

A SUMMARY OF THE LAST TWO MONTHS OF PROGRESS IN THE  
CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Following is a translation of an article  
entitled "Ch'en Po-ta T'ung-chih Tui Liang-  
ke-Yueh lai Yun-tung te Tsung-chieh"  
(Comrade Ch'en Po-ta's /7115 0130 6671/  
Summary on Two Months of the Movement), in  
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(Chairman Mao's Comments and Order: Deliver direct to  
Comrade Ch'en Po-ta. Revisions have been noted. They  
were good. Please give consideration as to where the words  
"Grasp the Revolution" and "Promote Production" may be  
added. This should be mass printed and issued in pamphlet  
form. Each Party Branch and each Red Guard squad should at  
least have one copy. 23:00, 24 December).

Two Routes in the Proletarian Cultural Revolution:  
(I) The Situation is very good. The route of the proleta-  
rian revolution has achieved great victories. The  
reactionary route of the capitalistic classes has failed.  
Chairman Mao declared on 18 August that "The scope of this  
movement is great. It will really be able to instigate  
the masses."

Chairman Mao's three visits with the masses and the  
scale of the National Day Celebrations were something rarely  
seen anywhere. Chairman Mao stresses his permanent faith  
in the masses by being together with them. He  
breathes together with the masses and shares their fate.  
He sets us a brilliant example for the entire Party. The  
real proletarian revolutionary, the great proletarian  
cultural rebel, is right by our side. This is our good  
luck. We must learn and re-learn from him. In the past  
two months, ever since the "Decisions" were published, the

people have received their ideological weapons. The movement has had time to develop in depth.

The great cultural revolution has pushed the movement for the study of Mao's works to even greater heights. The promotion of the Red Guard Movement has led to internationally brilliant results. We can say without embarrassment that the Cultural Revolution is even more glorious and grander than the Paris Commune and the October Revolution. It is an even deeper international proletarian movement. It has caused fear in the imperialists and revisionists. It has led to awe among the knaves.

(II) Continuation of the Struggle Between the Two Routes: The capitalistic route's opposition to the revolution has not been entirely eradicated. At the Final Session of the Eleventh Party General Congress Chairman Mao said, "Never feel that just because it is recorded as our decisions, that all Party Committee members and all comrades will be carrying them out. There will be a small minority who will be unwilling to carry them out."

Facts have shown that Chairman Mao's foresight is accurate.

"The 16 Articles" have corrected the inaccurate line of the previous era. However such inaccurate lines have arisen in other forms. The struggle became very acute and very complicated. The struggling continued to revolve around problems of the masses. There were certain people who refused to carry out the line of the Party, of the proletariat, of the revolution, and thus of Chairman Mao. This was because the masses' view of Chairman Mao and the capitalistic world views of those comrades that had not reformed could not mutually tolerate one another. Chairman Mao's cultural revolutionary line asks the masses to educate themselves and liberate themselves. But certain representatives of incorrect lines opposed this. They made use of the Kuomintang's "tutelage" to oppose them. They regarded themselves as the "tutors" and the masses as their pupils. They led the movement onto an opposing route. This, then, became the "cultural revolution" of the reactionary capitalistic classes.

The "work units" are but organizational forms. In certain movements if they are used appropriately, they are all right and necessary. But certain leaders have imposed organizations upon the masses merely for the sake of promoting their incorrect lines. The work units have been done away with. But certain anti-Maoists are using other methods to promote their lines. These include the use of anti-Paris Commune election principles to nominate their ideals of "preparatory committees" and "revolutionary

committees", etc. They went as far as to accompany those teachers and students coming to Peiping to visit Chairman Mao, in order to attack these revolutionary people. On 25 September, I and other cultural revolutionary comrades welcomed a batch of visiting teachers and students in Peiping. I then suggested asking those relatives of higher eschehelon cadres to give up their leadership positions in favor of relatives of ordinary cadres. I feel that a monopoly of leadership positions by such relatives of the former was not beneficial. This would be disadvantageous to both the proletarian revolution and to themselves. However, if there were certain of these people who are really suitable and the masses were to elect them, I would not be opposed to it. But investigative data has it that as soon as some people heard my words they immediately adopted counteractive measures. They said that the Central authorities already have ordered that sons and daughters of higher cadres should not serve as Red Guard leaders. They have resigned their positions and assigned "stable elements" to serve in these capacities. They adopted many methods, and certain comrades felt great joy in describing them.

Chairman Mao said on 5 August, in the wall poster journal entitled "Artillery Attack on Headquarters," "There are certain comrades in the Central and Provincial Party organs who have been acting counter to our ways. They have been standing on the side of the capitalistic reactionaries by attacking the proletarian revolution. They have turned the truth upside down and oppressed the masses. They have propagated white terror and have felt quite proud of it."

There are certain people who still do not mind Chairman Mao, disregarding his words and going about their own ways. This is capitalism taking effect in their mind and actions.

On the eve of the Liberation Chairman Mao had said, "It is possible that there will be certain communists like this. They had never been conquered by gun-toting enemies. But they are unable to endure attacks with sugar-coated shells. Class struggle in history has really been like this. There are people who are moved to silence by threats and enticements, thereby standing along the same front as the enemy. The progressives become laggards, and laggards become progressives. This is rapidly manifested in the great cultural revolution. There are certain of our comrades who regard themselves as 'old revolutionaries.' They have their day as bureaucrats and have entirely forgotten their revolutionary and historical pasts. Chairman Mao's

criticism of bureaucracy, passivity, timidity and pride, all refer to these people. They will not permit the masses to rid them of their lack of virtue during the cultural revolution. Quite the contrary, they will utilize the great faith the masses have in Chairman Mao to mobilize a batch of these masses for their own protection. We should read the words of a certain woman in Nanch'ung in Szechuan. I quote her words which she spoke to two street cadres, "If both these students are anti-revolutionaries then something must be wrong with the local Party Committee. This is because both students have received their education in local schools from local party authorities. If there are so many counter-revolutionaries, then surely something must be wrong with the local party authorities." How true, these words of an ordinary woman; how to the point! A retired old worker said, "The revolutionary local party committee still insists that we furnish guarantees. They aren't Kuomintang party cadres. Neither is this an old government. How come they are so scared of the masses?" How clear was this analysis of the problem by an ordinary worker! He is really a person familiar with Chairman Mao's ideology. He must be much better than certain cadres. Facts are laid out before us. The two lines continue their struggle against each other. There will be many more ups and downs. The laws of class struggle are not freely changed at one's whims. In just twelve days after the passing of the "Decision" on August eighth, the cultural revolution committee at a college jumped out of the arena and raised an opposing policy. This they published far and wide. There were people who were not interested in decisions personally set up by Chairman Mao. They printed their own policy and broadcast without limit. A certain relative of a higher echelon cadre went so far as to praise this by saying, "This is suited to our conditions and is to our benefit." There are many of these relatives who are good and who really are suited to inherit the revolution. There are others who want to travel along the path of revisionism. They do not analyze. They do not carry out Marxist dialectic analysis. They are wholeheartedly devoted to the special rights of the relatives of the higher echelon cadres. They are entirely opposed to Mao's ideology. We must utilize the five standards suggested by Chairman Mao to train the inheritors. Why must these relatives be given special rights? Is it because their bloodline is more aristocratic? Not long ago a comrade wrote me, pointedly raising this problem: Is it true that prior to the 16 Articles every place that had a work unit assigned to it had committed line errors? After the

Eleventh Session of the Party Central General Congress, what were the types of errors committed in treating the matter of the great join-up and the relationship of the majority and minority?

Must we admit that they are all of the reactionary line? This really is a matter of understanding and evaluation. I see it in the following way:

(1) The line problem must be inspected separately. There are those which are raised. There are others which are carried out. The former refers to certain representative personnel. They are to be held mainly responsible.

(2) The line struggle within the party is a reflection of the socialistic class struggle. A mistaken line has a social basis. Mainly this is because there is a market for the erroneous line of the capitalistic classes. It is because there is a small number among the ruling clique that travel the capitalistic route, as well as certain stupid people whose world views have not been reformed.

(3) The dispatching of large numbers of work units to suppress the masses is a line error. Those who did not assign work units but who also oppressed the revolutionary students were also wrong in their line. Of course there is a difference between those who carried it out consciously (the minority) and those who carried it out unconsciously (the majority). There is a difference in severity, as well as a difference in whether mistakes were rectified immediately and whether such mistakes were sustained.

(4) Standards for distinguishing between those who reform and those who persist in their errors, include whether they openly admit their attitudes towards the masses that what they carried out was a reactionary and erroneous line; whether they are willing to fight the counter-revolutionaries and support revolutionary activities of the rebel students.

(5) Those who are unwilling to thoroughly criticize the erroneous line cannot be conscientious in carrying out the correct line of the Party Central, that is, the line of Mao Ideology.

(6) Therefore, in certain respects, there are still certain comrades at the Eleventh Party Central General Congress who use various means to circumvent various problems and commit line mistakes. That is to say, they are still instigating the worker and farmer masses, as well as organizational cadres, fight with the students with reference to problems of the big combine, the minority and the majority.

(7) The erroneous line that oppresses the masses is a reactionary line of the capitalistic classes. However,

this is not to say that all those who carry out the reactionary line are anti-party, anti-Socialistic, and anti-Mao ideology, capitalistic, rightist elements. As long as one is able to correct one's erroneous line and return to the fold of the accurate line, one can not only become second and third line cadres, but even first class cadres.

(8) As far as the ordinary comrade is concerned, the nature of his error is not a conflict between us and the enemy; but rather internal strife of the people. However, everybody must have a high degree of alertness. No matter under what circumstance, no matter how much credit is accrued from the past, if they insist upon the reactionary capitalistic line, then it will always end in sliding onto the road of Party opposition.

The cultural revolution is a severe test for each individual person. It is still in the process of testing individuals.

(III) Do Away with Fears, Let Go, and Motivate the Masses! Chairman Mao tells us regularly that Communist Party members should not be scared of anything. The 16 Articles also tell us to commence from 'daring to do.'

There are certain comrades today who still start off with "fear ." There are even people who are extremely afraid. It is very strange. But their ways are getting more and more numerous. Those of the fear clique say, "Once the masses cause an uproar, they no longer listen to reason. They no longer observe regulations. They upset customs and order, making things very hard to handle." They also say, "The cultural revolution obstructs production. Once production becomes difficult to carry out, planning can no longer be guaranteed." Then they say, "The cultural revolution is boring a hole into the counter-revolution. Once the rightists start an upheaval results will become more serious. There will be 'dissatisfaction with one's lot,' 'ambitious elements,' 'snatchers,' 'rioters,' 'boors' and other bad elements." They placed quite a few labels on the revolutionary teachers, students and cadres. Thereupon fear of the masses and fear of the grand democracy becomes reasonable. In one word, those who cause cleavage and stir up the masses to fight against the masses are those who are afraid of the masses, afraid of the revolution. From a better point of view, it can be said that some think of becoming the 'status quo' clique. However, there is a certain class of people who is departing further and further. These people can only be said to be creating conditions for their own downfall. In history, there have been many who have descended from fearing the masses to opposing the masses and from fearing revolution to countering the revolution.

We hope that these people will no longer waver. There are those who say they are not afraid of the masses nor of motivating the masses. But once they run across the real thing, they lose their wits and cringe before the masses. This parable of Chairman Mao's had been used for over 40 years. Can't we be warned of the dangers by it? The progressive German poet, Heine, called himself a communist. But he feared communistic revolution. He said, "The future belongs to the proletariat. I say this with an anxious spirit." From Heine's point of view, once victory comes to communism and the proletariat comes into power, his beloved art and his poetry would be destroyed. Lenin says, "Heine was an ignorant one. He was unable to see that simultaneously with the destruction of the old order, we must preserve the essence of mankind's culture, as well as create a new and brilliant culture that capitalists cannot hope to overtake." I dare say that there are comrades who are even more anxious than Heinrich Heine. They are afraid of losing their positions and their prestige. Thereupon they started opposing the masses and the proletarian cultural revolution. They instigated the worker and farmer to fight against the student, making themselves out as people who are supported by the majority; they also pretend that the organs they manage are the headquarters of the proletarian classes. They did not regret their making some people counter-revolutionaries. They organized a siege but said that it was but a debate. What is the border line between a siege and a debate? The fact is, as long as we sit on the side of the masses and dig ourselves in, we can easily understand the problem. But if we only think of "taking care" of the masses nobody will be able to answer it for us. Opposing the revolutionary combine involves the same problem of attitude that we come across in those who oppose the masses and the revolution. Permitting students of the entire nation to join the great combine is one of the best forms of self-education for these students. They are forged in the revolutionary melting pot of the combine. They are able to differentiate between the good and the bad and familiarize themselves with the masses and with struggling. There is depth of revolutionary meaning in this. Combining the cultural revolutions of the entire nation permits identification of who is the real revolutionary, who is the proletarian revolutionary and where is the headquarters of the proletarian classes.

The combine is the best college. It permits them to advocate walking and permits them to practice the long march. The long march is a manifesto, a propaganda team, and an amplifier system. Those who travel from afar

may become useful people. Those who move from one's home to the school, thence to the office, can we trust these people to become dependable inheritors?

As for the "Combine" obstructing production, the agricultural situation this year is excellent. Industry has shown great advances. There is an enormous increase in production of grains and cotton. There has been a five million tan increase in cotton, as well as a 20 billion chin increase in grain production. The gross national industrial product has increased 26%. The Party Central has decreed that whenever possible, and quite voluntarily, there should be no riding of trains and motor vehicles. Definitely there will be many students who will act accordingly. In this manner transportation problems will be solved. Both the Red Guard and the Great Combine are glorious firsts. Chairman Mao has great respect for such creations. He supports the Great Combine and wishes to promote it. The Red Guards have just budded and are still being oppressed. Who will act as their support? Nobody else but our Great Commander-in-chief. On 31 July he wrote a letter to the Red Guards of the Subsidiary Middle School at Tsinghua saying, "I wish to show enthusiastic support." In merely a matter of a few months a small band of Red Guards has expanded into a vast army. The devil and the goblins are shaking in their shoes. Those who fear the revolution are beginning to get restless. They feel that it would be best to advocate further research, carrying out that which is practicable. Combat results should be displayed. It is best to use facts to educate the masses, so as to make revolution logical.

A capitalistic news agency comments editorially that in two months time the red guards have become a permanent organization among the political life of 750 million Chinese. Most likely they will be affecting the politics and livelihood of the people. It also commented that if the West and the Russian revisionists think these are organizations of roudyones and are a temporary phenomena, not only are they foolish, but it would also be a dangerous thing. The enemy's observations are sometimes even more penetrating than those of certain of our comrades. This is worthy of our thoughts. This is but an internal affair, how come we have caused fear in the hearts of the enemy? This is no longer the time of the blockaded nation. The cultural revolution affects the entire world. It is even more rapidly hastening the revolutionization of the entire country. Any place and any unit will be able to greatly hasten productive aggressiveness and industrial-agricultural production, as well as a great scientific-technological leap

forward, if they conscientiously take a firm grasp of the revolution and hasten production. It will permit this country to catch up and overtake the world's progressive levels in a relatively short time.

(IV) Insist upon the Class Line Suggested by Chairman Mao: Unite the majority! Chairman Mao asks, "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends?"

During the revolution there were constant changes in power and objectives. But Chairman Mao's class line was always appropriate. In this cultural revolution we must maintain this class line. The leftist force is good at discovering and attracting those who waver and those who can pass both to the right or to the left. They can unite the majority in order to isolate the capitalistic rightists and expose the two-faced elements. Some people want to substitute the dogma of cliques for the proletarian line of the Party, throwing Party principles to the winds. They forget that there is political and class nature to cliques; thus substituting blood lines for the class line. They try to foul up the class front and isolate the revolutionary forces from the proletariat.

There is prevalent in many places the dogma of automatic reliability and proper indoctrination. They utilized the naivety of certain youthful students and composed the couplet of "The offspring is a hero, if the father is one" to benumb certain students. This is, in fact, the blood line theory of the exploiting and reactionary classes. It is the philosophy of the landowner classes. These are the anti-Marxist-Leninists. They oppose Maoist ideology. They are the idealists who oppose the class analysis of Marxist-Leninism. Chairman Mao and the Party lay great emphasis upon the upbringing of the class elements. At the same time they are opposed to stressing merely composition as dogma. Man must constantly undergo long term self-inspection through struggling, in order to prove what class one's world point-of-view belongs to. Ideological consciousness is not inborn. It is a reflection of social existence. It is formed gradually through participation in the class struggle, reflecting either this class or that class. According to the Marxist-Leninist, the worker, based upon his position in society, has the easiest time of accepting scientific socialism. But this socialism was not created by the working classes. The creators Marx and Engles, according to their social positions, were capitalistic intelligentsia. Lenin, Stalin, and even Mao, were the same. But they are all proletarian revolutionaries, coming from the masses and returning to them. They have summarized the entire experiences of various stages of struggles by international workers. They have created and developed

scientific socialism leading the working classes forward.

There are some who have sprung up from the working classes, but who do not represent their interests. For instance the leaders of the Labor Party in England have become tools of those who oppose the proletariat. In Russia there also are those who rose from the worker classes who advocate among students the dogma of automatic reliability, dividing people into five reliable and five unreliable classifications. Those who have created this viewpoint and who are spreading it, are those who are creating upheavals and poisoning the students. They deny that there must be incessant reform in revolutionary progress. They deny that others can reform. They do not wish to revolt and do not permit others to do so. It is wrong not to stress class upbringing. Stressing merely composition and forgetting political expression is also wrong. These viewpoints must be criticized. Departing from class analysis to look at the majority or the minority is also erroneous. Chairman Mao was constantly situated among the minority. But he always represented the vast masses of people, Marxist-Leninism, as well as the truth. But those people who felt that they themselves are accurate have all failed. They have been cast off by the masses. Those who do not engage in class analysis and place themselves above everybody else, cannot stand, without supporting either the majority or the minority. It is false. It is not possible to be impartial.

The proletariat, historically, represents the largest masses of people and is the greatest of all classes. In his letter to the Red Guards of the Subsidiary Middle School at Tsinghua, Mao pointed out that "We ask you to pay attention to uniting all people that can be united."

According to that which was pointed out by Chairman Mao, the proletarian class should liberate itself and all mankind, otherwise it will not achieve liberation in the end. Chairman Mao also points out "The revolutionary line of the proletarian class should avoid the dogma of the clique, which is the same dogma of the closed door." He calls this closed-door policy one that isolates itself from others. The proletarian class is the exact opposite of this. It wants to draft all peoples in order to surround the enemy and destroy them. The cultural revolution must obey and follow Chairman Mao's class line and isolate the small numbers of counterrevolutionary revisionist elements, in order to achieve individual victories.

"The last-come waves of the Yangtze pushes on the front waves. The new generation in the world overtakes the oldsters!"

The four "news" -- new thinking, new culture, new customs and new habits -- of the proletarian class will definitely take over from the four "olds" -- old ideologies, old culture, old customs and old habits -- of the capitalists.

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