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The Liberator



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P.O. Box 4362, Allentown, PA 18105



Aaron Abud raises red flag at Mayday 2009

WPO comrade killed in moped accident

A comrade of ours has passed into history before he could write his chapter fully: Stolen by a world too cruel for some to make sense of. Many people when confronted with this sewer of a world meekly say "thanks for the crumbs" they were given and take the pieces of their lives -- broken before birth -- and try to assemble out of them some type of crippled half-life built on a foundation of self-preservation. Too many, when faced with the world's big questions of class, of right and wrong and of social justice, retreat to the cowardly shell of apathy and imperialist convenience. Their answer to such questions spews inevitably and weakly forth in a chorus of "I don't give a fuck!" It is the marching song of cowards. Sitting on the "throne of bones" that is life in the belly of the world's biggest robber makes such an answer too easy, doesn't it?

It is my humble view that the moment of death occurs in a human being as soon as this mindset takes root in them. Those who go through the motions of survival, of personal comfort above all else are still moving but nonetheless truly dead.

Not Aaron! Aaron was a rebel exemplified: One to forget he owned a bed and sleep in the last thinning stretches of woods left in the cancerous decaying rust sprawl that is Bethlehem, PA. He lived a hard life, not by necessity. I've had the opportunity to meet Aaron's family, and they are a wonderful, loving, strong people who gave Aaron all he would accept from them. He in turn loved them fiercely. He chose the path of MOST resistance however because he loved humanity. He told me many times he wanted to see and learn as much as possible before he died. He was on a quest for knowledge. Not for personal gain but because curiosity is the first mark of a revolutionary.

He lived the hard life of the ghetto philosopher. Our brother was trying to tell us something by his example. He was relentlessly trying to wake up the "walking dead" and help to bring us back to our humanity. He was eighteen, fearless,

and at terms with an early death if need be. He risked much with his rebellion. He paid much. Months of his life were stolen by the judges and pigs at the probation office. The fascists visited his house and tried to intimidate him and his beautiful family during the "229 Rebellion" he was so instrumental in starting. Somewhere in the Bethlehem Police basement for the next hundred years sits on file a picture of Aaron, bandanna over his face giving the middle finger to the police photographer in the midst of another rebellion he started. He was dangerous! He was a soldier that hated the pigs and their oppression, and would tell them just that to their face.

And so, after graduation, he went to the land of his ancestors to teach kids to read. He went to Hispaniola to try and undo some of the damage that imperialism has done. To try to dull the pain of the U.S. boot that has been on the neck of the people of the Dominican Republic for what seems like time immemorial. In our conversations years earlier, he told me of the fenced off citadels of the rich atop the sprawling ghettos of the poor. It seemed to haunt him. His eyes were never so serious and clear as when he spoke of this.

I spoke with one of his uncles at the funeral. He told me that if Aaron had lived to twenty, the fascists would've crucified him. It was as if Aaron himself was telling me. As indeed he did many times through the years I had known him. The implications of those words are daunting and at the same time liberating. This world is built for pigs, a playground for human roaches. It would be foolish to think that in such a world anyone with a conscience could fit in. Aaron's dad used the word "unique" in speaking about Aaron. And how could he be anything worth writing about if he wasn't unique in a world of sycophant drones, of MacDonald's, of useless consumer junk, of wars for profit, of murder, of starvation and of MTV death culture?

This society is not built for the likes of those with a conscience. No victory for those who resist is guaranteed or even likely anytime soon. The victory is in gaining back your humanity. They very likely will kill the whole first wave of the New Youth Rebellion. Aaron showed me that death in the service of the people is the most completely human thing one can do. Though he wasn't martyred, (his death was accidental) he pointed the way forward out of Hell for the rest of us with his life and example.

LIVE LIKE AARON ABUD!

CAST DOWN THE LAST RESIDUE OF SPITEFUL AMERICANIST DEATH CULTURE!

REGAIN YOUR HUMANITY!

JOIN YOUR SISTERS AND BROTHERS IN WORLD REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AND KNOCK THE FASCISTS ON THEIR ASSES!

DARE TO STRUGGLE DARE TO WIN!

-- Comrade Ivan, A smiling runaway slave.



Achievements of Mao Tse Tung

From the website *Naxalite Maoist India*, October 26, 2006



Achievements of Mao Tse Tung

1. INTRODUCTION

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that was launched in China on May 16th 1966 wrote a historical epoch in the history of mankind. This was initiated by Comrade Mao Tse Tung to defeat the revisionists and create a ground for the ultimate triumph for Socialism. Mao discovered that even in a socialist state there were capitalist elements who intended to turn the country to the capitalist road. From the example of the USSR he learned that a socialist state can turn into a social-imperialist or revisionist state and there can be a restoration of Capitalism. Stalin saved the socialist state, but he hardly made an effective attempt to democratize the socialist state and initiate broad-based mass movements.

True, there were great achievements for workers, but Stalin hardly gave attention to the superstructure and even violated Democratic Centralism to a great extent. Mao called for a revolt within his own party against the capitalist-roaders Liu Shao Chi and Deng Xiaoping, who opposed Mao's line and felt that it was better to be 'expert' than 'red.' They advocated that profit from production should be the chief goal and opposed communization of land, professing that peasants should get a private plot. What sparked off the Cultural Revolution was a play called "Hai Jui removed from office" which defended Peng Te Huai, who was removed from the Chinese Army for supporting ranks, modernization against Communistic policies, and supporting the USSR. On 16th May 1966, Mao drafted a circular issued by the Central Committee alerting cadres against the revisionists. Mao introduced a 16 points programme and finally gave a call to

his followers, the 'Red Guards,' to "Bombard the Headquarters!"

These were encompassing a broad-based revolutionary democratic programme explaining [to] the masses to be daring above everything else and boldly arouse the masses, let the masses educate themselves in the movement through making the biggest use of big character posters and great debates to argue matters out so that [the] masses can clarify the right and wrong views. It also stressed applying the mass line of the party, correctly handling the contradictions amongst the people, be[ing] on guard against counter-revolutionaries, [and to] discriminate between good cadres, those who have made serious mistakes, and those who are anti-party or anti-Socialist. It was stressed that the anti-party rightists must be fully exposed, refuted or overthrown, but at the same time be given the chance to turn over a new leaf. The programme went on to stress the importance of Cultural Revolutionary Group committees and congress's. Another Important point stressed was educational reform where the old system of education would be completely transformed.

The other points were the question of criticizing by name in the press, policies towards scientists, technicians and ordinary members of working staffs, question of arrangements of integration [of] the socialist education system and countryside, stimulating production from a revolutionary perspective, revolutionizing the armed forces, and finally establishing Mao Tse Tung Thought as the guide to action in the Cultural Revolution.



On May 25th, a big poster was pasted up at Peking University which was the first big Marxist Leninist [poster]. It attacked two corrupt university officials who negated the Cultural Revolution by curbing mass initiative. The big character poster lit a flame in the hearts of the masses.

2. ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

1. A de-centralized medical system creating "Barefoot Doctors." The medical field made the most innovative changes. A worker's [severed] fingers being replaced [was] something unheard of even in developed countries. Applying Mao's line, the broken bones were attached, etc. In no third world country did medicine serve the poor peasantry to that extent before.

2. Stopping examinations in schools and colleges and making students learn from the peasants and workers as well as participating in productive labour. Now it was the peasants and workers who taught the students. Factories were attached to schools so that students would learn science from production. In the villages, students would learn about agriculture and peasants would explain [to] them their problems and about production.

3. Enabling workers to be masters of Marxist Leninist philosophy through study in factory schools, which enabled workers to build their own machines and run their own factories.

4. Revolutionary committees [were] launched where the workers and peasants' democratic rights were represented. There were "three in one committees." These were far more effective than the committees in factories in western style democracies.

5. The Army served the people [by] doing work; like construction, building canals and rotat[ing] the jobs of workers and peasants. They were politically enlightened and trained about the role of revolution and history and politics in connection to Marxism Leninism. The Army defended and protected the mass movements, unlike bourgeois states. Ranks were abolished in the military.

6. Revolutionizing the agricultural communes through mass movements and introducing [a] piecemeal wage system. Tachai is the best example as well as Shanghai.

7. There were mass rallies where the broad masses could print big character posters. The CPC was never afraid of disorder. "Great Debates" and anti-Rightist campaigns were held. The masses could voice their demands to punish corrupt officials, oppose bureaucraticism, fight for press freedom and for democratic rights. They had the "Four Great Freedoms" of speaking out freely, airing views freely, holding great debates, and writing big character posters.

8. A Revolutionary Democratic Army that always stood by the people's movements. The Army represented the heart and the soul of the broad masses being based from the basic classes. Once the Cultural Revolution started in earnest, the Army was not allowed to intervene in what emerged as a civil war between the various factions of Red Guards and Red Rebels. The PLA was ordered by Mao to "support the left" by standing aside, even when their arsenals were looted by the civilian combatants.

When the chaos reached its climax, when the Party was in disarray and the economy had come to a virtual standstill, the Army appeared to be the only functioning organization left, and Mao turned to the PLA to restore order. As a result, the PLA emerged from the chaos with greatly increased position and power. Senior Army men headed the newly-formed revolutionary committees responsible for local administration; almost half of the Central Committee members elected in 1969 were soldiers; and half of the State Council members in 1971 belonged to the PLA. Ranks were abolished in the Peoples Liberation Army. The Army had to participate in production in factories and help the peasants in production. They were involved in digging [in] the countryside, transporting grain and all kinds of furniture on carts, and leading children in drills a school.

All forms of hierarchy and paternalism were removed. A soldier recognized his commanding officer just like a revolutionary committee obeyed its leader. In spite of that, the Peoples Liberation Army was recognized as the most disciplined army in the world. The Army was indoctrinated with Mao's thought and taught to support the liberation struggles of the masses all over the world. The virtues of the Chinese Revolution were explained and nation[al] chauvinism was totally opposed in the teachings. In the Cultural Revolution upheavals, the Army always stood by the Revolutionary Committees. [The] Army controlled instances when Red Guard group rivalry took place or civilians were attacked.

Only when factional non-revolutionary tendencies [took] place did the Army intervene. (An Ultra-left trend took place caused by a certain Red Guard faction). Another feature of the Cultural Revolution was the emphasis on studying Marxist Philosophy (taken from daily life in Revolutionary China. Once Lin Biao fell from grace in 1971 and his supporters were purged, the PLA's model, function[ing] as the "Great School of Mao Thought" ceased to be stressed. Instead, the close relations between the Army and the people were propagated once more ("as close as fish and water"). Foreigners were taken to a unit of the PLA to learn about the study of the Thought of Mao Tse Tung. The soldiers worked on farms to feed themselves and helped commune members when they needed help.

9. Great Innovations [were made] in the field of Art and Literature representing the proletariat. Below are a compilation or collection of notes compiled from a book "Daily Life in Revolutionary China" by a member of the Italian Communist Party, Maria Macciocci, who visited Socialist China in the heyday of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which elaborate the points I discussed.

2-A. Success of Communes – Tachai Brigade

"The Cultural Revolution does not leave the countryside a subordinate role. It chose constant de-centralisation of the cities over megalpoli, over giant industrial centers where technology and intelligence have triumphed. The Revolution unites the city and the countryside by the mechanization of the latter, by small and medium-sized industries which depend on large ones, by the selection of peasant's sons for schools, by peasant teachers, by the restructuring of the University, and by the decentralization of medicine.



A trip through the Chinese Communes gave the visitor a chance to see the tensions which one still senses in the cities and which in all likelihood still have their critical aspects, are quite different in the countryside.

"The Tachai brigade is the model of all revolutionary politics which has been recounted to the Chinese peasants a million times, by voice and radio. If China has 9 years of steadily better harvest behind it, it is partly because the Chinese peasants have learned from their modest comrades of the Tachai brigade what a revolution of the superstructure is. They have abolished exploitation and implemented Socialist Generosity of collective management. They have counted days of work by work points which a peasant grants himself once a month after a group discussion with the whole brigade. Through communes they shared all their produce and a most fair pricing and distribution system was introduced.

The Tachai Commune was the best example. In November 1964, Mao launched the slogan, "In Agriculture learn from Tachai." The brigade in the worst physical conditions had just 7 gullies and the intermediate rigregs. Its members lived in scooped out caves. They also had no regular source of water and yields before 1955 were just 750 kg per hectare of millet and sorghum. Through sheer labour the Tachai brigade solved its problems of land and water, creating farmland out of the rocky, steep slopes by leveling, moving soil from one spot to the other and creating terraces, joining various small plots together, constructing a 4 mile canal to the village, building water storage facilities against prolonged drought and making dams which prevented flash floods.

Similar things happened around China. Socialist Consciousness of Mao's thought was what was applied as against the concept of the private plot. Here is a report of a peasant comrade. "We do not just admire the political ability, for politics and production go together. The people of Tachai worked together under terrible conditions. They had no modern farm equipment, they had no collective funds, they had a few plows, hoes, picks, shovels, baskets – that's all they had. Still they transformed their village into a modern

village. They scraped the mountain to replant it with trees, and now it's fine green. They didn't have enough grain but they now sell grain too the state. They didn't have water, and they tamed and channeled the mountain torrents. They didn't have enough fertilizers, and they used the mud of swamps. They didn't have houses, and they built houses. They didn't have schools and they built them too."

He went on to explain that in his own brigade before liberation he had 1,000 huts of mud and earth. "The land belonged to a single landlord and there was one rich peasant. We participated in the movement for co-operatives, and the movement for the founding of peoples communes. Politically we followed a correct course. We built 334 new little houses, we created an irrigation system, and where there was only one mechanical well before, now every house has one. Before there was just one bicycle in the village, now there are 134 bicycles and 82 radios. In this house we have 2 bicycles and 2 radios."

A woman in the Evergreen Commune explained how the old theory of work points was much criticized. She stated how long discussions used to take place about the points and who should get them. "After the Cultural Revolution we learned that [it's better] if you cultivate the land for the revolution, following the example of Tachai, and not for points. We realized that earlier people paid little attention to the quality of the work. Piecework gave no regard to quality. Now to cultivate 10,000 mou of wheat it takes only one week because of the application of revolutionary ideology. Earlier it took 2 weeks to achieve the task."

The People's Liberation Army played a great role by explaining Mao's Thought. A new pay system has been created. Large differences of pay have been abolished and the principle, "To each according to his work," has been better applied. The calculation is not based on a basic work day, which would have the effect of stimulating the peasants to work, but the flaw of differentiating among them according to strength, their age, their technical level, the number of people in their families, and would favour quantity more than quality. Now the calculation is based on the effective work day. In effect work points are given to the behaviour of each person.

In [a] case of emergency there is a classical example of how the Communes functioned. "On August 29th, 1969 hail fell. The peasants battled the hailstones for 3 days and replanted 10,000 mou of land. The Peking Revolutionary Committee and the People's Liberation Army came to their aid. The fields are once again covered in green. This is a tribute to our struggle to transform nature, guided by the Thought of Mao."

"With regards to Industrialisation of the Communes the New China Commune was an illustrious example. It cultivates 85,000 mou, of which 75,000 are irrigated and 58,000 are planted with rice. 7 factories and 12 agricultural enterprises have been set up. The factories build and repair agricultural machines. Being self-reliant they have built 3 reservoirs which hold 35 million cubic feet of water. They have dug a 40 mile irrigation canal, created an artificial lake, built a dam with a new system of pneumatic locks, and set up 73 electrified irrigation pump centres. In the area of



mechanized agriculture the commune has bought or built 68 new tractors, 120 rice-planting machines, 354 seeding machines, and 1,000 harvesters. The health system serves every brigade. Before the Cultural Revolution the commune had to buy rice from the state, while now with irrigation assured, there are no more droughts. More than 80% of the people have electricity and 80% have money in an account."

The production teams in Hsiu Tsun village had 42 families. There are innumerable children. One peasant Comrade, Chen, recounted his experience [and] explained that they never had a real house before, which was always destroyed by floods. His mother had eight children, "but only two of us survived." His 2 other brothers died of hunger and sickness. "In 1968, after the Cultural Revolution, we built this house, and with the income from our work we were able to buy a bicycle, a sewing machine and furniture. For the first time in our lives we eat what we want, we have clothes, and the children can go to school."

2-B. Peasant Schools

"The poor peasants following the directive of Mao took over the operation of a school in Tachai. Liu Shao's men discouraged them propagating that this would make no change. The peasants criticized the schools. They felt that the children of poor peasants could not pass their examinations and had to give up their studies. One peasant claimed that that in his brigade there were 28 families and only 3 peasants out of them got their middle school diplomas. Peasant children also did not have time to learn the lessons because they worked at home.

"The basic political work was telling the students how much the poor peasants suffered in the old society and made them study the history of their own families and that of the whole village. The comrades who were in the people's militia in the commune were sent to the schools in the brigade to educate students about military questions. Lessons were given on agricultural mechanics, mathematics and hygiene.

"Work was evaluated in a new manner. Grades were abolished. When an assignment was done well, the teacher draws a small Red Flag in the student's notebook and writes, "Loyalty to Chairman Mao!"

"A school's revolutionary committee is elected by an assembly at the rank and file level. After an open debate, each member of the commune writes on a slip of paper who he wants as a representative on the School Revolutionary Committee. Then comes the vote. At the end the Revolutionary Committee examines the results and approves them. [On] the present Revolutionary Committee, 3 out of 5 members are members of the Party."

2-C. Factories and the Revolutionary Committee

One worker explained that he was working in a dyeing and weaving workshop in Factory No. 2 since he was 17 years old. His father had died from illness because he didn't have proper medical care and his salary, meant to support 5 people, could hardly keep 2 people alive. They had to eat bean curd and potatoes and in the winter had only thin jackets. Workers had hemias and rheumatism and hid their illnesses for fear of being laid off. However, in the

liberation period in 1949 the conditions of life were like "going to heaven."

"Besides the Revolutionary Committee in the factory, the Workers' Representative Committee played an instrumental role. It was an organ of red power elected by all the workers and in charge of the daily problems of the factory. It coordinated with the Revolutionary Committee and with the Workers' Council, [and] replaced the trade union. The Party has a leading role, the Revolutionary Committee is responsible for management, and the Workers' Council is in charge of the revolutionary reorganization of work and acts as a control from the base levels on [up to] the higher echelons. Piecework wages and incentive bonuses were abolished. The highest salary was 120 yuan, the lowest 50 yuan. The difference between the pay of an engineer and that of a skilled technician was 40 Yuan. A struggle-criticism-transformation movement dealt with the salaries problem." — (Taken from *Daily Life in Revolutionary China*)

"In revolutionary China peasants built their own houses through co-operative efforts. A peasant explained that before the liberation the peasants had no political power. They merely had a harvest of 450 pounds per mou and had to give 350 to the landlord. After liberation they could purchase a bicycle, a sewing machine and furniture. For the first time in their lives they could get clothes, ate what they wanted and sent their children to school." — (Taken from *Daily Life in Revolutionary China*)



2-D. Medicine and Barefoot Doctors

Barefoot doctors performed phenomenal feats. One doctor re-attached 2 fingers on a peasant's hand — something unheard of in pre-revolutionary China — swearing by Mao Tse Tung Thought. Similarly, [a] poor peasant woman had her leg replaced. A professor narrated his experiences of meeting the poor peasants and how it changed his life. The peasants re-educated the professor enabling him to transform his entire outlook. Working in the countryside made the professor a different person. Despite being over 70 years of age, the professor traveled, climbing mountains to share the experiences of toiling people. He started how he learnt Marxism Leninism from direct contact with peasants rather than books.

One Comrade Lin told reporters [how] he went to the villages to learn from the poor peasants. He explained how their team stopped in a village where there was a woman



最高指示

动员起来，讲究卫生，减少疾病，提高健康水平，粉碎敌人的细菌战争。



(1) 疟疾又叫发冷寒，
由蚊虫传播给人，
假使蚊叮咬你，
你也要去治它。



(2) 要是得了疟疾，
一定要去治它，
不要怕吃药，
不要怕打针，
不要怕打针，
不要怕打针。



(3) 疟疾很厉害，
要早发现早治，
只要不睡觉，
蚊子叮咬你，
你也要去治它。



(4) 疟疾很厉害，
要早发现早治，
只要不睡觉，
蚊子叮咬你，
你也要去治它。



(5) 去年得疟疾，
今年也要早治，
不要怕吃药，
不要怕打针，
不要怕打针。



(6) 手洗能防病，
手洗能防病，
手洗能防病，
手洗能防病，
手洗能防病。

坚决消灭疟疾



who was considered incurable. The family was already preparing for the funeral. Applying Mao Tse Tung Thought, he developed a form of medicine that cured the patient. The patient was suffering from chronic Arthritis. Another professor explained that only by being re-educated by the peasants and changing his ideology he cured 20 incurable patients. He elaborated [that] by transforming his world outlook he developed his techniques and that the peasants had cured him of his 'ideological sickness.' There was a child who had a tumour on his arm as large as the head of a foetus. The Doctors cut away the diseased part and re-attached the arm. This could never have been done in pre-revolutionary China. Doctors were able to remove a 100-pound tumour said to be incurable.

An electric mower cut one peasant's hand and his fingers fell to the ground. The new doctors looked for his fingers, found them and put them on ice. The fingers were re-attached! In the old society this could never have taken place. Another girl who once had a clubfoot was operated [on]. Her tendons were lengthened, and now she could carry a load of about 50 pounds on her shoulders. The peasant and the girl attributed their cures to Mao Tse Tung Thought. This in actual fact meant de-centralization of medicine, which brought doctors to the most remote places, which made them test their skills. The doctors traveled through the mountains, border regions, islands, etc. Revolutionary Committees ran hospitals, and each ward had its own revolutionary committee. — (Excerpted from *Daily Life in Revolutionary China*)

This is a quote from a specialist in internal medicine.

"In the fall of 1968 I went into the countryside to learn from the poor peasants. Once our team stopped in a village where there was a woman who was considered incurable. The family was already preparing for the funeral. I decided I had to pay a call on those women too. I examined her closely and I realized that she had a generalized arthritis; she had not been treated in time and she had swelled up. I asked her family, 'Why don't you take her over to the doctor?'

"Her husband told me angrily that they had taken the sick women on a stretcher to a city hospital four years before, that this had cost them much money, but that the hospital had told them she was incurable. Back in her village, the woman took the medicine prescribed for her but her sickness worsened steadily. I learned from her husband that the doctor in question belonged to the same hospital as I did. When I returned, I looked through the files and found that the doctor who had made the incorrect diagnosis was me. — Here he lowered his head like a guilty man. 'I was tremendously upset and full of self-contempt.' Whom do we serve? I always replied to that question in the following way:

"We live in a socialist society. It is therefore clear that we serve the workers, peasants and the soldiers. For a young person like me, the important thing is to raise the level of medicine to serve the people. But the story of the sick woman taught me many things. I was medically prepared to cure the sick, but I just lacked an ideology. That was why I first examined the women superficially and was unable to meet the correct diagnosis.

"I returned to the countryside and took up my work with the barefoot doctors. The treatment I gave her [was] for me the

beginning of the struggle of seeing the world differently. After 2 months I had cured the women. She was able to get up.

"After I changed my ideology, I cured 20 patients who had been considered incurable. It was the poor peasants who cured me of my ideological sickness, and not I who cured the peasants."

One Dr Ling stated: "In 1968, 10,000 worker doctors were sent from Shanghai into rural zones. A revolutionary committee runs the hospital and each ward has its own revolutionary committee. Since the re-construction of the party -reorganization, which took place during the last year, the party is in charge of the hospital's political direction, while administrative matters are handled by the Revolutionary Committee, various decisions are approved by the leadership after it has been elected according to democratic election principle of the Paris Commune. Here there is no trace left of the former hierarchy.

Now there was a hospital chief and a committee of hospital administration composed of professors and specialists, men who had transformed their conception of the world. The old director now works as an ordinary doctor. The People's Liberation Army comrades work in administrative work too. There is a three in one combination operating. Specialists and professors are allowed to work in rotation.

Control by the masses is necessary for the good administration of the hospital. The patients are the best judges of this, but they are not allowed to participate in the elections because they are only here temporarily. However, they can set up groups to study Mao Thought in which patients and doctors work together. The Revolutionary Committee has created a special team, which collects the criticisms and opinions of patients on the operation of the hospital and on the abilities and political spirits of doctors.

We have a safety network of worker-doctors who go to work in particular enterprises. The doctors live in the factories and study what the most recurring illnesses are. They examine inquiries and take preventive measures. Only because they live in the factory can the doctors accomplish this. For example in a chemical factory harmful fumes circulate during production. The doctor who has practical experience of living in the factory knows exactly what has to be done to eliminate toxic gases.

Medical students do a type of medical internship we call open instruction. Students are sent to factories and into the countryside to deepen their knowledge.

Scientists share a comradely relationship with ordinary doctors, nurses, and hospital personnel. Scientists carry out struggle-criticism-transformation and are not paid higher salaries than doctors or nurses.

"Western and Chinese medicine is fused. The metaphysical aspects of Western Science is cut out. Dialectical Materialism teaches us that everything is in movement and transformation. Human knowledge and its potential for transforming what seems incurable that is why we say that there are no illnesses that are absolutely incurable. Even Cancer will be cured when we learn the natural [laws] they obey, as has happened with other laws they obey. The



movement of transformation in the world of objective reality is without end, and hence man is never done learning the truth from practice.



"As we examine the human body, we consider that it is always a unity of opposites. It's various parts are united, one to the others: They are in opposition and at the same time depend on each other. It is only in dialectically examining the relations between the parts and the whole in all their aspects, and in regulating them, that we can know the disease and cure it. "In the case of fractures we put little wooden splints on the limb to fix the bone after setting it back to position, and we make sure that movement can begin after setting it back to position, and we make sure that movement can begin as soon as the bone has set. It is a question of resolving the contradiction between the stability and movement. By Western methods, the limb is enclosed in a cast to wait for the bones to merge again.

"The arm can't move, and sometimes it takes 3-6 months of absolute immobility. Since we previously did not use x-rays, we did not know that in traditional medicine, exactly how the bone had broken and that was a drawback. In short, one type of method treat only the fracture and neglect articulation and the overall body. Others do not limit their interest to the beneficial aspect of immobility for setting a bone, but also note the drawbacks of a healing method that prevents the simultaneous reassertion of the bone's solidarity and the functioning of the whole limb.

"Thus in short, the doctor workers of China combine what is positive in Western medicine and what is positive in traditional Western medicine. This is an example of the Unity of Opposites.

"Regarding research for Cancer in medical centres people study plants and prepare local recipes for medicines that are

tried in the treatment for cancer. For cancer, too we apply the dialectical process.

"Barefoot doctors are all attached to communes, who divide their time between medicine and soil. Generally they are 25 years old and earn 250 to 300 Yuan, 100 from agricultural work, the rest in fees. Barefoot doctors earn as much as the manual workers in the countryside. They treat the less serious diseases, thus the peasant can be treated within his village. Barefoot doctors also make plant medicines which cure bums, constipation, stomach aches, diarrhea, etc. The work of the barefoot doctors ensured a basic health system, for where universities take years to produce a doctor, we take only a few months to train a barefoot doctor.

"In a surgical department for children, there was a child who had a tumour on his arm as large as the head of a foetus. Previously they would have amputated his arm. But what would a worker's son have done with only one arm? We cut away the diseased part and re-attached the arm.

"We are able to re-attach hands higher up when they have been severed. When one peasant lost a part of his forearm, we attached his hand at the mid-point of the forearm. Not only can we attach completely severed arms, but also fingers cut off by threshers' legs severed by trains, etc.

"In the overall context the expression, – The Thought of Mao Tse Tung – meant that due to de-centralisation of medicine doctors were brought to the remotest places, which made them test their skills, using every means they could find on the high plateaus, in the border regions, on islands, in order to cure people considered incurable.

2-E. The Peoples Liberation Army

"The Chinese People's Army is employed in factories, agriculture, medicine, naval construction, the university, culture and theatre. The Chinese Revolutionary Army is virtually amalgamated with the Party. In our society, the most familiar image is a traditional army, that of people who can do nothing but take up arms – soldiers, colonels, and generals who are nothing better than despots in the barracks. The People's Liberation Army performed the sole duty to serve the broad interests of the Chinese people. It was indoctrinated with class struggle and educated to guard against any possible counter-revolution. This army was the least "military" of all armies. They never reflected any sense of superiority over the workers and peasants. They were involved in the hardest kinds of work, digging in the countryside, transporting grain and all kinds of furniture on carts, checking tickets at the entrance of a theatre and leading children in drills at school. No other army in the World could have accepted such duties.

"The 'primacy of politics' was the basis of their entire training. They were, indoctrinated to 'Serve the People.' In the Cultural Revolution the Army played the role of a central pivot. The Cultural Revolution initially triumphed because of the support of the Army. The revolutionary "3 in 1" combination which seized power during the Cultural Revolution [was] an alliance in which the army always played an integral role in accordance with the directive.



'From the summit to the base, in all sectors where power must be seized, representatives of the armed forces and the militia must participate on the formation of a three in one combination.' In this Army, ranks were abolished and the officers, from generals on down, became accustomed to sharing the soldier's barracks and camp beds.

"The Cultural Revolution promoted the spirit of the, 'Three Democracies' in the political, economic and military spheres. Ordinary combatants were the equals of their leaders and free to criticize them, express opinions about them, and pass judgment on their work in the Army. All the soldiers of a company elect[ed] a committee. This committee participated in the leadership of the company through management of commissary and production services, supervision of stocks, auditing of accounts, and waste disposal. Democracy in the military sphere, between officers and soldiers and between soldiers, means that mutual aid during instruction is compulsory during combat as it is after battle. The People's Army made the primacy of the political sphere the key principle. All forms of hierarchy and paternalism [were] eliminated. However it still remained one of the most disciplined armies in the world.

"The soldiers recognized their commanding officers just as a worker recognized the leader of a revolutionary committee. He knew him from his work, and not because of some

external rank or stripe. The participation of the Army loyal to Chairman Mao during the Cultural Revolution was carried out with utmost political determination and always defending the motto of 'Serve the People' [with] determination and never paved the path for violent demonstrations contrary to that principle. When the Cultural Revolution in certain localities degenerated into open conflict between factions, at first with the use of side-arms, then guns, and eventually mortars, the army lost thousands of men before deciding to use its own weapons to suppress factional struggles. Throughout the Cultural Revolution, the army was called to renew those indissoluble bonds of unity with the people, which marked the entire revolutionary tradition. It gave unconditional support to the proletarian revolutionaries by grasping revolution and promoting production.

"Throughout the Cultural Revolution, the Army took a very strong guard against ultra-leftism. With the 'May 16th Group,' the People's Liberation Army unmasked the group, through harsh political struggle, isolating the group. In the course, this group tried to use Chairman Mao to defeat him. They attacked the British consulate in Peking on August 20th 1967 and went on to ransack the office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs."

From *Morning Sun Website*



"In our great era, the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung lights up the earth and a new generation of communists is rapidly emerging. Not long ago there appeared in China a hero who, like Ouyang Hai and Wang Chieh, gave up his life for the safety of the people. He was Liu Ying-chun, a fighter in an artillery company of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. On the morning of March 15 this year, Liu Ying-chun and his comrades were on foot guiding three horse-drawn gun carriages along a highway in a city suburb. There were people coming and going in the street -- children were on their way to school and workers headed for factories and shops. Liu Ying-chun's shaft horse was startled by the horn of a bus at a nearby stop. It panicked and bolted.

"Liu Ying-chun, with great presence of mind, shouldered the frightened horse into a side road to prevent it from running into them. The horse rushed madly on. Liu Ying-chun, pulling desperately at the reins, was dragged along the road. People shouted to him to let go the reins. Catching sight of six panic-stricken children in mortal danger ahead of him, Liu Ying-chun wound the reins about his arm and pulled with all his might. The horse reared. With no thought for his own safety, Liu Ying-chun quickly seized the carriage shaft and, thrusting both legs under it, gave the horse's hind legs a vigorous kick. The horse fell; overturning the carriage. Liu Ying-chun was pinned under the cart and seriously injured, but the six children were out of danger.

"People standing by were deeply moved by this selfless act of heroism. They rushed over to him and hurried to the nearest hospital with him. In no time, hundreds of soldiers and civilians had gathered outside the hospital and were volunteering to donate blood to save the hero. They earnestly begged the doctors to save him. 'We will provide anything that is needed save him at all costs!' However, his injuries were too grave, and all their efforts were of no avail. Comrade Liu Ying-chun died a glorious death.

"Liu Ying-chun was born to a poor peasant family living on the outskirts of Changchun in Kirin Province. He was only 21 years old when he died. With a deep hatred of the class enemy in his heart, he joined the P.L.A. in the summer of 1962, at the time when the Chiang Kai-shek brigands were making a raucous clamour about invading the mainland. His love for the Communist Party and Chairman Mao and for socialism was unbounded. In the Army, he studied Chairman Mao's works conscientiously and applied what he learned creatively. Nurtured on the thought of Mao Tse-tung, he cultivated the proletarian world outlook of one who is a revolutionary both of his own country and of the world, who believes that 'Revolution calls for struggle and struggle is happiness,' and who wants to 'Live a revolutionary life, and die a revolutionary death.'"

"He was a model in taking Chairman Mao's writings as the supreme guide in all he did. He actively propagated Mao Tse-tung's thought and enlarged the positions it held. He bravely defended it and struggled resolutely against all words and actions contrary to it. He took Lei Feng and Wang Chieh as his models and did whatever Chairman Mao said. He devoted himself utterly to others without any thought of self and served the people heart and soul. He did his best to dedicate his life to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. He dearly loved the people and performed many

services for the workers and his neighbours. But few whom he helped knew his name until after his death when they saw his picture in newspaper.

"Liu Ying-chun's short life was one of studying, carrying out, disseminating and defending Mao Tse-tung's thought; of complete service to the people with all his heart and soul. It was the glorious, great and militant life of a proletarian fighter. Like the great communist fighter Lei Feng and other heroic figures, Liu Ying-chun is an outstanding representative of China's younger generation maturing under the thought of Mao Tse-tung. He is a good soldier of Chairman Mao and a good son of the people. He laid down his life, but his spirit will live forever in the hearts of hundreds of millions of people in China, and in the cause of communism!

"At present, a movement to learn from Comrade Liu Ying-chun is sweeping the country. It originated in the P.L.A., which is a highly proletarianised army with a powerfully developed fighting spirit, an army formed by Chairman Mao personally. The broad masses of young people, old people, people of various trades and housewives are taking part. They are determined to follow Chairman Mao's teachings in all their actions, as Comrade Liu Ying-chun did.



"Study Mao Tse-tung's thought conscientiously, loyally carry it out, enthusiastically disseminate it and courageously defend it! Always be loyal to the Party, to the people, to Chairman Mao and to the thought of Mao Tse-tung! Make new contributions to the fight against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of various countries!"

Lines from a poem entitled "Farewell to the God of Plague" by Mao Tse-tung. Yao and Shun were two ancient sage kings.

"Owing to the application of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's line on army building, there has prevailed in our army at all times a high level of proletarian political consciousness, an atmosphere of keenness to study the thought of Mao Tse-tung, an excellent morale, a solid unity and a deep hatred for the enemy, and thus a gigantic moral force has been



brought into being. In battle it has feared neither hardships nor death, it has been able to charge or hold its ground as the conditions require One *man* can play the role of several, dozens or even hundreds, and miracles can be performed."

On the eve of "August 1" Army Day, we visited a unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army called the "Steel Red Second Company," which has a long history. From all we saw and heard during our stay, and from our personal experience, we felt keenly that this company matched the description given by Comrade Lin Piao.

When the company was first organized, Comrade Lin Piao was appointed commander. It played a heroic part in the Nanchang Uprising on August 1, 1927, which was led by the Communist Party of China. In April, 1928, the armies of the Nanchang Uprising came to the Chingkang Mountains, China's first red revolutionary base built up personally by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and joined forces with the armies of the Autumn Harvest Uprising under the command of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. They were merged to form the Fourth Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army.

"Imbued with deep proletarian feelings, the cadres and soldiers of the second company study Chairman Mao's works every day, Chairman Mao's *Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune* and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains* have enabled the young soldiers to cultivate the outlook of serving the Chinese people and people all over the world with heart and soul. They cherish the revolutionary interests of the Chinese people and people the world over, and assume the burden of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. They are determined to devote themselves to the final burial of imperialism and to the liberation of the oppressed and exploited people. See how these young soldiers express it: 'Keep the people in your heart forever and always keep the revolution in mind. Then you'll be able to cast away all thoughts of personal gain and loss, conquer any kind of difficulty or hardship, challenge ogres of all descriptions, dare to take risks and defy dangers.'

"In the squads, platoons and the company, records are kept which tell about the bitter, pre-liberation history of the soldiers' families, and about the sufferings of the oppressed and exploited people the world over. Profound class hatred inspires the soldiers with revolutionary fervour. Their hatred for the enemy is concentrated in the muzzles of their guns, and they take the drill ground for the battlefield and the target for the real enemy. They practise hard for the people and for the revolution, maintaining their enthusiasm throughout all kinds of adverse weather. Training in perilous mountains and rapid rivers cannot dampen their enthusiasm. Many of them have become "sharp-shooters," "iron feet," "tigers in the forest" and "tough back-bones."

"The company has always persisted in the democratic tradition of the People's Army, developing widely the three cardinal democracies in political, economic and military affairs. The cadres are modest in listening to the opinions of the soldiers and follow the mass line, while the soldiers consciously observe discipline and are resolute in obeying orders. Everything is done well, quickly and through collective efforts. The cadres and soldiers work closely

together, sharing joys and sorrows, and showing consideration for each other. The atmosphere in the company is one of profound class brotherhood and proletarian class feeling,

"Keeping in mind Chairman Mao's teachings about respect and concern for the people, the company maintains the closest of ties with them. With their belongings on their backs and carrying their own provisions, the soldiers go to the people's communes to stay, eating, living and working with the members. They help the members study Chairman Mao's works, and spread Mao Tse-tung's thought. They help the people in spring ploughing and autumn harvesting, summer hoeing and winter storing. They train the people's militia and propagate Chairman Mao's thought on people's war. The second company has become near and dear to the commune members. Their relation with the masses of the people is like one between fish and water.

"Since these young soldiers have the interests of the people at heart, they have taken over from their revolutionary forerunners the task of acting as a 'production unit as well as an army.' They open up waste-land, till the fields, grow vegetables and raise pigs to lighten the people of their burden and to develop industriousness, which is the true mark of the labouring people. In 1965, they produced over 58,000 jin of vegetables, over 3,500 jin of pork and close to 3,000 jin of grain.

"At present, the great nation-wide Proletarian Cultural Revolution is surging with strength and vitality. In this great revolutionary torrent, the Red Second Company, raising high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, rose with a bound, charged heroically ahead, just as in the old days on the battle field when attacking and seizing enemy positions. Using Mao Tse-tung's thought, the sharpest and most powerful weapon, they fired fiercely at the anti-Party and anti-socialist black line, swept away all monsters and demons and severely criticized all the old ideology and culture and all the old customs and habits, which, fostered by the exploiting classes, have poisoned the minds of the people for thousands of years. In this unprecedented, soul-touching, Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, they creatively study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought to temper themselves to be ever more proletarian and ever more militant.

"No matter how desperate a last-ditch struggle imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries put up, and no matter how sinister an attack the anti-Party and anti-socialist elements launch, the fighters, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, are afraid of nothing. They are determined to 'Do away with all pests! Our force is irresistible!'

2-F. Philosophical Study

"Workers had their own reading rooms and political study classes. Mao suggested that a course on philosophy be set up, since the workers needed to study theory and apply it in practice. Workers were developing into stereotyped machines. Now the study of philosophy became possible for all the workers. All factory groups had their own reading room. The primacy of politics over economics was stressed particularly with regard to social factors. This study represented the first qualitative leap of the individual in the



revolution of the superstructure. Philosophy enabled the masses to become actively politically involved." (Taken from *Daily life in Revolutionary China*)

"In this regard an important development was the publication of books written by workers, peasants and soldiers in the mid-70's to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius for workers in the Peking Motor Vehicle Plant [such as] "Notes on Dual States" by Liu Tsung Yuan. Seven Shanghai workers jointly wrote 'History of the Peasant Revolution in China,' after studying source material on several hundred peasant uprisings. In 1974, the dockworkers at the Tahen Shipyard wrote a number of theoretical works such as, "A History of Chinese Philosophy," "A Concise History of European Philosophy," "Manifestations and Characteristics of the Present Economic Crisis in the Capitalist Countries," etc. Oilfield workers wrote the historic "Battle Songs of Taiching Oilfield," a collection of poems by oilfield workers.

Quoting *Peking Review*, 1966 -- (Taken from *Morning Sun* website):

"Considerable space in newspapers and magazines today is being devoted to the philosophical writings of workers, peasants and soldiers. In vivid language that only people closely linked with practice can use, these writers impress the reader with their clear thinking, scientific analysis and direct approach. From the way this trend is developing it can be said that philosophy in China is entering a new historic stage.

"The movement among the workers, peasants and soldiers for the study of Chairman Mao's works is proceeding vigorously across the land. Coming in the midst of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction, this is an important event in the political and ideological life of the nation. It already has made substantial contributions in all fields of work, and as the movement surges ahead, its far-reaching significance will be more readily seen.

Mastering the Laws Governing Every Sphere of Work

"The working masses are not interested in study "for the sake of study." They study the works of Mao Tse-tung for the explicit purpose of learning from Chairman Mao -- his Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method -- to acquire the outlook of working for the revolution and to learn to do a better job in their revolutionary work. In China, Mao Tse-tung's thinking is compared to a telescope and a microscope which help to see things that are far off and things that are normally unobservable. People seek out Chairman Mao's works for answers to specific questions. They use the basic theories they learn from these writings to analyze and solve these problems. Thus, they find their jobs -- such as operating a machine, ploughing or waiting on customers behind a sales-counter -- full of meaning and they do them enthusiastically and creatively.

"Among workers, peasants and soldiers there is great zeal to apply consciously what they learn from "On Practice," "On Contradiction," and other philosophical writings by Chairman Mao, in summing up their experience in practice, analyzing the contradictions in objective reality, and in discussing the laws governing their own sphere of work so that they can put their everyday work on the basis of making full use of

objective laws. This is popularly called "riding on the back of the objective laws," and is capable of producing tremendous strength.

A Great Motivating Force

"Marx has said, 'Theory too becomes a material force as soon as it grips the masses.' This truth has been borne out most vividly by what is taking place in China today. With Mao Tse-tung's thinking as their guide, many workers, peasants and soldiers go about their work with a scientific attitude backed up by great enthusiasm. This helps bring about an increase in the output of grain or industrial goods, successes in technical innovations and good results in political work. It enables workers to play their role as the leading class in the country better, and it enables the former poor and lower-middle peasants to assume leadership in their own villages.

It can be predicted that with the spreading and deepening of this movement, it will give rise to more and greater strength and material wealth. This is a great motivating force for transforming China from poverty to abundance, from technically backward to technically advanced. It is a powerful impetus for propelling the Socialist Revolution and construction.

Fostering a New Communist Generation

The present study movement also serves as a big school in which a new communist generation is being trained.

While using Mao Tse-tung's thinking to transform the objective world, the working masses find that a fundamental change has taken place in their own minds, in their subjective world.

In the course of exploring the possibilities for introducing technical innovations in the light of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, for instance, many workers and peasants have learnt to use materialist dialectics to analyze questions and have acquired the working style of following the mass line. This also provides a good opportunity for tempering the revolutionary will for wholehearted service to the people and strengthening tenacity in surmounting difficulties.

Many cadres at the grass-roots level -- leaders of factory work groups and commune production teams, Party branch secretaries, and others -- admit that by creatively applying Mao Tse-tung's thinking they have learnt to do a satisfactory job of ideological and organizational work, to view people and things on the basis of the concept of the unity of opposites, which is popularly called "the concept of dividing one into two," and to discover the laws in their own field of work so that they are able to transform the backward into the advanced and the advanced into the even more advanced.

In short, with Mao Tse-tung's thinking in command, all kinds of daily work are treated as a science whose laws can be discovered and mastered. This in turn helps to raise the ideological level of people in all kinds of work.

In studying Chairman Mao's works, workers, peasants and soldiers have further enhanced their communist consciousness, knowing that all work is for the revolution and



that [at] their places of duty, no matter what they are, they are doing their share for China's socialist revolution and construction and for the proletarian revolution throughout the world. This is a process in which the working masses are gradually acquiring a communist world outlook, to become a new generation of communist fighters. This is more important than anything, because the fostering of a new communist generation is essential to guarding against revisionism and to carrying the revolution through to the end.



They Also Write Philosophical Articles

In the course of the study movement, thousands and thousands of workers, peasants and soldiers have taken up their pens and written philosophical articles. Applying the Marxist theory of knowledge and the methodology of Marxism learnt through their study of Chairman Mao's works, they deal with their problems in production and work and write in their own everyday language. Many of their writings are down-to-earth, lively and highly original, and stand out in sharp contrast to philosophical theses written by intellectuals divorced from practice. Principles that seem abstruse in many books on philosophy become easy to understand in these writings.

Thus, under the impact of the study movement, Philosophy, which was long considered a subject for the classroom, academic circles and research institutes only, is taking root in factories, mines, villages, shops and army units in every corner of the country. Workers, peasants and soldiers have set foot in the domain of philosophy which for thousands of

years was the monopoly of intellectuals. Their study and application of Marxist Philosophy and their writings on it have proved that Philosophy is no mystery and clearly show that as the philosophy of the proletariat, Marxist philosophy can and should be mastered by the masses of workers and peasants.

The movement among the workers, peasants and soldiers for the study of Chairman Mao's works is also proving to be a rich source of development of Marxist philosophy. Their writing in this respect is a spur to philosophical research. An additional important factor is that people specializing in philosophy are put on the mettle and challenged to improve their work. Describing this as "giving a good shove" to our workers' philosophy, a recent editorial in the magazine *Zhexu Yanjiu* (Philosophical Research) called on all such workers to learn modestly from the workers, peasants and soldiers, from their attitude and method in the study of the philosophical writings of Chairman Mao and from their experience in applying his philosophical thinking. It urged them to break away from "form of habit," thoroughly emancipate themselves from the bookish atmosphere of libraries and studies, and make an earnest effort to integrate their research work more closely with reality.

"Renmin Ribao's" Call to Workers in Philosophy

In a similar vein, *Renmin Ribao* pointed out in a recent editorial: "The practice of class struggle and the struggle for production by the masses of the people is the greatest and richest source of philosophical ideas, indeed the only source. Anyone who cuts himself off from it and secludes himself in the library will never master Marxism however many books he reads. The only possible outcome will be dogmatism and revisionism." By recalling Chairman Mao's injunction about the need to be a student if one is to be a teacher, the editorial said that this is "the only way to solve the contradiction confronting workers in philosophy, the problem of theory divorced from practice." It also said, "In order that philosophy can better serve workers, peasants and soldiers, workers in philosophy must go into the villages, factories, shops and army units to take part in the class struggle and the struggle for production and earnestly learn from the masses."

Seeing the way ahead, our workers in philosophy are ready to answer the call of the times. They are determined to go to factories, farms and army units and stay there for a number of years, study living philosophy in the course of actual struggle, learn to write in the language of the laboring masses and produce philosophical articles that will be easily understood by the working people. They know that only by doing so will they be able to steel themselves into genuine Marxist philosophical workers. They are confident that by traveling on the right road they be able to turn philosophy into a sharper ideological weapon in the hands of the people and make their contributions to the enrichment and development of Marxist philosophy.

Cultural Contribution – From 'Morning Sun' Website launched by the 'Longbow Group' during the vigorous Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution:

Mao Tse-tung's thought has been propagated and popularized on an unprecedented scale among hundreds of



millions of people. Their spiritual outlook has undergone a profound change and numerous stirring happenings have occurred among these, for instance, are the deeds of the Ting Lai-yu Family Mao Tse-tung's Thought Propaganda Team.

Ting Lai-yu is a poor peasant of the Lunghua Brigade in Polo County, Kwangtung Province. His family of eight includes six children, the oldest 14 and the youngest not yet three. Cherishing boundless love for our great leader Chairman Mao, the Red Sun in our Hearts, they enthusiastically propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought in literary and art form. With song and dance, they warmly praise Chairman Mao, the great Chinese Communist Party and the great Chinese People's Liberation Army. The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers give them a name: "The 'Whole Family Red' Mao Tse-tung's Thought Propaganda Team."

Before liberation, oppressed by the exploiting class, Ting Lai-yu's family lived a life worse than that of beasts of burden. When he was 13, his parents died one after the other of poverty and illness. His five brothers and sisters either died of starvation or were sold. Within a year, Ting Lai-yu found himself the only survivor of the family. When Ting's wife Chang Chiung was young, she was also sold as a slave-girl to a landlord's family and underwent untold sufferings.

The East is Red; the Sun Rises. After liberation, Ting Lai-yu was emancipated and became master in his own house. He raised a new family and lived a happy life. Now his family again has eight members. But the two families, just as the old society and the new, are poles apart. Ting often teaches

his children: "Now that we are emancipated, don't forget the Communist Party; we owe our happiness to Chairman Mao!"

In March 1967, with the enthusiastic help of the People's Liberation Army, a Mao Tse-tung's thought study class was set up in Ting Lai-yu's family. This further promoted their ideological revolutionisation and aroused an inexpressibly deep class feeling of loyalty to Chairman Mao. Every member, with the exception of Hung-ping who is less than three, can recite the "Good Old Three" articles and over 100 quotations from Chairman Mao. Every bit they learn, they apply, combining study with application. The invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung is the life-blood of the revolutionary people. They feel that in addition to studying and applying well Mao Tse-tung's thought themselves, they should also propagate it among more people. They study and practise every day. So far they have learned to sing more than 100 revolutionary songs and perform 50-odd minor revolutionary items of literature and art.

They disseminate Mao Tse-tung's thought with soaring enthusiasm, giving expression to their boundless love for and loyalty to the great leader Chairman Mao. Ordinarily they perform for the local poor and lower-middle peasants. When the departments concerned make arrangements for them to go on tour, they think nothing of crossing mountains and rivers to perform for the workers, peasants and soldiers. They are always compiling material about the moving deeds of the poor and lower-middle peasants, which shows their fervent love [of] Chairman Mao, elaborating it and arranging it into new items. Whenever a new instruction of Chairman



Mao's is published, they find it set to music in the newspaper, learn to sing it as quickly as possible, some-times adapting dance movements to it, and propagate it among the revolutionary masses. At present, a total audience of 400,000 have enjoyed their performances. The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers acclaim them as; "singing what is in the bottom of our hearts and expressing our deep feeling of infinite loyalty to Chairman Mao."

THE 'RED FAMILY'

The "Red Family" Mao Tse-tung thought propaganda team of Lunghua Production Brigade, Polo County, Kwangtung Province, consists of the 40-year-old poor peasant couple, Ting Lai-yu and Chang Chiung, and their six children from three to fourteen years. The family's two-hour programmes containing dozens of revolutionary items attract hundreds of people every time they perform. Known far and wide, the family is praised by everybody. "The 'Red Family' propaganda team has a style all its own and is well worthy of the name." While none of the Tings has had more than six years' schooling, they have always been an outstanding collective in the living study and application of Mao Tse-tung Thought. In the Cultural Revolution they have raised their loyalty to Chairman Mao to a new height, studying and applying Chairman Mao's recent instructions earnestly and propagating them widely. To do this more effectively, they worked hard with help from People's Liberation Army men and quickly learned some hundred revolutionary songs and prepared more than fifty song and dance items. Everyone in the family takes part in the performances.

At every performance, Ting Lai-yu recalls to the audience the bitterness of the past and compares it with today's happiness won under Chairman Mao's leadership -- a vivid class education. He also describes how his family studies Chairman Mao's teachings and applies them in daily practice. Their items praising Chairman Mao and propagating his latest instructions make an indelible impression on audiences.

"Beloved Chairman Mao, the red sun shining in our hearts;
How many words so deep in our hearts we long to say to you."

This song is not just a performance, it is an expression of the loyalty and deep feeling that all of China's 500 million peasants have for their beloved Chairman Mao.

Now the song and dance "Never Forget Class Suffering; Be Revolutionaries Forever!" composed by the family: The lights dim. Five-year-old Hung-lien, in rags, comes on stage. Wiping away tears of grief and clenching her fists angrily, the little girl exposes the evil old society while the rest of the family sings an accompaniment. "Recalling the old society brings tears to our eyes. Three big mountains weighed us down. Our family of eight was torn apart. Nowhere could we speak of our bitterness and pour out our grievances." This typical representation of the bitter class oppression suffered by millions upon millions of labouring people in old China takes the audience back to the dark old days and never fails to move them deeply. Shouts ring out, "Never forget class suffering, always remember blood-and-tears hatred!" "Never forget class struggle!"

"A clap of spring thunder rolls across the sky. Our saving star, the Chinese Communist Party, leads us in revolution. We rise to our feet and win liberation." Beating of drums and gongs; two girls in red come onto the brightly lit stage. Waving long red silk scarves, they sing and dance to celebrate liberation. The joyous atmosphere and songs depicting the happiness of the new society contrast sharply with the dark old days of the previous scene. The performance is in fact a re-enactment of the story of the Ting family. This story, familiar to so many, and the realistic atmosphere on the stage move the audience to a deeper understanding of Chairman Mao's teaching, "Never forget class struggle!"

"Never forget class suffering; be revolutionaries forever!" This firm pledge of the poor and lower-middle peasants is the class and ideological basis for the Tings becoming a "red family."

Before liberation Ting Lai-yu was one of a family of eight. But ground down by poverty and illness under the brutal rule of the Kuomintang reactionaries, his mother and father died when he was fourteen, leaving six boys who either died of hunger or had to flee from famine. Lai-yu himself had to beg for a living and wandered about until he came to Polo county where a peasant family adopted him. His wife, Chang Chiung, sold three times before she was twelve, finished up as a bondservant in a landlord's house. Both had their fill of bitterness in those days.

In the happy new society, Ting Lai-yu and Chang Chiung married and established their own home. Ting had the honour of joining the Communist Party and became a brigade cadre. After some time, there were again eight in his family. The number was the same, but how different the life in the two societies! Thinking back on the past, looking at the happy life today and to the future, Ting Lai-yu and his wife, their eyes filled with tears of gratitude, always say to others, "We owe it all to Chairman Mao."

Chang Chiung bought a big portrait of Chairman Mao with her savings and put it on the wall so that the whole family could see the great leader who was always in their thoughts. Ting put up a couplet:

For ever loyal to Chairman Mao,

Our hearts will not change

even if the sea dries up

and the stones rot.

They often stand with their children before the portrait and pledge: "Having won liberation, we will always remember the Communist Party; living in happiness, we will never forget Chairman Mao. We wish Chairman Mao a long, long life!"

Here is an example of Ting Lai-yu educating his children:

Someone once asked Hung-lien, "Who gave you that new dress?" "Father bought the cloth and Mother made the dress." The girl's reply disturbed her father. At the family's study meeting, he told the children, "Your mother gave you birth. But it is the Party that educated you. It is Mao Tse-tung Thought that nurtures your growth. Thence you eat, the clothes you wear, you owe them all to our Party and



Chairman Mao, not to your mother and father. In the old society I also had a mother and father. But I had no food to eat and no clothes to wear. Year in and year out I went hungry and cold. We never had a happy life like yours. You must never forget our bitter past!"

Having grown up in poverty, Ting and his wife know well the meaning of "class" and "exploitation," and hate Liu Shao-chi's evil ambition to restore capitalism. When Chairman Mao called on the people to "Fight self, repudiate revisionism," they immediately started a Mao Tse-tung Thought study class to put this important instruction into practice. They held meetings and, using their personal experience, repudiated Liu Shao-chi's vicious ideas that "class struggle has died out" and "exploitation has its merits." They told about their childhood suffering and compared it with today's happy life, giving the children a profound class education and turning the family into a classroom for the living study and application of Mao Tse-tung Thought. From this time the family began performing revolutionary songs and dances as recreation activities. Their experience shows that such activities promote the ideological revolutionisation of the family.

One day, as Hung-lien and her mother were going to a meeting, somebody called, "Hung-lien, will you sing me a song?" The girl turned round and saw the landlord's wife. She gave the woman a scornful look and walked on. Not knowing who had spoken, the mother asked, "Why don't you sing her a song since it is to propagate Mao Tse-tung Thought?" The girl didn't answer, but when they got back home, she criticized her mother. "Mama, you told me to sing for the landlord's wife. You've forgotten who are our enemies? How could I sing for her?" Pleased to find her daughter taking such a clear class stand, Chang Chiung readily accepted the criticism.

In family education, the parents set a good example with their own conduct. They take the lead in making a living study and application of Chairman Mao's works, in fighting selfishness and fostering devotion to the public interest. The family is determined to place Mao Tsetung Thought in command of everything. "Of hundreds of thousands of books, the most important are Chairman Mao's works. Of hundreds of thousands of roads, the one we take is the revolutionary road pointed out by Chairman Mao." In spite of his difficulty in reading, Ting Lai-yu studies Chairman Mao's works every day and puts into practice what he has learned.

Once in a flash flood, the river dyke near their home was in danger of collapsing. If the water burst through, the ripening millet would be ruined. Ting Lai-yu was down with a high fever. Chang Chiung, concerned for her husband's health, told him to stay in bed. "No," he said, "Chairman Mao teaches us to have an indomitable spirit. How can I lie in bed with a slight illness when the commune's millet is about to be washed away?" He got up and joined the other commune members in their battle to save the dyke, persisting till victory. A good example inspires great strength. This devotion to the public interest made a deep impression on his children.

In recent months, carrying simple props and holding high a red flag, the Tings have climbed mountains and waded

streams to propagate Mao Tse-tung Thought. They have given more than 300 performances for audiences totaling 400,000 in factories, communes, army units, schools and government organizations. Their revolutionary action has the support of revolutionary committees everywhere and earned them the name "Red Family" from the workers, peasants and soldiers. Three big mountains refer to imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism." Quoting an article from Raymond Lotta in *Revolution*:

"Let's turn to culture. We're told that the Cultural Revolution led to a cultural wasteland. But the truth is quite different. There was an explosion of artistic activity among workers and peasants -- poetry, painting, music, short stories, and even film. Mass art projects and new kinds of popular and collaborative artistic undertakings spread, including to the countryside and remote areas. Large-scale collective sculptural works, like the 'Rent Collection Courtyard' figures, reached a very high level of artistic expression and revolutionary content.

"The Cultural Revolution produced what were called 'model revolutionary works.' They were pacesetters which the people all over China could use as models in their development of numerous and artistic works. Model operas and ballets put the masses on stage front and center. They conveyed their lives, and their role in society and history. These model works were of extraordinarily high level, combining traditional Chinese forms with western instruments and techniques. Significantly, strong women figured prominently in the revolutionary operas."

Different Peking Opera companies would tour in the countryside, helping local culture groups to develop and learning from local performances. Let me read from an account by someone talking about how the model revolutionary works and the general spread of revolutionary culture affected his village.

He says, "I witnessed an unprecedented surge of cultural and sports activities in my own home village, Gao Village. The rural villages, for the first time, organized theater troupes and put on performances that incorporated the contents and structure of the eight model Peking operas with local language and music. The villagers not only entertained themselves, but also learned how to read and write by getting into the text in plays, and they organized sports meets and held matches with other villages. All these activities gave the villagers an opportunity to meet, communicate, fall in love. These activities gave them a sense of discipline and organization, and created a public sphere where meetings and communications went beyond the traditional household and village clans. This had never happened before and it has never happened since."

2-G. Proletarian Revolutionary line Struggle

The most significant struggle between the revisionist and the proletarian revolutionary line in China was carried out by the party committee of Chaoyang Agricultural College in Liaoning Province. A revolutionary programme was compiled with 10 specific points:

1. Strengthening Working Class leadership in place of bourgeois intellectuals.



2. Moving colleges from the towns to the countryside.
3. Peasants were indoctrinated with socialist culture. The principle of "From the Communes back to the Communes" was to be put in command as against "He who excels in learning can be an official."
4. Putting proletarian politics in command instead of promoting intellectuals.
5. Introducing part-work part-study system instead of regularized courses.
6. Teaching research and scientific production were combined instead of having specialized education.
7. Now colleges would be closely linked with the 3 great revolutionary movements of: "Class Struggle, Production and Scientific Achievements."
8. Old agricultural colleges were for the elite, the new ones would be for the broad masses and would reach the grassroots.
9. Teachers would now be linked to the lives of workers and peasants. In the old society the teachers were divorced from them.
10. Now the students would control the colleges [and] worker-peasant -soldier teams would control the universities.



2-H. Education

Education was combined with productive labour. Workshops, factories and fields became the learning places for students. Students received lectures from the peasants. In education the examination system was banned. A

process of struggle-criticism and transformation was carried out in schools and universities. A revolutionary 3 in 1 combination was formed with the activists among the students, teachers and workers. This line was first implemented in Tsinghua University. The task of studying English was connected with social practice. A class of 16 students divided itself into 4 groups and [went] with its teacher to a nearby commune.

For the examination, each group reported their findings in English. One dealt with a typical family history, another with education in the brigade primary school, still another with the educated youth who have settled down in the brigade, and the 4th with the movements to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius 3 members of the brigade had been invited to attend the examination, and students took turns in interpreting them Others interpreted for non English Speaking members of the University leadership who attended as observers For a physics examination, the students were divided into groups and given a number of questions on Electricity Then each group went to a different nearby factory to investigate it's Electric Power set up and, in course of doing so, to find the answers to all the questions Then they were examined not by the teachers, but by the factory electricians, who decided whether they knew their stuff well (Taken from Broad Sheet, August 1975, Vol. No 12).

Quoting Raymond Lotta: "During the Cultural Revolution, artists, doctors, technical and scientific workers, and all kinds of people were called on to go among the workers and peasants to apply their skills to the needs of society, to share the lives of the laboring people, to exchange knowledge, and to learn from the basic people."

"We are told that going to countryside was a form of punishment against professionals Well, does that apply to the peasants? Who asked the peasants if they wanted to live in the countryside? The fact is: this policy of sending professionals to the countryside was part of a conscious attempt to break down the lopsidedness of society and to reduce the cultural and resource gaps between town and country.

"How was this policy carried out? At the point of a gun? No First of all, there was an appeal to people's higher interests and aspirations of serving society. Second, ideological struggle was waged. It was made a mass question, what's more important, that a skilled doctor have the right to a privileged life in the city, or that health care be made widely available? Third, there were many people who took this up with enthusiasm and commitment and set examples for others. Finally, there was a degree of coercion The policy of sending people to the countryside was institutionalized But not all coercion is bad, For instance, is it wrong for a government to mandate school desegregation, even if some object to it?"

"Now, as I said, many professionals and youth responded with great enthusiasm to this call to go to the countryside I would strongly recommend that people take a look at a recent book, *Some of Us* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2001), It has several essays written by Chinese women, now living in the West, who took part in the Cultural Revolution. They talk about how positive and life-changing this experience was of going to the countryside



how they learned from the peasants, did things they never thought they could, and gained a sense of their strength as women, and how the 'Cultural Revolution promoted a spirit of critical thinking."

2-I. Implementation of the Mass Line

"The Cultural Revolution sets in motion the inexhaustible participation of the masses, which accelerates and puts into concrete form the appearance of proletarian democracy of which the Chinese speak. How else are we to define the politicization of the masses, which I saw during the trip? The moment the masses no longer fear coercion from the state apparatus, proletarian democracy begins to establish itself. It is here on the level of consensus, that the mass line conceived by Mao more than 40 years ago undergoes its broadest development. This unprecedented reliance on the masses might merely conceal a pedagogical and academic character were it not based on social practice, did not explode within the heart of the ideological apparatus."

Charles Bettelhiem stated; "The constant reliance on the masses, seems to be the most valid contribution of the Chinese Revolution. Mao Tse Tung's dictatorship of the proletariat in actual fact is the 'broadest democracy for the masses of the people.' The Chinese Revolution reminds us that the dictatorship of the proletariat is nothing other than proletarian democracy, democracy for the broadest masses of the people." Mao had said, "The essence of the revolution in the state bodies consists in securing the links of the masses." Mao always defended the fact that a class does not become truly dominant unless it has made its own ideology the dominant one.

One of Mao's most important points was, "Grasp the revolution and promote production. "Mao always insisted that the contradictions between the forces of production and the relations of production, and their contradictions with the superstructure will continue to exist in every human society as long as production relations continue to exist. He also fought for revolutionary changes within the superstructure. In his essay 'On Contradiction' Mao dealt with the question of the continuation of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao dealt here with the ultimate goal of reducing the power of coercive and ideological apparatus of the state until the state withered away, by carrying the revolution to the soul by the "Intervention of the masses in the superstructure."

Three in one committees were formed consisting of the revolutionary Party cadre, revolutionary representatives from the Army and representatives of the revolutionary masses, and a continuous process of struggle-criticism-transformation was carried out. "In China the Party is the dominant apparatus, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that the ideological apparatus was carried out by the Party. But at the same time the Party is neither a metaphysical category nor a Thomist Credo. In China the struggle was raging within the Party itself. The proletariat intervenes in the Party, the ideological apparatus of the power system and elsewhere. The dominant party of the proletarian revolution fulfills its task, which is to reinforce the dictatorship of the proletariat by accomplishing its own

revolution as a ruling apparatus, and by opening its structure to the masses.

Criticism of the Party and electoral replacements of committees and other Party organizations is done in [the] open, with the participation of workers who are not members. This is the confirmation of the mass line which opens the Maoist Party to "the new blood of the proletariat."

2-J. Change in Thinking Pattern

China went above Stalinist Russia as Mao wished to create an inner, spiritual change in man. Going above Stalin, Mao stressed on revolutionizing the superstructure and not just the base as Stalin did. The Red Guards did not physically attack the capitalist-roaders but used the practice of moral persuasion or criticism.

Han Suyin states in her book, 'China in the Year 2001', "If there is no change in thinking patterns and habits, there is no material change and progress, for spirit and matter are interlinked, spirit is moulded by contact with the material world and in turn influences the material world. The masses should liberate themselves mentally, but this they must do, nobody can do it for them, least of all by order or by command. No longer slaves but master of their destiny, they must ask themselves: How can I be a master? This is by aggrandizing the scope of the soul, deepening the grasp of historical knowledge and thinking faculties. The worker and peasant now realize that within the grasp of power to decide his own motivation, his own spiritual advancement as well as his material progress, and that these two are inseparable. There was another famous quote of a Chinese Soldier, "Give us a gun and a book as man's spirit demands more than just material satisfaction."

There was a phenomenal transformation in the lives of women. Women who were earlier bound on their feet could now serve in the army, teach in universities and conduct political study classes! Women -- who were earlier slaves had democratic rights to redress through courts and had creches to take care of their children -- went to work.

3. CONTRIBUTION OF THE GANG OF 4

In the period of the late 1960's the roots of the 'Maoist Gang of 4' were sprouted, who from the early 1970's to the period of their overthrow in 1976 were the leaders in the struggle against the revisionists and were the chief representatives of Mao Tse Tung Thought. The 4 went head over heels to implement Mao's line illuminating red torches all over China almost as if a socialist festival was taking place. The 4 studied every facet of life in connection with Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse Tung Thought digging into the deepest roots of the ideology like a scientist trying to put his theories into practice.

The fall of Lin Biao strengthened the right in China and helped the re-instatement of the arch capitalist-roader Deng Xiaoping into the Party. There was chaos and a fresh movement was launched to combat Lin Biao's ideology. Lin was now classed with Liu Shao-Chi and Deng Xiaoping as a capitalist-roader. One of the most significant struggles of the Gang was in Shanghai in the Commune. However, shortly after Comrade Mao's death the Gang was arrested and the



GPCR [Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution] virtually defeated. Tragically one of the greatest revolutionary advances in the history of mankind was defeated.

Lot[s] of writers of the bourgeois mould [and] distort history by stating that the masses revolted against the Gang of 4 and even certain ranks in the Maoist movement claimed that The Gang was counter-revolutionary. True, there was great confusion in the masses after the loss of leaders like Chairman Mao, Premier Zhu En Lai and Zhu De but the masses always revered the Gang standing up against the wrath of the revisionist and leading them to virtually re-writing history. I however do agree with critiques who state that the Gang made serious errors and their line was often vitiated by left sectarianism. However, remember that in so many revolutionary movements there have been mistakes in regard to mass line and this was the first time in history where a struggle was actually carried out in a socialist society.



25 years ago a historic court trial took place. [That] of the 'Gang of 4.' -- the followers of Mao's line. Heroically, Comrades Chiang Ching and Chang Chun Chiao defended the Thought of Comrade Mao Tse Tung in a historic court trial standing up to the capitalist rulers against revisionism. Chiang Ching rose up defending Comrade Mao Tse Tung like a tigress while Chang Chung Chiao protested in silence but never buckled under pressure from the Chinese rulers. Wang Hong-wen and Ya Wen-yuan both confessed and surrendered under pressure. It is of no strange coincidence that Comrade Yao Wen-yuan, one of the members of the Gang of 4 passed away just a week ago.



We must particularly highlight the contribution of Comrade Chiang Ching. Chiang Ching made an amazing contribution on the Cultural Front, developing proletarian culture to a considerable extent. Chiang Ching was fully engrossed as a political leader during the Cultural Revolution. Only in the 9th Party Congress was her status in the Communist Party made official. Chiang Ching addressed meetings of artists and writers in the early stages of the Cultural Revolution. She revolutionized the Peking Opera. A new model opera was created and Chiang Ching presided over the 25th anniversary celebration of the Yanan Forum where her model works were performed. Chiang Ching then became the adviser of the Peoples' Liberation Army. She made a significant contribution to raising the cultural level of the Army, involving soldiers in political study and writing, producing and performing skits and operas and organizing festivals in local PLA units.

Later Chiang Ching carried out greater transformation in the economy, health care, the arts and culture especially the old educational system, through building revolutionary committees. Now workers, peasants and soldiers enrolled in universities, educated youth went to the countryside and Party cadres participated in productive labour, Chiang Ching assessed the need to launch a mass movement to carry out the process of struggle, criticism, repudiation and transformation in the various departments of work. In one of her speeches to a delegation from the faction-torn province of Anhwei. She struggled to unite and form a great alliance so that power could be seized. She defended the revolutionary committees and opposed their dissolution. The Shanghai Municipal party committee had become a breeding ground of capitalist-roaders. The revolutionaries had a strong base there but did not overall hold power. The capitalist -roaders apart from encouraging complacency among the workers encouraged bribery.

In December 1966, in the mass upsurge, there was an intense class struggle amongst workers around giving workers bonuses encouraging economist tendencies and paying increased salaries to foster jealousies amongst workers. The workers returned the money in protest. The capitalist-roaders now tried to halt production and disrupt public services. The workers refused this. They applied the concept that politics had to be in command of economics, that the productive forces could be truly unleashed only by training the masses in the revolutionary line. This application led to astounding achievements in economic development. Shanghai workers developed the means to build a 10,000 tonne ocean liner on a dry dock intended for a 3,000 tonne ship.

In January 1967, millions of rebel workers, joined by students and nearby peasants, overthrew the Municipal Party Committee. They physically stormed and occupied key positions and took over vital municipal services. Then organizational form was created whereby power could be consolidated and wielded by the revolutionaries in order to carry out further transformations. A revolutionary three-in-one committee was formed which in equal numbers had representatives of the masses, Party cadres, who were judged to be revolutionaries following Mao's line, also selected by masses, [and] representatives of the Army. Similar struggles engulfed China nationwide. Chiang Ching



had made a major contribution in the overthrowing of the Peking Municipal Committee in 1967 from the hands of the revisionist power-holders.

Rebel workers took over the trade union headquarters and sealed off the offices of the Union of Labour throughout the nation. Chiang Ching professed a document declaring that all contract and temporary labourers must be permitted to participate in the G.P.C.R and that anyone dismissed because of this would be reinstated with pay. Chiang Ching supported the movement to seize local political power from the capitalist-roaders and build new alternative organs of leadership. She helped initiate three-in-one combinations uniting revolutionary Party cadre, revolutionary representatives of the Army, and representatives of the revolutionary masses to build revolutionary committees.

Chiang Ching struggled against an ultra-left tendency to attack the capitalist-roaders and their supporters physically. She advocated ideological and political struggle. "Struggle by force can only touch the skin and flesh, while struggle by reasoning things out can touch the soul." Chiang Ching waged a struggle against ultra-left tendencies instigated by the Right openly advocating violence by distorting slogans or by inciting the masses to combat the small capitalist-roaders. She staunchly opposing the slogan "Drag out a handful in the Army," which was literally obeyed in areas. The Right used this to seize weapons from regular troops. Chiang Ching refuted this [saying that] in following that line

they could not differentiate good from bad. The Party, government and the Army are all under the leadership of the Party. One could only talk of dragging out a handful of capitalist-roaders in the authority and nothing else, otherwise, it would be unscientific and the wrong people would be attacked.

Chiang Ching thwarted an ultra-leftist line that came about within the Cultural Revolution group itself when elements like Chen Boda wished to create chaos, advocating the use of force. A section of Red Guards revolted against the Cultural Revolution Group led by the right in the city of Wuhan. In 1967 provocation and mutiny took place in military units supporting the Right. In the 1970's, Chiang Ching prominently exposed the revisionist line of Lin Biao and equated it with Confucian doctrine. She also continued making revolutionary transformations in the Cultural Field.

The tenth anniversary of the Revolutionary Peking Opera upheld models of New Socialist Culture. New works emerged glorifying socialist achievements; feats in agricultural production, the model developments in industry such as the Taiching Oilfields and socialist new innovations like barefoot doctors were highlighted. Chiang Ching never compromised between Politics and Art. She exposed a film called 'The Song Of the Gardener' which upheld the virtues of wise teachers and likens them to refined flower cultivators. In contrast the Left made a film highlighting the revolutionary line: "Breaking With Old Ideas." This film



vividly portrays the class struggle in society over who gets to go to school and the difficulty of going up against both rigid traditional teachers and curriculum more suited to bourgeois education than the needs of masses transforming society.

Chiang Ching vehemently fought against copying western models in the name of becoming 'modern.' She thwarted an attempt by the Right on the Cultural Front as well as a political offensive between 1973 and 1975. She propagated a paper in which refuted the fact that there was 'absolute music' and that music had no meaning or class content. The pamphlet argued that such a view disguised the bourgeois class character of these untitled instrumental pieces, although some techniques of classical music can be assimilated. Chiang Ching's cultural troupe also performed a play on the docks performed for fishermen. Quoting Chang Ching, "This opera cannot be presented as one which has as the centre of description 'middle-of-the-roads.' It should depict the heroic images of the dockers who work on the wharf with their hearts for the motherland and their eyes on the world."

In 1975, in October, in the Tachai Agricultural Brigade, she refuted Hua Kuo-Feng's project to mechanise agriculture taking the rightist road in terms of 'modernisations.' This meant depending on Imperialism, restoring capitalism and re-establishing class differences. Later, a 2 line struggle developed in education combating the theory that revolutionizing education held back production. With Comrade Mao, The 4 carried out a mass debate and Comrade Chang Chun Chiao playing a major role. His famous quote was, "Bring up exploiters and intellectual aristocrats with bourgeois consciousness and culture — which do you want?" In fact Comrade Chang Chun Chiao played the role of a revolutionary champion.

He was the author of path-breaking theoretical articles such as on the "On Exercising Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie: On the 10 Major Relationships" and was instrumental in the Shanghai Political Economy Study Group as a whole, which authored important works making a class analysis of the economic laws under socialism. Chang Chun Chiao played the leading role in Shanghai in advancing the Cultural Revolution and uniting the masses around the correct line. After Chou En Lai's death on January 12, 1976, the Gang of 4 proceeded to accelerate their campaign against Deng. However they were still not strong enough to get Chang Chun Chiao elected as Premier.

In April 1976, the revisionists openly attacked Comrade Chiang Ching through the Tienanmen riots in order to attack Mao and his policies in the name of defending Chou En Lai, but the PLA thwarted this attempt. Deng was removed from all posts for staging the riots. There were now open confrontations between the rightist and revolutionary factions within the Party. In August, arms and ammunition [were] distributed to the million-strong Shanghai Militia that had been set up by the Municipal Revolutionary Committee in 1967.

What was significant was that there were worker-peasant-soldier students with their worker theorists of the 'factory school' jointly beating back the revisionist verdicts of the Cultural Revolution. Similarly, teachers and students put up big character posters to criticize the attempts to reverse the Cultural Revolution. In July

1976, Commune members and cadres in the Tachai Brigade denounced Deng Xiaoping's crimes.

After Mao's death on September 9th, 1976, the Gang of 4 was toppled by the Rightists who arrested them. They falsely branded the Gang of 4 as revisionists, claiming that they were enemies of Comrade Mao. After the revolutionary headquarters [was] sabotaged, the Party carried out a series of attacks on the revolutionary committees, etc. So popular were the Gang of 4 that plans were made to block out the harbours and airports, to shut down the press and radio, to launch work stoppages and demonstrations and mass rallies mobilizing the militia and men and women and the garrison command. There was armed combat in militia units a week after the 4 were arrested, veteran Communist Leader Zhu Yong-jia, a close Comrade of Chang Chun Chiao, played a major role in the rebellion.

Whatever were their mistakes, the Gang of 4 had made a great contribution to the socialist economy. It is worth[while] here refuting the slandering of the Western Countries. Of China's economy: The economy was growing at a rate of about 5 to 6% a year in terms of the Gross National Product since 1966. There was steady improvement in the living standards of the people which was shown in the food consumption clothing allowances, improved education and health services, particularly in the countryside, and consumer goods like bicycles and radios.

Some sectors, like steel, coal and transport, showed erratic output and lower growth rates. However, there were technical innovations [that] had been made in these sectors. It is unfair to compare Socialist China with the Western Countries or Japan. Remember, China only had 13,750 miles of railroad track in 1949, a country that was producing 55 million tons of oil in 1960, and which in 1976 was still overwhelmingly poor. China achieved agricultural sufficiency and greatly expanded its industrial capabilities. The 4 opposed mechanization of agriculture. They stressed on the principle of self-sufficiency. Vegetable production expanded in China. The 4 gave priority to grain. Not much land was given to forage crops for livestock, and agricultural technology and research was far more advanced with respect to grains than for vegetables. Chinese rice yields reached the highest in the world. The 4 made a goal to make as many provinces self-sufficient in grain as possible, both to reduce costs of transportation borne by the state and build up these strategic grain reserves in the event of war.

Commune leaderships set up 'Socialist Big Fairs' in which peasants who held private plots and engaged in side-line activities would buy and sell private goods through the collective commercial channels, the supply and marketing cooperatives. This on one hand put the brakes on the speculation that had gotten out of hand at the trade fairs, and on the other, continued to provide peasants with an outlet for private output still necessary and useful at that stage. This countered the principle of free trade.

There were great technical achievements in the City of Shanghai. Shanghai contributed enormously to the national economy with machinery and equipment, accumulation of funds, and a pool of skilled workers for other parts of the country. A cooperative was created with enterprises that



reduced the barriers between different trades and involved over 300 factories, hospitals, etc.

The ultimate climax came in the 1981 trial, which started on November 20th, 1980 till January 26th 1981 Wang Hong Wen and Yao Wen Yuan capitulated before the court admitting all their charges. Chang Chu Chio remained defiantly silent giving scant respect to the 35 judges. With great courage, Comrade Chiang Ching said, "Most of the members present, including your president, Jiang Hua, competed with each other in those days to criticize Liu Shao Chi. If I am guilty, how about all of you?"

Chiang had prepared a 181 page statement stating, "If the left framed up veteran leaders, what are you doing now? What's wrong with the Cultural Revolution overthrowing the capitalist headquarters of Liu Shao Chi and Company? I'm not going to admit to any crimes, not because I want to cut myself off from people, but because I am 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 fabricate false evidence to support your charges. But if you think you can fool the people of China and worldwide, you are completely mistaken. It is not I but your small gang who is on trial in the court of history."

Chiang Ching had displayed nerves of steel in the trial. What she showed was one of the greatest displays of courage ever seen in the Communist Movement by a woman. She wrote an epoch in Communist History by defending the great Comrade Mao Tse Tung's ideology in the trial as though she lit up the whole court with a red flame. Comrade Chiang Ching's courage in the trial reverberated like a red flame illuminating. Protest rallies were staged worldwide supporting her cause and slandering the Chinese revisionists.

4. REASONS FOR DEFEAT OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION

We must understand what were factors led to the defeat of the Socialist Road in China.

1. The fact that this Cultural Revolution movement was the first revolutionary movement of its kind – Capitalism and feudalism already had a long history. For Centuries repressive bourgeoisie society (eg: the era of emperors, monarchs, then parliamentary governments, etc.) existed. The triumph of Socialist Revolution was very recent and thus there had to be errors in the course.

It was an entirely new type of an experiment like a scientist using his latest theories in carrying out a new type of an experiment, thus errors were a natural phenomenon. Socialist Russia had never embarked on such a task, and Stalinism sowed the seeds of revisionism. Many remnants of the feudal and bourgeois society were left behind in the minds of people after that thinking was perpetrated for thousands of years. It would perhaps take several revolutions to overcome what was created over generations. There was a deep-rooted Confucian tradition in China.

2. Sino Soviet Border Conflict – China had to combat their ideological problem with the then USSR. They had a border dispute with Russia and that was the period where the Cold War was at its peak with the US – Vietnam War in full flow.

To save their state, China had to create relations with bourgeoisie states for tactical purposes. On one hand, Socialist China had to combat US imperialism, on the other hand they had to stand up to the Soviet Social Imperialism. This was a complex problem China had to fight the "lion" but be aware of the "bear."

3. Creation of the Personality Cult – The revolutionaries had to unite with Lin Biao's left sectarian approach. Lin immortalized Mao converting Mao's Red Book into a bible. The phenomenon of a personality cult is anti-Marxist. This failed to consolidate the ranks in a broad-based movement. From the mid 1960's, Lin Biao's left sectarian formulations and his ultimate path to the capitalist road caused havoc in the Chinese Communist Party. Although Comrade Lin played an effective role in the Socialist Education Movement, as well as in the Army, when he combated Peng Te Huai's philosophy of having ranks in the army and advocating modernization in the army, in the 1966-69 period, Lin eulogized Comrade Mao to the status of an emperor claiming that the Red Book contained magic.

He elevated Comrade Mao to a god to promote himself, and wrongly even derived the formulation that the Chinese revolutionary path was the path for all countries. True, protracted peoples' war was a major contribution of Comrade Mao Tse Tung, but it had to be applied in the context of the situation with regards to a particular country. However, after 1969, Lin went towards the right calling for the discontinuation of the GPCR and for an alliance with revisionist Soviet Union.

He opposed Mao, and in 1971, attempted to assassinate Mao. However, thankfully the coup was averted, and Lin was brought down (plane crashed). The Un Biao phenomena has to be questioned and one could wonder how Mao ever could unite with Comrade Lin against the Right. However, this is a phenomena within a socialist society, so we cannot discredit Comrade Mao. I do not agree that Lin Biaoism was a trend in the 1966-69 Cultural Revolution period, but he had a predominant influence, particularly in the Army. It is difficult imagining that this historic figure was claimed as an outstanding proletarian revolutionary just a few years before his condemnation!

Later, the Gang of 4 also made left sectarian errors, [and were] unable to unite with the broadest masses. Comrade Mao often rebuked them stating that, "You are trying to make the Socialist Revolution but you do not know where the bourgeoisie is – they are right here in the Communist Party!"

4. Persecution of writers, artist, musicians, and sectarian approach to bourgeois philosophers, sportsmen, etc. – Not enough attention was given to psychology or Freudian ideas. Several writers, poets and artists and sportsmen were wrongly attacked and sent to be reformed. True, there were bourgeois tendencies, but such elements also had progressive aspects which the Cultural Revolution leaders often failed to understand.

5. Not enough avenue for democratic criticism or dissent – True, there were broad based revolutionary movements and debates as never seen before, and



Comrade Mao's line represented the mass revolutionary democratic line of the broad masses, [but] there was [a] lack of a sufficient base for individuals to express criticism of socialist ideas or other ideas. Socialist society has to create avenues whereby even people's criticisms of Socialism are taken into consideration and all ideas are expressed freely. Instead of weakening the dictatorship of the proletariat, this would strengthen it. There was such a strong personality cult around Comrade Mao that such free expression of ideas of minorities was hardly encouraged. There should have been a special call to question Comrade Mao's line, etc. without opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this regard it is worth studying Bob Avakian's contribution in "Phony Communism is dead, Long Live Real Communism!"

Quoting Bob Avakian:

'Under socialism, the masses of people are unleashed to run and transform society towards the goal of communism. This is a society in which you want, and need, to unite and

lead broad sections of people to take up the goal of creating a new world. In this regard, Avakian has called attention to the importance of the intellectual, artistic, and scientific spheres in socialist society, and the particular role that intellectuals can play in socialist society.

"Intellectuals and intellectual ferment can contribute to the dynamism and wrangling spirit that must characterize socialist society. One of the very positive aspects of intellectual life is the tendency to look at things in new ways and from new angles, to challenge the status quo and hidebound thinking. This needs to be even more the case under socialism. Intellectual and scientific ferment are essential to the search for the truth — to people knowing the world more deeply, so it can be transformed more thoroughly.

The people on the bottom of society have historically been locked out of the realm of 'working with ideas.' Bourgeois society creates islands and pockets where a minority can



engage in the realm of ideas, while the great majority of humanity is exploited and prevented from pursuing intellectual activity. Socialist society has to transform this situation. It has to put an end to exploitation and enable the masses of people to work with ideas and take up all kinds of questions and participate in society in an all-around way. This was something that the Cultural Revolution addressed very powerfully."

At the same time, Avakian has pointed out that socialist society needs to give scope and space to intellectuals, artists, and scientists. You don't want to maintain and reproduce the ivory tower relations that exist in capitalist class societies. But you don't want to stifle and straitjacket intellectuals either. You want to unite with and lead them.

Here it must be said that there has been a problem in previous socialist societies. There has been a tendency to see intellectual activity that is not directly serving or linked to the agenda of the socialist state at any given time as not that important — or as disruptive of that agenda.

Now in bringing forward this understanding and pointing to these weaknesses, Avakian has been retracing the experience of proletarian revolution in the intellectual and scientific realms. In his re-envisioning of socialism, Bob Avakian has been emphasizing the role of dissent in socialist society. Avakian has said that dissent must not only be allowed but actively fostered, and this includes opposition to the government.

This is something quite new in the understanding of communists. Why is dissent so important? Because it reveals defects and problems in the new society, because it contributes to the critical spirit that must permeate socialist society and advances the search for truth, and because dissent can contribute to struggles to further transform society. You won't get to communism without this kind of upheaval.

Avakian has written that it would be a good thing to allow even reactionaries to publish some books and speak out in socialist society. This would contribute to the process through which the masses of people would come to know the world more fully and be able to sort out more thoroughly what does and does not correspond to reality, and what does and does not correspond to their fundamental interests in abolishing exploitation, oppression, and social inequalities. This is an important way in which the masses will be better able to take part in running society and transforming that society and the world as a whole toward the goal of communism.

5. WRONG TRENDS WITH REGARD TO LINE

5-A. Importance of Vanguard Party

With all those weaknesses it must be stated that Mao and his comrades did their level best to achieve Socialism. We have to defend the vanguard role of the Leninist Party and have to combat Trotskyite and New Left trends that advocate a multi-party system or oppose the vanguard role of the Leninist Party. Certain intellectuals profess a multi-party system in a Socialist Society. A multi-party system would create chaos and defeat the very concept of

proletarian dictatorship. How can many parties differ in ideology and claim to be professing proletarian ideology?

Only a tight, unified, well-knit Party can lead the proletarian revolution and save the Socialist State. It is the equivalent of a Nazi government seizing power in Germany, in 1933, overthrowing Hindenburg's parliamentary government. Remember how Allende was overthrown in Chile and Arbenz in Guatemala. Allowing bourgeois parties in a Socialist State contradicts Leninism. Lenin developed the concept of the Proletarian Party governed by democratic-centralism. Remember the Chinese Communist Party had factions in the pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary years, and through application of mass line or 2 line struggle, the Party attempted to resolve the problem. (Even if the Cultural Revolution failed there was a powerful 2 line struggle). Democratic revolt must be encouraged but factionalism within a party can destroy the revolutionary interests.



True, there is validity in the point that there could have been many lines of struggle uniting against Liu Shao Chi and Deng Xiaoping that should have been given expression to and not only "Mao's line." However, one must remember that Mao did everything to unite all types of people to confront the bourgeoisie line, and it was the mass revolutionary movement or the broad masses who supported him against the revisionists. (Mao even relinquished his post as head of state to Liu Shao Chi). Mao even had factions within his Party, which must be noted. Mao further developed Leninism by discovering that even in a Socialist State there are capitalist tendencies and that a



revolution had to be carried out in a Socialist State to avert the restoration of Capitalism. Mao went on to say that only hundreds and thousands of revolutions were needed to create an ultimate Communist Society.



5-B. Personality Cult versus the Mass line

There is also a tendency which claims that Mao used his personality cult in place of implementing the mass line. (Mao Tse Tung has been more revered [than] any leader in any country in the last century; his works becoming more popular than the Bible). One Indian Intellectual, Rangakayaama, wrote a 6 page essay claiming that Mao created a personality cult deliberately in place of upholding the mass line. This has to be refuted. Was not Mao Tse Tung Thought a product of the revolutionary mass movement of the broad masses? Was not Comrade Mao's thought upheld not only by the majority in the Party but by the broad masses of China?

Remember, this was a socialist society, and you cannot equate rallies in China supporting Mao with those of Hitler in Germany or Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran. It is Comrade Mao who discovered the fact that even in the Dictatorship of the Proletariat there are reactionary and capitalist elements who wish to reinstate the rule of the bourgeoisie. He discovered the theory of "Continuous revolutions under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." If Mao's personality cult replaced the mass line then how can one explain the many victories in mass movements the broad masses of the Chinese won over the revisionist elements and rulers in China in schools, universities, factories and villages, guided by Mao Tse Tung Thought. One can discredit those movements only if one advocates that Mao Tse Tung Thought was not a fundamental line for liberation of the Chinese People.

Never in the history of mankind did such a revolutionary mass movement take place or such revolutionary democratisation take place in the field of agriculture, industry and education. Remember that Mao relinquished his position as head of the state to Liu Shao Chi in 1959. In fact Rangakayamma alleges that Mao replaced the mass line with the personality cult. True, Mao's posters and badges were displayed all over.

Slogans like "Chairman Mao will live for 10,000 years" resounded. Eulogies were raised stating that Chairman Mao is like "the sun giving light wherever it shines" and a "great prophet." Kindergarten students were made to chant "Long Live Mao for 10,000 Years!" and hail Mao as "great helmsman," "teacher," "leader" and "commander," [this] all took place. It is also true that the publication of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin stopped and there was a policy to focus solely on Mao only.

However the Chinese Communist Party rectified this and re-introduced the works of Marx, Lenin, Stalin and Engels from the early 1970's. Remember in the mass rallies the people carried portraits of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. Another mistake was that the line in the *Internationale* saying, 'There is no supreme saviour not God, not Caesar, not democratic leader.' This was eliminated to hail Mao as a saviour and a liberator. However, again the Chinese Communist Party rectified this and re-instated the lines.

It must be remembered that in a country where for 3,000 years the pride of worshipping was prominent, and ignorant superstitious practices prevailed, (Emperor-worshipping tradition), such a tendency would be existing. The Chinese People had a habit of worshipping emperors and this feudal mindset persisted. This fear and ignorance persisted for centuries, although of course there were major revolts, which took place against emperors. No doubt it is incorrect, but remember, Mao did his level best to fight this.

It is worth here recounting a recent book by a bourgeois expert Lee Geigon on China praising the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in his book "Mao – A Reinterpretation," he states: "The Cultural Revolution weakened the Chinese bureaucracy. It had a positive, long-lasting impact on the Chinese Economy. It also created the basis of an anti-authoritarian culture Workers and peasants were taking on themselves the rights of self-government, and some Red Guard groups were attempting to build a democratic theory. The Cultural Revolution's attacks on the Party organization, and the viscous response of the Party to these criticisms destroyed its legitimacy for many people. By breaking down organizational control and forcing people to criticize almost everything they had been told to take for granted, especially the Communist Party, Mao helped foster the spirit of independent judgment and reliance."

Quoting Raymond Lotta in his "Defending Socialism" columns in *Revolution*: "One of the major distortions about the Cultural Revolution is that Mao masterminded and manipulated whatever happened. Mao is said to be responsible for every act and struggle that took place. Mao is held responsible for any and all cases of violence. There is a notion that everything issued from a single locus of power and decision-making – from Mao.

"Different class and social forces were involved in the Cultural Revolution. There were the genuine Maoists in the Party and mass organizations. There were anti-Mao groupings within the Party who organized students, workers and peasants. And there were conservative military forces, ultra-left groupings, mass organizations that divided into rebel and conservatives camps, criminal elements, and others. Different social interests and motivations were in play.



"Some people used the Cultural Revolution to settle personal grievances. Often, the enemies of Mao within the Party who were coming under political attack would resort to the tactic of pretending to uphold Mao and incite factionalism and violence in the name of the Cultural Revolution. They would do this in order to deflect the struggle away from them and to discredit the revolutionary movement. The reality was that the Cultural Revolution was a complicated struggle over which class would rule society, the proletariat, which in alliance with its allies who make up the great majority of society continues the revolution to transform society, or a new bourgeois class."

Yet, through the course of this struggle, Mao and the revolutionary leadership were able to lead it in a certain direction: focusing the political struggle against the top capitalist-roaders, further revolutionizing society, and empowering the masses. The Red Guards were catalysts. They emboldened people to lift their heads, to speak up, and to speak out. Listen to this account from one peasant:

"The Red Guards were very organized. They divided themselves up and visited every household in the village.



They read quotations and told us about the Cultural Revolution in Beijing and Shanghai. Never before had we had so many strangers in the village. They asked us about our lives. They wanted to learn from us. They asked us how we are managing things here in the brigade. They entered into discussions with the leading cadres of the brigade and asked about work points [this was the system of payment in

the communes] I got the book of Mao's quotations from them [this was the Red Book].

"They distributed it to various households. In the end, we all had it. Those Red Guards meant a lot to us. And we went on reading the quotations after they'd gone. We read and compared those quotations to what was being done here, and came to the conclusion that a lot of things needed changing." (Jan Myrdal and Gun Kessle, *China The Revolution Continued* [New York, Vintage, 1972], pp 106-107)

Quoting Raymond Lotta from '*Revolution*': "The bourgeoisie hates the Cultural Revolution that took place in China. They talk about it as 'thought control.' They paint a picture of crazed Red Guards going on destructive rampages. We are swamped with high-profile studies and memoirs that talk about the Cultural Revolution as violence and retribution. But this was not the fundamental reality of the Cultural Revolution.

"First of all, the Cultural Revolution was not a violent free-for-all. The Maoist leadership issued guidance for conducting the Cultural Revolution. One of the main documents, and people should read this, was called the "16-Point Decision." Here are some excerpts from Mao's instructions:

- "Let the masses educate themselves in the movement and learn to distinguish between right and wrong and between correct and incorrect ways of doing things"
- "Concentrate all forces to strike at the handful of ultra-reactionary bourgeois rightists. The main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road."
- "A strict distinction must be made between the two different types of contradictions: those among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. It is normal for the masses to hold different views. Were there is debate, it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force."

This was the orientation. Was there disorder? Yes! Were there excesses and violence? Of course! This was a revolution. But the Maoist revolutionaries tried to keep this movement going in the right direction through all its turmoil mass debate, mass criticism, and mass political mobilization.

One famous episode illustrates the point. At Tsinghua University, there was considerable factional fighting among students. Eventually, it turned violent. In response, the Maoist leadership dispatched a team of unarmed workers to enter the university to help the students sort out and settle their differences.

For the full text of this document go to:
<http://naxalrevolution.blogspot.com/2006/10/achievements-of-mao-tse-tung.html>



Two Birds: A Dialogue

By Mao Tse-tung
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 flyaway."

"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,

Beef-filled goulash."

"Stop your windy nonsense!

Look, the world is being turned upside
down."

Ode to the Plum Blossom

By Mao Tse-tung
December 9, 1961

Wind and rain escorted Spring's departure,

Flying snow welcomes Spring's return.

On the ice-clad rock rising high and sheer

A flower blooms sweet and fair.

Sweet and fair, she craves not Spring for herself
alone,

To be the harbinger of Spring she is content.

When the mountain flowers are in full bloom

She will smile mingling in their midst.



Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung

Talk On Sakata's Article

August 24, 1964

[SOURCE: *Long Live Mao Tse-Thought*, a Red Guard Publication.]

Chairman: I have asked you to come here today because I want to look into the article by Sakata [Shoichi]. Sakata says that basic particles are indivisible while electrons are divisible. In saying this, he is taking the stand of dialectical materialism.

The world is infinite. In both time and space, the world is boundless and inexhaustible. Beyond our solar system are numerous stars which together form the Milky Way. Beyond this galaxy are numerous other galaxies. Regarded broadly the universe is infinite; regarded narrowly, the universe is also infinite. Not only is the atom divisible, but so too is the atomic nucleus and it can be split ad infinitum. Chuang Tzu said: "One can take away half of a hammer measuring one foot long daily, but there will still be no end to it even after ten thousand generations." This is true. Thus, our cognition of the world is also infinite and inexhaustible. Otherwise, the science of physics would not develop any further. If our cognition were finite, we would already have recognized everything, and what would there be left for us to do?

Chairman: Man's cognition of things must undergo a great many repetitions, and there must be a process of accumulation. A large amount of emotional data must be accumulated in order to induce the jump from emotional cognition, to rational cognition. As to the reasons for the leaps from practice to emotion, and from emotion to reasoning, neither Marx nor Engels



discussed it very clearly. Nor did Lenin discuss it very clearly. In his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, Lenin elaborated only on materialism, without elaborating upon the theory of cognition. Recently, Ai Ssu-ch'i discussed this point at the Higher Party School and he was correct in doing so. Even the men of the ancient past in China, including Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu, did not explain it clearly. Mo Tzu did discuss some things concerning the theory of cognition, but not very clearly. Others like Chang Tsai, Li Chuo-wu, Wang Ch'uan-shan and T'an Ssu-t'ung also did not explain it clearly. What is philosophy? Philosophy is the theory of cognition, nothing else. I wrote the first ten articles of the *Double Ten Articles* [Shuang-shih T'iao], I discussed how substance changes into spirit and spirit into substance. I also said that the time devoted to teaching philosophy must not be too long, one hour at most. The more one talks about it, the more confused one becomes. I also said that philosophy ought to be liberated from classrooms and studies. My words touched the soft spots of some people who thereupon came out with "combining two into one" to oppose me.

Chairman: At present our cognition of many things is still rather unclear. Cognition is always developing. With a large telescope, we will be able to see more stars. In regard to the solar system and the earth, we have not as yet overthrown Kant's nebular hypothesis that both the earth and the sun were formed by the contraction of extremely hot gases. Our earth is most probably still in its youth, and it is growing larger steadily because many things such as meteorites and sunlight, are falling on it every day. The sun has most probably reached its middle age, and it is no longer as hot as before. If the sunshine on the earth's surface is so strong as to reach 100 degrees, how can human beings withstand it? The temperature of the sun's surface is 5,000 or 6,000 degrees, and there is a layer on the surface with a temperature of some 1,000-3,000 degrees. If we say that we do not understand the sun too well, it goes without saying that we also are none too clear about the enormous space between the sun and the earth. Now, with the satellites, our understanding in this field has been considerably enhanced. We are not too clear about climatic changes on the earth, and we must study them. In regard to the glacial problem, scientists are still arguing it out. Li Szu-kuang maintains that there is a glacial period every one-million years. Whenever this happens, drastic changes occur in the biological world. Ancient dinosaurs became extinct because they could not withstand the frigid cold of the glacial age. Man was produced in between the two recent glacial periods. When it comes to a later glacial age, it would become a problem to mankind, and one must be prepared to cope with the advent of the next glacial period.

XXX: Chairman just mentioned something about telescope which reminds me of a question: Can't we generally categorize such things as telescopes and satellites as being "tools of cognition?"

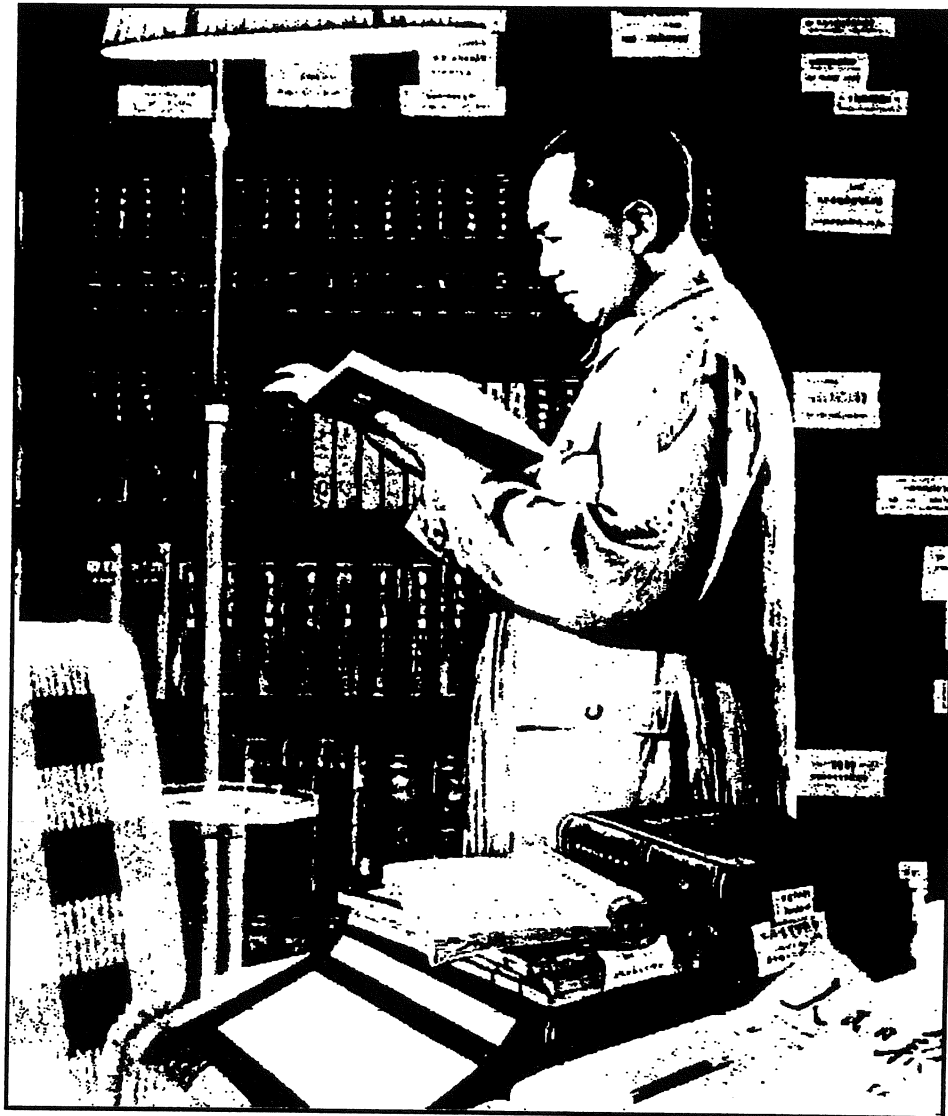
Chairman: What you say about the concept of "tools of cognition" seems very plausible. The tools of cognition should comprise such things as the axe, machinery, etc. Man's cognition stems from practice. We use the axe and machinery to transform the world, and our cognition, is thus deepened. Tools are extensions of human organs. The axe is an extension of our arms while the telescope is an extension of our eyes. The human body and its organs can all be extended. Franklin said that man is the animal that creates tools. The Chinese say that the human being is the wisest of all creatures. Animals have their own pecking order, but the ape does not know how to fashion sticks to knock fruit off the trees. There are no concepts in the brains of animals.

XXX: Philosophical works usually only take the individual as the subject of cognition, but in practical life, the subject of cognition is often not an individual, but a collective. Are we right to regard our party as the subject of cognition?

Chairman: A class is the subject of cognition. In the beginning, the working class was a class in and of itself, and it had no knowledge of capitalism. Later, it developed from a class in and of itself into a class that existed for itself, and by that time, it began to understand capitalism. This was a case of the development of cognition based on class as the subject.

Chairman: There was no water on the earth in the beginning. In earliest times, the earth's temperature was so high that it was impossible to have water, for it would have exploded to become hydrogen and oxygen. There was an article two days ago in the *Kuang-ming Daily* which says that it took millions of years for hydrogen and oxygen to combine and form water. Fu Ying said that it would take tens of millions of years. I don't know if the author of that article has discussed it with Fu Ying. Only after there was water was it possible for living things to emerge from the water. Man evolved from fish, and there was a developmental stage in which the human embryo resembled fish.

Chairman: All individual and all specific things have their births, development, and deaths. Every person must die, because he was born. Man must die, and Chang San [i.e., any Tom, Dick or Harry] being a man, Chang San must die. None can see Confucius who lived 2,000 years ago, because he had to die. Mankind is born, and therefore mankind must also die. The earth was born, and so the earth must also die. Nonetheless, when we say that mankind will die and the earth will die, it is different from what Christians say about the end of the world. When we talk about the death of mankind and the death of the earth, we mean that something more advanced than mankind will come to replace it, and this is a higher stage in the development of things. I saw that Marxism also has its birth, its development and its death. This may seem to be absurd. But since Marx said that all things which happen have their death, how can we say that this is not applicable to Marxism itself? To say that it won't die is metaphysics. Naturally, the death of Marxism means that something higher than Marxism will come to replace it.



Chairman: Things are continually in motion. Concerning the theory that the earth revolves around the sun, thus forming a day by self-orbit and a year by complete orbit, there were only three persons in the time of Copernicus in Europe who believed it, namely Copernicus, Galileo and Kepler. There was not a single person in China. However, there

was a Hsin Ch'i-chi of the Sung dynasty who said in his poem that when the moon went down from us here, it would be shining somewhere else. Chang Hua (courtesy name: Chang Mou-hsuan) of the Chin Dynasty wrote in one of his poems: "When T'ai-i [a constellation] moves in its orbit, heaven will return and earth will travel." That poem is found in the Sources of Ancient Poems (Ku-Shih Yuan).

Chairman: All things are both constant and inconstant. The universe was constant, but later, the Chinese scientists Li Ch'eng-tao and Yang Ch'en-ning who live in the United States said it is not constant. Does this also apply to the constancy of mass and energy? There is nothing in the world that absolutely does not change. Changing and unchanging, then changing and unchanging combine to form the universe: Constancy and inconstancy, this is both equilibrium and disequilibrium. There is also the case where the equilibrium is completely disrupted. A generator is a good example to illustrate movement and transformation. What kind of movement is there when the coal is burning?

XXX: It is the energy emitted by the outer layer of electrons of the atoms of the compound when they change their orbit of motion.

Chairman: The transformation of its form in which the water expands and becomes steam is what produces the movement.

XXX: The movement of the molecules produces energy.



Chairman: But this also causes the rotor of the generator to turn. This is mechanical movement which eventually generates electricity which flows into the copper and lead wires.

Everything in the world is changing, physics is changing, Newton's laws of physics are changing. The world has evolved from one in which there was no Newtonian theory to one in which there was, and thereafter, from Newton's theory to the theory of relatively. This is dialectics in itself.

Things are always happening in unexpected ways. Sun Yat-sen originally studied medicine, but he later became involved in politics. Kuo Mo-jo also started out studying medicine, but he later became a historian. Lu Hsun also studied medicine, but he later became a great writer. I myself have engaged in politics step by step. I studied the Confucian classics for six years, attended seven years of school, became a primary school teacher, and later taught middle school. I did not even know then what Marxism was; nor had I heard of Marx or Engels. I knew only about Napoleon and Washington. It was also

like this when I found myself involved with military affairs. I served as director of the propaganda department in the Political Department of the National Revolutionary Army, and I also stressed the importance of fighting at the Institute of the Peasant [Movement], but I never thought that I myself would ever undertake military affairs and fight in battle. Later, I led my own men to fight and went to Ching-kang-shan. While at Ching-kang-shan, I had a small victory at first, but this was followed by two disastrous defeats. I then summed up my experiences and summarized them into a set of guerrilla war tactics:

"When the enemy advances we retreat; when the enemy rests; we harass; when the enemy is tired we fight; when the enemy retreats we pursue." Thanks to Generalissimo Chiang who gave us these lessons; thanks to some of those in the party who said that I did not even have a modicum of Marxism and that they were 100 percent Bolsheviks. Nonetheless, it was also these 100 percent Bolsheviks who caused the party in the white area to suffer 100 percent losses, and the party in the Soviet area to suffer 90 percent losses.

Chairman: We produce neither food grains nor machinery, but what we produce are lines and policies. Line and policy are not produced from within a vacuum. For instance, we did not invent the "four cleanups" or the "five antis," but it was the common people who told us about them. We must thank a counter-revolutionary in Kwangtung for the emergence of the "four clean-ups" and the "five antis." He wrote to XX and XX to get me to abdicate political power and hand over the armed forces.

The scientists should align themselves with the masses; it behooves them to form close links with the young workers and the veteran workers. Our brain is a processing factory. Factory equipment must be renovated, and so our brains must also be renovated. The various cells of our body are being renewed continuously. The cells in our skin are no longer those with which we were born, but have been changed innumerable times.

There are several types of Chinese intellectuals. Engineering and technical personnel have accepted socialism more satisfactorily. Next come those who study science, while those who study liberal arts are the worst. I can see that this Feng Ting of yours must be a revisionist, because what he wrote in his books is all Khrushchev's stuff.

Chairman: Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in's *Dream of the Red Chamber* was intended to patch up the heaven - the heaven of feudalism. Nonetheless, what Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in wrote was about the decline of feudal families, and this may be regarded as a contradiction between Ts'ao's world outlook and his creation. Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in's family fortune declined during the reign of Emperor Yung-cheng. Emperor K'ang-hsi had a number of children among whom Yung-cheng was one. Yung-cheng used his secret service operation to oppress his adversaries, and dubbed two other sons of K'ang-hsi, possibly it was the 9th and 10th, as pig and dog.

Chairman: Dissection is rather important. It is like the cook butchering a cow ["Chung Tzu" parable; very skillfully done]. When Engels mentioned, medicine, he paid special attention to dissection. Medicine is built upon the foundation of dissection.

We should study the origins of cells. The cell has its nucleus, a mass of protoplasm, and a membrane. The cell is organic, and so there must have been noncellular forms [cytooses] before there was the cell. What was there before the cell was formed? How was the noncellular form changed into the cell? There is a woman scientist in the Soviet Union who has been studying this problem, but no result has been reported.

XXX: After China reported to the International Surgical Conference in Rome about the rejoining of a severed hand, Americans said that they could not assess the ability of China's science and technology, and they were a little scared of us.

Chairman: It is good that they were scared; it would be bad if they were not. We are afraid of America because America is our enemy. When America is afraid of us, it means that we are her enemy, and also a formidable enemy. In science and technology, we should pay attention to security so that they won't be able to assess our secret capability.



MAO TSE-TUNG ON LEADERSHIP

Of all things in the world people are the most important. We believe that revolution can change everything and that before long there will arise a new China with a big population and a great wealth of products, where life will be abundant and culture will flourish.

It is necessary to consult the lower levels first. We should not feel ashamed to ask and learn from people below [Confucian Analects].

Be a pupil before you become a teacher. Listen also to the mistaken views from below; it is wrong not to listen to them.

Learn to 'play the piano'. In playing a piano all ten fingers are in motion; it won't do to move some fingers only and not others. But if all ten fingers press down all at once, there is no melody.

Grasp firmly. One cannot get a grip on something with an open hand. When the hand is clenched as if grasping something but it is not clenched tightly, there is still no grip.

Don't call a meeting if the preparations are not completed. Be concise and to the point. Meetings also should not go on too long.

Pay attention to uniting and working with comrades who differ with you... [including] people outside the Party. There are some among us who have made very serious mistakes; we should not be prejudiced against them but should be ready to work with them.

Guard against arrogance. For anyone in a leading position this is a matter of principle and an important condition for maintaining unity.

If [a person's] achievements amount to seventy percent of the whole and his shortcomings to only thirty percent then his work should in the main be approved.

The ancients said, "The principle of Kings Wen and Wu was to alternate tension with relaxation." [Confucius, *Book of Rites*]. If a bow-string is too taut it will snap.

We must firmly uphold the truth and truth requires a clear-cut stand. A blunt knife draws no blood.

Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung; Volume IV



The Big Change

From Red China Today (The Other Side of the River) by Edgar Snow (1971)

TWENTY-FOUR years ago I first met Mao Tse-tung in a cave dug into the clay hills of the province of Shensi, within the great bend of the Yellow River, where the long story of the Chinese people began. Mao's headquarters were in a ruined town called Pao An, not far below the Great Wall. He was then the leader of a band of fewer than forty thousand 'remnant Red bandits' whom Chiang Kai-shek had already chased thousands of miles across China.

When I stood with other guests on the terrace of the T'ien An Men during the celebration which marked the eleventh anniversary of the triumph of revolution. I re-encountered Mao for the first time since 1939. We watched half a million people parade past in a pageant of which Chairman Mao was Hero No. 1. All over China there were two days of festivities and thanksgiving.

"I haven't seen you for a long time," said Mao, when he shook hands with me. "How long *has* it been?"

"Twenty-one years," said I, looking around the spacious old palace room and remembering former circumstances. "Your cave has slightly expanded in size since then!"

He smiled. "Things have improved a little." He invited me to come to see him and in subsequent visits we spent about nine hours speaking of things that had happened in intervening years – and a few things that hadn't happened yet.

When I last saw Mao, his country had been described as a 'mere geographical expression'. Manchuria, economically the most advanced part of China, was a Japanese colony. Below the Great Wall, Japan also held the most important cities and seaboard provinces; the rest of China was weak, disunited and bankrupt. Since then China's Silurian age had ended. 'China has stood up,' as Mao proclaimed on the birthday of the People's Republic, in 1949. The People's Republic had eliminated foreign economic and political control, and was united under a single government for the first time since the collapse of the empire.

To understand where the Chinese had been, what they were doing now, and where they were going, it is necessary to know something about the commanding place Mao Tse-tung held in their daily lives. He was the central personality in all internal struggles as well as in Red China's disputes with the U.S.S.R. and its attitudes toward the U.S.A. and the West. He was also the least known and least accessible of all contemporary world leaders.

Since the death of Stalin, Peking had recognized no mentor but Mao as a Marxist theoretician and ideologist. Unlike Khrushchev, he had been for twenty-six years the continuous and practically undisputed chieftain of a revolution. Like Tito,



he won sovereign victory without Russian armed intervention and like Tito he contrived to retain his independence from Stalin's dictation. Unlike Tito, he was never called a traitor or a revisionist by Stalin. Under Mao the Chinese party evolved its own interpretations of Marxist theory, its own strategy and tactics, and its own idiom and "line" to fit Chinese conditions. Before 1960 Mao's voluminous writings were acknowledged even by Nikita Khrushchev to contain "new contributions" to Marxist thought.

The nature of Peking's claims to ideological leadership over the "correct strategy" on the international front was explicitly set forth in 1951 by Lu Ting-yi, propaganda chief and Politburo member. He declared:

"Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution is a new development of Marxism-Leninism in the revolutions of the colonial and semi-colonial countries... Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution has significance not only for China and Asia – it is of universal significance for the world Communist movement. It is indeed a new contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism ... *The classic type of revolution in the imperialist countries is the October Revolution [of Russia]. The classic type of revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries is the Chinese revolution* ... Study of [Mao's theory] will help achieve the liberation of all mankind."¹

Mao held no official post in the government. He had long made his chairmanship of the Communist Party Central Committee the most important job in China. Until 1959 he was also Chairman of the People's Republic; officially, he retired in order to devote more time to "questions of the direction, policy and line of the party and the state." There were, it will be suggested later, other internal reasons.

Flashback to Pao An

IN June 1936, after walking two days across the broken hills of northern Shensi, not far south of the Great Wall, I entered the straggling village of Pao An. There a large part of what remained of the Chinese Red Army, as, it was then called, had ended a journey across China known as the Long March. The second column of the Red forces was still fighting its way up from the Tibetan grasslands.

A curious crowd lined both sides of the street before a few dozen ramshackle huts and shops. Red flags bore the hammer and sickle and the marginal inscription of a recently acquired title: "Chinese People's *Anti-Japanese* Red Army." Banners in English and Chinese were held aloft proclaiming: "Welcome the American journalist to investigate Soviet China!", "Down with Japanese imperialism!" and "Long live the Chinese Revolution!" At the end of the street waited a group who included most of the Politburo members then in Pao An. Here also I first met Lin Piao, Lu Ting-yi, and Teng Ying-ch'ao (Mme Chou En-lai).

Mao joined us that day at supper. He was then a gaunt, pale figure. Taller than most Chinese, he had large, searching eyes, wide, thick lips, a high-bridged brow and a strong chin with a prominent mole. His black hair was thick and long, on a head for which the Generalissimo was offering 250,000 silver dollars.

I was quartered in a newly built mud-brick house, and Mao lived in a hillside cave not far down the road. It had a single window and a door that opened on a lane guarded by a lone sentry. There I soon found myself ending every day, or beginning it. Mao invited me down regularly to have hot-pepper bread – or compote made by Mrs. Mao from local sour plums. Afterward we talked for hours, sometimes till nearly dawn.

There was a brief lull in war and politics at that moment, and Mao had some leisure. My intense and youthful interest may have won a response in him. I was also a medium through whom he had his first chance, after years of blockade, to speak to the cities of China from which the Reds had long been isolated. He especially wished to proclaim widely the party's new and moderate policy, seeking a restoration of the united front with the Nationalists – a choice which the Japanese invasion itself made, unavoidable for Chiang Kai-shek in the following year.

It was only after he had answered scores of questions about many other matters that I finally extracted from him an account of the first forty-three years of his life.

Mao was born in 1893 in the village of Shao Shan, in Hsiang T'an county, Hunan province, south of Hankow on the Yangtze River. His father, Mao Jen-sheng, was an ex-soldier who inherited a small farm but had fallen into debt and lost it. By thrift and hard work, he managed to buy back his land and add to it, until he owned 3.7 acres, which gave him the status of a rich peasant. Tiny though his acreage was, labor productivity was so low that he needed a regular hired hand; in busy seasons he took on another. He also used the part-time labor of his wife and three sons, of whom Mao Tse-tung was eldest. The father sold about half his rice for cash and kept his dependents on frugal but adequate rations. Once a month he gave the hired laborers eggs with their rice, "but never meat," said Mao. "To me he gave neither eggs nor meat."

The old man regularly beat his children to secure unquestioning compliance. He was himself barely literate enough to keep books. He sent his sons to school, hoping to see them become good businessmen and help him 'amass a fortune' by memorizing the *Four Classics* and the Confucian *Analects*. Their teacher belonged to the 'stern-treatment school' and beat his students. Mao's first remembered act of rebellion was in protest against such treatment when he was ten years old. He

¹ Italics added by Edgar Snow.



ran away from school but was afraid to return home for fear of another beating. He wandered "in the general direction of the city" until he was found.

"After my return to the family," said Mao, "to my surprise conditions somewhat improved. My father was slightly more considerate and the teacher was more inclined toward moderation."

Mao's mother was wholly illiterate and a devout Buddhist who gave young Mao religious instruction – heavily diluted by his father's skepticism. "She was a kind woman, generous and sympathetic," said Mao. "She pitied the poor and often gave them rice when they came to ask for it during famines. But she could not do so when my father was present. He disapproved of charity. We had many quarrels in my home over this question." Mao and his mother "made many efforts to convert him, without success."

Mao now used political and dialectical terms humorously to depict the "growing struggle" between himself and Paternal Tyranny.

"There were two "parties" in the family. One was my father, the Ruling Power. The Opposition was made up of myself, my mother, my brother and even the laborer. In the United Front of the Opposition, however, there was a difference of opinion. My mother advocated a policy of indirect attack. She criticized any overt display of emotion and attempts at open rebellion against the Ruling Power. She said it was not the Chinese way.

"When I was thirteen, I discovered a powerful argument of my own for debating with my father on his own ground, by quoting the classics. My father's favorite accusations against me were unfilial conduct and laziness. I quoted, in exchange, passages from the classics saying that the elder must be kind and affectionate. Against his charge that I was lazy I used the rebuttal that older people should do more work than younger, that he was over three times as old as myself, and therefore should do more work."

His father devoted more and more time to buying and selling grain and speculating. Eventually he gathered "what was considered a great fortune in that little village." He did not buy more land but he bought many mortgages. His capital grew to two or three thousand dollars.

When Mao was about thirteen his father invited many guests to their home... A dispute arose between them and the old man denounced Mao before everybody, calling him "lazy and useless." Infuriated, Mao cursed him and left the house, threatening to commit suicide. His mother ran after him and begged Mao to return, but he continued to the edge of a pond and stood ready to jump in.

"My father also pursued me, cursing me at the same time he commanded me to come back. Demands and counter demands were presented for cessation of the civil war. My father insisted that I *k'ou-t'ou* [knock head to earth] as a sign of submission. I agreed to give a one-knee *k'ou-t'ou* if he would promise not to beat me. Thus the war ended and from it I learned that when I defended my rights [dignity] by open rebellion my father relented, but when I remained meek and submissive he only cursed and beat me the more. Reflecting on this, I think that in the end the strictness of my father defeated him. I learned to hate him and we created a real United Front against him." Yet at this distance Mao was able to speak of his father with some objective appreciation. He added that the discipline "probably benefited me. It made me most diligent in my work; it made me keep my books carefully, so that he should have no basis for criticizing me."

The same pattern of father rejection runs through the lives of many revolutionists. Mao simply seemed better able to analyze it, and franker about it, than most Chinese. The dichotomy between his father's harsh conservatism and his mother's kindness and compassion, the sympathy established with hired peasants who supported him against his father, his resentment against male domination of his mother, and her submissiveness to fate, all reflected a generation in rebellion against blind filial piety and Confucian traditions no longer suitable for the nation's needs. An end to the feudal and patriarchal clan-family system, opportunity for the poor peasants, equal rights for women, brotherhood in a new freedom that had to be won by hard struggle for one's rights, by defending the interests of the lowly against the mighty: these were ideas which Mao's early life taught him to share with many awakening youths.

Mao had long since outgrown personal hostility toward his father, whom he now saw as a product of a tough world of cannibalism. It was to the perhaps impossible task of changing that world that he had since dedicated himself. Yet he certainly had not forgotten the Old Man when, ten years before I met him, Mao wrote *An Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society*. In it he defined the poor peasantry as a *semiproletariat* indispensable to the success of the revolution. He sharply distinguished it from prosperous owner-peasants whom he thus characterized:

"People who, by their manual or mental labor, have an annual surplus over and above what they need for their own support... are very eager about getting rich and worship Marshal Chao [God of Wealth in Chinese folklore] most devotedly... At the sight of small capitalists who command people's respect their mouths water copiously. They are timid, afraid of government officials, and also a bit afraid of the revolution. This group is a minority among the petty bourgeoisie and constitutes its *right wing*."

From such people, who Mao believed had twisted their lives to adapt themselves to a crumbling society, he had learned that he could expect no help in building a new one. Poor farmers, oppressed women like his mother, allies like his younger



brothers and fellow students who thought as they did, "the great, majority," as Mao saw it, these were his friends -- and friends of revolution.

An acknowledged beneficiary, in spite of himself, of the petty, shrewd, Marshal Chao-worshipping peasants whom he despised, Mao had educational opportunities then shared by very few of his countrymen. Intermittently his father quarreled with him and opposed his method and subjects of study. Once Mao left farm work and for six months studied at the home of an unemployed law student. After he returned "things again improved" for a while, but when he wished to enter higher primary school in a neighboring town his father made him put up the money to hire an extra hand on the farm for a whole year. Mao borrowed the money -- twelve dollars -- from a cousin. Always among the most impoverished students, he nevertheless managed to scrimp through five years in the Hunan Normal School, from which he graduated in 1918. In the interim, and while still in primary and middle schools, he had witnessed famines, revolts, banditry and executions.

From boyhood on he had memorized episodes from romanticized accounts of the "Warring States" and other turbulent periods, books like the *San Kuo* (*Three Kingdoms*) and *Shui Hu Chuan* (*All Men Are Brothers*). Discussing these legends with old peasants, who also delighted in them, Mao heard them reminisce about heroes of the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, with whom they had sympathized. Like most of his schoolmates Mao could read such forbidden and subversive works only covertly -- hiding them under texts of the classics when the teacher walked past. It was these epics, rich in details of strategy and tactics, and the military experience summarized in *Sun Tzu*, the work of Sun Wu, greatest of the ancient military experts (fifth century B.C.), which were to provide for Mao, in later life, basic understanding of the arts of defense and offense in the prosecution of revolutionary war.

Fired by reading the works of the reformist scholars K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, and by Sun Yat-sen's *sub rosa* writings in *The People's Strength*, smuggled into the classrooms, Mao had by 1910 become an antimonarchist in mind and heart. In Changsha he had seen the heads of rebels mounted on poles to strike terror into the people. It was not the first time Mao had witnessed such sanguinary reprisals. As a child he had watched poor peasants, driven by starvation during famine, sack the granaries of the gentry. When leaders of the bandits were captured, their heads had also been spiked and displayed as a public warning. By now he fully understood the price of both social and national revolt. But his own principal soon defiantly invited revolutionaries to speak before the students, awaken sorrow and arouse patriotism to "save China from dismemberment." As a gesture of dedication to the cause, Mao cut off his own queue (a symbol of submission to the Manchu emperor) and helped sever the pigtailed of some students less ardent than himself. In 1911, he enlisted in the republican forces after he had witnessed the seizure of Changsha. Six months later he "resigned;" the Emperor had abdicated and a republic was proclaimed. "Thinking the revolution was over," he explained, "I decided to return to my books." After many vacillations Mao determined to become a teacher.

It quickly became apparent that a mere change from dynastic rule to military dictatorship would not end China's decline. Mao began to spend most of his limited cash on newspapers, in order to follow local and national politics. The famous *New Youth* magazine, edited by Ch'en Tu-hsiu, a returned student from France, made a deep impression on Mao and other students of the time. Echoing Ch'en's revolutionary ideas in Hunan, Mao Tse-tung gathered together some friends to form a "discussion group," very serious in intent. In some ways, it was the prototype of the *hsueh hsi*, or study groups, which were to become a standard feature of "thought remolding" disciplines applied over all China a generation later.

In his college discussion group Mao Tse-tung built up a following among students and asserted his political leadership for the first time. Everything they did and said "must have a purpose," he told me. They wasted no words on "love or romance and considered the times too critical and the need for knowledge too urgent to discuss women or personal matters. I was not interested in women. My parents had married me when I was fourteen to a girl of twenty but I had never lived with her -- and never did. I did not consider her my wife and at this time gave little thought to her.

"Quite aside from discussions of feminine charm, which usually play an important role in the lives of young men of our age, my companions even rejected talk of ordinary matters of daily life. I remember once being in the house of a youth who began to talk to me about buying some meat, and in my presence called in his servant and discussed the matter with him. I was annoyed and did not see this fellow again. My friends and I preferred to talk of large matters -- the nature of men, of human society, of China, the world, and the universe."

More unusual for Chinese students of that time, Mao and his friends became ardent physical culturists. They sought to toughen and steel themselves by taking long excursions, living in the mountains on a minimum of food, sleeping in the open, bathing in cold streams in November, going shirtless and shoeless, "seeing the country," "living as the poor people lived," testing themselves, "body- building." One summer Mao and another student walked across five counties of his native province, "without using a single copper. The peasants fed us and gave us a place to sleep; wherever we went we were kindly treated." It was always the poor peasants, Mao noticed, who were generous in sharing what little they had. Discussing their lives and problems, Mao learned of hardships and injustice beyond anything he had suffered.

In these same counties, and to the homes of many of the same peasants who had sheltered him, Mao would ten years later return to launch the peasant movement which provided the first recruits for the Red Army.

Mao first went to Peking in 1918, as a delegate from the New People's Study Society. There, at the age of twenty-five, he tentatively stepped upon the national political stage. Provincial education in China was sketchy and confused in this time of



transition from Confucian teachings to the first gleanings from the Western world, but Mao had already made wide-ranging contacts and done omnivorous reading in the Changsha library. In his self-study he was guided by his favorite professor, Yang Chen-ch'i, British-educated, "an idealist and a man of high moral character." He taught Mao the first (among the few) English words he ever learned. Now Mao found Yang again, as a professor at Peking National University. Through his help Mao secured a job under the university librarian, Li Ta-chao, who later became a principal founder of the Communist Party. Here he also fell in love with Yang Chen-ch'i's daughter, K'ai-hui; they were married in 1920.

Both Li Ta-chao and Mao's youthful and beautiful bride were executed a few years later, after membership in the Communist party was made a capital offense.

As an assistant librarian, Mao's job was "so low that people avoided me." On his arrival in Peking, Mao shared a k'ang with Professor Yang's gateman. Later he lived "in a little room which held seven other people. When we were all packed fast on the k'ang there was scarcely room to breathe. I had to warn people on each side when I wanted to turn over." They could not afford wood for a fire but shared each other's bodily warmth. Among them they had one winter coat, and they wore it in turn when they wished to go out at night.

But "the beauty of the old capital was a vivid and living compensation," Mao remembered. "In the parks and the old palace grounds I saw the early northern spring; I saw the white plum blossoms flower while the ice still held solid over the North Sea. I saw the willows over Pei Hai with the ice crystals hanging from them and remembered the description of the scene by the Tang poet Chen Chang, who wrote about Pei Hai's winter-jeweled trees looking "like ten thousand peach trees blossoming."

In spite of his poverty and humble occupation, Mao managed to meet important leaders of the cultural renaissance, including Hu Shih and Ch'en Tu-hsiu. As an editor and political mentor, Ch'en influenced Mao "more than anyone else." Under his spell and that of Li Ta-chao and other senior intellectuals of that time, the impact of the Russian Revolution turned Mao from belief in parliamentarism, bourgeois democracy, gradualism and ethical idealism, toward Marxism and a commitment to socialist revolution. In 1918 he had joined a study group organized by Li Ta-chao and there first read some Marxist classics.

"Three books especially carved my mind," he answered a question for me, "and built up in me a faith in Marxism from which, once I had accepted it as the correct interpretation of history, I did not afterward waver. These were the *Communist Manifesto*, *Class Struggle*, by Kautsky, and *History of Socialism*, by Kirkup." By the summer of 1920, Mao considered himself a Marxist, and in the following year he joined Li Ta-chao and ten others to found the Chinese Communist Party.

The ensuing years of Mao's life are largely the history of that party. His leadership was not to assume great national significance until after 1926, but in retrospect it is clear that his experience in organizing the peasant unions of his native province came to dominate his own thinking and, ultimately, the course of the revolution.

From its formation throughout the subsequent years of the first United Front with the Kuomintang and down to the break, in 1927, the line and policies of the Chinese party were largely determined by representatives of the Comintern (Communist International), master-minded from Moscow. During the most fateful period of the Nationalist Revolution, 1926-7, Josef Stalin (under constant attack from Trotsky) headed the Comintern and its agents in China, took directives from him. From afar, Stalin perhaps saw the revolution primarily as a useful weapon with which to strike at Moscow's archenemies, the great capitalist powers, which were considering large-scale armed intervention in China. Until China achieved national unification and independence the revolution should remain under the leadership of Kuomintang progressive Chinese bourgeoisie, Stalin believed.

Restraints placed upon the Communists were insufficient, however, to lull the fears of the warlord-landlord-banking interests behind Chiang's controlling right wing of the Kuomintang. The Nationalist forces had reached the Yangtze River by 1926. It was not until after Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek took Nanking that he turned to the destruction of all Communist-influenced troops. Labor-union organizers had seized the Chinese city of Shanghai (not the foreign settlements) in March 1927. They were attacked and disarmed in a counter coup led by Shanghai gangsters, supported by the arrival of Chiang's main forces early in April. Thereafter Chiang Kai-shek made war on the labor unions and thoroughly smashed their urban mass organizations; In the countryside, and particularly in the province of Hunan, the extirpation of the peasant associations turned out to be far more difficult than anticipated. Here Mao Tse-tung entered the dispute on high strategy with his first open defiance of a Comintern line which he believed had led the party to disaster.

Of all Mao's writings, probably none is more important for a student of history than his *Report on an Investigation into the Peasant Movement in Hunan*, written in February 1927, and urged upon the Politburo.. together with proposals to change party policy, in the last days... which unnecessarily frightened the bourgeoisie. But these associations then embraced about half the population of Hunan. Were they all riffraff? Mao listed "Fourteen Great Deeds" they had already accomplished. These items clearly reveal what Mao considered 'good' and 'bad' for China and the general aims of the agrarian side of the revolution with which he thereafter identified himself. One of the most remarkable things about Mao's report was that it scarcely mentioned Western imperialism, the major preoccupation of Comintern strategy of the time; almost its entire emphasis was on the necessity to overthrow landlord-gentry oppression in order to liberate the peasantry from "feudalism" and inequality.



Greatest of the "deeds" was that the poor peasants had at last actually organized -- a miracle in itself -- against "the local bullies," the "bad gentry" and the "corrupt officials." Among other good deeds they were smashing the political prestige of the landlords; compelling them to audit accounts; forcing them to make contributions to the starving, parading the "most brutal" oppressors through the streets wearing "tall paper hats;" prohibiting usury, grain hoarding, speculation, excessive rents; taking over the offices of police chiefs and electing magistrates; taking command of the landlords' militia and eliminating banditry (by bringing bandits into the peasant associations; overthrowing feudal "clan tyranny" of rich over poor; fining (oppressive landlords and helping themselves to their provisions; ridiculing superstitious practices; ending male tyranny over women; spreading knowledge of the "Three Principles;" prohibiting gambling, opium-smoking, sumptuous feasts, expensive weddings and elaborate funerals; sponsoring mass education for illiterates; organizing marketing and credit cooperatives; and building roads and irrigation ditches financed by "contributions" from the landlords.

"No ancestral temple dare any longer, as it used to, inflict cruel and corporal and capital punishments like "beating," "drowning," and "burying alive," Mao reported. In instances the peasants had found that "the only effective way of suppressing the reactionaries is to execute, in every county, at least some of those whose crimes and wrongdoings are most serious" -- of whom Mao mentioned, in his own Hsiang T'an, two men he accused of having "murdered 'more than fifty poor men euphemistically described as bandits."

Such was Mao's vision of good and evil in the countryside. Such became the program of history's first Communist-led revolution based on the poor peasantry as its "vanguard."

After the Hankow debacle Moscow blamed the hapless Ch'en Tu-hsiu for misinterpreting Stalin's contradictory directives, but the party line continued to rely on the proletariat and insurrections in the cities. Attempts at armed uprisings in Canton and Nanchang were bloodily suppressed. Moscow-trained Communists regrouped the shattered party underground and led it in more putsches of the United Front. Mao had attacked Ch'en Tu-hsiu, the party secretary, for his vacillating and negative directives concerning the peasant associations, the arming of the peasants, and redistribution of land. Ch'en was not opposed to arming the peasants so much as he was concerned with trying to reconcile two contradictory directives from the Comintern, which in essence were: (1) maintain the united front with the Kuomintang by all means; (2) meet the demands of the peasants, especially for land confiscation. The "united front" with the Kuomintang rested upon the support of militarists who were themselves big landlords. To threaten their land would (and did) end cooperation. In a decisive May meeting Ch'en tabled Mao's report and four months later had him read out of the Politburo. Thus the teacher disowned his disciple; but behind Ch'en loomed Stalin.

The counter-revolution drove Soviet advisers from the country and descended upon mass organizations with a violence particularly savage in Hunan...where numerous peasant leaders and intellectuals were executed. Mao himself escaped, probably only because Ch'en had ordered him not to return to Hunan. Chiang Kai-shek emerged supreme, and the Communist party was driven underground.

Mao's 1927 report had been the result of thirty-two days of travel in five counties of Hunan, starting in his native Hsiang T'an, where he had gathered information to try to convince Ch'en that all the peasants of China, were about to "rise like a tornado" of such force that "no power, however great, will be able to suppress it." He announced that the poor peasants of China were "the vanguard of the revolution," almost a heresy in the eyes of orthodox Marxists; only an industrial proletariat could be the vanguard of a social revolution. Mao reported that "the poor peasants comprise seventy percent of the total population; the middle peasants, twenty percent; the rich peasants and landlords, ten percent." What was more: the "enormous mass of the poor peasants are the backbone of the peasant associations." Also, "being the most revolutionary, the poor peasants have won the leadership. ...This leadership of the poor peasants is absolutely necessary. Without the poor peasant there can be no revolution. Their general direction of the revolution has never been wrong."

Mao now and henceforth saw himself as their champion.

Party critics (those who bothered to read him) had called his associations "a movement of riffraff" and of "lazy god-for nothings" (aided by the Comintern), which proved disastrous. By 1932 Chiang Kai-shek and the foreign-policed concessions had made the cities untenable for even a skeletal party apparatus. The bulk of the Central Committee then fled to rural sanctuaries meanwhile built up by Mao Tse-tung and others who believed in the "poor peasantry as vanguard."

After the unseating of Ch'en Tri-hsiu, in August 1927, Mao had returned to Hunan, where, still lacking party approval, he evolved a policy on based on his own neglected report on the peasant movement. Gathering together the pieces of the peasant associations -- their local leadership having been decapitated by the Kuomintang -- he launched the first armed rural insurrection, called the Autumn Crop Uprising. By September it had developed what was called the First Division of the First Peasants and Workers Army. Besides recruits from the shattered peasant unions, Mao brought in some miners from Hanyang unions and some Kuomintang forces which revolted against the Wuhan (Hankow) government.

Inexperienced and poorly armed, the little band was quickly surrounded and forced into disorderly retreat. Mao himself was captured by Kuomintang forces but escaped. Fleeing southward at night he was helped by old friends among the poor peasants to reestablish contact with his remnant forces. Rallying about a thousand men,



he retreated to a mountain stronghold called Chingkangshan, and there established the first base of the new revolution. In May 1928 he was finally reinforced by the arrival of troops from Nanchang, where Chu Teh (a Kuomintang police commander) had led the ill-fated Nanchang Uprising. From this time on, Mao had a trained and able military commander beside him, and he and Chu Teh became inseparable. Mao told me:

"Because the program of the Autumn Uprising had not been sanctioned by the Central Committee, because also the First Army had suffered some severe losses, and from the angle of the cities, the movement appeared doomed to failure, the Central Committee now definitely repudiated me. [Behind it, still, were the Comintern experts.] I was dismissed from the Politburo and also from the Party Front Committee. The Hunan provincial committee also attacked us, calling us a "rifle movement." We nevertheless held our army together at Chingkangshan, feeling certain that we were following the correct line, and subsequent events were to vindicate us fully. New recruits were added and the division filled out again. I became its commander..."

In the winter of 1928-9, Mao's action during and after the Autumn Uprising finally won approval of the Comintern, still bossed by Stalin. It would be wrong to assume, however, that Mao's general line based on the Hunan report was fully accepted. Mao was reinstated in the Central Committee and the Politburo, but his leadership was not to be conceded till 1935. Meanwhile, Mao himself never openly defied Stalin or challenged orthodox Marxist doctrine, which continued to hold that "seizure of power" could be attained by the party only through the urban working class. Mao's problem in semantics was one of loyally upholding Moscow's infallibility, and maintaining an orthodox posture, while the party in practice became almost solely dependent on the peasantry. This he managed to do by means of postulating the existence of a "rural proletariat" and a worker-peasant army under the leadership of the Communist Party itself acting as the vanguard of the true (urban) proletariat. That Mao was able to become an innovator, in Stalin's own time, without again being expelled as a heretic, required great skill in dialectical polemics combined with the ancient Chinese art of "appearing to move in a straight line while actually taking a curve." Whether Mao made "original contributions to Marxist theory" is consequently now a subject which engages many Western scholars and historians in debates as hotly fought as were past ecclesiastical arguments over the question, "How many angels can dance on the head of a needle?"



Mao and Chiang Ching