

IS IT NOTHING MORE THAN SLAVERY?

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On this day, twenty-five years ago, the great revolutionary leader of the people of the whole world, Chairman Mao, issued his brilliant work, The Yanan Forum Talks on Literature and Art.

These Talks are the peak of development of revolutionary literature and art theory, and are the most thorough, comprehensive, systematic summary in human history, developing the Marxist-Leninist world view.

The Talks pointed out that: "Our literary and art workers must certainly satisfy this responsibility, must certainly shift their standpoint, must certainly go deep into the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, go deeply into the process of actual struggle, and into the study of Marxism and social processes. They will gradually shift, and move to the side of the workers, soldiers and peasants, and come over to the side of the proletariat." Particularly in this Great Cultural Revolution, this shifting of standpoint is a fundamental change, a change that goes to the soul, a change in standpoint and world view. The question of whether or not to shift, and to shift toward whom, is not a frivolous matter at all. This is a matter of each person's critical experiences during the sharp, complicated struggle between two lines.

In the ten month course of the Great Cultural Revolution, a number of our cadres either have already shifted, or are shifting their standpoint, moving all the way over to the side of the young revolutionary leaders. But we cannot fail to recognize the fact that there are rather many people who either still have not shifted their standpoint or have not shifted it completely. They still have not searched their souls, and their sentiments are still not proletarian. As for them, the shifting of standpoint is a grave responsibility.

The struggle is sharp and complex, and the road is winding. In this moment of decisive struggle, a small handful of people in power in the Party who follow the capitalist road are trying to regain the paradise they have lost. To this end, they will certainly go to great lengths of wildness, and will stir up all the forces they can muster. They carry forward their very vicious machinations, and from above, below, right, left, inside and outside, they carry on in an effort to oppose and get rid of the proletarian revolutionary faction. They have long tried using the techniques of capitalist politicians, and they search energetically among the ranks of the revolution for people who will serve as their agents. They nurture the power of conservatism, and inside the left faction they try to break up the three alliances. In politics, this bunch is an anarchist product, while in their thought they manifest a capitalist or petit bourgeois world view. In organizations, they try hard to divide people, in order to serve their own personal interests or those of a small clique. In order to make themselves look good, to deceive the masses, and to win people over, they set forth a batch of peculiar statements, and these are completely of the revisionist brand. The most effective and attractive of these concerns "the theory of the new slavery." A handful of people in power in the Party who follow the capitalist road are the managers of this theory.

They connect and reduce all matters to this question of slavery, even that of their Achilles heel, "cultivation." But does this really work out to be true?

Ten months is not a long time, but throughout this movement, memories have been kept fresh in men's minds.

We have recorded that in the independent kingdom of Mr. Chiang (5592), under Liu (0491) and Teng (6772), Chiang and his sinister gang try to get those under them to foster revisionism, and they dare to put notions into the heads of youth like their "tricks," their "experience," and their "secrets." Isn't this more than slavery?

We have it in our memory, do we not, that at the outset of the Great Cultural Revolution, Chiang Nan-hsiang's (5592, 0589, 5046) old-time cadre units under his control, and his old cronies all joined in to protect Chiang. When the workers' organization came in, Chiang played the innocent, and pulled the wool over their eyes. Isn't this more than slavery?

Do you remember how, when the young revolutionaries seized power, and carried forward rectification, and just recently tried to advance the three alliances, those controlled by Chiang's sinister gang, in the workers' organization, worked up pretexts to spread white terror? At that time, those who had been faithful tools and "slaves" turned into chieftains, helping the young revolutionaries, and supporting the comrades and cadres of the new revolutionary governmental power structure to put down slavery.

These things are not merely slavery! A small handful of people in power in the Party following the capitalist road try to interfere with the class struggle and to inject "cultivation," and this is really opposition to proletarian dictatorship!

Some of our comrades are taken in by these people. They want to get rid of "cultivation" and slavery, and forget that the basic matters are those of position, standpoint, feeling, and world view.

Those who have not changed their standpoint do not see the young revolutionaries' spirited struggle against Liu and Teng, they do not see any firm class standpoint, they do not see how the revolutionaries dare to think, talk, revolt, and rebel. And they even have some feelings for petit bourgeois caught up in little formalities, and the capitalist gentlemen with their "cultivation." They also like Chiang and his sinister gang. They sometimes like some aspects of the young revolutionaries, but that is just due to a craving for novelty. They are just as Chairman Mao has said: "These comrades' standpoint is still with the petit bourgeois intellectuals, or to put it more nicely, their souls are still small kingdoms of the petit bourgeois intellectual." "They are not enthusiastic about the cause of the people, and they are indifferent and detached in their view of the struggle and victory of the proletariat and its vanguard. They are only concerned with themselves, or a small number of people around them. This sort of petit bourgeois individualist of course does not want to sing the praises of the revolutionary people, or to stir the revolutionary people's bravery in combat or their confidence in victory. This type of person is a dabbler in the ranks of the revolution, and the revolutionary people do not need this sort of "singer." This is the penetrating criticism of these people by our leader Chairman Mao. These people have to get stirred up, to search their souls, to join with the revolutionary rebel warriors, and to reform their own standpoint, feelings, and world view.

The handful of people espousing the slavery theory have more serious things in mind, and we must neither ignore them nor have any illusions about them. Chairman Mao teaches us that: "We have long experience in class struggle. We revolutionary Party men must understand these others. We must study their tactics, in order to fight them better. We cannot sit back as contented intelligentsia, and regard the complex class struggle as too simple." The slavery theory is a clever tactic of theirs, it is reactionary anarchism in disguise. They continuously use revisionist methods, reject the class struggle, ignore the dictatorship of the proletariat, and try to divide people up into the rulers and the masses, in the abstract. They stir up misguided masses to demonstrate against the left faction and even to seize power. They attack those who are dedicated, real revolutionary people and cadres. They use exposé literature, and slander, and curse things as slavery or obedient tools. They rashly plan to destroy the three alliances. One day, when their plots go awry, they will drag out their slavery theory and all the rest of it, and will try

various tricks. But this is not the point. The weak point of "cultivation" is not slavery, it is opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat. If you do not search your capitalist souls, and you go on with Liu's "cultivation," opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat, how can you be well meaning? Early on, twenty-five years ago, Chairman Mao said: "The truly good hearted man wants to get results, to evaluate experience, study methods, and in creative work this is called the technique of expression. A really good hearted man must carry on sharp criticism of his own faults and mistakes, and be determined to correct these faults and mistakes." "Stimulus and result are united in the theory of dialectical materialism. A stimulus on the masses and a result welcomed by the masses cannot be separated. We must unite the two." This is absolute truth.

Slavery does not exist apart from class. There is no slavery in a proletarian environment. Slavery can only serve capitalism, and can never serve the proletarian class.

The capitalist class tries to muddle the people's fighting spirit of revolution. It has pushed the ideas of "Christianity's revisionism," "Kennedy's revisionism," "Kruschev's revisionism," and now speaks of Liu's softening. They ignore the dictatorship of the proletariat and try to increase their own welfare and power by violent means. They promote slavery. Slavery breeds on capitalist ground. The "slavery theory" is a new weapon to protect capitalist dictatorship and attack proletarian dictatorship. Division disrupts the proletarian revolutionary faction, and is a poison which tries to negate the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must thoroughly criticize the "new slavery theory."

Revolutionary comrades and cadres, in our fight on behalf of Communism, we must not fear the arguments of others, or ridicule, or people's criticizing us as the "new slavery." In order to protect Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, in order to protect the dictatorship of the proletariat, let us bravely change our standpoint. Let us move to the side of the brave young revolutionaries. Let us join together to build a new Tsinghua, like the old K'ang Ta military college of Yen-an. The final victory belongs to us.

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