

THE GREAT CRITICISM MUST PUT POLITICS IN A PROMINENT POSITION

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The criticism of Liu Shao-ch'i, the Khrushchev of China, and his work on "Cultivation" is a mass movement flamboyantly going on. What is the crux which will determine whether this great movement of criticism can be wholesomely and penetratingly developed, whether it can be carried through to the end? It is the question of whether it can put politics in a prominent position.

Politics is the soul, the commander-in-chief. By giving prominence to politics we can clearly see the direction and increase our vigor. The prominence of politics can enable us to have a firm grip on the struggle between the two roads and the two lines, to criticize Liu's counterrevolutionary revisionist line politically, ideologically, and theoretically, and to eliminate thoroughly its evil influences in all fields.

The prominence of politics will massively wreck the old thinking of the bourgeoisie, firmly establish the new thinking of the proletariat, and dig out the roots of revisionism from the depth of the soul. The criticism of "Cultivation" away from the revolutionization of man's thought will cause the movement to over-reach its mark.

The prominence of politics calls for the unrestrained mobilization of the masses and all positive factors, for waging a real people's war.

The prominence of politics requires the coordination of the criticism of "Cultivation" with the realization of the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries and the establishment of the leading organ with its "three-way alliance," to promote the "struggle, criticism, and transformation" in each unit.

In one word the prominence of politics is the prominence of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the study from beginning to end of Chairman Mao's works in the movement of criticism, the discovery of a weapon for criticism in these works, and the employment of Mao Tse-tung's thought, this spiritual nuclear weapon, to put down completely Liu Shao-ch'i, the Khrushchev of China.

After the initial success of our general offensive against the Khrushchev of China, the broad revolutionary masses and proletarian revolutionaries of our school, filled with ardent love for Chairman Mao and harboring a deep hatred for Liu and Teng, have held aloft the great critical flag of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, give prominence to politics, developed the firm and thorough spirit of revolutionary rebellion and the combative behavior of the Red Guards, and launched a vehement attack on the Khrushchev of China, Liu Shao-ch'i, and his representative work on "Cultivation." On the other hand, however, we cannot fail to see that up to the present some people have not yet gained a very clear comprehension of the criticism of Liu and of his black work on "Cultivation," and have not been very serious about it. From the standpoint of some the destiny of China and the future of the world do not seem to be of serious concern to them. Lacking the viewpoint of the class struggle, they fail to see the great life-and-death struggle between the two classes, they do not have the determination to protect Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line with self-consciousness, and they leave things as they are without making a comment. Others are always unbalanced and unwilling to engage in minute analysis and criticism, and they only expect quick results by applying their almost purely military viewpoint. A number of still others scarcely read articles which criticize Liu and his work on "Cultivation" politically and ideologically, but pay close attention to unconfirmed news and political jokes.

It is said, "Liu Shao-ch'i is already a dead dog, and it is no longer necessary to attack him." This is indeed an inexperienced observation, which makes such an oversimplification of the acute and complicated class struggle. These people ba-

sically do not see that behind Liu stands a wicked bourgeoisie, that his bourgeois reactionary line has its very profound social foundation; and that they deem the task to be accomplished, once Liu is dragged out.

To these people the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which is unprecedented in history, is merely a revolution for the "dismissal of officials." All proletarian revolutionary comrades must clearly understand that our criticism of the Khrushchev of China is a continuation of the struggle of long standing, especially during the last 17 years, between the two lines. We can only thoroughly criticize and liquidate the bourgeois reactionary line represented by his group for the last few decades and the poison spread by it in all fields, and we must seize all the leadership usurped by the top party person taking the capitalist road and place it back in the hands of the proletariat. This will still be a very serious political struggle. Liu is a dog which has already fallen into the water. But he has not yet been drowned, and once he climbs back ashore, he will fight back against the revolutionary people with ten times of fanaticism and a hundred times of combative effort. Therefore we must now thoroughly develop the revolutionary spirit of Lu Hsun (7627 6598) in the severe beating of the dog which has fallen into the water.

"The criticism of 'Cultivation' has no meaning, and nothing is like participation in the struggle outside." Those who think and speak this way are muddle-headed indeed. If the thorough eradication of the theoretical and ideological basis of the bourgeois reactionary line and the protection of Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line with practical action are meaningless, what is meaningful? Must one necessarily have to ramble around and seek pleasure all day long to make life meaningful? In fact what is said here about getting out to participate in the struggle is another way of describing the evasion of the present serious political struggle. This strange talk is not even worth refuting.

"The criticism of 'Cultivation' is the job of cadres and party members, but since I have not read the work on 'Cultivation,' there is no 'poison' to speak of." No, the criticism of "Cultivation" is an important matter for the party, for the class, and for the state, and it is the greatest political question in China. The criticism or not of "Cultivation" is a question of class attitude, and of party character, a question as to whether the dictatorship of the proletariat should be safeguarded or not end, in the final analysis, of whether there should be a revolution. Here we only have the distinction between the proletariat and bourgeoisie, and not that between "cadres" and the "people." If you are a proletarian revolutionary, you will

severely criticize Liu and his black "Cultivation." If you are a bourgeois "royalist," you will of course have a gentle feeling for them and protect them with all your might. You will stand on either one side or the other, and this is the way the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are divided on the question of attitude and world outlook.

"With my low level, I am afraid that my criticism will not prove satisfactory." This is another muddle-headed conception. By showing timidity before ferocious wolves and kindness before cruel enemies, these comrades in fact give pirates the opportunity to plunder and kill people and the wolves the right to kill. This is indeed dangerous to the extreme.

Lenin has taught us, "Do you wish to engage in revolution? Then you should be strong." All comrades beset by the thought of timidity should, in addition to strengthening their conception of class struggle, follow the teaching of Chairman Mao: "Get rid of all your internal thought of weakness and incapability." Implant the thinking of daring to struggle and daring to win. You should realize that though Liu and his "Cultivation" seem to be strong, in fact they do not possess unusual strength and are merely a paper tiger. So long as we hold aloft the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought and put politics in a prominent position, we can certainly criticize the Khrushchev of China and his "cultivation" till they fall, collapse, and smell. At the same time, after this great criticism we can certainly raise the level of our Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought in stride.

Revolution depends on self-consciousness, and a real proletarian revolutionary fighter must have a high degree of revolutionary self-consciousness, especially when the masses are engaged in an unprecedentedly great ideological revolution and criticism. Our fight in the criticism of Liu and eradication of his black "Cultivation" is aimed at the protection of Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Relying entirely on a high degree of proletarian revolutionary self-consciousness and the will to achieve the victory of the proletarian revolution, we must in truth regard this great criticism as an event of first importance, which concerns the future and destiny of the party and state and the future and destiny of the world revolution, and as a life-and-death struggle of one class for the overthrow of the other. If we still wait for others to make arrangements for us, it is a total indication of slavery, which can never be sustained.

All the above mistaken thoughts are basically at vari-

ance with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking, and irreconcilable with the proletarian revolutionary line. These mistaken thoughts are an indication of the failure to give prominence to politics of the proletariat. Their existence is a very great hindrance to the penetrating development of the great movement of criticism.

Each of our Red Guard fighters, each proletarian revolutionary comrade, must take the lead in making a creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, in giving prominence to proletarian politics, and wholeheartedly participate in the great movement of criticism. Each of them must, in this great movement, make a creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, give prominence to the great propaganda, emphasis, and education on Mao Tse-tung's thought, actively and with full energy participate in this decisive war between the two classes, the two roads, and the two lines, and carry this great criticism and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end.

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