luther King, the Afro-American clergyman, was suddenly assassinated by the U.S. imperialists. Martin Luther King was an exponent of non-violence. Nevertheless, the U.S. imperialists did not on that account show any tolerance towards him, but used counter-revolutionary violence and killed him in cold blood. This has taught the broad masses of the black people in the United States a profound lesson. It has touched off a new storm in their struggle against violent repression sweeping well over a hundred cities in the United States, a storm such as has never taken place before in the history of that country. It shows that an extremely powerful revolutionary force is latent in the more than 20 million black Americans.

The storm of Afro-American struggle taking place within the United States is a striking manifestation of the comprehensive political and economic crisis

now gripping U.S. imperialism. It is dealing a telling blow to U.S. imperialism, which is beset with difficulties at home and abroad.

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

Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the black masses in the United

States and U.S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The black masses and the masses of white working people in the United States share common interests and have common objectives to struggle for. Therefore, the Afro-American struggle is winning sympathy and support from increasing numbers of white working people and progressives in the United States. The struggle of the black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.

In 1963, in my "Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism" I said that "the

evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the black people." I still maintain this view.

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

This Time, The Proletariat Was

Continued from page 5

was and is still being held up high in the struggle in China, exactly because of the efforts of the revolutionaries—Mao, first and foremost among them, but also including his revolutionary comrades Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao and others. And this is a tremendous advance for the international proletariat, an advance over the situation that existed even 25 years ago, which frankly is a rather short period if you look at things from the point of view of advancing society to communism. Thanks to these efforts, the terms of the struggle, the political lines, even the basic forces involved are clear in China. And Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao are not in some kind of isolation in holding up these contributions; there are literally thousands and thousands of revolutionaries in China, some of them jailed and some of them not, who are holding the same position. And internationally, there are forces—our own Party is one of them and there are many others internationally as well—that are guided and inspired by the tremendous accomplishments and achievements of the revolutionary movement in China. And there is already further unity being achieved internationally in the communist movement.

So not only is the Chinese proletariat, its communist representatives, not defeated politically, but the whole international proletarian revolutionary movement is not by any means in a defeated position, but is in a position of making further advances. And this is quite an excellent position to be in for the international movement, going into the kind of stormy period that we're going into. If we continue, if we persist, if we take up exactly the call and the example that Comrade Chiang Ching and Comrade Chang Chun-chiao are making, not just to the people of China but to the proletariat and the revolutionaries of the world, by the kind of stand they are taking in that courtroom, then we are in quite a good position going into the kind of period of upsurge and revolutionary crisis and war that is going to be coming internationally.

Mao Tsetung On the Cultural Revolution

Continued from page 15

inappropriate. As far as the revolutionary little generals are concerned, it is a question of nurturing and training them. At a time when they have committed certain errors, to use such words will only dampen their spirits. Some say that elections are very good and very democratic. As far as I am concerned, election is merely a fancy word, and do not feel that there is any genuine election. I have been elected by the Peking district to serve as a representative to the National People's Congress, but how many in Peking really understood me? I feel that Zhou Enlai's premiership was an appointment by the Central Committee. Others say that China is profoundly peace-loving, but I cannot see how profound that love is. I think Chinese are militant.

In regard to cadres, we must establish the belief that 95 percent or more of them are good or relatively good, and we must never depart from this class viewpoint! In regard to leading cadres who are revolutionary or want to be revolutionary, one should protect them, protect them forthrightly and bravely, and liberate them from their errors. Even though they have taken the capitalist road, we must allow them to make revolution after they have undergone long-term education and their errors have been rectified. There are not many really bad persons. Among the masses, they constitute at most 5 percent; within the party and league, 1 to 2 percent; and there are only a handful of power holders who stubbornly take the capitalist road. But we must regard this handful of power holders within the party who take the

The opportunity for further breakthroughs in the international proletarian revolution are not at all dim; in fact they're quite bright. This is closely related to the point that our Party's Chairman made in his report (published in *Revolution* magazine) to a meeting of the Central Committee of our Party in 1979, about how we have to look at this defeat in China in this kind of light, and in particular in the light of a scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis of the imperialist system as it exists today. The forthcoming book *America in Decline* will go deeply into this. Under imperialism, the cyclical crises of capitalism are modified and this still crisis-ridden system moves instead more basically in a spiral course from imperialist world war to imperialist world war, like the war now being prepared by the U.S. and Soviet imperialists and the imperialist blocs each heads up. These kinds of spirals from war to war define the basic development of imperialism. If we understand this then it becomes clear that by no means is the whole ballgame over as far as this particular spiral of imperialist "development."

In other words the reversal in China has to be seen in the whole light of the international development and the international relations that went on, and while this is not the occasion to go into all the effects of the international struggle on the domestic struggle in China, suffice it to say it was very strong indeed. It was very great ammunition for the revisionist forces when, in the early '70s, they pointed to the international environment and said: 'Look, we have to call off the class struggle domestically because we're threatened by the Soviet revisionists,' and 'Look, the international struggle is not storming the heights and not succeeding in most countries today, therefore we have to slacken our support to the revolutionary forces and the revolutionary struggles that exist internationally in order to honey up to the various bourgeois forces that exist, especially in the U.S. imperialist camp, and strengthen our position, especially vis à vis the

Soviets.' These were all the arguments of the revisionists in China which the revolutionaries combatted, and while we have certain criticisms of their international line, they did overall correctly combat them. But still this international situation—and even the necessary adjustments in some of China's international policies—led to an actual strengthening of the forces for restoration inside China. So, the whole experience of restoration in China coming as it did in 1976, at this point in the spiral leading toward world war and revolutionary storms has to be seen very much in the light of the whole development in the international arena. If we see it in that way we then also understand, as I said before, that the whole ballgame is far from over in this particular spiral of imperialism, not only in China but internationally, that the opportunity for revolutionary struggle is great, as this spiral goes higher and higher and the crisis becomes deeper and deeper for the imperialists and their moves toward war become greater, sharper, more accentuated. And we can see this in Iran, and in Latin America, Nicaragua, El Salvador and so on. And based on this understanding, we can even see the possibility of a revolutionary situation emerging in this country or in some other major imperialist countries in the world.

All this is part and parcel of the same international process that temporarily has conditioned this kind of reversal in China. So given that the proletariat has not been defeated politically in the struggle in China, given that there are not only revolutionary forces in China but revolutionary forces internationally that are picking up this struggle and stepping down on the revolutionary side of the dividing line of Mao Tsetung Thought and Mao Tsetung's immortal contributions, we're not at all in a bad situation for being able to persist in and make great and further breakthroughs internationally even within this spiral, so that even this time around we—the international proletariat—could come out ahead.

Making Further Advances Internationally

And that's an important view to have of the situation, not just so we can pluck up our courage but so that we can uphold and base ourselves on the correct line, follow the call and the example of Comrades Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, persevere in Mao's revolutionary line, make further advances on this basis, and seize to the maximum the possibilities that exist in the period ahead. Lenin made a couple of very important points about this kind of thing, and he made a point that I think is pretty directly relevant to this in his "Letters from Afar" on the eve of the Russian revolution. His point of view about international developments and developments in the class struggle in Russia is the view that we have to take toward the setback in China and also the possibilities for advance that exist. "Such, and only such, is the view that can be taken by a political leader who does not fear the truth and soberly weighs the balance of social forces in the revolution, who appraises every 'current situation' not only from the standpoint of all its present current particularities but also from the standpoint of all its more fundamental motivations, the deeper interests, relations between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, both in Russia and throughout the whole world." So, that kind of approach of Lenin's is exactly the point of view that we have to have toward the setback—and advances—in China in order to maximize the very real opportunities for advance that exist before us right now.

And the urgency of that, I think, is also laid out in another quote from Lenin, in an essay "The Collapse of the Second International." There are similarities between some of the political developments with the revisionists in China assuming power, and

the Second International and the collapse of the revolutionary political organizations with the outbreak of World War I. Lenin summed this up and summed up the responsibility of the revolutionaries, even though they were small forces, to persevere in the face of that collapse and move ahead. This is what the Bolsheviks did and made the most of the opportunities that lay ahead. Lenin made a point about the kind of struggle that exists exactly in the kind of period that's coming into being, where masses are pulled in large numbers, in millions and millions worldwide, into motion, a period of war and international crisis of the imperialist system: "It is not so often that history places this form of struggle on the order of the day, but then its significance is felt for decades to come." And that, I think, is the kind of situation that we're increasingly being faced with internationally and why we have to take the stand that is being taken by Comrade Chiang Ching and Comrade Chang Chun-chiao in China today, not only as an heroic stand, but as a call to revolutionaries internationally to take up the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and take up the revolutionary understanding that's been accumulated through the twists and turns of the struggle internationally, including in its latest and highest form internationally in China, and advance and shoulder our own responsibilities internationally. And that is precisely what our Party is doing and is calling on people here and throughout the entire country to do. And that's the sense in which we both learn from and uphold the revolutionary struggle that they are carrying out as a part of the overall revolutionary struggle.

It's not only a question that internationally we're in a good position, but our Party thinks we're in quite a good position, domestically, in this country to move ahead and to meet the revolutionary tests that lie in the period ahead. And of course that comes down to the fundamental question, the question of revolutionary line. We have a Party in this country that has upheld, is upholding and will continue to uphold Mao's contributions and more than that to stand on the shoulders of and shoulder our *further* responsibilities in doing what Mao would say and what all the revolutionaries in China would say is to go forward on the path of revolution—of doing what is unconventional, because revolution is never made by convention. Revolution is never made by precedent, by doing what is precisely the norm, what has gone before it, but by going forward and making further contributions in the development of the revolutionary struggle internationally and specifically for us here as a detachment of the international proletariat, applying it to the unprecedented problem of making revolution in a developed imperialist country, a superpower like the United States, and that is the task that we're undertaking.

If you even look at it in terms of our Party's recent history, it's precisely the struggle in China, the sharp line that got drawn between revisionism and revolution, that has enabled us to take up this task in a way that is unprecedented in our own history and to contribute to an international effort to advance and solve new problems. It's precisely the teachings and the experience of the Cultural Revolution in China, its emphasis on cardinal questions, its emphasis on affairs of state, its emphasis on the conscious activism of the masses, that have led us to take up the newspaper as our central weapon, led us today to take this call for 100,000 issues of the *Revolutionary Worker* to be distributed weekly now on a sustained basis across the country, and led us to take up the "forgotten" book by Lenin *What Is To Be Done?* and to take up the general revolutionary contributions of Lenin to the international communist movement in a much more thoroughgoing way than before.

NOT Defeated Politically

Mao emphasized consciousness, the *conscious* activism of the masses and the role of the Party in bringing forward the masses on that basis. This is what Mao and the Cultural Revolution have in common with *What Is To Be Done?* and it was this in Mao that led us to take *What Is To Be Done?* off the dusty shelves where much of the international communist movement had left it. This is what we have been impelled to do because of the contributions of the revolutionaries in China. As part of this we have formulated and begun to apply correctly a central task "create public opinion... seize power" as the key element in the plan for revolution in this country. With this we have really begun to forge the links between today's situation and the future situation of mass armed revolutionary struggle. All of these advances are due to, and built upon, the contributions of the Cultural Revolution. And the inspiring scene now in the Peking courtroom challenges our Party to pursue this path even more boldly, and challenges all revolutionary minded people in this country to join our Party and the international proletariat in this effort.

It is that and only that kind of work which will put us in a position to do what Lenin talks about, to make a contribution to the struggle that will be felt, both domestically and worldwide, for many years to come. Even if there is not the opportunity for the successful seizure of power, a period of tremendous turmoil and further advance in the revolutionary process in this country and internationally is surely coming in the period ahead. And it's the duty and responsibility of every revolutionary to respond to the stand and the actions of these revolutionary comrades in China in this kind of way, accelerating this process to be in a position so that when our enemy is weak, when our enemy is divided, when it's sinking deeper and deeper in crisis and in war, that we will have created and will continue to create as much of the broad public opinion for revolution as possible; we will have succeeded; we will have prepared minds; we will have organized forces; so that we will be in a decisive position if the opportunity presents itself to move on it, to finish them off, and to make a tremendous contribution to the international revolutionary struggle.

Strategic Confidence

In that light I want to talk about Wang Hongwen. (Yao Wen-yuan I guess is still in the questionable category and leaning toward capitulation.) Wang Hongwen was a revolutionary that had been one of the Four and Wang Hongwen did in fact make contributions to the revolutionary struggle during the Cultural Revolution. We don't ignore or dismiss that. Lenin, for example, never denied that the renegade Kautsky once made contributions. Even as he denounced Kautsky as an opportunist he wasn't afraid to say, "Kautsky, when he was a Marxist, said..." and then go ahead and utilize the contributions that Kautsky made to Marxism. Wang Hongwen never made contributions as significant as Kautsky's, but still we do have something to learn from the capitulation of a revolutionary, from the capitulation of Wang Hongwen.

First of all, and what stands out all the more so, is that the puniness of his capitulation and the puny significance of his getting down on his knees truly pales beneath the shining revolutionary stand of Comrades Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao. And in order not to become demoralized in the face of Wang's capitulation but also to figure out how to fully understand the contrast between Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao on the one hand and capitulators on the other, we have to understand the political basis for these comrades' actions and their understanding and their political line and views.

As we pointed out in an article in the *Revolutionary Worker*, and it does bear repeating here, it is not just a question

of courage and facing up to death. Many people face up to death for all sorts of different causes, and many people die in the service of the imperialists, in the service of reactionaries, and just in the service of day-to-day life under capitalism. So the question is not just that of one's attitude toward death. The fundamental question is one's attitude toward Marxism-Leninism, one's attitude toward the science of revolution and on that basis one's attitude toward the whole process of twists and turns in the struggle of the international proletariat and towards the masses of people. And it's not a question that someone is going to capitulate simply because of torture. Torture can certainly produce painful effects in people; but no matter how many scientifically devised and ingeniously devised tortures they cook up—all of which the revisionists probably know about and have probably used on various revolutionaries in China—it cannot produce political capitulation, because that requires an internal basis, that requires an understanding, or a lack of understanding, and commitment or a lack of commitment based on that understanding to a revolutionary political line.

The biographies give you some sense that these are people who on the basis of experience in the revolutionary struggle have been through some shit, not just that they've been attacked by the bourgeoisie before, but that they understand there are periods in the struggle where the position of the revolutionaries may even be relatively isolated, where the majority of the masses are not actively with you, in fact when the majority of the masses may even be against you. We're not starry-eyed idealists, thinking that 90% of the people in China are loading up their muskets at the moment and preparing to overthrow Deng Xiaoping. That's not our point of view, because we have strategic confidence in the masses and an ultimate victory in the revolution, we don't have to resort to that kind of idealism. But there are different sections of the masses. The revisionist line has a basis, particularly among the privileged ones, and their influence and beyond that the demoralizing influence of the twists and turns in the struggle can and does sink down into the ranks even of the more oppressed, narrowing people's sights, spreading cynicism and so on. Some of the revisionists' promises will even have an allure for a particular period. Some of the revisionists' arguments about how everything has to be subordinated to prepare against the Soviet Union also have a certain basis for taking root among the masses. Some people may become impatient and tire of the constant struggle that Mao and the revolutionaries were calling for and leading and which was objectively necessary to advance society.

But in a period like that, just as much as in periods of big mass upsurge, one's revolutionary understanding is decisive in making the difference in where the revolutionaries stand and thus in their potential for influence. In those periods when the masses may not be with you in a narrow, pragmatic, immediate sense, what does one do? Does one get down on one's knees and capitulate and become a traitor? And a traitor is an historical irrelevancy, a slight addition to the baubles and bangles in the treasure chest of the reactionary, decadent and dying ruling classes. Or does one become the kind of standard bearer for the revolutionary line, not only in China but internationally that Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao have become? That's exactly where one's understanding of Marxism-Leninism and, on that basis, strategic confidence in the masses leads one; if one has it, it leads toward the heroic contributions of Mao's comrades; and if one doesn't, towards what Wang Hongwen is doing.

And that's a very important understanding for us not only in looking at and explaining Wang Hongwen's behavior but also in understanding our own situation and what it is that lies ahead.

If anybody doesn't know it, revolutionary work is not all a piece of cake right now: there's difficulties; there's struggle. Of course there are also outbreaks and other opportunities and, in fact, we're seriously lagging behind them. And this, too, is all the more reason to come forward and respond to the kind of call and the example that Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao are making in China today. But some of the difficulties today—like that we can't just lead millions in revolution right now—that do stem from very real material things and the material position of U.S. imperialism and the *relative* stability and prosperity—however partial and precarious—it has managed to squeeze out of the world for a number of decades, when overall it has been a world power rising to the top. But all this is breaking down and today, with the aid of the science of Marxism-Leninism, we can see in today's outbreaks the seeds of a future situation where things may ripen fully to a revolutionary opportunity. Still there may be periods between here and there, even at the very threshold of a revolutionary situation, where the bourgeoisie may gain some temporary and unstable strength and we may be in a more isolated position for a time. In particular as imperialist war is breaking out, with their attempts to rally the country politically and to whip up production on a war basis, some bigger sections of the masses may move under their reactionary political banner for a time, until the destructiveness of the war really sets in. The whole experience of the "Iran crisis" in this country, particularly right after the hostages were taken is a miniature example of this. The main thing this Iran crisis showed is that when the bourgeoisie drags masses of people into political life, it ultimately opens up great opportunities for the revolutionaries. But it also showed that the imperialists can and do mobilize sections of the masses under their banner, particularly as political crisis is in its initial phase.

Class traitors and revisionists—Wang Hongwen now among them, and his "ancestors" like Kautsky, a famous international figure—all used the behavior of "the masses" in the short-term sense as an excuse for their own capitulation, an excuse for their own betrayal, and an excuse for their own turning away from the tremendous opportunities that are dawning upon the international proletariat and that exist today. Kautsky used the fact that many of the masses in Germany were temporarily swayed by the imperialists at the outbreak of the war to excuse the social democrats in Germany at the time for their capitulation and their siding with the German imperialists. And Lenin heaped scorn upon that approach of blaming it on the "backwardness of the masses" when the revolutionary leaders were alone in a position to set a standard to lead the masses or at least do something to contribute to the way that further opportunities were sure to and did develop in Germany and internationally. Lenin not only ridiculed that but he opposed Kautsky's statement that never more than at the time of the outbreak of war are the imperialists stronger—this was Kautsky's point of view and Lenin scoffed at that. He pointed out that there was an advanced section of the masses even then. Lenin wasn't mechanical, he never said that the imperialists couldn't get superlatively and temporarily strengthened at the outbreak of war. What Lenin said was that *never* are they more in need of agreement among the ruling classes and *never* are they more in need of the passive submission of the masses—the political support of all the sections of the masses and of the vanguard of the masses. Never except in a period of impending and deeper crisis are they more in need of that kind of support, exactly because of what's to come, because of not only the trouble the imperialist system is in at that time but also the fact that it's *all on the line*

and that much more trouble is to come—for them. Never are they in such need of capitulation and the general tossing down of the banner of revolution by the revolutionary forces. It's always important to them, but it's extremely important in times like that. That should teach us something about the importance of upholding that banner.

So we should turn around the Wang Hongwen example and learn from the negative example of his capitulation and the contrast between that and the shining revolutionary behavior of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao; and the lesson we should draw is that those kind of circumstances should lead us to accelerate our revolutionary work and to do it in a way that is based on the *advanced*, understanding that under the name of "the masses" and in particular "the mainstream" of the masses, many crimes are committed, and many excuses for capitulation are made. One has to base oneself on Marxism-Leninism, to base oneself on the advanced section of the masses under any circumstances—that section of the masses, however big it may be at any time, always does exist, certainly exists in this country today and on a fairly broad scale. One has to base oneself on that section of the masses who are more advanced and whose conditions and experience compel them to more readily grasp and take hold of the revolutionary ideas and come into revolutionary struggle when they have the opportunity and they have the chance, in particular when they sniff and sense the weakness of the imperialist enemy. We're not just basing ourselves on this advanced section because we *like* people who are a little more advanced, because it's more comfortable to do this among people who are a little more advanced; we're doing it based on an understanding, a scientific understanding of where the world is going and, as Lenin pointed out, that thousands will in fact become the leaders of millions in a situation that is different than today's situation, when it is all on the line and when there may be the opportunity to carry through to victory. And it's under those circumstances that the work people have done today, upholding Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and, based on that, carrying out all the revolutionary work that is called for of bringing forward forces numbering in the thousands and tens of thousands now, which in a future revolutionary period will bear its fruit and bloom in its full revolutionary flower.

It is precisely this understanding that comes through in the strong revolutionary stand of Chiang Ching. It is precisely this understanding that comes through in the strong revolutionary stand of Chang Chun-chiao. And their stand calls on us to come forward under our conditions and play our part in carrying this great mission forward.

Mao said, "If the rightists stage an anti-communist coup-d'etat in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived, because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries who represent the interests of the people." This statement has meaning for us internationally, as well as in China. There has been a setback, but even more there are today excellent revolutionary conditions where the worldwide crisis of imperialism is developing, where the proletariat has not been *politically* defeated in this struggle in China but has brought forward more shining leaders and has spread still further the radiance of the highest achievements of the Cultural Revolution and Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. And if we grasp ahold of that understanding, then we'll be able to make a great contribution to grasping ahold of the historic moments that lie ahead in the years ahead and make the contribution to the world revolution that we want to help make.

The Shanghai Rebellion

"Plot"

Continued from page 8

by a vice-secretary of the Party committees of a military base in Anhui Province (neighboring Shanghai's Nanjing province) who sent some troops, guns and ammunition to Shanghai with a message that it was better to act now than later.

Slogans Set

The leadership held another meeting the night of the 12th. They analyzed the latest changes in the situation and decided to follow through on the decisions made at the meeting back on the 8th. Zhu Yongjia proposed a slogan, "Return to us Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao, Yao Wen-yuan and Wang Hongwen." He added, "Mood among the masses is favorable. On to the decisive showdown!" They also drafted a "Message to the People of the Whole Country and the Whole World," and the revisionists say, 21 other slogans. Plans to initiate work stoppages and demonstrations, and to set up three cordons between the center of the city and its outskirts, to control the press and radio stations and to blockade the airfields, docks and railroads and control electricity were finalized. The sword was ready to be pulled out of the sheath.

But an important development put a brake to the plans. The supporters of the Shanghai rebels inside the Shanghai garrison reported that the situation had changed and that the garrison could no longer be counted on to back up the uprising. This caused some in the leadership, especially the older cadres and some who had come around since the Cultural Revolution, to waver and push for further delays in carrying out the plans. They persuaded the others to phone Wang and Xu in Peking and ask for their opinion. Wang told them over the phone in no uncertain terms that they should refrain from starting anything, and that he and Xu would return to Shanghai the next day, at which time a meeting would be held to discuss everything.

On October 13, Ma Tianshui, Wang and Xu all flew back to Shanghai. The momentum had already swung against the uprising. Two days later the first posters attacking the Four appeared in the streets of Shanghai, and demonstrations were organized against the Four. On October 19, Ma, Wang and Xu were arrested. The official New China News Agency reported on October 18 that Shanghai's two million workers and one million militia members had announced their "support of the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng." On October 25, a poster condemning the Four finally appeared at Cotton Mill No. 17, Wang Hongwen's former factory. By October 24, Peking sent a whole group of new leadership personnel to Shanghai to take over the city.

Despite all this, the revisionists themselves report in the *Peking Review* (No. 2, 1981) that on the afternoon of October 13, "Several followers of the Gang actually tried but failed to send the People's Militia into action for a last ditch struggle." Reading between the lines here, it is clear that this means there was some scattered armed fighting by militia units. This is consistent with some reports heard at the time on U.S. network news reports.

What Happened?

Admittedly it is dangerous to speculate about why the insurrection did not come off as planned. The information available is all filtered and distorted through revisionist or imperialist sources, and, in any case, a thorough summation will have to await the future and be the work of the Chinese revolutionaries themselves. But rather than let all this sit at "it didn't happen," it is politically important to try to pull together the information that seems most reliable, realizing there will be mistakes, and certainly to bring in the light of some Marxist principles of insurrection.

One crucial question in analyzing the failure of the Shanghai rebellion to

materialize is: what happened to get the leading cadres from Shanghai in Peking? Ma Tianshui, a veteran cadre who first opposed the Cultural Revolution but then made a self-criticism and united with the Four, did not have much choice about going to Peking. He was called almost immediately after the Four's arrest, before it became evident that there had been a coup. But what is more unclear, as mentioned before, is why Wang Xiuzhen and Xu Jingxian had agreed to go to Peking when they knew about the Four's fate and the plans for the rebellion were well underway.

There is a story supposedly circulating among the current revisionist leadership that once Wang and Xu had arrived in Peking, Hua Guofeng assured them, "You need not be worried. The Gang of Four is not the Shanghai Gang. The problem will be cleared up." When Wang and Xu asked Hua if a cultural delegation headed by Zhu Yongjia which had been scheduled to go on a trip to Japan would take off as planned, Hua replied nonchalantly that everything would be carried out as originally scheduled before the arrest of the Four. In fact Zhu, who apparently played such a leading and important role in analyzing the situation and pointing out the importance of Shanghai rising up, did go on a trip. Obviously it was important for the revisionists that Zhu go on this trip, even if he had to be forced along, in order to say to others: "If even this clear supporter of the Four is going on an official trip, everything must already be settled in favor of the new leadership." Zhu was arrested immediately after he returned from the trip.

The use of the opportunist Hua Guofeng was obviously an important tactic of the revisionists as a whole during this period. With Hua as the front man they could pull the wool over some people's eyes. Demonstrators mobilized by the revisionists for some time chanted slogans against the Four while carrying portraits of Mao. Radio broadcasts, speeches and newspaper articles urged people to continue criticism of the "counter-revolutionary Deng" and carry forward the gains of the Cultural Revolution.

Deng and the more broadly exposed revisionists would have had a much harder time of it if they had been the open leaders of the coup. The revolutionaries had correctly been drawing attention to the *line* and *program* of the revisionists, which would have eventually nailed Hua, since this was his line as well. But Mao's death and the moves by the revisionists cut short this struggle. Some intermediate sections of the masses may have been fooled or swayed by Hua's phony "Mao mantle," and this, in turn, may have weighed on some more vacillating of the leaders who probably thought, "Hua may be no good, but we don't have enough masses with us now, and at least with Hua we can buy time."

Besides the subterfuge with Hua, the revisionists took some other steps to neutralize Shanghai. Xu Shiyu (Hsu Shih-you), then the commander of the Kwangtung military region and former commander of the Nanjing military region, was reportedly seen in Shanghai on October 6, the day of the arrest of the Four. Xu was a close associate of Ye Jianying (Yeh Chien-ying), one of the main figures in the coup. Xu was reportedly protecting Deng in Kwangtung. Xu still retained ties with Nanjing and was preparing forces to deal with resistance in Shanghai. Undoubtedly these forces moved against key targets in the crunch.

All this carrot-and-stick stuff did not paralyze many masses, nor the most clear-headed revolutionaries. It has been reported that as the arrests of the Four became an open rumor (some time around October 10), thousands gathered every day in front of the key organizations in the city to see what actions the leaders would take. These places included the factory where Wang Hongwen had formerly worked, the headquarters of the trade unions, the head-

quarters of the militia, and the municipal party committee, all controlled by forces identified with the Four. And on a bigger scale, people all over China were looking toward Shanghai in anticipation of a call to action. But apparently no widespread call to rebel ever came.

The question was clearly not "was there a section of the masses ready to fight." Perhaps there were not enough to win, but the farsighted proletarian revolutionaries in Shanghai realized that was not the whole point of rebellion at that time anyway. The masses, as always, divided into different sections—advanced, intermediate and backward—and these were shifting categories which could be affected by the actions of the vanguard. Action depended first and foremost on those in a position to call for it and lead it. Here the question of ideological and political line, a clear grasp of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and a view of the long-term future and the world revolution were decisive.

Although Shanghai was known as the Four's base area, the leadership there was not at all one homogeneous bloc. Ma Tianshui was an older cadre who had been overthrown with the old revisionist leadership, and then won over to a revolutionary stand. There were undoubtedly others with a similar history. It was important and necessary to the struggle that the Four were able to unite such diverse forces—in spite of the revisionists' slanders that the Four were sectarians and wouldn't unite with anybody. At the same time, there was bound to be constant struggle to keep the leadership united on leading in a revolutionary direction. This was bound to be complicated by the existence of many outright revisionist forces in Shanghai as well. There were certainly firm revolutionaries in the Shanghai leadership. Zhu Yongjia seems to have played that role. But exactly how the balance of forces (and the moves of the enemy) came down is not now known.

One clear political question was quickness of action. Time was on the side of the revisionists. They were seeking through various tactics to produce delays, vacillations, and then through these vacillations, still more delays, until the opportunity for an uprising had passed. The few days right after the Four's arrest were critical. With each passing day, the revisionists were able to gather more forces on their side.

This is an important Marxist principle. Lenin said that Marx "expressed himself on this score in the most definite, precise and categorical manner, referring to insurrection specifically as an *art*, saying that it must be treated as an art, that you must *win* the first success and then proceed from success to success, never ceasing the *offensive* against the enemy, taking advantage of his confusion, etc. . . ." ("Marxism and Insurrection," *CW*, Vol. 26) In another work, Lenin said, "It is not passivity that we should preach, not mere 'waiting' until the troops 'come over.' No! We must proclaim from the housetops the need for a bold offensive. . . ." ("Lessons of the Moscow Uprising", *CW*, Vol. 11) Zhu Yongjia realized this when he pointed out in his speech that "quick, decisive action in Shanghai would draw wide support and draw out even secret sympathizers." This understanding, which can only be based on an even more fundamental and sweeping international Marxist-Leninist view, clearly did not carry the day at the critical time in the Shanghai leadership as a whole, for whatever combination of objective and subjective reasons. However, given the reports of militia fighting referred to above, some did indeed grasp this and act.

On the other side of the coin, during the trial, Wang Hongwen has pleaded "guilty" to all charges against him, including taking part in the planning of the Shanghai rebellion. Wang also took the witness stand against Chang Chun-chiao. According to *Peking Review* No. 51, when asked by the judge, "On many occasions you said that people must be on alert against the dangers of revisionists taking power, we must be prepared for guerrilla war. What did you mean?", Wang answered: "By re-

visionists, I mean those veteran cadres who were overthrown during the Cultural Revolution. In case they took power we would go to the mountains to fight a guerrilla war. 'To fight a guerrilla war' was Chang Chun-chiao's idea." It was also Mao's idea, incidentally, to "fight a guerrilla war" when faced with attacks from revisionists. At the Lushan Central Committee meeting in 1959 when Peng Dehuai made a bid for power, Mao threatened, "I will go to the countryside to lead the peasants to overthrow the government. If those of you in the Liberation Army won't follow me, then I will go and find a Red Army and organize another Liberation Army. But I think the Liberation Army will follow me."

Wang Xiuzhen and Xu Jingxian have also taken the stand against Chang Chun-chiao. Xu testified that, "On October 8th when we learnt that the gang of four had been snatched, I thought that Chang Chun-chiao's predictions had come true and that the time of a severe test had arrived. According to the directive 'Be ready for war' issued by Chang Chun-chiao on September 28, I plotted an army rebellion in Shanghai."

As for Ma Tianshui, he has not appeared at the trial. His last public appearance was at a revisionist-led rally in Shanghai a bit later in October 1976. There was a mysterious report in the pro-revisionist Hong Kong daily *Tu Kung Pao* several weeks ago, claiming that he was suffering from "mental illness." While it may be true that Ma broke down under the intense pressure and torture, it may also be true that he is now taking a firm stand. It should also be noted that one of the favorite ploys of the Soviet imperialist rulers, the older cousins to the Chinese revisionists, in dealing with those who do not tow the line, is to throw them into "mental hospitals." Ding Sheng, the military man who gave advice to the Shanghai leaders, is now referred to as the former Nanjing region commander but details of his status are not known. Zhu Yongjia also has not appeared at the trial of the four, and nothing has come out about his situation after his arrest. Many Shanghai communists have been arrested and are facing trial, or have already been executed.

Faced with the capitulation of some of his former comrades in Shanghai—Wang, Xu, and especially Wang Hongwen—Chang Chun-chiao has remained defiantly silent and has refused to even acknowledge the historically puny presence of those making testimony against him.

While the full rebellion in Shanghai didn't happen, a still more basic and powerful rallying force there and internationally is clearly alive and well and being upheld today by Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao and many many others in China. That is the force of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. Today in China, including in Shanghai, revisionist newspapers fret about the "growing" problem of people "resorting to the methods of the Cultural Revolution," agitating, organizing "secret societies" and links between them. Shanghai will be heard from again.

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Seizing Power in the January Storm

Continued from page 9

Bureau, for instance, the rebels of railway stations with the assistance of thousands of college students manned the ticket booths and entry points to platforms, or served as locomotive conductors and train attendants. The students of practically all secondary schools in Shanghai were busy at the piers helping to load or unload cargoes. To get these workers organized, a joint command was set up not for seizing power on behalf of this or that faction, but for the sake of class interests, for the honor of the fatherland, for the socialist economy and for repelling the counterattack of bourgeois "economism."

We submitted a report to the Center on the situation in Shanghai and what steps we had taken. Chairman Mao endorsed our actions, telling us that the seizure of power was wholly necessary and correct. This is how we came to use the term "seizure of power" as suggested by Chairman Mao.

However, at the mention of "seizure of power," we found the resultant evils of factionalism, such as selfishness, obsession with personal gain, the "mountain stronghold" mentality, the "small group" mentality, sectarianism, and so forth. This is because when those people were subjected to oppression or branded as "counter-revolutionary," they hardly noticed these evils. But once the moment for the seizure of power came, some people became obsessed with selfishness and the "mountain stronghold" mentality.

The seizure of power in Shanghai was not just plain sailing because once petit-bourgeois factionalism came to the fore, it was detrimental to the proletarian Party spirit and upset the general orientation of struggle.

...As a result of our prodding, meetings were held many times in early February to approve of the professed plans for the seizure of power by the thirty-eight recognized rebel organizations. At these sessions, we made it clear that the seizure of power [from persons in power] in no way involved the seizure of official seals or occupation of the premises of official establishments. Rather, it involved the issues as to whether or not Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was carried out, great alliances forged, the interests of the broad masses of people represented and popular support secured. We also made it clear that the seizure of official seals would be of no avail in the absence of popular recognition. [As for] the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and the Shanghai Municipal People's Council, occupation of their offices would also be of no avail—merely a manifestation of formalism. We told them: Sukarno held a baton symbolizing presidential powers; nonetheless, Suharto stripped Sukarno of all his powers. What is the use of carrying the baton again?

In the joint seizure of power by the thirty-eight organizations, the great majority of organizations in Shanghai had in the main formed alliances. The situation was quite favorable because all the prominent rebel organizations in the city took part. At the time when the thirty-eight organizations met to draft a document for the formation of the "Shanghai People's Commune," another twenty-five organizations also met to inaugurate their "New Shanghai People's Commune." They told their rivals: Since you people haven't asked us to join your setup, we call ours "New Shanghai People's Commune"—something newer than yours!

The problem which confronted us then was that two major factions would be formed. The thirty-eight organizations were in the majority, being undisputed rebel groups. On the other hand, the twenty-five organizations were in the minority, having quarrelled among themselves by calling one another conservative organizations. What was to be done in such a situation? If we proceeded from factional considerations when tackling the matter, deep rifts would inevitably occur. However, if we proceeded from fun-

damental class interests, from the interests of socialism, from the interests of all our people, and from considerations of the Party spirit, internal rifts would be avoided.

If the thirty-eight organizations proclaimed their readiness to seize power then and there, opposition would almost certainly arise and the factions in opposition to the thirty-eight organizations would not stop struggling against them, reminding us of what happened in Anhwei and Kiangsu (Comrade K'ang: Rifts will result if the seizure of power is undertaken by one faction and not jointly with other factions).

In these circumstances, we held fast to the general orientation of struggle in accordance with Chairman Mao's established policies and instructions of uniting the majority and relying on the majority. This general orientation must not be abandoned when uniting the revolutionary forces and struggling against the capitalist roaders. This is because once our own ranks were thrown into disarray in an unsuccessful seizure of power, the capitalist roaders would only be too pleased. Therefore, we tackled the matter in two stages, first dealing with the thirty-eight organizations which had formed the "Shanghai People's Commune" because they were backed by solid strength and were numerically superior to other groups.

We told them: Do you people think it is right to do it this way and is the general orientation in order? They replied: Since seizing power from the capitalist roaders is in keeping with the general orientation, it is of course right for us to do so. But can we say we are keeping to the correct general orientation after splitting our own ranks as a result of the seizure of power? What you have said is right. Have they done the right thing by seizing power from the capitalist roaders and forming the "New Shanghai People's Commune"? Who will benefit from this? Some people then said those were smaller organizations which could be smashed to pieces overnight and therefore it really didn't matter much at all.

We told them: If you people do it this way, the power you people have wrested won't last long because nobody will accept you.

Later, we submitted a report to the Center and proposed the following measures to the two rival factions:

First, we suggested changing the thirty-eight component units making up the "Shanghai People's Commune" to proposing units, in this way leaving the door open to the other twenty-odd units

after subjecting them to gradual stages of screening.

Second, a notice should be inserted in the newspapers tomorrow, but none of the proposing units will identify itself with the inserted announcement so as not to be mixed up with the seizure of power on behalf of a particular unit or with the desire to seek limelight. The first Message to the People of Shanghai which appeared in newspapers was issued by eleven units approved by Chairman Mao. That message made quite an impression on the public. The second Message to the People of Shanghai, however, was not made known to the public until the twenty-odd units which drafted the notice had vehemently wrangled over the order the names of the individual organizations should follow the message. Quarrels went out of hand and at one point the contenders for precedence over others disputed so furiously that they almost closed down the *Wenhui Pao* [newspaper], indicating the serious extent of factionalism. Therefore, proclamations are not to be inserted in newspapers to avoid fomenting factionalism.

Third, at the inaugural meeting, delegates from organizations big and small or proposing or non-proposing units should be seated in the presidium. This is to unite the majority.

Fourth, regardless of what organizations, conservative or otherwise, they are from, the people of Shanghai (Comrade K'ang: the citizens of Shanghai) have the right to attend celebration rallies or take part in processions. The conservatives are welcome whether they attend celebration rallies or take part in processions. In fact, all are welcome so long as they are not our enemies or landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists. In this way, the majority is united.

After this was done, dealing with the other twenty-five organizations posed no problems at all. Because the proposing units made allowance for other organizations to join them after screening by stages, no feelings were ruffled. Consequently steps were not taken to form the "New Shanghai People's Commune."

Of course, it wasn't easy at all to convert these people to our point of view. For instance, some people clamored for inclusion on the next day and considered themselves as proposing units and so had the right to be seated in the presidium. We had to hold repeated negotiations with them. Fortunately, we then had a "trump card" in our hands, for the Center designated myself and Comrade Yao Wen-yuan to be members of the "Shanghai People's Commune." Since there could be only one and not two organs of power in Shanghai, we could only join one. Incidentally, the three services of the army could not possibly support two

organs of power because if they were asked to support both organs of power they would certainly lose heart. Of course, that wasn't final and what was a matter of decisive importance was none other than Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In short, what the editorial of the February issue of *Hung-chi* journal stressed was a call to the proletarian revolutionaries to unite and to seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

In the congratulatory message sent on January 11th to the people of Shanghai by the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Central Military Commission and the Central Cultural Revolution Group, there was this line: "You have formed a revolutionary great alliance, thus putting firmly in your hands the destiny of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the destiny of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the destiny of the socialist economy."

The reason why the situation in Shanghai was under control without showing any serious signs of rift was not that problems did not crop up among proletarian revolutionary organizations; rather, various mass organizations were able to handle problems correctly whenever they had cropped up in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and on the basis of guidelines laid down by the Party Center. Otherwise, Shanghai would have been seriously divided as in other [trouble spots]. Since we made a practice of handling and resolving problems in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the thought of Mao Tsetung, the question of Shanghai was rather successfully resolved and the situation there stabilized.

Arriving in Shanghai in the course of his inspection tour, Chairman Mao said: Why is Shanghai so stabilized? Well, barring other factors, the relationships between the masses and the cadres and between the masses and the Liberation Army were rather good. Between the masses themselves, between the masses and the cadres, and between the masses and the Liberation Army, the relationship was one of uniting with one another, not in opposition to one another. Under the condition of keeping to the same general orientation, if problems should crop up, people would sit down and discuss them, go over Chairman Mao's writings, make criticism and self-criticism. That is why no serious rifts occurred then and no major problems cropped up. There were occasional rifts on a minor scale as there were cases in which certain individuals turned bad but nothing abnormal. But on the whole there were no problems of consequence. □

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Quotations from Mao Tsetung

Continued from page 17

bourgeoisie's desire for power? It is that they will never give a bit to the proletariat. We have learned it from them, but we learned it better.

June 28, 1976, cited in "Talks concerning 'Criticizing Deng Xiaoping and Repulsing Right Deviationist Wind'" by Chang Chun-chiao. (MM 5)

In 1949 it was pointed out that the principal contradiction within the country was one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Thirteen years later the question of class struggle was reiterated, and mention was also made of the fact that the situation began to turn for the better. What is the Great Cultural Revolution for? To wage class struggle. Liu Shaoqi advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle, but he himself never ceased to wage class struggle. He wanted to protect his bunch of renegades and sworn followers. Lin Biao wanted to overthrow the proletariat and attempted a coup. Did class struggle die out?

1975 or 1976, cited in *People's Daily* Editorial, April 6, 1976. (MM5)

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a relatively sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line.

1962, 10th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee, cited in the 9th Party Congress Documents.

When the Paris Commune rose up he [Marx] supported it, although he reckoned that it would fail. When he realized that it was the first proletarian dictatorship, he thought it would be a good thing even if it only lasted three months. If we assess it from an economic point of view, it was not worth while . . .

. . . Yours is a question of ideology, mine of 10,700,000 tons and ninety million people going into battle. The chaos caused was on a grand scale and I take responsibility.

1959, "Speech at the Lushan Conference." (Schram)

Grasp revolution, promote production.

Quoted in 9th Party Congress Documents (and many other places going back to the Great Leap Forward).

We will adopt advanced technology, but this cannot gain-say [negate] the necessity and the inevitability of backward technology for a period of time. Since history began, revolutionary wars have always been won by those whose weapons were deficient, lost by those with the advantage in weapons. During our civil war, our War of Resistance Against Japan, and our War of Liberation, we lacked nationwide political power and modernized arsenals. If one cannot fight unless one has the most modern weapons, that is the same as disarming one's self.

1961-62, Reading Notes on Soviet Union's "Political Economics." (Miscellany)

This time when our delegation went to the Soviet Union, we came straight to the point on a number of questions. I told Zhou Enlai over the phone that these people are blinded by their material gains and the best way to deal with them is to give them a good dressing down. What are their material gains? Nothing but 50 million tons of steel, 400 million tons of coal, and 80 million tons of petroleum. Does this amount to much? Not at all. Now at the sight of this much their heads are swelled. What Communists! What Marxists! I say multiply all that tenfold, or even a hundredfold, it still doesn't amount to much. All you have done is to extract something from the earth, turn it into steel and make some cars, planes, and what not. What is so remarkable about that? And yet you make all this such a heavy burden on your backs that you even cast away revolutionary principles. Isn't this being blinded by material gains? If one attains high office, one can be blinded by material gain too. To be the first secretary is some kind of material gain, which is also liable to swell one's head. When a man's head gets too swelled, we have to give him a good bawling out one way or another.

1957, "Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees." (Vol. 5)

At present, the task of the revolution has not yet been completed; it has not yet been finally determined who, in the end, will overthrow whom. In the Soviet Union, is not Khrushchev in power, is not the bourgeoisie in power? We, too, have cases in which political power is in the grip of the bourgeoisie; there are production brigades, factories, and *hsien* committees, as well as district and provincial commit-

tees, in which they have their people; there are deputy heads of public security departments who are their men.

1964, "Talks with Mao Yuan-hsin." (Schram)

After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of the high officials.

Quoted in "Capitalist-Roaders are Representatives of the Capitalist Relations of Production." (Immortal Contributions)

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

1975, quoted in "On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship over the Bourgeoisie." (Immortal Contributions)

Leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road have turned, or are turning, into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers.

1964, quoted in "What is the Essence of the '20 Articles.'" (Immortal Contributions)

The bureaucrat class on the one hand and the working class together with the poor and lower-middle peasants on the other are two classes sharply antagonistic to each other.

1964, quoted in "What is the Essence of the '20 Articles.'" (Immortal Contributions)

Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore if people like Lin Biao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. That is why we should do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works.

1975, quoted in "On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship over the Bourgeoisie." (Immortal Contributions)

If we are to overthrow the small handful of the biggest power holders taking the capitalist road we must do so not only organizationally but also politically, ideologically, and in the realm of theory. This is a vital issue for the country and the world. If revisionism is not overthrown it will stage a restoration. This is a great historical task. Looking forward, it is very far indeed from being completed.

1967, "Mao Tsetung Analyses The Cultural Revolution." (Daubier)

Now I would like to ask you a question: What would you say is the goal of the Great Cultural Revolution? (Someone answered on the spot: It is to struggle against power holders within the party who take the capitalist road.) To struggle against power holders who take the capitalist road is the main task, but it 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.

The Central Committee has emphasized time and again that the masses must educate themselves and liberate themselves. This is because world outlook cannot be imposed on them. In order to transform ideology, it is necessary for the external causes to function through inner causes, though the latter are principal. If the world outlook is not transformed, how can the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution be called a victory? If the world outlook is not transformed, then although there are 2,000 power holders taking the capitalist road in this Great Cultural Revolution, there may be 4,000 next time.

1967, "Speech to the Albanian Military Delegation." (Miscellany)

"Unprecedented in history"—that's correct too. Except for the revolution which replaced the primitive communal system by the slave system, that is, a system of non-exploitation by one of exploitation, all revolutions in the past ended in the replacement of one system of exploitation by another, and it was neither imperative nor possible to do a thorough job of suppressing counter-revolutionaries. Only our revolution, the revolution of the masses of the people led by the proletariat and the Communist Party, aims at the final elimination of all systems of exploitation and all classes. . . .

1955, Editor's Notes to "Material on the Counter-Revolutionary Hu Feng Clique." (Vol. 5)

According to dialectics, as surely as a man must die, the socialist system as a historical phenomenon will come to an end some day, to be negated by the communist system. If it is asserted that the socialist system and its relations of production and superstructure will not die out, what kind of Marxism would that be? Wouldn't it be the same as a religious creed or theology that preaches an everlasting God?

1957, "Talk at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees." (Vol. 5)

Under communism there may be no war but there is still struggle, struggle among sections of the people; there may be no revolution of one class overthrowing another, but there is still revolution. The transition from socialism to communism is revolutionary. The transition from one stage of com-

munist to another is also. There is technological revolution and cultural revolution. Communism will surely have to pass through many stages and many revolutions.

1961-62, Reading Notes on the Soviet Union's "Political Economics." (Miscellany)

We have been singing "The Internationale" for fifty years but people have tried to split our Party ten times. I think it possible that they will do it another ten times, or twenty times, or thirty times. You don't believe it? Maybe you don't but I do. When we reach Communism will there be no struggles? I don't believe that either. When we reach Communism there will still be struggles, but they will be between the new and the old, the correct and the incorrect, that is all. After tens of millennia have passed by, the incorrect will still be no good and will fail.

1971, "Talks on the Lin Piao Affair." (Schram)

Superstructure

First and foremost, create public opinion and seize power. Then resolve the question of ownership. Later, develop productive forces to a large extent. This in general is the rule. Although on this problem there is a difference between a proletarian revolution and a bourgeois revolution (socialist production relationship does not exist prior to a proletarian revolution, while bourgeois production relationship has grown up in a preliminary way in a feudal society), they are fundamentally identical.

1961-62, "Reading Notes on the Soviet Union's 'Political Economics.'" (Miscellany)

To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class.

1962, 10th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee, cited in 9th Party Congress Documents.

Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world.

1962, "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" (SR)

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

August 8, 1966, "Decisions of the Central Committee of the CCP Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." (Immortal Contributions)

In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes or art that is detached from or independent of politics.

1942, "Talks at Yenan Forum on Literature and Art." (Vol. 3)

Mao criticized the departments of literature and art under Liu Shaoqi's control as being "still dominated by 'the dead'", criticized the Ministry of Culture by saying that "if it refuses to change, it should be renamed the Ministry of Emperors, Kings, Generals, and Ministers, the Ministry of Talents and Beauties or the Ministry of Foreign Mummies" and said that the Ministry of Health should likewise be renamed the "Ministry of Health for Urban Overlords".

From the 9th Party Congress Documents.

Our present method of conducting examinations is a method for dealing with the enemy, not a method for dealing with the people. It is a method of surprise attack, asking oblique or strange questions. This is still the same method as the old eight-legged essay. I do not approve of this. It should be changed completely. I am in favour of publishing the questions in advance and letting the students study them and answer them with the aid of books. For instance, if one sets twenty questions on the *Dream of the Red Chamber*, and some students answer half of them and answer them well, and some of the answers are very good and contain creative ideas, then one can give them 100 per cent. If some other students answer all twenty questions and answer them correctly, but answer them simply by reciting from their textbooks and lectures, without any creative ideas, they should be given 50 or 60 per cent. At examinations whispering into each other's ears and taking other people's places ought to be allowed. If your answer is good and I copy it, then mine should be counted as good. Whispering in other people's ears and taking examinations in other people's names used to be done secretly. Let it now be done openly. If I can't do something and you write down the answer, which I then copy, this is all right. Let's give it a try. We must do things in a lively fashion, not in a lifeless fashion. There are teachers who ramble on and on when they lecture; they should let their students doze off. If your lecture is no good, why insist on others listening to you? Rather than keeping your eyes open and listening to boring lectures, it is better to get some

refreshing sleep. You don't have to listen to nonsense, you can rest your brain instead.

1964. "Remarks at the Spring Festival." (Schram)

China's health service emulates that of the Soviet Union, and I cannot completely accept what health doctors say. I have a gentlemen's agreement with my doctor: When I have a fever I will call you, and when I do not have one I will not bother you and you will not bother me. I said that if I did not have to call on him for an entire year, that would be testimony of his great merit. If I had to bother him every month, this would be proof that he had failed in his work. I only follow half of what the doctor says and expect him to follow me in the other half. If we abide by everything the doctor says sickness will multiply and life will be impossible. I have never before heard of so much high blood pressure and liver infections. If a person doesn't exercise but only eats well, dresses well, lives comfortably, and drives wherever he goes, he will be beset with a lot of illnesses. Excessive attention to food, clothing, housing, and means of transportation are the four underlying causes of illness among high-level cadres. Our health service emulates the Soviet Union. It makes specialists out of general practitioners. They must treat all types of illnesses and improve themselves.

1964. "Talk on Health Services." (Miscellany)



Inspecting a Chinese P.L.A. navy unit in 1953.

Do not be intimidated by famous people and scholars. We must be courageous in thinking, speaking, and doing. We must not be afraid to think, speak, or do. We must liberate ourselves from the condition of having our hands and feet tied. The initiative and creativity of the laboring people have always been abundant. In the past, they were held in restraint under the old system. Now they have been liberated and have begun to produce results. Our method is to lift the lid, break down superstition, and let the initiative and creativity of the laboring people explode.

1958. 1st speech at the 2nd session of the 8th Party Congress. (Miscellany)

A human being has arteries and veins through which the heart makes the blood circulate, and he breathes with his lungs, exhaling carbon dioxide and inhaling fresh oxygen, that is, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh. A proletarian party must also get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, for only thus can it be full of vitality. Without eliminating waste matter and absorbing fresh blood the Party has no vigour.

1969. cited in the 9th Party Congress Documents.

While we recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental and social being determines social consciousness, we also—and indeed must—recognize the reaction of mental on material things, of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base. This does not go against materialism; on the contrary, it avoids mechanical materialism and firmly upholds dialectical materialism.

1939. "On Contradiction." (Vol. 1)

The correctness or otherwise of the ideological and political line decides everything. When the Party's line is correct, then everything will come its way. If it has no followers, then it can have followers; if it has no guns, then it can have guns; if it has no political power, then it can have political power. If its line is not correct, even what it has it may lose. The line is a net rope. When it is pulled, the whole net opens out.

1971. "Talks on the Lin Biao Affair." (Schram)

A single word may rejuvenate a country, a single word may bring disaster to a country. This is the mental changing the material. Marx is one word which says there must be proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship; isn't this a case of a single word rejuvenating? Khrushchev is also one word, one which does not want class struggle and does not want revolution. Isn't this a case of a single word bringing disaster?

1963. "Speech at the Hangchow Conference." (Miscellany)

War and Revolution

Capitalism and the capitalist system "are in the sunset, breathing their last, and may die at any moment." On the other hand, Communism and the Communist social system are spreading to the whole world like overwhelming waves and thunders and are in their wonderful prime of life.

Cited in Report to the Central Study Class by Wang Hongwen, 1974. (MM5)

No matter whether in China or in other countries of the world, over ninety per cent of the people will support Marxism-Leninism in the long run. In this world at present there are still many people being deceived by social-democratic parties, by the revisionists, the imperialists, or by the reactionary elements of various countries, who have not yet awakened. But eventually little by little they will awaken, they will support Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is truth; it cannot be resisted. The masses want revolution; the world revolution will finally be victorious.

1962. "Talks at an Enlarged Central Work Conference." (Schram)

A lot of places are anti-China at the moment, which makes it look as though we are isolated. In fact they are anti-China because they are afraid of the influence of China, of the thought of Mao Tsetung, and of the great cultural revolution. They oppose China to keep the people in their own countries down and to divert popular dissatisfaction with their rule. This opposition to China is jointly planned by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. This shows not that we are isolated, but that our influence throughout the world has greatly increased. The more they oppose China the more they spur on popular revolution; the people of these countries realize that the Chinese road is the road to liberation. China should not only be the political center of the world revolution. It must also become the military and technical center of the world revolution.

1967. "Mao Tse-tung Analyzes the Cultural Revolution." (Daubier)

It's no fun being a running dog. Nehru is in bad shape, imperialism and revisionism have robbed him blind.

1964. "Remarks at the Spring Festival." (Schram)

With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: one is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war.

1964. cited in 9th Party Congress Documents.



1949. Mao Tsetung reading the news of the liberation of Nanking

The Chinese people are not to be cowed by U.S. atomic blackmail. Our country has a population of 600 million and an area of 9,600,000 square kilometres. The United States cannot annihilate the Chinese nation with its small stack of atom bombs. Even if the U.S. atom bombs were so powerful that, when dropped on China, they would make a hole right through the earth, or even blow it up, that would hardly mean anything to the universe as a whole, though it might be a major event for the solar system.

We have an expression, millet plus rifles. In the case of the United States, it is planes plus the A-bomb. However, if the United States with its planes plus the A-bomb is to launch a war of aggression against China, then China with its millet plus rifles is sure to emerge the victor. The people of the whole world will support us. As a result of World War I, the tsar, the landlords and the capitalists in Russia were wiped out; as a result of World War II, Chiang Kai-shek and the landlords were overthrown in China and the East European countries and a number of countries in Asia were liberated. Should the United States launch a third world war and supposing it lasted eight or ten years, the result would be the elimination of the ruling classes in the United States, Britain and the other accomplice countries and the transformation of most of the world into countries led by Communist Parties. World wars end not in favour of the warmongers but in favour of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary people in all lands. If the warmongers are to make war, then they mustn't blame us for making revolution or engaging in "subversive activities", as they keep saying all the time. If they desist from war, they can survive a little longer on this earth. But the sooner they make war, the sooner they will be

wiped from the face of the earth. Then a people's united nations would be set up, maybe in Shanghai, maybe somewhere in Europe, or it might be set up again in New York, provided the U.S. warmongers had been wiped out.

1955. "The Chinese People Cannot be Cowed by the Atom Bomb." (Vol. 5)

A great revolution must go through a civil war. This is a rule. And to see the ills of war but not its benefits is a one-sided view. It is of no use to the people's revolution to speak onesidedly of the destructiveness of war.

1961-62. "Reading Notes on the Soviet Union's Political Economics." (Miscellany)

We have always regarded U.S. imperialism as a paper tiger. Pity there is only one U.S. imperialism; even if there were 10 of them, it would not bother us. It will perish sooner or later.

The Japanese in Peking apologized to me for attacking us. I said: You did a good deed. Precisely because of your invasion and occupation of more than half of China we were able to unite, lead the people of the entire nation to chase you away, and come to Peking. When we were in Yenan, we wondered when we would be able to see the operas of Mei Lan-fang and Cheng Yan-chiu. Some thought they would never have a chance in their lifetime. However, we did get to see the operas. The revolutionary situation has been developing rapidly. In seven years, the entire party united and overthrew Chiang Kai-shek.

1958. 2nd Speech at the 2nd Session of the 8th Party Congress. (Miscellany)

Everything is subject to change. The big decadent forces will give way to the small new-born forces. The small forces will change into big forces because the majority of the people demand this change. The U.S. imperialist forces will change from big to small because the American people, too, are dissatisfied with their government.

1956. "U.S. Imperialism Is A Paper Tiger." (Vol. 5)

...the so-called theory that "weapons decide everything,"...constitutes a mechanical approach to the question of war and a subjective and one-sided view. Our view is opposed to this; we see not only weapons but also people. Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive. The contest of strength is not only a contest of military and economic power, but also a contest of human power and morale; Military and economic power is necessarily wielded by people.

1938. "On Protracted War." (Vol. 2)

War, this monster of mutual slaughter among men, will be finally eliminated by the progress of human society, and in the not too distant future too. But there is only one way to eliminate it and that is to oppose war with war, to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war, to oppose national counter-revolutionary war with national revolutionary war, and to oppose counter-revolutionary class war with revolutionary class war...When human society advances to the point where classes and states are eliminated, there will be no more wars, counter-revolutionary or revolutionary, unjust or just; that will be the era of perpetual peace for mankind. Our study of the laws of revolutionary war springs from the desire to eliminate all wars; herein lies the distinction between us Communists and all the exploiting classes.

1936. "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War." (Vol. 1)

If China's leadership is usurped by revisionists in the future, the Marxist-Leninists of all countries should resolutely expose and fight them and help the working class and masses of China to combat such revisionism.

1965. cited in "Open Letter of the RCP, Chile to the CP of China."

How different is the logic of the imperialists from that of the people! Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again...till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law. When we say "imperialism is ferocious", we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom.

Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again...till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law. The Russian people's revolution followed this law, and so has the Chinese people's revolution.

Classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years. To interpret history from this viewpoint is historical materialism; standing in opposition to this viewpoint is historical idealism.

1949. "Cast Away Illusions. Prepare for Struggle." (Vol. 4)

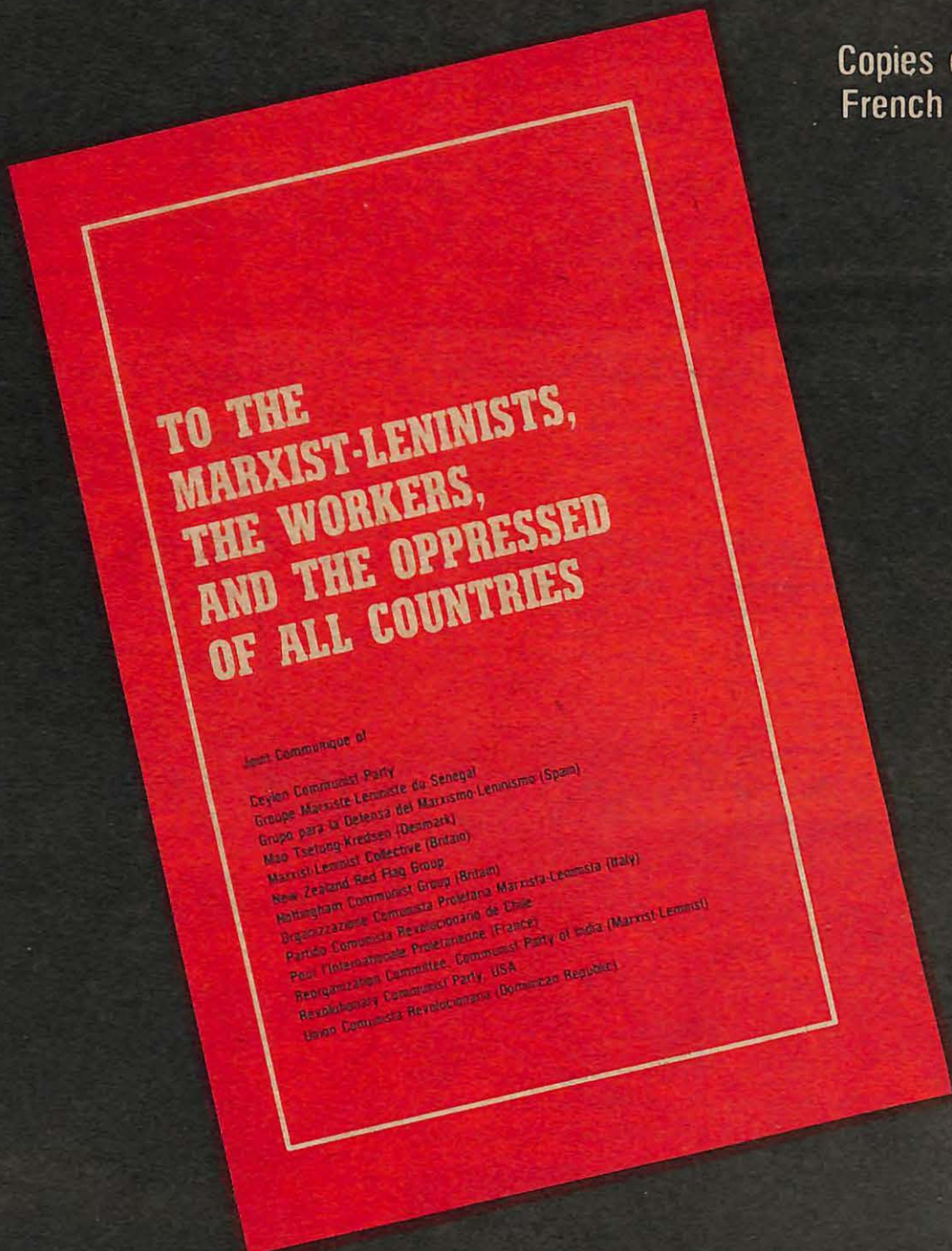
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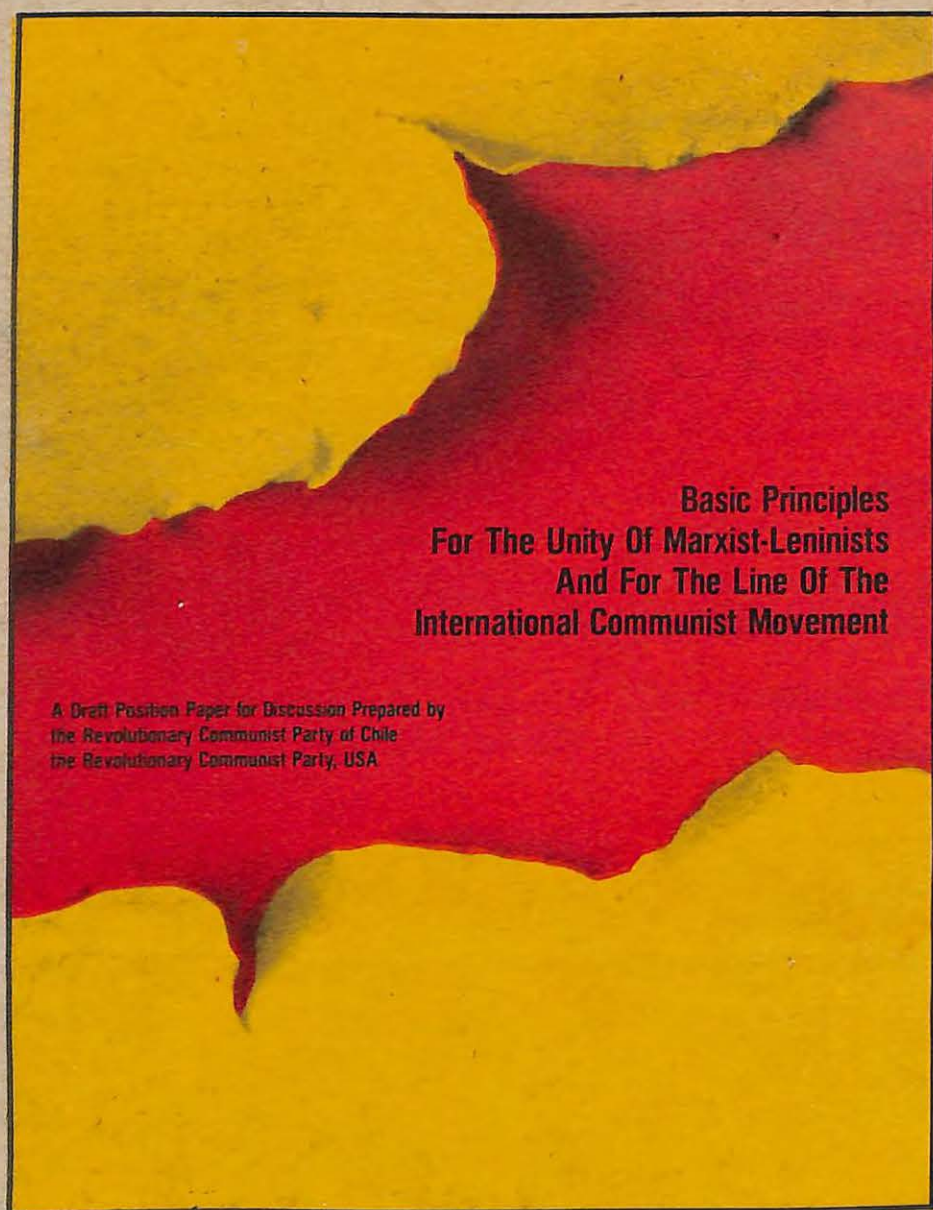
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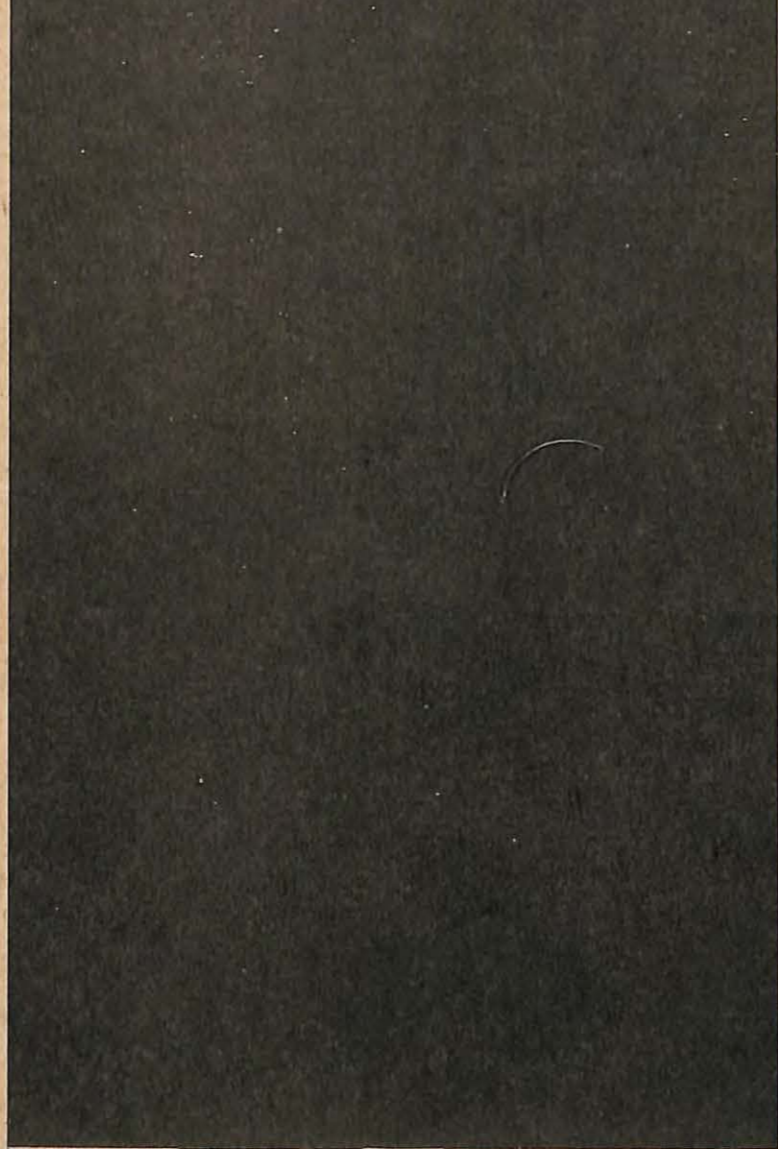
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Long Live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!
Mao Tsetung Did Not Fail,
Revolution Will Prevail All Over the World!**





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