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The revolutionary road



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Communism is the project of a review, based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, published both in English and in French, on a irregular basis and with a main topic. Our aim is to promote scientific socialism, to move forward on the most important topics of the time, to help the exchanges between Marxists-Leninists-Maoists Communists from different countries.

This number is the first one and has been published for the First of May, 2016, as a common initiative from Afghanistan, Belgium and France. We promote the following websites as revolutionary media:
 massline.net from Afghanistan,
 sarbaharapath.com from Bangladesh,
 centremmlm.be from Belgium,
 lesmaterialistes.com from France.

“I hold that it is bad as far as we are concerned if a person, a political party, an army or a school is not attacked by the enemy, for in that case it would definitely mean that we have sunk to the level of the enemy.

It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves.

It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work.”

Mao Zedong – To be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing, may 26, 1939

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First of May 2016

Maoist Joint Declaration

Uphold the flag of New Democracy and Socialism!

Nothing can stop the movement of matter, the movement of change. And the task is to make this change real, developing itself correctly, to establish a better world, a pacified and unified humankind, a more developed society where culture, arts, science and ecology govern everyday life.

A society where robots help us to progress in production, where the global telecommunications networks permits to share all the knowledge in the best efficient way, where informatics facilitate all the calculations for planning and science, where intellectual and manual labour are combined, where medicine profits to all with the free sharing of knowledge, where man and woman are equal.

A society resolving the contradiction between the cities and the countryside, giving humankind its place in nature, respecting life as the most advanced development of matter, calling for space exploration and the spreading of life through space colonization.

But the ruling classes have others values. They have economic interests in the massive deforestation, in anarchic urbanization, in inter-imperialist concurrencies splitting countries like Ukraine or destroying others like Iraq.

They spend always more money for wars and are even not able to unite against a known threat like climate change, as the failure of the COP 21 has shown it recently. Their spirit of greed is so strong, that they are ready to accept phenomena like the rise of the “Islamic State” or the mass migrations of millions of people.

The reason is that the tendency of imperialist wars is ripening and everything new – in a bad sense – is a possible way for an imperialist power or an expansionist semi-colonial semi-feudal country to make a move against another.

Instability, insecurity, troubles... are the food of capitalism trying to always find new possibilities to make some better profits. This is also the sense of establishing ways of life which are full of alienation, corresponding to an irrational consumption of superficial things.

The dream of capitalism is to shape the masses so that they consume as much of commodities as they can, making a fetish of them, drinks full of sugars and always more meat permitting to increase the body weights and the profits.



Capitalism tries to mold everyone and everything so as to conform to the reign of the commodity, accumulation of capital.

Culturally, this means a deep decadence, as the natural program of capitalism in its imperialist stage is to produce an environment based on brainless movies about gangsters and superheroes, exacerbated fake relationships through social networks, fascination for elitist sports, rabid individualism, nationalism and a cult of warriors.

Everything in culture and science must be submitted to this ideology of “individuality”, “creation”, “uniqueness”, “competition”, quest for profit, etc.

This is the source of the general decay of societies on our planet, where the lack of responsibility becomes a norm, ultra-individualism the only apparent way to protect own-self, exploitation the sense of life itself.

When we compare where our world is going and where it could go if another direction is taken, things are obvious : we need to change things, we need the Socialist World Revolution!

Therefore, we call to uphold the flag of New Democracy and Socialism, to understand the science of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong!



We need an avant-garde paving the way for the revolution, organizing the masses, spreading the revolutionary ideology as Guiding Thought transforming each country, leading the revolutionary process to form New Democratic and Socialist states, bringing all the countries to Socialism and to Communism, in a never ending process where matter always transforms itself to more complexity.

We need therefore to understand the very core of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, *Dialectical Materialism*, which teaches us that:

“It is impossible to separate thought from matter that thinks.” (Karl Marx, *The Holy Family*)

“All nature, from the smallest thing to the biggest. from grains of sand to suns, from protista to man, has its existence in eternal coming into being and going out of being, in a ceaseless flux, in unrelenting motion and change.” (Friedrich Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*)

“Materialism in general recognises objectively real being (matter) as independent of consciousness, sensation, experience, etc., of humanity. Historical materialism recognises social being as independent of the social consciousness of humanity. In both cases consciousness is only the reflection of being, at best an approximately true (adequate, perfectly exact) reflection of it.” (Lenin, *Materialism and empirio-criticism*)

“Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics holds that internal contradictions are inherent in all things and phenomena of nature, for they all have their negative and positive sides, a past and a future, something

dying away and something developing; and that the struggle between these opposites, the struggle between the old and the new, between that which is dying away and that which is being born, between that which is disappearing and that which is developing, constitutes the internal content of the process of development, the internal content of the transformation of quantitative changes into qualitative changes.” (Stalin, *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*)

“The law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the fundamental law of nature and of society and therefore also the fundamental law of thought.” (Mao Zedong, *On contradiction*)

Our ideology is dialectical materialism developed through three stages – Marxism, Leninism, Maoism – giving us a better understanding of the world, its contradictions, its non-linear evolution in spiral through qualitative leaps.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is not a method, but a science, showing us the possibilities existing in the world today, through the understanding of matter and its movement.

Our ideology is the product of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, launched in the People’s Republic of China in 1966, to mobilize the masses so that they dare to criticize the partisans of the past, dare to repudiate the past, dare to struggle, dare to master dialectical materialism.

The masses had to rush to break the old ideas, the old culture, the old customs, the old habits; they had to prevent the reactionaries resurfacing through culture and ideology.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution opened therefore a new era: one where the proletariat possesses all the ideological and cultural tools to triumph completely and absolutely. The question of the restoration of capitalism - marking the temporary defeat of the revolution - was masterfully understood.

Gonzalo, the great leader of the Communist Party of Peru, has masterfully synthesized the meaning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution for our ideology:

“In perspective, in order to arrive at our final goal, Communism, Marxist-Leninist-Maoists must carry forward three types of revolutions:

- 1) democratic revolution, the bourgeois revolution of a new type led by the proletariat in the oppressed countries, which establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat, consisting also of the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, and in certain conditions the middle bourgeoisie, under the hegemony of the proletariat;
- 2) socialist revolution, in the imperialist and capitalist countries, which establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat;
- 3) cultural revolutions, which are made to continue the revolution under the



dictatorship of the proletariat.

The latter is to suppress and eliminate the regeneration of capitalism and to wage armed combat against attempts at capitalist restoration, and which also serves to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and to facilitate the march towards Communism.

Just as no class in the world was able to seize power all at once, but only through a process of restorations and counter-restorations, when the proletariat takes power and establishes its dictatorship, the eagerness of the bourgeoisie for restoring capitalism and to recover its power grows and opens up a historical process of struggle by the proletariat to maintain and defend its dictatorship and to combat the conspiracy of capitalist restoration.

This struggle between restoration and counter-restoration is an undeniable historical law, which is replayed under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In world history, when the feudal class advanced in China, it was delayed 250 years while it crushed the restoration of slavery; when the bourgeois class in the west struggled against feudalism to crush the attempts at restoration or the restorations of feudalism, it took 300 years to be definitively established in power.

And, addressing a revolution in which the proletariat is definitively established in power, the acute struggle between restoration and counter-restoration will last approximately 200 years, starting from the Paris Commune in 1871.



The experiences of capitalist restoration in the USSR and in China taught us great lessons, positive as well as negative; especially emphasizing the gigantic steps forward in the formation of the new State and how the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the solution to avert restoration.

We, who follow Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, reaffirm ourselves in revolutionary violence as the universal law to conquer power, and to do so it is crucial to substitute one class by another.

The democratic revolutions are carried out with revolutionary violence. Socialist revolutions are carried out with revolutionary violence and, since they are faced with restorations, power will be recovered through revolutionary violence.

We will maintain the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat with revolutionary violence through cultural revolutions and we will only reach Communism through revolutionary violence.”

The cultural revolution prevents the old to triumph over the new, in developing a deeper understanding of dialectical materialism by the masses. The principle of Guide Thought precisely emphasizes the need for an ideological and cultural direction in the necessary overcoming of the particular historical contradictions in a given country.

The ideological and cultural question is thereby inseparable from the triumph of the revolution; it is the sense of the slogan which is ours : “People’s War until Communism!”

This is especially true in the heart of the imperialist metropolises, where the bourgeoisie has firmly advanced, having an effective state apparatus, a high level of training and experience of its executives, a very important ability for corruption.

The ability of the bourgeoisie to lead the integration of antagonisms into the institutions as the spontaneists currents are strong and denying the centrality of the ideology, of the clash with the bourgeois ideas and conceptions.

The praise of individualism and existentialism, the cult of the inspiration of the “genius”, the celebration of contemporary art and subjectivism ... All this is combined to reactionary ideologies of the extreme right, with the goal to disorient the masses, wedged between the post-modern ideologies and romantic nationalism.

That’s why we say, strongly based in the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist historical experience, that the central issue is that of power and, therefore, of the ideological and cultural battle to scientifically organize the exploited and oppressed masses.

Without revolutionary theory, there is no revolutionary movement: this



fundamental lesson of Lenin must be understood in its deepest sense. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was a major development extending this understanding and giving it its fullest sense.

The world masses possess now have all the science permitting them to take power and keep it.

Our epoch is the one of the general offensive of the World Socialist Revolution and its wave is already launched, it has begun with the Chinese Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, giving us a general overview of the process of struggle between the ancient, reactionary state and the new state forged in the People's War, of the process of revolution and restoration, and counter-restoration through Cultural Revolutions.

In 1962, Mao Zedong explained :

“The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past.”

The setbacks are only a bend in the revolutionary road; we express here our total confidence in the victory of the World Socialist Revolution, in the triumph of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, on the total defeat of capitalism and imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism.

Organization of the workers of Afghanistan (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, principally Maoist)

Marxist Leninist Maoist Center [Belgium]

Communist Party of France (marxist leninist maoist)



CPF(mlm) About COP21

The 2015 United Nations Climate Change Conference finished yesterday its works, publishing a document expressing the final point of view of the countries of the world about climatic change and what should be done about it. This document is practically a guideline until the year 2100.

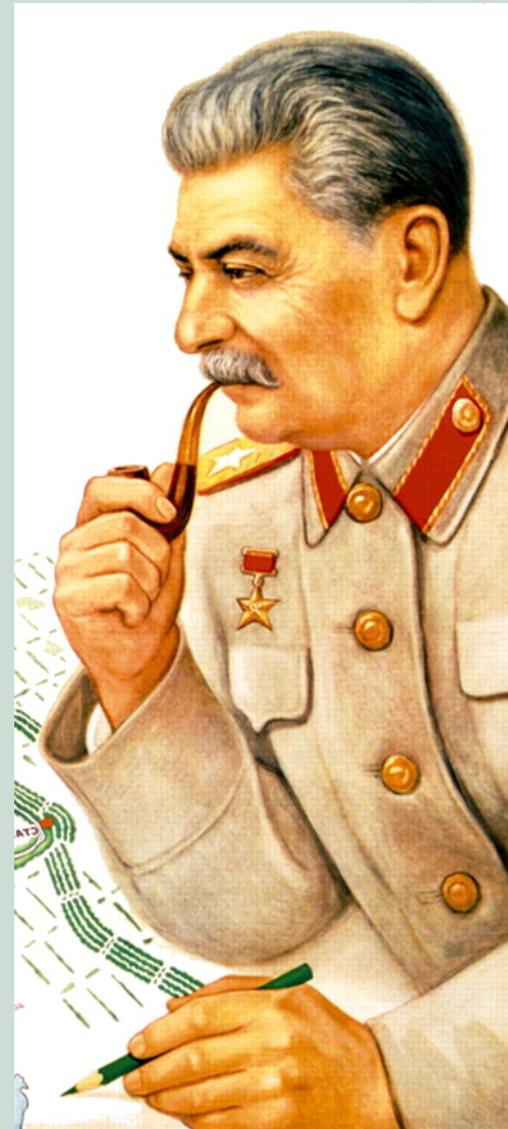
We wish to express immediately here, not our concerns about the proposed solutions, but our rage and our hate against the perpetrators of the ecocide that the Biosphere is facing. The final document of the COP21 is shameful, equivalent to a crime, which has to be punished in the most severe way.

We say : the Earth is facing an overall aggression, with senseless destructions on a gigantic scale and in the next fifty years, we will need a tribunal to judge this crime and punish the criminals, exactly like with the Nuremberg trials.

The Biosphere demands justice – we shall realize it in punishing the enemies of it. This will be a great task of the 21th century and this is a substantial part of the revolutionary program.

Those enemies of the Biosphere are not the humans considered as a species, but precisely the bourgeoisie and its capitalist mode of production, its semi-feudal semi-colonial allies, their common vision of the world, their values, their disrespect for life.

It is necessary to understand how the capitalist mode of production gave birth to a huge ideological superstructure serving its existence and its expansion. The thirty pages of the COP21 final document of the reflects this ideology.





In it, we find only five times the word “*ecosystems*”; the words “*planet*”, “*ocean*”, “*biodiversity*” are mentioned only one time and the words “*nature*”, “*animals*”, “*ecology*” are not even present.

Deforestation is considered only as an aspect global warming; forests and ecosystems are mainly taken in account as CO₂ “sinks and reservoirs”.

There is no balance analysis of the effects of climate change already produced in Nature. The final document doesn't call for such an analysis, it just “*invites*” to understand the impact of global warming in 2100, taking even only the weakest projection:

“Invites the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change to provide a special report in 2018 on the impacts of global warming of 1.5 °C above pre-industrial levels and related global greenhouse gas emission pathways”

It means that the life of billions of living beings just have not be taken in account until yet, and it won't.

Moreover, there is no consideration about the lifestyle of humanity, no understanding of the nature of the capitalist mode of production which has no sustainability and which can only engulf everything helping him to produce commodities and workers' exploitation, even life itself.

Climatic change should not be seen through the eyes of an anthropocentric humanity seeing itself as separated from the rest of the material world !

Therefore, those enemies of the Biosphere are also the usurpers who pretend to defend ecology when in fact they protect things that are a part of the general system attacking our planet, from vivisection to hunting, from golf to private jets, from factory farms to zoos, from deforestation to general urbanization, from nuclear power plants to weapons of mass destruction.

We say : it would be foolish not to understand the link between the massive use of animals as livestock, deforestation to support this, and the general destruction of the environment producing global warming as a side effect.

The capitalist mode of production can't understand this; it always takes the simplistic approach, it has no sense of long-term and can't seize the principle of planning. It can only prefer short-term nuclear and fossil fuels to solar energy that has to be planned. That is why the question of ships and planes in the production of CO₂ is not mentioned in the COP21 document.

We need for this reason a proletarian cultural revolution, to break with those old values, these old habits, and to make us the children of the sun ; we need to assume the great democratic national heritage of each country,

to develop it, to unite to form the World Socialist Republic.

The hypocrisy of the COP 21 is such that, even if it knows that the countries pledges to reduce greenhouse gas emissions will at least increase the global temperature in 2100 to 3°C above pre-industrial levels, it pretends that its aim is to limit it to 2 °C or even 1,5 °C :

“Emphasizing with serious concern the urgent need to address the significant gap between the aggregate effect of Parties’ mitigation pledges in terms of global annual emissions of greenhouse gases by 2020 and aggregate emission pathways consistent with holding the increase in the global average temperature to well below 2 °C above preindustrial levels and pursuing efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5 °C”

“Notes with concern that the estimated aggregate greenhouse gas emission levels in 2025 and 2030 resulting from the intended nationally determined contributions do not fall within least-cost 2 °C scenarios but rather lead to a projected level of 55 gigatonnes in 2030, and also notes that much greater emission reduction efforts will be required than those associated with the intended nationally determined contributions in order to hold the increase in the global average temperature to below 2 °C above pre-industrial levels by reducing emissions to 40 gigatonnes or to 1.5 °C above pre-industrial levels by reducing to a level to be identified in the special report referred to in paragraph 21 below”

The COP21 presents no solution to make mandatory new pledges from the countries of the world ; no legal obligations are planned neither. Its final document has not even already a legal basis, as it has to wait for a couple years for it:

“This Agreement shall enter into force on the thirtieth day after the date on which at least 55 Parties to the Convention accounting in total for at least an estimated 55 percent of the total global greenhouse gas emissions have deposited their instruments of ratification, acceptance, approval or accession.”

Even then, any country can withdraw its endorsement three years afterwards:

“At any time after three years from the date on which this Agreement has entered into force for a Party, that Party may withdraw from this Agreement by giving written notification to the Depositary.”

In the same way, the “*developed countries*” are to send \$100 billion each year according a map that has to be decided before 2025 and has no legal binding until this; a five-year review is also to be done and the responsibilities of each country are considered as possibly changing through “*Different National Circumstances*”.

For all of these reasons, as Communist Party of France (Marxist Leninist Maoist), we say that what should have been done at the COP21 was, at



least and without restricting the tasks which are for us the core of the revolutionary program :

1. The worldwide cessation of deforestation and the worldwide establishment of wildlife sanctuaries;
2. The banning of nuclear energy and a program to dismantle it; the organization by the U.N. of a worldwide program for energy, based on the use of solar energy, hydropower and wind power;
3. The immediate socialization (without counterparts) by the masses of the hundred monopolies producing the half of the production of CO₂ (Chevron 3,5% of it, ExxonMobil 3,2%, BP 2,1% Total 0,8%, but also Coca-Cola, Danone, Nestlé, Unilever, Kellogg, etc.), to be able to change their production and the way it is made;
4. The creation of a worldwide TV channel explaining the situation of nature and wildlife;
5. A obligatory pack of lessons at school to know the material reality of the use of animals as food, on all aspects: moral, economic, ecological (as it is the source of 18% of the worldwide anthropic CO₂ emission);
6. A call for a U.N. meeting in the next two years to check how wildlife was affected by the anthropic activities;
7. A call for a U.N. meeting in the next two years having the ocean as only topic, with the goal of making it the most possible a sanctuary.
8. The creation of a U.N. Scientific Commission to publish official reports, having a legal basis, about anthropic CO₂ emission of each country;
9. The creation on each continent of a super-institute working on climate change;
10. The recognition of the concept of Biosphere elaborated by Vladimir Vernadsky.

These points are a mere utopia as long the monopolies decide the fate of the world, and not the world masses. Nevertheless, we are confident that the world masses, guided by the working class of each country, shall make the world revolution and recognize the Biosphere, as dialectical Materialism demands it.

Communist Party of France (marxist leninist maoist)

December, 2015

Dialectical materialism and living matter

Matter goes to Communism : this is the very ideological core of dialectical materialism. As matter – which is infinite and eternal – moves without any stop and in the form of a spiral, through dialectical leaps - it progresses more and more in terms of complexity and organization. Communism is this movement to always more coordination, interrelationship, interpenetration, of deep process of combination. It is the principle of synthesis.

Humankind played an important role here in the transformation of the Biosphere, i.e. the Earth as living system, as it modified the conditions in a very important way. The problem is here to have a correct understanding of unequal development.

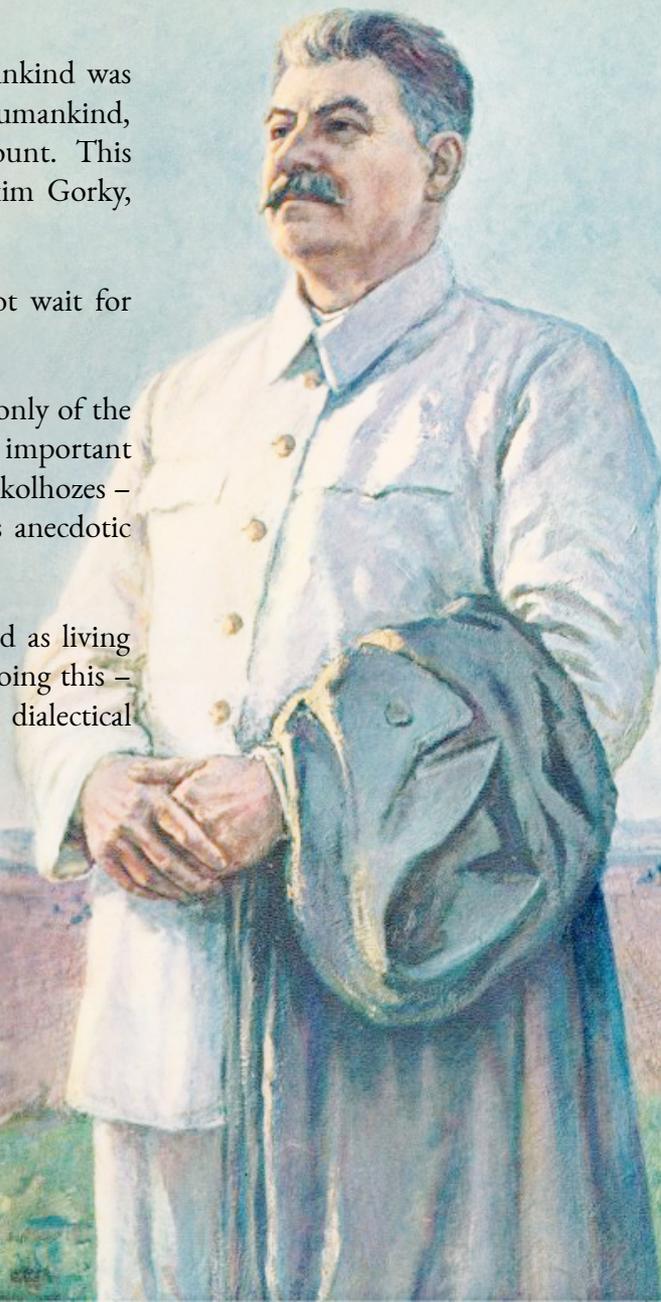
Does humankind has a special nature, being the only part of living matter having a real value? Or is humankind a part of the general process of matter, in particular of living matter?

The communists of the Soviet Union considered that humankind was the expression of a break in the development of nature; only humankind, as best expression of evolution, should be taken in account. This anthropocentric point of view was common to Stalin, Maxim Gorky, Vladimir Vernadsky or Ivan Michurin.

One famous quote from Michurin sums it up : “We cannot wait for favors from Nature. To take them from it – that is our task”.

We can not accept this point of view, which is the expression only of the backwardness of the Soviet Union in agriculture, with an important sector being autonomous from the general socialist Plan – the kolhozes – or even independent, with the small production (which was anecdotic but still played an important role in the production of food).

Why that? Because there is no reason to separate humankind as living matter from the general process of matter in development. Doing this – what we should call anthropocentric – is not conform to dialectical materialism.



It is really historically significant to see that Stalin, Maxim Gorky, Vladimir Vernadsky, Ivan Michurin, all emphasized the necessity to see things in terms of system, but precisely on this particular point, moved to the conception of humankind as separated, which is a contradiction with all their own conceptions.

Mao Zedong is the one who understood it. In this sense, he is absolutely not in contradiction with Stalin (or Gorky, Vernadsky, Michurin). He extends dialectical materialism, understanding the need to see better how matter develops itself.

This is exactly why he rejected the concept of “negation of the negation”. This concept gives the false impression that it would be possible to separate stadiums from others in a process which is in fact of a type which we have to define as multiform.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has, in fact, one function : generalize the conception that nothing is indivisible, that all the processes are dialectical and so that everybody has to have a dialectical materialist point of view in every domain.

This was already formulated in the Soviet Union, but there the fields were separated, whereas Mao Zedong unified all these fields in what we can call a cosmology, a direct understanding of the substance of the universe, which has to be taken as one, and one only, without stadiums, fields, etc.

Of course, it is easier to define stadiums and fields, but this can only be descriptive; socialism is really a stadium following capitalism, but it is not a negation of the negation (capitalism negating feudalism), because such things as a stadium would anchor the movement which, in fact, never stops.

This is why we have to consider that matter develops itself in a general process, that living matter is a dialectical process which has, as such, a dignity. In the same way that it is absurd to break atoms to produce energy – as nature used a dialectical movement to produce the qualitative leap of merging atoms – it is absurd to destroy living matter which consists of a dialectical development produced by nature.

Of course, what we call here nature is the universe itself; there is no difference between nature and universe, and it also the only thing which exist, as unified substance, as unified process of all matter.

This is real monism, this is real atheism, this is what explains dialectical materialism.



Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (Adopted on August 8, 1966)

I. A New Stage in the Socialist Revolution

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution now unfolding is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls and constitutes a new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country, a stage which is both broader and deeper.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Mao Zedong said: to overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class. This thesis of Comrade Mao Zedong's has been proved entirely correct in practice.

Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavour to stage a comeback. The proletariat must do the exact opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society.

At present, our objective is to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

2. The Main Current and the Zigzags

The masses of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals, and revolutionary cadres form the main force in this Great Cultural Revolution. Large numbers of revolutionary young people, previously unknown, have become courageous and daring pathbreakers. They are vigorous in action and intelligent. Through the media of big-character



posters and great debates, they argue things out, expose and criticize thoroughly, and launch resolute attacks on the open and hidden representatives of the bourgeoisie. In such a great revolutionary movement, it is hardly avoidable that they should show shortcomings of one kind or another; however, their general revolutionary orientation has been correct from the beginning. This is the main current in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It is the general direction along which this revolution continues to advance.

Since the Cultural Revolution is a revolution, it inevitably meets with resistance. This resistance comes chiefly from those in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. It also comes from the force of habits from the old society.

At present, this resistance is still fairly strong and stubborn. But after all, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is an irresistible general trend. There is abundant evidence that such resistance will be quickly broken down once the masses become fully aroused.

Because the resistance is fairly strong, there will be reversals and even repeated reversals in this struggle. There is no harm in this. It tempers the proletariat and other working people, and especially the younger generation, teaches them lessons and gives them experience, and helps them to understand that the revolutionary road zigzags and does not run smoothly.

3. Put Daring Above Everything Else and Boldly Arouse the Masses

The outcome of this Great Cultural Revolution will be determined by whether or not the Party leadership dares boldly to arouse the masses.

Currently, there are four different situations with regard to the leadership being given to the movement of Cultural Revolution by Party organizations at various levels:

(1) There is the situation in which the persons in charge of Party organizations stand in the van of the



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movement and dare to arouse the masses boldly. They put daring above everything else, they are dauntless communist fighters and good pupils of Chairman Mao. They advocate the big-character posters and great debates. They encourage the masses to expose every kind of ghost and monster and also to criticize the shortcomings and errors in the work of the persons in charge. This correct kind of leadership is the result of putting proletarian politics in the forefront and Mao Zedong's thought in the lead.

(2) In many units, the persons in charge have a very poor understanding of the task of leadership in this great struggle, their leadership is far from being conscientious and effective, and they accordingly find themselves incompetent and in a weak position. They put fear above everything else, stick to outmoded ways and regulations, and are unwilling to break away from conventional practices and move ahead. They have been taken unaware by the new order of things, the revolutionary order of the masses, with the result that their leadership lags behind the situation, lags behind the masses.

(3) In some units, the persons in charge, who made mistakes of one kind or another in the past, are even more prone to put fear above everything else, being afraid that the masses will catch them out. Actually, if they make serious self-criticism and accept the criticism of the masses, the Party and the masses will make allowances for their mistakes. But if the persons in charge don't, they will continue to make mistakes and become obstacles to the mass movement.

(4) Some units are controlled by those who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. Such persons in authority are extremely afraid of being exposed by the masses and therefore seek every possible pretext to suppress the mass movement. They resort to such tactics as shifting the targets for attack and turning black into white in an attempt to lead the movement astray. When they find themselves very isolated and no longer able to carry on as before, they resort still more to intrigues, stabbing people in the back, spreading rumours, and blurring the distinction between revolution and counter-revolution as much as they can, all for the purpose of attacking the revolutionaries.

What the Central Committee of the Party demands of the Party committees at all levels is that they persevere in giving correct leadership, put daring above everything else, boldly arouse the masses, change the state of weakness and incompetence where it exists, encourage those comrades who have made mistakes but are willing to correct them to cast off their mental burdens and join in the struggle, and dismiss from their leading posts all those in authority who are taking the capitalist road and so make possible the recapture of the leadership for the proletarian revolution.



4. Let the Masses Educate Themselves in the Movement

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the only method is for the masses to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things in their stead must not be used.

Trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative. Cast out fear. Don't be afraid of disturbances. Chairman Mao has often told us that revolution cannot be so very refined, so gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. Let the masses educate themselves in this great revolutionary movement and learn to distinguish between right and wrong and between correct and incorrect ways of doing things.

Make the fullest use of big-character posters and great debates to argue matters out, so that the masses can clarify the correct views, criticize the wrong views and expose all the ghosts and monsters. In this way the masses will be able to raise their political consciousness in the course of the struggle, enhance their abilities and talents, distinguish right from wrong and draw a clear line between ourselves and the enemy.



5. Firmly Apply the Class Line of the Party

Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution and it is likewise a question of the first importance for the Great Cultural Revolution.

Party leadership should be good at discovering the left and developing and strengthening the ranks of the left; it should firmly rely on the revolutionary left. During the movement this is the only way to isolate the most reactionary rightists thoroughly, win over the middle and unite with the great majority so that by the end of the movement we shall achieve the unity of more than 95 per cent of the cadres and more than 95 per cent of the masses.

Concentrate all forces to strike at the handful of ultra-reactionary bourgeois rightists and counter-revolutionary revisionists, and expose and criticize to the full their crimes against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Zedong's thought so as to isolate them to the maximum.

The main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road.

Care should be taken to distinguish strictly between the anti-Party, anti-socialist rightists and those who support the Party and socialism but have said or done something wrong or have written some bad articles or other works.

Care should be taken to distinguish strictly between the reactionary bourgeois scholar despots and "authorities" on the one hand and people who have the ordinary bourgeois academic ideas on the other.

6. Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People

A strict distinction must be made between the two different types of contradictions: those among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. Contradictions among the people must not be made into contradictions between ourselves and the enemy; nor must contradictions between ourselves and the enemy be regarded as contradictions among the people.

It is normal for the masses to hold different views. Contention between different views is unavoidable, necessary and beneficial. In the course of normal and full debate, the masses will affirm what is right, correct what is wrong and gradually reach unanimity.

The method to be used in debates is to present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning. Any method of forcing a minority holding different views to submit is impermissible. The minority should



be protected, because sometimes the truth is with the minority. Even if the minority is wrong, they should still be allowed to argue their case and reserve their views.

When there is a debate, it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force.

In the course of debate, every revolutionary should be good at thinking things out for himself and should develop the communist spirit of daring to think, daring to speak and daring to act. On the premise that they have the same general orientation, revolutionary comrades should, for the sake of strengthening unity, avoid endless debate over side issues.

7. Be on Guard Against Those Who Brand the Revolutionary Masses as “Counter-Revolutionaries”

In certain schools, units, and work teams of the Cultural Revolution, some of the persons in charge have organized counter-attacks against the masses who put up big-character posters criticizing them. These people have even advanced such slogans as: opposition to the leaders of a unit or a work team means opposition to the Central Committee of the Party, means opposition to the Party and socialism, means counter-revolution. In this way it is inevitable that their blows will fall on some really revolutionary activists. This is an error on matters of orientation, an error of line, and is absolutely impermissible.

A number of persons who suffer from serious ideological errors, and particularly some of the anti-Party and anti-socialist rightists, are taking advantage of certain shortcomings and mistakes in the mass movement to spread rumours and gossip, and engage in agitation, deliberately branding some of the masses as “counter-revolutionaries.” It is necessary to beware of such “pick-pockets” and expose their tricks in good time.

In the course of the movement, with the exception of cases of active counter-revolutionaries where there is clear evidence of crimes such as murder, arson, poisoning, sabotage or theft of state secrets, which should be handled in accordance with the law, no measures should be taken against students at universities, colleges, middle schools and primary schools because of problems that arise in the movement.

To prevent the struggle from being diverted from its main target, it is not allowed, under whatever pretext, to incite the masses or the students to struggle against each other. Even proven rightists should be dealt with on the merits of each case at a later stage of the movement.

8. The Question of Cadres

The cadres fall roughly into the following four categories:

- (1) good;
- (2) comparatively good;
- (3) those who have made serious mistakes but have not become anti-Party, anti-socialist rightists;
- (4) the small number of anti-Party, anti-socialist rightists.

In ordinary situations, the first two categories (good and comparatively good) are the great majority.

The anti-Party, anti-socialist rightists must be fully exposed, refuted, overthrown and completely discredited and their influence eliminated. At the same time, they should be given a chance to turn over a new leaf.

9. Cultural Revolution Groups, Committees and Congresses

Many new things have begun to emerge in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Cultural Revolutionary groups, committees and other organizational forms created by the masses in many schools and units are something new and of great historic importance.

These Cultural Revolutionary groups, committees and congresses are excellent new forms of organization whereby the masses educate themselves under the leadership of the Communist Party. They are an excellent bridge to keep our Party in close contact with the masses. They are organs of power of the proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The struggle of the proletariat against the old ideas, culture, customs and habits left over by all the exploiting classes over thousands of years will necessarily take a very, very long time. Therefore, the Cultural Revolutionary groups, committees and congresses should not be temporary organizations but permanent, standing mass organizations. They are suitable not only for colleges, schools and government and other organizations, but generally also for factories, mines, other enterprises, urban districts and villages.

It is necessary to institute a system of general elections, like that of the Paris Commune, for electing members to the Cultural Revolutionary groups and committees and delegates to the Cultural Revolutionary congresses. The lists of candidates should be put forward by the revolutionary masses after full discussion, and the elections should be held after the masses have discussed the lists over and over again.

The masses are entitled at any time to criticize members of the Cultural Revolutionary groups and committees and delegates elected to the Cultural Revolutionary congresses. If these members or delegates prove incompetent, they can be replaced through election or recalled by the





masses after discussion.

The Cultural Revolutionary groups, committees and congresses in colleges and schools should consist mainly of representatives of the revolutionary students. At the same time, they should have a certain number of representatives of the revolutionary teaching and administrative staff and workers.

10. Educational Reform

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution a most important task is to transform the old educational system and the old principles and methods of teaching.

In this Great Cultural Revolution, the phenomenon of our schools being dominated by bourgeois intellectuals must be completely changed.

In every kind of school we must apply thoroughly the policy advanced by Comrade Mao Zedong of education serving proletarian politics and education being combined with productive labour, so as to enable those receiving an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and to become labourers with socialist consciousness and culture.

The period of schooling should be shortened. Courses should be fewer and better. The teaching material should be thoroughly transformed, in some cases beginning with simplifying complicated material. While their main task is to study, students should also learn other things. That is to say, in addition to their studies they should also learn industrial work, farming and military affairs, and take part in the struggles of the Cultural Revolution to criticize the bourgeoisie as these struggles occur.

11. The Question of Criticizing by Name in the Press

In the course of the mass movement of the Cultural Revolution, the criticism of bourgeois and feudal ideology should be well combined with the dissemination of the proletarian world outlook and of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong's thought.

Criticism should be organized of typical bourgeois representatives who have wormed their way into the Party and typical reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities," and this should include criticism of various kinds of reactionary views in philosophy, history, political economy and education, in works and theories of literature and art, in theories of natural science, and in other fields.

Criticism of anyone by name in the press should be decided after discussion by the Party committee at the same level, and in some cases submitted to the Party committee at a higher level for approval.

12. Policy Towards Scientists, Technicians and Ordinary Members of Working Staffs

As regards scientists, technicians and ordinary members of working staffs, as long as they are patriotic, work energetically, are not against the Party and socialism, and maintain no illicit relations with any foreign country, we should in the present movement continue to apply the policy of “unity, criticism, unity.” Special care should be taken of those scientists and scientific and technical personnel who have made contributions. Efforts should be made to help them gradually transform their world outlook and their style of work.

13. The Question of Arrangements for Integration With the Socialist Education Movement in City and Countryside

The cultural and educational units and leading organs of the Party and government in the large and medium cities are the points of concentration of the present proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The Great Cultural Revolution has enriched the socialist education movement in both city and countryside and raised it to a higher level. Efforts should be made to conduct these two movements in close combination. Arrangements to this effect may be made by various regions and departments in the light of the specific conditions.

The socialist education movement now going on in the countryside and in enterprises in the cities should not be upset where the original arrangements are appropriate and the movement is going well, but should continue in accordance with the original arrangements. However, the questions that are arising in the present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution should be put to the masses for discussion at the proper time, so as to further foster vigorously proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology.

In some places, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is being used as the focus in order to add momentum to the socialist education movement and clean things up in the fields of politics, ideology, organization and economy. This may be done where the local Party committee thinks it appropriate.

14. Take Firm Hold of the Revolution and Stimulate Production

The aim of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is to revolutionize people’s ideology and as a consequence to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all fields of work. If the masses are fully aroused and proper arrangements are made, it is possible to carry on both



the Cultural Revolution and production without one hampering the other, while guaranteeing high quality in all our work.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country. Any idea of counterposing the Great Cultural Revolution to the development of production is incorrect.

15. The Armed Forces

In the armed forces, the cultural revolution and the socialist education movement should be carried out in accordance with the instructions of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party and the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army.

16. Mao Zedong's Thought Is the Guide for Action in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it is imperative to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Zedong's thought and put proletarian politics in command. The movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao Zedong's works should be carried forward among the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, the cadres and the intellectuals, and Mao Zedong's thought should be taken as the guide to action in the Cultural Revolution.

In this complex Great Cultural Revolution, Party committees at all levels must study and apply Chairman Mao's works all the more conscientiously and in a creative way. In particular, they must study over and over again Chairman Mao's writings on the Cultural Revolution and on the Party's methods of leadership, such as *On New Democracy*, *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, *Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership and Methods of Work of Party Committees*.

Party committees at all levels must abide by the directions given by Chairman Mao over the years, namely that they should thoroughly apply the mass line of "from the masses, to the masses" and that they should be pupils before they become teachers. They should try to avoid being one-sided or narrow. They should foster materialist dialectics and oppose metaphysics and scholasticism.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is bound to achieve brilliant victory under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Zedong.



Theory of "Combine Two into One" is a Reactionary Philosophy for Restoring Capitalism

by the Revolutionary Mass Criticism
Writing Group of the Party School Under
the Central Committee of the Chinese
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Our great leader Chairman Mao points out: "All things invariably divide into two." "The law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the basic law of materialist dialectics." (On Contradiction.)

This scientific thesis of Chairman Mao's profoundly expresses the objective law of things and penetratingly expounds the core of materialist dialectics.

It is a sharp weapon for the proletariat and revolutionary people in carrying out the three great revolutionary movements – class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment, a sharp weapon for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and steadfastly continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The wide dissemination of the concept one divides into two among the people met with the extreme hatred and fear of a handful of class enemies. In 1964, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shaoqi instigated the renegade Yang Xianzhen, his agent in philosophical circles, to set off a heated debate on whether one divides into two or "combine two into one."





The proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao directly led this struggle involving a matter of cardinal principle in philosophy in China. With Mao Zedong Thought as their weapon, workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals criticized the reactionary theory of "combine two into one" and demolished it by the revolutionary dialectics of one divides into two. As the theoretical basis for Liu Shaoqi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, the theory of "combine two into one" permeated the political, economic, ideological, cultural, art and other fields.

To eliminate the remaining poisonous influence of Liu Shaoqi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in all spheres of endeavor, we must further criticize the bourgeois idealism and metaphysics of Liu Shaoqi and Yang Xianzhen and other such political swindlers, and criticize the reactionary theory of "combine two into one."

A Reaction to Continuing Revolution Under Dictatorship of Proletariat

On the orders of Liu Shaoqi, traitor Yang Xianzhen, who long ago had prostrated himself before the Kuomintang reactionary, came out at every crucial juncture in the socialist revolution to launch attacks on the Party in the field of philosophy.

He frenziedly opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and tried to use the reactionary world outlook of "combine two into one" to remould our Party and country. In 1952, Yang Xianzhen concocted his notorious theory of "a synthesized economic base" which preached the combining of socialist economy with capitalist economy, giving a touch of theoretical flavor to Liu Shaoqi's sinister program for developing capitalism -- "co- operation among the five economic sectors and consolidation of the new democratic system."

In 1958, Yang Xianzhen, with ulterior motives, advocated "using identity of contradiction" and by insinuation attacked our Party because it "talked only about the struggle between the opposites, but not their unity." His aim was to provide philosophical ground for Liu Shaoqi's theory of "the dying out of class struggle" in opposition to Chairman Mao's great work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.

From 1960 to 1962, Liu Shaoqi's counter-revolutionary clique plotted counter- revolutionary restoration all along the line from the top down, in close co-ordination with the anti-China chorus of imperialism, revisionism and reaction. At that time Yang Xianzhen ran here and there to spread his reactionary philosophy, opposing more frantically than ever Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophical thinking. He babbled that the unity of opposites meant "common points," shouting that we had "common points" with U.S. imperialism and that we and modern revisionism had "common points with some differences."

He openly stood for "combining" the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, socialism and imperialism, Marxism and revisionism, into one. Chairman Mao was the first to perceive the danger of the counter-revolutionary plots of Liu Shaoqi and his gang and time and again warned the whole Party and the people of the whole country to guard against revisionism. At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee held in 1962, Chairman Mao put forward more fully the basic line from our Party during the entire historical period of socialism and issued the great call: "Never forget class struggle."

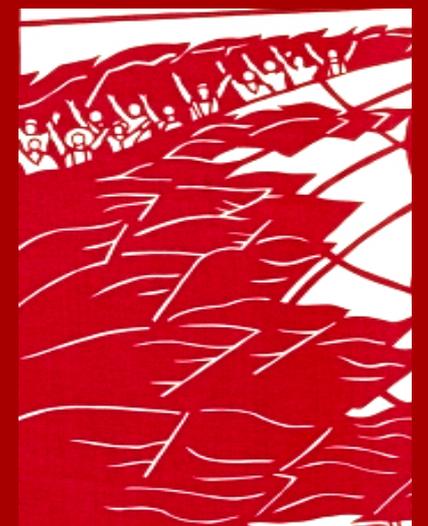
Under Chairman Mao's wise leadership, our Party intensified propaganda and education in the revolutionary dialectics of one divides into two, launched the socialist education movement on a broad scale, initiated open polemics against modern revisionism whose centre is the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, and dealt the class enemies at home and abroad hard blows. However, all these warnings and struggles did not and could not change the counter-revolutionary nature of Liu Shaoqi, Yang Xianzhen and company, who were impatient to restore capitalism. Yang Xianzhen first openly peddled the theory of "combine two into one" in the lecture room of the former advanced Party school.

After careful planning, this reactionary philosophy was launched for the public in 1964. Lenin says that the struggle in philosophy "in the last analysis reflects the tendencies and ideology of the antagonistic classes in modern society." (Materialism and Empirio-Criticism.) The concocting of the theory of "combine two into one" was intended externally to meet the needs of imperialism and social-imperialism in subverting great socialist China, and internally to meet the needs of the counter-revolutionary restoration by the bourgeoisie. It is a hack philosophy serving Liu Shaoqi's efforts to restore capitalism, and runs counter to continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Out-and-Out Bourgeois Idealism and Metaphysics

To oppose Marxist philosophy, all opportunists and revisionists did their best to negate the boundary between materialism and idealism as well as between dialectics and metaphysics. In peddling the reactionary theory of "combine two into one," the renegade Yang Xianzhen resorted to this kind of base counter-revolutionary tactics. He dressed this reactionary theory up as dialectics and prated that "combine two into one" and one divides into two have "the same meaning."

He deliberately tried to negate the fundamental antagonism between one divides into two and "combine two into one." Lenin pointed out: "The splitting of a single whole and the cognition of its contradictory parts is the essence of dialectics." ("On the Question of Dialectics.") "In brief,



dialectics can be defined as the doctrine of the unity of opposites. This embodies the essence of dialectics, but it requires explanations and development." ("Conspectus of Hegel's Book The Science of Logic.")

Chairman Mao developed this great idea of Lenin's further in his *On Contradiction*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and other important philosophical works. Chairman Mao says: "The law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. This law operates universally, whether in the natural world, in human society, or in man's thinking. Between the opposites in a contradiction there is at once unity and struggle, and it is this that impels things to move and change." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.)

The concept one divides into two that Chairman Mao put forward profoundly and concisely summarizes the law of the unity of opposites and grasps the heart of materialist dialectics. According to the concept one divides into two, there are contradictions in everything. The two aspects of a contradiction depend on and struggle with each other, and this determines the life of all things. The natural world, society and man's thinking are full of contradictions and struggles, and there is no such thing as "combine two into one."

Without contradiction, there would not be the natural world, society, and man's thinking; nothing would exist. Contradictions are present in all processes of things and permeate all processes from beginning to end, and promote the development of things. The constant emerging and resolving of contradictions -- this is the universal law of the development of things.

Applying the concept one divides into two in examining socialist society, we have to recognize that throughout the entire historical period of socialism, there are classes, class



contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism, there is the danger of capitalist restoration, and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and modern revisionism.

To resolve these contradictions, we must strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and steadfastly continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Even in a communist society, there will be contradictions and full of struggles between the new and the old, the advanced and the backward, and right and wrong.

Only those who adhere to and apply this concept to guide revolutionary practices are thoroughgoing dialectical materialists. To deny the concept "one divides into two" means to deny the universality of contradiction and to betray materialist dialectics, and this inevitably leads to political betrayal of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The core of the theory "combine two into one" lies in merging contradictions, liquidating struggle, opposing revolution, combining the proletariat with the bourgeoisie, combining Marxism with revisionism, combining socialism with imperialism and social-imperialism. This out-and-out reactionary bourgeois idealist and metaphysical world outlook are diametrically opposed to the world outlook of one divides into two.

Refute Theory of "Common Needs"

Yang Xianzhen repeatedly said that the identity of a contradiction consisted of "common points" and "common things." He distorted Lenin's thesis on the identity of contradiction, alleging that "the identity in the sphere of dialectics" was "seeking common needs." Let us read what the great Lenin wrote on the subject.

Lenin pointed out: "Dialectics is the teaching which shows how opposites can be and how they happen to be (how they become) identical -- under what conditions they are identical, transforming themselves into one another, -- why the human mind should take these opposites not as dead, rigid, but as living, conditional, mobile, transforming themselves into one another." ("Conspectus of Hegel's Book The Science of Logic.")

Lenin here is talking about the identity of contradiction. Is there any trace of "common points" and "common needs" in this? Yang Xianzhen was blatantly lying and slandering Lenin when he alleged that what Lenin meant by the identity of contradiction was "common needs." In *On Contradiction*, Chairman Mao incisively explains Lenin's thinking on the identity of contradiction. Chairman Mao clearly points out: "All contradictory things are interconnected: not only do they coexist in a single entity in given conditions, but in other given conditions, they also transform themselves into each other. This is the full meaning of the identity of opposites."





Chairman Mao's teaching clearly tells us: The first meaning of the identity of contradiction is that the two contradictory aspects are interdependent in given conditions. For instance, during the period of China's new-democratic revolution, the contradictory aspects, the masses of the people and imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, did not exist in isolation from each other. Each aspect had the other as the condition for its existence and they coexisted in a single entity.

We should interpret the first meaning of the identity of contradiction only in this way and should never allow Yang Xianzhen to distort it into having "common needs." Were there any "common needs" in the interdependence between the masses of the oppressed people and imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, as the other. In the contradiction in which the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are the two opposite aspects, the relation between them is that of the exploiter and the exploited, and the needs of one are fundamentally opposed to the needs of the other.

Chairman Mao also stressed that the matter does not end with the interdependence of the two contradictory aspects on each other for their existence and, more important, in given conditions, each of them transforms itself into its opposite, changes its position to that of its opposite. This is the second meaning of the identity of contradiction. Our Party led the Chinese people in decades of heroic struggle aimed precisely at creating conditions for the promotion of the transformation of things so as to achieve the goal of the revolution.

For instance, after the new-democratic revolution, the masses of the people who had long been oppressed and exploited transformed themselves into masters of the country, and imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, the three enemies that oppressed and exploited the people, were completely overthrown. Through the socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production, individual ownership of farming and handicrafts was transformed into socialist collective ownership, and capitalist ownership of industry and commerce was transformed into socialist ownership by the whole people.

The renegade Yang Xianzhen used every means to oppose these revolutionary transformations. To call a spade a spade, his reactionary theory of "common needs" is nothing but an attempt to make the proletariat and other working people submit for ever to the misery of exploitation and enslavement, and to permit imperialism, the landlords and the bourgeoisie to sit on their backs for ever. Refute Theory of "Inseparability" Yang Xianzhen endlessly preached that the opposite aspects were "links that cannot be separated." He blabbed that learning dialectics means "learning how to link the two opposing ideologies."

This is a clumsy attempt to tamper with materialist dialectics. Materialist dialectics holds that the nature of a thing is the contradictoriness within

the thing and its separability. Engels pointed out: "Dialectics has proved from the results of our experience of nature so far that all polar opposites in general are determined by the mutual action of the two opposite poles on each other, that the separation and opposition of these poles exist only within their mutual connection and union, and conversely, that their union exists only in their separation and their mutual connection only in their opposition." (Dialectics of Nature.)

That is to say, we cannot talk about the links between the two opposite aspects apart from their struggle and separability. The struggle of the opposite aspects inevitably leads to the breaking up of their interconnection, to the disintegration of the entity, and to change in the nature of the thing. Therefore, the interconnection between the opposite aspects is conditional and relative while their separability is unconditional and absolute.

As Chairman Mao points out: "In society as in nature, every entity invariably breaks up into its different parts, only there are differences in content and form under different concrete conditions." (Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work.)



There is nothing in the world that cannot be separated.

The development of objective things has time and again exposed the rotten metaphysical idea that a thing cannot be separated. Have there not emerged various old and new anti-Marxist revisionist factions in the course of the development of the international communist movement? In the course of the development of our Party, there emerged the "Left" and Right opportunist lines of the renegades Chen Tu- hsiu and Wang Ming and Liu Shaoqi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line has won great victories precisely through struggles against these erroneous lines. Therefore, revolutionary "separation" is not a bad but a good thing. It helps raise the people's ideological consciousness, enhances the unity of the revolutionary people, promotes the development of the proletariat

revolutionary cause, and impels society forward. Yang Xianzhen did not say a word about the struggle and transformation of contradictions and completely denied the separability of a thing, describing the dependence of the opposite aspects on each other for their existence as "links that cannot be separated." In fact, there are no dead and rigid links free from contradictions and transformation. Yang Xianzhen had vicious political motives for advocating the theory of "inseparability."

When the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production reached a high tide in China in 1956, he came out sermonizing like a priest that the proletariat and the bourgeoisie "will both benefit if they come together, and will both suffer if they separate." This is of the same mould as the fallacies advocated by Liu Shaoqi such as the bourgeoisie's "exploitation has its merits" and the bourgeoisie and the proletariat have an "identical stand." This fully shows that they are a gang of faithful lackeys of the bourgeoisie.

The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is, in essence, antagonistic and irreconcilable, and can be resolved only by socialist revolution. As Chairman Mao pointed out in 1959, in the period of socialist revolution the life-and-death struggle between the two big opposing classes -- the proletariat and the bourgeoisie -- "will continue . . . for at least twenty years and possibly half a century. In short, the struggle will not cease until classes die out completely." In a sense, by steadfastly continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletariat separates completely from the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes.

In the life-and-death struggle between these two classes, how can we "combine two into one"? If we should "combine two into one" with regard to the bourgeoisie, forget classes and class struggle and forget the dictatorship of the proletariat, "then it would not be long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale would inevitably occur, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party, a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its color.

Comrades, please think it over. What a dangerous situation this would be! That Yang Xianzhen spared no effort to preach that the proletariat and the bourgeoisie should "combine" and not "separate" was precisely for the purpose of realizing the counter-revolutionary plot of restoring capitalism.

Refute Theory of "Synthesis Means 'Combine Two Into One' "

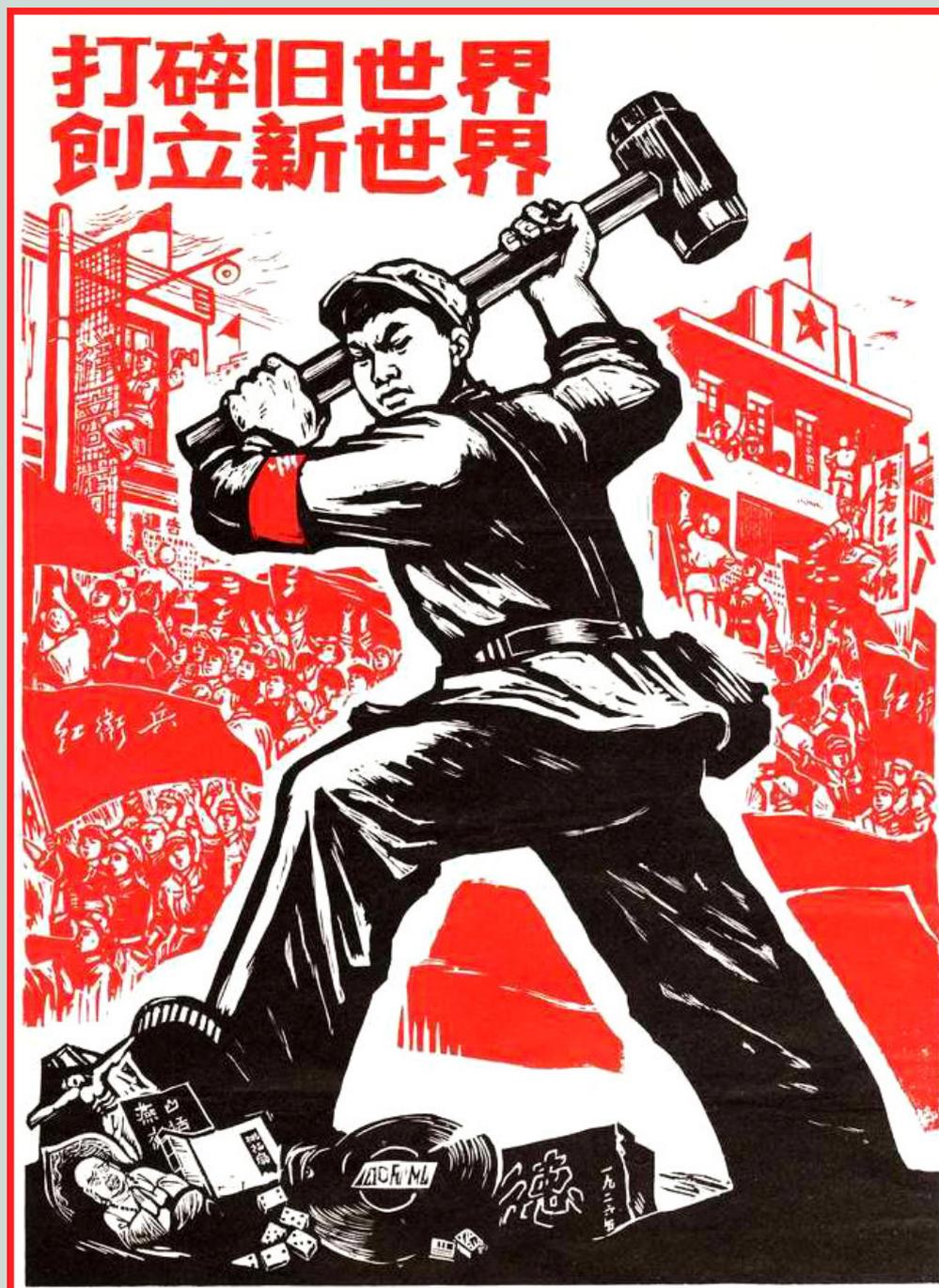
Yang Xianzhen and company also alleged that analysis means 'one divides into two' while synthesis means 'combine two into one.' "This is not only a question of their ignorance of Marxist philosophy; their real purpose was to cut asunder the dialectical relation between analysis and synthesis and to substitute reactionary metaphysics for materialist dialectics.

Marxist philosophy tells us that analysis and synthesis are an objective law of things and at the same time a method for people to understand things. Analysis shows how an entity divides into two different parts and the struggle between them; synthesis shows how, through the struggle between the two opposite aspects, one prevails, defeats and eliminates the other, how an old contradiction is resolved and a new one emerges, and how an old thing is eliminated and a new thing triumphs. In plain words, synthesis means one "eats up" the other.

The course of historical development is: What is revolutionary always "eats up" what is reactionary, and what is correct always "eats up" what is wrong. But this has to go through many complicated and tortuous struggles. As Chairman Mao points out: "Classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years. To interpret history from this viewpoint is historical materialism; standing in opposition to this viewpoint is historical idealism." (Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle.)

The history of mankind's civilization is one of class struggle, one in which the revolutionary classes defeat and "eat up" the reactionary classes. Imperialism headed by the United States, social-imperialism and all other exploiting systems will eventually be "eaten up" by socialism and communism. This is an objective law independent of man's will. When reflected in men's minds, such objective analysis and synthesis require that we make a concrete analysis of the movement of opposites in all things and, on the basis of such analysis, synthesize and point out the nature of the question involved and determine on the methods to resolve them.

Different types of contradictions are resolved by different



methods. It is quite clear that objective or subjective analysis and synthesis can only be "one divides into two" and not "combine two into one." Analysis and synthesis are closely connected. There is synthesis in analysis and analysis in synthesis. As Engels said in reference to the science of chemistry: "Chemistry, in which analysis is the predominant form of investigation, is nothing without its opposite pole – synthesis.: (Dialectics of Nature.)"

Yang Xianzhen and company denied the connection between analysis and synthesis and said that "analysis means 'one divides into two' while synthesis means 'combine two into one.'" "This is the same stuff as the bourgeois dualism preached by Trotsky: "Politics -- Marxist, art – bourgeois." Chairman Mao points out in *On Contradiction*: "It was not until Marx and Engels, the great protagonists of the proletarian movement, had synthesized the positive achievements in the history of human knowledge and, in particular, critically absorbed the rational elements of Hegelian dialectics and created the great theory of dialectical and historical materialism that an unprecedented revolution occurred in the history of human knowledge."

Chairman Mao has most profoundly explained how the founders of



Marxism analyzed and synthesized the achievements in the history of human knowledge. Marx and Engels neither affirmed nor negated Hegelian dialectics in its entirety, but, dividing one into two, criticized its idealist shell and absorbed its rational kernel.

This analysis and synthesis fully demonstrated the thoroughgoing proletarian revolutionary spirits and scientific attitude which they consistently advocated. They set a brilliant example for us to follow. The process of summing up our experience is also one of analysis and synthesis. By undertaking various kinds of struggles in social practice, men have accumulated rich experiences, some successful and some not. In summing up experience, it is necessary to distinguish the right from the wrong, affirm what is correct and negate what is wrong.

This means, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism- Mao Zedong Thought, reconstructing the rich data of perception obtained from practice, "discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside," raising perceptual knowledge to the level of rational knowledge and grasping the inherent laws of a thing. The movement of opposites -- one divides into two -- runs throughout this process. With the experience summed up in this way, we are able to uphold the truth and correct our mistakes, "popularize our successful experience and draw lessons from our mistakes."

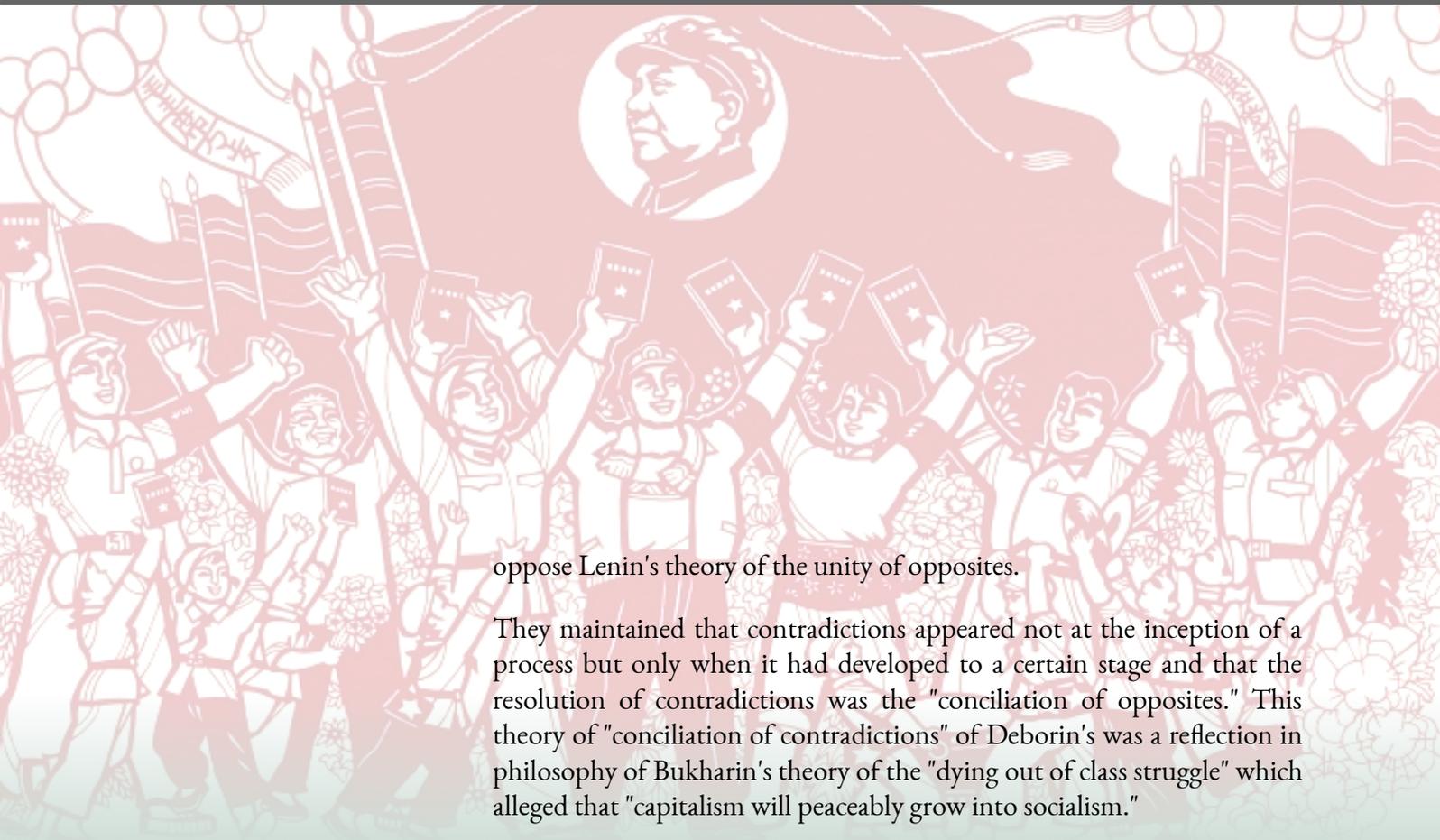
Reactionary Trend of International Revisionism

Was the reactionary philosophy "combine two into one" created by renegades Liu Shaoqi, Yang Xianzhen and their ilk? No! It is nothing but a variant of the theory of "conciliation of contradictions" of the old-line opportunists and revisionists under new historical conditions. Since the emergence of Marxism, the mortal enemies of scientific socialism have openly advertised the reactionary theory of "conciliating contradictions."

Proudhon declared that he wanted to "seek the principle of accommodation" so as to conciliate the contradictions of capitalist society. Duhring uttered such nonsense as the world is "indivisible" and "there are no contradictions in things." The reactionary chieftains of the Second International vainly attempted to replace revolutionary dialectics with vulgar evolutionism and replace the Marxist theories of class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat with the theory of "class collaboration." Kautsky trumpeted that "there are no two classes in a society that do not have common interests. There were common interests even between the slave-owner and his slaves." "There are indeed common interests between the capitalists and the workers." One and all, they are only fleeting intruders in history.

Relentless criticism and exposure by Marx, Engels and Lenin showed these types up in their true colors. After the victory of the October Revolution in Russia, Deborin and company jumped forth to frenziedly





oppose Lenin's theory of the unity of opposites.

They maintained that contradictions appeared not at the inception of a process but only when it had developed to a certain stage and that the resolution of contradictions was the "conciliation of opposites." This theory of "conciliation of contradictions" of Deborin's was a reflection in philosophy of Bukharin's theory of the "dying out of class struggle" which alleged that "capitalism will peaceably grow into socialism."

This reactionary philosophy for the restoration of capitalism was sternly criticized by Stalin. But after the Khrushchev renegade clique usurped Party and state power in the Soviet Union, it blatantly revived and developed Deborin's reactionary philosophy so as to restore capitalism in an all-round way. Posing as a savior, Khrushchev clamored: "The world is whole and indivisible in face of the threat of nuclear disaster. That is where we all are the human race."

The Khrushchev renegades shamelessly described this renegade revisionist philosophy as "creatively developing Marxism-Leninism." When these renegades stirred up a revisionist adverse current against Marxist philosophy, our great leader Chairman Mao, with great proletarian strength of mind, repeatedly stressed the great significance of disseminating materialist dialectics. Chairman Mao pointed out: "We want gradually to disseminate dialectics, and to ask everyone gradually to learn the use of the scientific dialectical method." (Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work.)

In his speech at the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957, Chairman Mao once again expounded in a deep-going way the revolutionary dialectics of one divides into two, and gave a head-on blow to the revisionist adverse current.

The historical experience of the international communist movement has repeatedly proved that if a Marxist-Leninist political party does not observe, analyze, and handle problems from the viewpoint of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, it will commit mistakes and

degenerate politically.

Since the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has thoroughly betrayed dialectical materialism and historical materialism and completely betrayed the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, it has inevitably gone further and further down the road of revisionism and degenerated into social-imperialism.

The reactionary theory of "conciliation of contradictions" has become a tool today for soviet revisionist social-imperialism in intensifying its fascist dictatorship, pushing an aggressive policy and in collaborating with U.S. imperialism and contending with it for world hegemony. The Soviet revisionists vehemently clamor for the creation of a "socialist community" and "giving first place to common interests."

This is a vain attempt on their part to obliterate the differences between the aggressor and the victim, the exploiter and the exploited, the controlling and the controlled. They want the working people of the countries in the "community" to sacrifice their own interests, give up their independence and sovereignty and "merge" completely into the "entity" of colonial rule by social-imperialism. But the reactionary theory of "conciliation of contradictions" cannot in the least save them.

The inherent laws of dialectics are independent of the will of the revisionists.

It has become an irresistible historical trend today for the people of the whole world and many small and medium-sized countries to unite and oppose hegemony by the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism, and draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and the two superpowers.

The revolutionary dialectics of "one divides into two" is striking firm root in the hearts of the people and is being grasped by more and more Marxist-Leninist political parties and revolutionary people. It has become their sharp weapon in opposing imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of various countries.

So long as they integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice in the revolutionary movement of their respective countries, the revolutionary people of all lands will overthrow the entire old world and win final victory in the proletarian world revolution.



Science and technology as part of the productive forces

(2nd part of a file on Deng Xiaoping's revisionism)

As we deal with the question of how Chinese revisionism broke away with the Maoist principle of indivisibility of matter, let's take a deeper look at Deng Xiaoping's conception of science.

It was this conception that was the main tool to promote and make triumph revisionism. This reactionary ideological weapon must be understood, so to not come to the same revisionism which consists as seeing Marxism as a "method".

Deng Xiaoping should not be considered as an "individual" who has betrayed, but as the carrier of a whole vision of the world. After Mao Zedong's death, he had a bourgeois way to "understand" Maoism, so to reorganize the state following the needs of the bourgeoisie.

This bourgeois way consists mainly in a particular understanding of science; let's see in which positions it consisted... or consists, as there are still "Maoists" who are in fact hidden dengists.

The thesis of the neutrality of research and decisions from above

According to dialectical materialism, thought is the reflect of the movement of matter; communists struggle so that this thought is conform to reality.

Once the eternal movement of matter rejected, there is no space for such a conception. There would be no thought, but only a battle and a construction. Marxism would be a "method" and because of this, what is needed is not a revolutionary cadre at each level, but an "expert".

That is why Deng Xiaoping could promote socialism "by above", like when he says:

"We should select several thousand of our most qualified personnel from within the scientific and technological establishment and create conditions that will allow them to



devote their undivided attention to research.” (Respect Knowledge, Respect Trained Personnel, May 24, 1977)

This approach is seeing “science” as neutral in its content and development.

In another document, Deng Xiaoping explains:

“Everyone who works, whether with his hands or with his brain, is part of the working people in a socialist society (...).

The Gang of Four distorted the division of labour between mental and manual work in our society today, misrepresenting it as a class antagonism. Their aim was to attack and persecute intellectuals, undermine the alliance between the workers and peasants and the intellectuals, damage the productive forces, and sabotage our socialist revolution and construction.

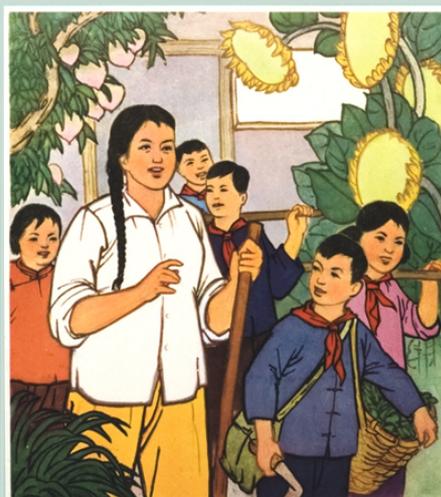
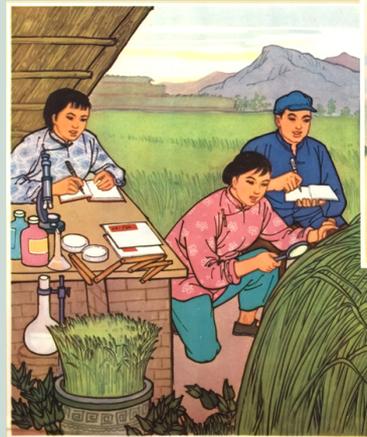
Science and technology are part of the productive forces.” (Speech At the Opening Ceremony of the National Conference On Science, March 18, 1978)

Deng Xiaoping against the GRCP

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution hold precisely the contrary. It was not only an attempt to block a reactionary restoration; the GRCP was a way to advance in the fields of dialectical materialism.

In the GRCP, science and technology were considered as manner to approach reality, and in this way they are not “productive forces”, but ideological choices, reflecting a class nature. The people’s communes have nothing to do with the capitalist China of the 2000’s.

Deng Xiaoping was well aware of that, as he was the main enemy of the GRCP. But if he managed to take the lead of China after Mao’s death, it was because he managed to take an aspect of Maoism – the development





of the country – but to transform it in the sense of a pragmatic development.

That is why revisionism could succeed: it appeared as an amelioration of the situation, reorganizing apparently the economy, but in fact changing it. Here is how Deng Xiaoping explains his own view:

“The “Cultural Revolution” was really a gross error. However, our Party was able to smash the counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four and put an end to the “Cultural Revolution” and it has continued to advance ever since. (...)

Now, when we speak of setting things right, we mean that we should undo the damage done by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, criticize the mistakes Comrade Mao Zedong made in his later years, and put things back on the right track of Mao Zedong Thought.” (Talk with some leading comrades of the Central Committee, October 25, 1980)

Deng Xiaoping about science and production

The tactical trick of Deng Xiaoping was so to assimilate science and production. It is very near from soviet revisionism: as the productive forces growing are the proof of the development of socialism, then everything helping this is “socialist”.

What counts is not the choice of how and what is to be produced, but production in itself. It is a mechanical bourgeois conception, only satisfying the necessity of capital to develop itself.

Here is how Deng Xiaoping explains this:

“The first point is the necessity of understanding that science and technology are part of the productive forces. The Gang of Four raised a hue and cry over this, confounding right and wrong and sowing much confusion in people’s minds.

Marxism has consistently treated science and technology as part of the productive forces. More than a century ago, Marx said that expansion of the use of machinery in production requires the conscious application of natural science.

Science too, he said, is among the productive forces.

The development of modern science and technology has bound science and production ever more tightly together. It is becoming increasingly clear that science and technology are of tremendous significance as productive forces. (Speech At the Opening Ceremony of the National Conference On Science, March 18, 1978)

Deng Xiaoping's conception only served the capital.





Communist Party of Peru ILA 80 We are the initiators

19 avril 1980

We are the initiators and we should keep this fact deeply in our spirits. This meeting is historic.

Comrades, we will pass into history as the initiators. For some time, the Party has been writing this history on indestructible pages.

We are the initiators. This first Party Military School is both a seal and a breach, it concludes and begins. It concludes the time of peace and opens the time of war. Comrades, our tasks with unarmed hands have concluded, and today our armed words begin: Let us uplift the masses and peasants under the unfading flags of Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought. One period has ended and the preparations for the new one have concluded. From here, the past deeds are sealed and we open the future. The key of the future is determined by actions, the objective is power. This we shall do, history demands it, the class urges it, the people have foreseen and want it. We must accomplish it and it will be accomplished. We are the initiators.

We should discuss some problems. Just as you, I will also speak with an

open heart, sincere words and a rational sentiment. This also has a strict logic.



I. WE ARE ENTERING THE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION.

Centuries of devastating exploitation have passed. The masses have been exploited, subjugated, forced to yield and implacably oppressed. But through all this time, the exploited masses have always resisted, because they have no other sentiment than the class struggle. However, throughout history, the masses were abandoned and had no direction. Their words, protests, actions and rebellions were crushed and defeated. But the masses never lost hope. The class always has hope. The masses are the light of the world that forge themselves ahead. They transform and create instruments with their own hands. They are the social fabric, the inexhaustible beat of history. Thus, they have been generating ideas, science of the most advanced kind.

But the laws of history that came about as a result of the development of the class struggle have generated one last class: The international proletariat. The class has surged up struggling in the midst of a sinister system, capitalism, which appeared sweating blood and muck from all its pores. A system in whose center the combative proletariat developed unions, strikes, resistance and revolutions. All of this became embodied in Marxism, and the class, endowing itself with a Party, evolved into a mature class with its own interests. The masses of the world finally have their liberator. In the old times, the masses awaited for a liberator. They used to put their faith in the hands of supposed saviors, until the powerful and invincible proletariat appeared, which is capable of creating a true new order. The class organized itself politically, and another history begins to unfold to become a reality.

In one hundred years of struggle, setbacks, and victories, the proletariat has learned how to fight and seize power with arms. The workers took it once in an embryonic form but were crushed with blood and fire. Nevertheless, we remember the Paris Commune, where those who were reviled are today heroes. And their example lives on, while their tormentors are forgotten. The workers with Lenin seized power in Russia and created a powerful State. The class continued fighting and with Mao Zedong paved a new road and resolved unsolved problems. The class began to fight under the flags of Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought.

Around the Second World War, the revolution entered a strategic equilibrium, leaving behind the reactionary holy alliances and their previously untouchable tormentors and enemies. With the powerful international workers' movement, the cresting waves of the national liberation movements, the development of Communist Parties, and the



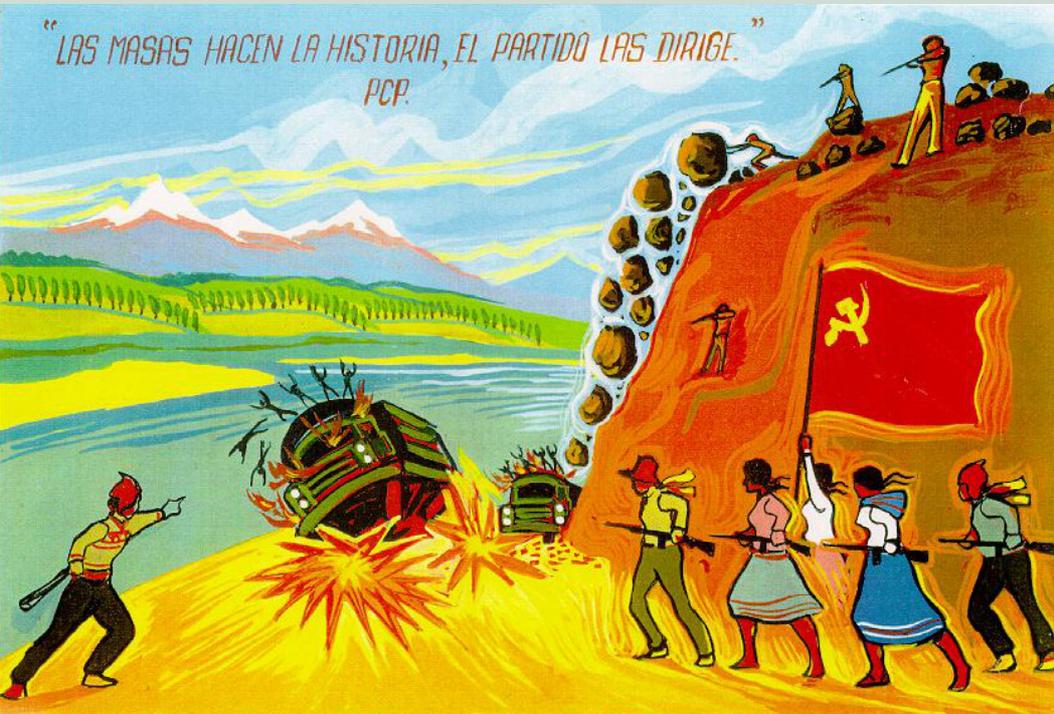
elevation of Marxism to the high summit of Mao Zedong Thought, a new situation has been created: We are entering the strategic offensive of world revolution. In the next 50 to 100 years, the domination of imperialism and all exploiters will be swept away. History cannot go backwards. In the hands of the working class, under the leadership of the Communist Parties and through the mighty force of poor peasants, the peoples war will be sustained and grow each day until overthrowing the old order. The world is entering into a new situation, the strategic offensive of world revolution. This is of transcendental importance.

As Chairman Mao said: "The storm draws near and the wind roars in the tower." Thus, the vortex draws near, the vortex begins, and the invincible flame of the revolution grows, converting itself into lead and steel. And from the din of battle along its inextinguishable fires will come forth the light. From the darkness a light will appear and a new world will be born. The old order of reaction crackles, its old boat leaks and sinks in desperation. But comrades, nobody can expect reaction to retire gently. Marx warned us: Even while drowning, the reactionaries were capable of inflicting asphyxiating chokeholds and desperate blows in order to see us sink. That is impossible. The reaction has the hyena's dreams of blood. Convulsive dreams shake their somber nights. Their hearts scheme sinister hecatombs. They arm themselves to the teeth but they cannot prevail. Their destiny is weighed and measured. The time has come for the settling of accounts.

The imperialist superpowers, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and other powers seek to invade, penetrate, suffocate, destroy and drown everything with terror. But as Chairman Mao said, by attacking, assaulting, and launching offensives they overextend themselves and enter the powerful core of the people. The people rise up, arm themselves and rebel, putting nooses on the necks of imperialism and reaction. The



people take them by the throat, threaten their lives and will strangle them out of necessity. The reactionary meat will be trimmed of fat, they will be torn to tatters and rags, the scraps sunk into mire, and the remainders burned. The ashes will be thrown to the winds of the world so that only the sinister reminder of what must never return will remain.



Comrades, that is the world today. It has befallen on us to live in an extraordinary epoch. Thus it is written, mankind never had such a heroic destiny. To the people of today, to those people who breathe, struggle, and fight, has befallen the task of sweeping reaction from the face of the earth, the most illuminating and magnificent mission given to any generation. We find ourselves in this situation: The world revolution enters a strategic offensive. Nothing will

prevail against it. The innumerable iron legions arise, and more and more will arise, inexhaustibly multiply, encircle and annihilate reaction. Reaction, which unleashes its bloody claws tearing the flesh off the people, continues to sow discord, embroil, and seeks to sate itself with the blood of the people. But the people's blood ascends like furious wings and the stricken flesh converts itself into a powerful vengeful lash. Their muscles and actions are converted into steel battering rams in order to destroy the oppressor who will be irremediably crushed.

Comrades, reaction will not prevail in any form. The hour has sounded, the revolution will triumph. The struggle will be hard, arduous, cruel and difficult. Victory is ours. The masses will prevail, the peasants will arise, the working class will lead, the Communist Party will command and the Red Flags will be raised forever. Reaction has entered its final chapter. We will develop in that world.

II. OUR PEOPLE BEGIN TO SEIZE POWER THROUGH ARMED STRUGGLE

In this magnificent epic of world history, our people along with the Latin American working classes and masses have a role to play. This role is being fulfilled. Our people begin to seize power through armed struggle. It is hundreds of years of struggle in which the peasant movements have shaken the foundation of exploitation, but they have not been able to uproot it as yet. In this country the Communist Party was forged as pure steel. It brought light to the people by upholding Marxism-Leninism

Mao Zedong Thought. Comrades, in this country we are embarking upon a third epoch. The third epoch is a battle between armed revolution and armed counter-revolution, which are prepared for violence. Counter-revolution with its old and bloody violence, peace at the hands of bayonets, their damned wars that annihilate people in the prisons, schools, factories, in the countryside, and even assassinating children with hunger and misery in their maternal wombs.

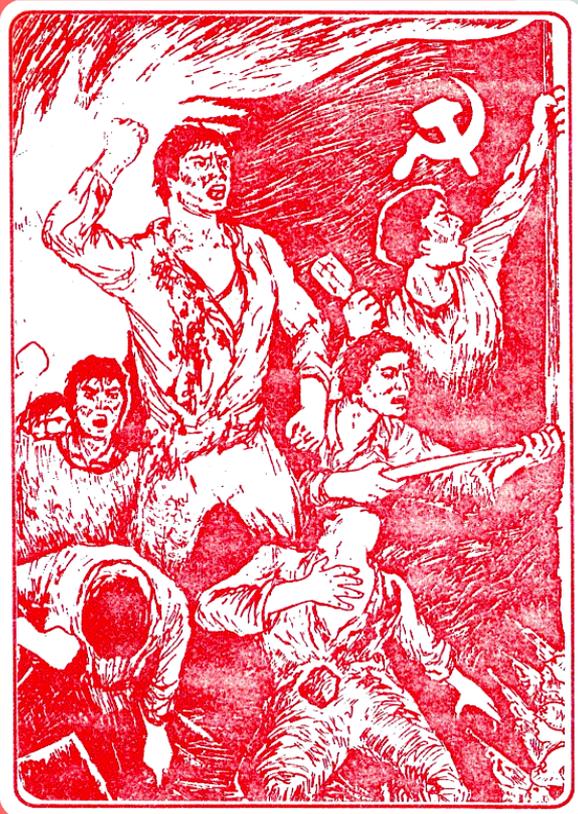
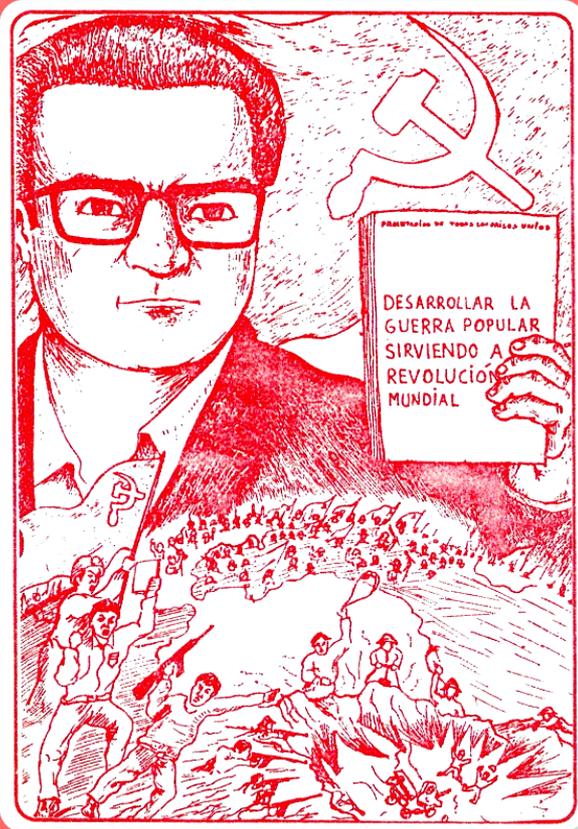
Today, that sinister violence meets its match. The revolutionary violence prepares to take up the battle in arms. Our people with a rich history are finally embarking to the final chapter, the completion of the democratic period of the revolution. The masses tremble, the flood tide rises, and the storm approaches. Reaction in this country as well as in the world, also dreams of soaking the revolution with blood and fire, of drowning it in blood. These are old, dark, and violent dreams.

They are not facing the same situation as yesterday. Time has passed and bureaucratic capitalism has matured the revolution. The agrarian laws promulgated by the regimes have been failures one after another, and the peasants have understood the lesson: nothing will be given to them, nothing will derive from a law. The land must be conquered by their own armed hands.

The working class is more aggressive, mature. It has a higher level of consciousness, it is numerically larger, politically more powerful, and much stronger than in the past. The popular masses have grown in our country. The petty bourgeoisie is being proletarianized. It has no other destiny than to serve the revolution and put itself at the disposal of the proletariat. Its only course of action is to serve the revolution according to the dictates of the working class and to forcefully fight behind the road paved by the Party. This is good to remember, because from this experience we should particularly win over the intellectuals. As Mariategui has already shown us, the masses must be mobilized and only in this manner will we will fulfill our role and serve the great battle that history has arranged for us.

Comrades, we have concluded that we are embarking into the third epoch of contemporary Peruvian society. But just as yesterday, when we expounded upon the two moments of contemporary Peruvian history as part of the process of the development of bureaucratic capitalism in this country, some condemned us and rejected our thesis and ideals with insolence and contemptible accusations of infantilism. We are putting forth today, with a clear and precise vision, that our country enters a third epoch. This thesis will also be subjected to misunderstanding. But it is no longer possible to condemn us with childish labels of infantilism, because this time, history has shown us to be right in many things, and they will also learn lessons [translator: this refers to the two line struggle within the Party]. Nevertheless, it is not easy for our accusers to easily accept and comprehend it. It requires convincing deeds, concrete actions that pound into their hard heads and shatter their speculation to pieces, so that they





also may carry the reality of this country in their spirits.

The understanding of the third epoch is key to the advance of our people. What does the third epoch imply? It implies the revolution, the people with arms in hand begin to seize power, that reaction with 400 years of exploitation, added to the exploitation of other epochs, (comrades, we should think clearly, 400 years of foreign oppression, a vile slave system that continues to exist today, a state which although weak, still has force), implies that reaction will try to contain us and oppose the advance of the revolution. It is well known by materialists that what exists refuses to die; reaction exists and therefore refuses to die. It is an unburied corpse but it protests, negates, resists, and attacks with fury and desperation, opposing its placement into a casket for its burial.

Thus, we must understand that the revolutionary struggle will be hard, violent and cruelly contested by reaction. They will send their sinister army armed to the teeth to fight us, assaulting the working class, the peasants and popular masses, spreading their sinister claws. They will try to encircle, isolate, crush and wipe us out. But we are the future, the strength, and history.

Comrades, revolution and counterrevolution are also contending forces in our country. They are two parts of a unity of opposites in constant struggle. The reactionaries are armed and concentrated, defending the metropolis and capitals. We are rooted in the countryside, in small villages, with the masses, especially with the poor peasants, with the force of the people, among their disorganized force in order to organize it into a powerful army. But this will not be easy. The dark, sinister armies of reaction will fight against us, mount powerful aggressions and great offensives. We will respond in kind, splitting them, making them fall apart, and converting their offensives into a multitude of our small offensives. Therefore, those who encircle will be encircled, the would-be annihilators will be annihilated, the would-be victors will be defeated and the beast will finally be corralled. As we have been taught, the clamor of our armed voices will make them tremble with terror. They will be crushed by their own fears and be converted into scattered black ashes.

That is what will happen. This is the way it is, Comrades. Nevertheless, the fight will be hard, long, difficult and cruel. We need to steel our spirits, be strong, vigorous, fearless and confident in our victory. May the confidence of victory dwell in our hearts in as much as we serve the people and class. The problem is to initiate the armed struggle with decisiveness and firmness. We must deploy it and populate the land with

our flags and with sonorous actions that history will record. Comrades, our people are embarking on the seizure of power with arms. We are launching the most magnificent march that our country has ever seen before. Nothing like this will ever be seen again. It will be truly remarkable. This is what we will do! The people, the class, and the proletariat demands it. We can not and must not fail.

III. THE PARTY DEVELOPS ITSELF THROUGH ARMED STRUGGLE.

It has been more than 80 years of working class struggle and 52 years of the Party's existence. It took about 10 years for a group of men and women, led by Mariategui, about 10 years to found the Party. His name is imprinted forever in our ranks, the peoples of the world and the international working class. Time has passed, many of us have fought, and will continue to struggle until exploitation is abolished. That is our destiny. We are a growing torrent confronting fire, rocks and mud. But our power is greater. We convert everything into our fire. The black fire will be transformed into red fire and the red is light. That is where we are, that is the Reconstitution of the Party. Comrades, we are reconstituted.

The Party is a Party of a new type. The purpose of this Party of a new type is to seize power for the working class and the people of this country. The Party can not be developed more but through the use of arms, through armed struggle. That is the hard lesson we have learned in 50 years, a great lesson that we should never forget: We have no power because we have no guns. Like Chairman Mao has written, whoever has more guns has more power. Whoever wants to seize power must forge an army, and whoever wants to keep power must have a powerful army. This is what we will accomplish. The Party has embarked to develop itself



through armed struggle, our historical course. We cannot go backwards.

Comrades, we can now state that the development of the Party has prevailed. Its possible destruction, as it had to be, has been averted. This is the conclusion we can derive from the 2nd Plenary Session of the Central Committee and the First Military School. We have completed a task that we only now have begun to appreciate. We asked ourselves, how will we develop the Party? A plain and simple response is: Through armed struggle. In critical times the situation enters into contentious struggles, and according to the law of contradiction, specific circumstances can lead into development or destruction, of course transitory, but it does not cease to become a destruction if that could lead us to sink in the mud or march through a muddy place.

The Party has triumphed as it had to. Its destruction cannot take place. The Party embarks firmly, decisively, voluntarily and energetically in its development. Comrades, this is what is derived from these meetings. However, what contradiction is being debated? The launching of armed struggle presents a contradiction: The old versus the new. The development of the Party through armed struggle is the new, and the old is our accomplishments up to now, including the good ones. Even the best of our achievements have aged, and no matter how much we add to this tradition, we also add to that great garbage which parties, classes and organizations generate throughout decades. We must be very clear on this point. There is only one new thing, to develop the Party through armed struggle. Today, this is our contradiction. Just like in the international arena where the contradiction is between the strategic offensive and the strategic defensive of reaction, in our country the contradiction is between the armed people and armed reaction. This contradiction, through the People's War, will inevitably lead to the triumph of the class and sweep away 400 years of oppression. Comrades, in the Party there is also a contradiction. It calls for serious reflection and no one should doubt it.

Today, the Communists should be clear on the contradiction of the old versus the new. I reiterate, the new is the armed struggle: the unfading flames of People's War, the steel which must be made purer, the sharp sword and piercing spears in order to wound the entrails of reaction. This is new. Everything else is old, it is the past, and from that past we must guard ourselves, because the past always tries to reestablish itself in a thousand forms in the future.

Comrades, let us not forget that in order to guarantee the consolidation of 100, we need to advance as 200. Today, advancing with 200 means to initiate the armed struggle, to begin the action is the guarantee of thoroughly sowing the new with lead, crumbling the old walls. Comrades, this is the new. Everything else is old. We should be absolutely clear and understand it. The Party has embarked on its development through arms. This is our fundamental situation. Having stated this point, we have three conditions:

First, we embark on the strategic offensive of world revolution. That is our situation. The revolutionary tide is on our side.

Second, the people set out to seize power with arms. The future will be decided through the advancement of People's War.

Third, the Party begins to develop through the armed struggle. Thus, the Party will become the powerful Party which the revolution needs, and since it is needed it must be forged.

Comrades, the world process, the process of the nation and the Party are interrelated. Therefore, the future is assured, it is palpitating in the armed actions that we will commence to undertake. It is a delicate task that needs to be nurtured with the clamor of our arms, developed with guerrilla warfare, fortified with People's War, cared for and nourished like the seed of an army, giving birth to armed columns, allowing it to flourish into a guerrilla army that we must build into a powerful army.

Comrades, these three conditions determine that the Party leads the armed struggle of the masses. In our hearts, minds and wills, the power of the people is alive, and we carry it with us. In the beginning we have no rearguard or we will have one that is small, weak, fragile and uncertain. Comrades, we must never forget the people's power, the State of the working class, the State of workers and peasants. This State marches with us, we carry it on the muzzles of our rifles, nestled in our minds, throbbing in our hands, and it will always be burning in our hearts. It is the first thing on our minds. We should never forget it. Comrades, the armed struggle will be born fragile and weak because it is new, but its destiny will be to develop through change, from the variation of fragility like a tender plant. The roots we plant at the beginning will be the future of a vigorous State. Comrades, all this begins to flourish with the modest and simple actions that tomorrow we will carry out.

There are three interrelated things: world history, the history of our country, and the history of our Party. These are three convergences, three realities, three combinations and only one final conclusion, only one unmovable truth, only one future. We will respond to the flourishing revolution in our country.

IV. WE BEGIN TO DEVELOP THE MILITARIZATION OF THE PARTY THROUGH ACTIONS AND APPLY THE PLAN OF INITIATION.

This is a derivation from the three issues discussed above. It is a logical, necessary, irrefutable and irreversible conclusion. On the three previous issues, the Party in the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee has concluded as follows: The "Development of the Militarization of the Party through actions." It ratified that through armed actions, the Party will be transformed into a powerful and recognized vanguard of the Peruvian working class, and the legitimate center of the Peruvian revolution. The Second Plenary Session has also ratified a "plan of





initiating the armed struggle" that solves a problem unresolved until today, of how to begin the armed struggle. Comrades, this is not to instill ourselves with pride but to understand our immense responsibility. No trace of vanity should ever be in us. Modesty and simplicity should accompany us, and the more we fulfill our tasks, the more modest and simple we become, because we are the faithful servants of the people and class. We should learn to conduct ourselves in that manner. Many things will change and even more profoundly among

us. We have comrades by way of the actions of universal history, by Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought, by the labor of our people that begin to define their history through arms, by the labor of fifty years of Party struggle and of innumerable Communists, and as a derivation from what our own founder initiated. We have resolved the problem of initiating the armed struggle. We have resolved the first fundamental military problem, how to initiate the armed struggle. We know what needs to be done and how to arm ourselves. Most importantly, we know how to raise up the peasantry so that through arduous struggles we can unleash guerrilla actions from that powerful land. We know how to confront and destroy their encirclements.

Comrades, the problem of initiating the armed struggle in Peru is resolved. No one should have doubts about it. We have nothing to doubt. The problem is resolved. Take it for what it is, a derivation from Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought, a result of our people embarking on the seizure of power with arms. A derivation from fifty years of the Party. Thus, we will have a historical sense, a comprehension and knowledge of where we stand now, where we are going and the safe port we will arrive.

V. WE ARM OURSELVES IN THEORY AND PRACTICE TO LAUNCH THE PEOPLE'S WAR.

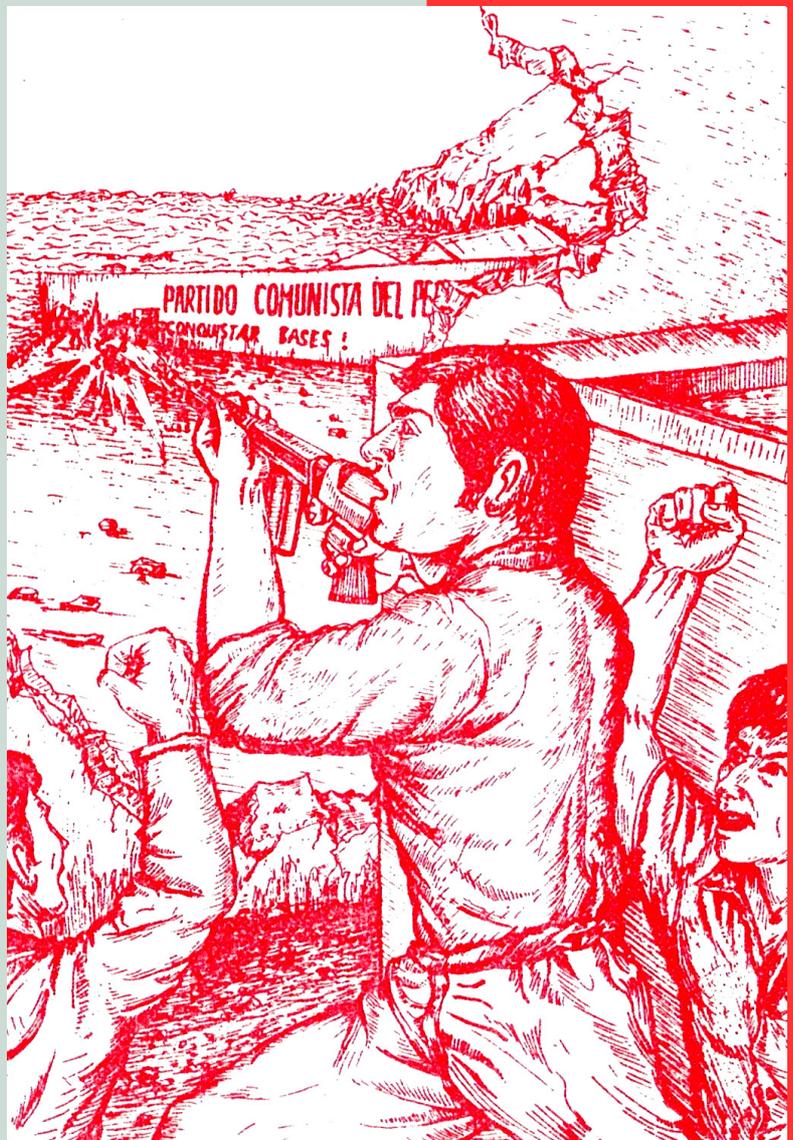
We are arming ourselves in theory and practice with the Military Line and with the general political mobilization. We are forming detachments and developing actions to initiate the armed struggle. This should be indelibly recorded.

This First Military School is historic. We asked ourselves, what is this school? If the Second Session of the Central Committee is the "Chime of

Glory", what is this school? We will repeat it once more, it is "the Seal and Breach", because it closes and opens. It concludes our unarmed life and begins our People's War. Comrades, that is this school. Here we have applied the agreements of the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee. We have successfully completed and resolved problems, that the Central Committee shall ratify very soon, at the same time it arranges for the Party's readjustment and the commencing of actions.

Thus, the Party, through its central organizations, its leaders and cadres, arms itself with the military line in theory and practice. Comrades, the last meeting is a demonstration of the distribution of forces: proof of the encirclement and annihilation of pessimism and opposition. It has burned and annihilated what among us and inside of us could have opposed. We have raised up optimism and are filled with enthusiasm. The victories to come have been unfurled. We must understand it in this way.

We have seen the fighters march, we have seen advanced fighters with their leaders at the foreground, opening breaches; we have seen the ranks march in order to maintain and support the actions. We have seen at last the definitive action, a passionate and ardent faith to reach the summit. What we have done today is a demonstration of how to act militarily. That is why we say we are arming ourselves theoretically and practically. In this manner, arming the cadres and leaders for basic effectiveness, we have obviously entered the general political mobilization. Remember what Chairman Mao said: the key is to mobilize the cadres. That has been accomplished. The mobilization has begun, and what we have achieved here will be reverberated tomorrow in more powerful waves, because the masses yearn to hear the Party say that we should begin to take action and they want to know how to do this. Comrades, let us inform the bases of the good news. We must apply the plan of initiation and we should start it tomorrow. It is what the beating hearts of the militants and the masses that work jointly with us desire to hear and dream of realizing.



Comrades, the general political mobilization of the Party is on the march. Forming armed detachments and developing military actions we initiate the armed struggle. This begins from here, and that is why this meeting is



both a seal and a breach.

VI. WE ARE THE INITIATORS.

We are the initiators. We began by stating we are the initiators. And we end by stating we are the initiators. Initiators of what? Of the People's War and the armed struggle that is in our hands, shining in our minds, beating in our hearts and irrepressibly agitating in our wills. This is what we are "a handful of men and women, Communists, paying homage to the leadership of the Party, the proletariat and the people. On this 19th of April, history will state, standing upright they expressed their declaration of revolutionary faith, with their hearts burning with an inextinguishable passion, with firm and resolute wills, and with clear and bold minds, assuming their historical obligation of being the Initiators. What they decided on April 19th took shape in autumn with boycotts and the harvest, followed through with actions against the reactionary power, aiming at local authority, continued with land seizures and with the peasant masses in rebellion the guerrillas were raised up. The guerrillas generated the powerful army we have become today, and the State based on it. Our country is free..." That is what they will say, comrades. This is materialized in our party decision, apparently simple but of great historical importance.

Comrades, do these three final issues also presents us with contradictions? Yes, they do. Here, in the Party, the focus is on our agreement concerning the "Development of the Militarization of the Party through actions" and in applying our Plan of Initiation is the essence of the new, a new part of the world which cannot be detained because our armed hands have surged with more to follow tomorrow. The new is focused in our country, the armed solution, and the Party's development through arms intensifies through the armed struggle. Thus, on the question of developing and applying the plan of initiation, the new is the focus and the old is confronted. The old will pledge itself to the opposite, but it is already defeated, it is a great defeat for the Right. Their destruction is already assured, the development has triumphed, let us shape it through thunder, write it with lead, so that it remains written forever on pages of steel upon the ridge of the mountains; so that it can never be erased nor written in a contrary form. That is the contradiction.

At the end, everything reduces to a fifth problem. The contradiction enters to address the problems of arms, war, armed struggle and how to initiate it. If up to now we have acted as an unarmed people, the problem now is that we begin to act with armed hands. From times of peace to times of war. And the times of war have other requirements and other urgent demands.

Comrades, the contradictions will accumulate but we will handle them. We have learned to handle history, the laws and contradictions. It is in our hands to resolve them, shaping them with armed deeds. Nothing will stop us. We will pass through times of irreversible war, the contradiction

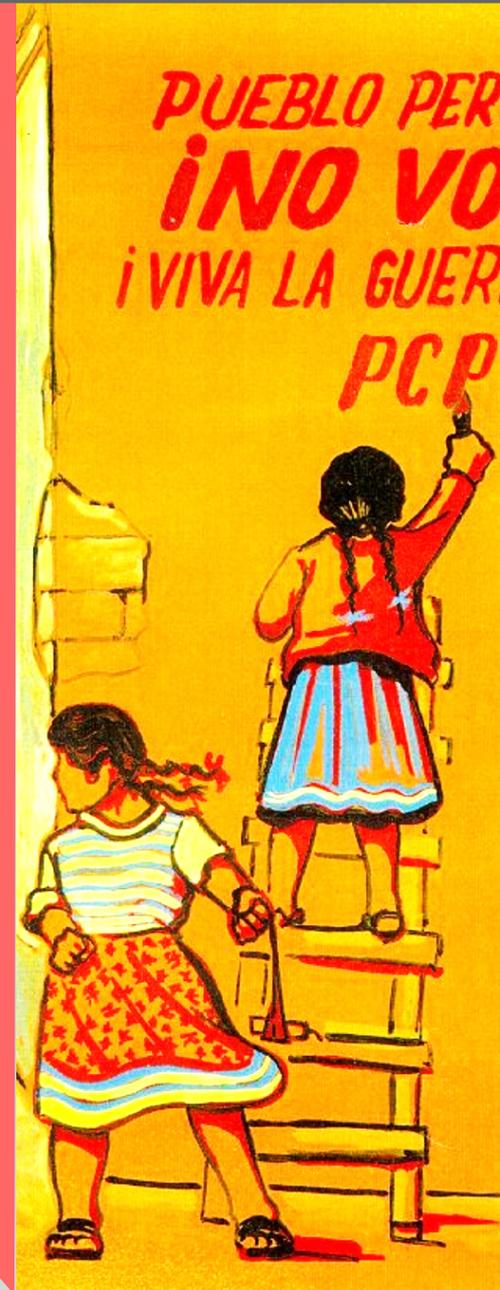
will unfold, it will take us to a successful conclusion.

We are the initiators. What contradiction is presented to us? We and the other Communists of our bases, present or not, who reverberate within us, await with anxiety what is decided here. All of us have a problem, a contradiction: the great rupture. Comrades, the time has come. It is time for a great rupture. We will break all ties with what is old and rotten in order to completely and thoroughly destroy it, for if we have an interest in that decrepit world, we would not be able to destroy it. Men speaking individually can be weak. Each of us should think hard. As an individual, each person can be fragile and weak. But the revolution is all-powerful, and the armed revolution even more so, because it is sustained by the masses, who are the force of the land and led by the Party, which is the light of the universe.

Comrades, we begin the great rupture. We have stated many times that we embark upon that rupture and that many ties shall be broken since it links us to the old and rotten order, and if we don't do it, we could never demolish it. Comrades, the time has come, there is nothing more to discuss, the debate has been exhausted. It is time to act, it is the moment of rupture and it will not be done with slow and tardy meditation, nor in the halls nor in silent rooms. It will be done with the roar of armed actions. This is the form for carrying it out, a correct and adequate form, the only form. It is through actions, as we have studied, that the conscious capacity of people intensifies, the will is tenser, our passions more powerful and our energy enraged. Comrades, through actions we will find the energy, force, and sufficient capacity for the great rupture. We have embarked upon this. The trumpets begin to sound, the murmur of the masses grows and it will continue growing, it will deafen us, it will bring us to a powerful vortex, with one note: We will become the protagonists of history, conscious, organized and armed. Thus, the great rupture will be open and we will become the makers of a definitive dawn. This is what we have embarked upon, comrades.

I want to conclude. This School, this First Party Military School, is the seal and the breach, it seals the deeds done up to today and opens a breach for tomorrow. What we have accomplished until now is very positive and has borne fruit. There is a saying that people are judged by their deeds. The deed is done, it is before us. There is nothing more to prove. What has been done until now is good. The breach, what we must do, will be even greater and definitively the only great thing we have to accomplish. It will come forth from arms, from the barrels of the guns. It will come forth from the direct action of the Party upon the masses. It will come forth from the People's War.

Comrades, this school is historic. We cannot understand its dimension, we cannot weigh it as it deserves unless we turn our gaze decades into the future. This is the School of the Initiators. It is the name given to it by the Central Committee. In a word it is IAS 80 (ILA 80), which means: Initiate the Armed Struggle in 1980. It is a commitment and challenge.





We are deployed. We will surpass it. I am not only saying that we will accomplished it, but we will surpass it, because it is a mandate and a historic necessity imposed upon us by our people, nobody can speak to the contrary.

Comrades, the role of the School of Initiators, ILA 80 is: Initiate the armed struggle in 1980. Decades later, in the future, it will interpreted like this: ILA 80, the armed struggle was initiated in 1980. ILA was done here. That word is beautiful, it has a double meaning and if we look at it even more, it has a further meaning. It is the synthesis of what we done up to now. It shapes all the past. Comrades, what has guided us? To initiate the armed struggle, was not this stated in the Ninth Plenum? Comrades, it is the past summarized, opening into the present, it is the future that must be irrevocably accomplished. ILA 80 is also the implementation of our past agreement on initiating the armed struggle. In the present it means initiating the armed struggle today, this year, and in the future. The armed struggle was initiated in 1980.

Comrades, all that we have done during these complex days, in difficult moments, but in the final analysis, satisfactory days, fruitful, healthy, good and vital days, is all realized in the "School of Initiators: ILA 80."

The Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee congratulates those present and everyone else because with their actions they helped in the materialization of this reality. Congratulations to the Party, because with its actions, it has made this reality concrete. Congratulations to the masses and our people, because their actions through centuries have been realized here. Congratulations to the working class of the world, the international proletariat and the peoples of the world, because their actions have borne fruit here. We render homage, as always, to the unfading flags of Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought, because their grandeur which will always live has been realized here. They, now live within us. The spirit of the revolution dwells in the Party, our people, and our class. Finally it has arrived! All our struggles have been validated. Comrades, finally it has been realized: Initiate the armed struggle today. Everything that we have accomplished, including errors that have served as experience, are validated here. This is the essence of this School.



The Central Committee, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee feels and expresses through this speaker an immense delight, because we have completed a simple and magnificent task: That the initiation of the armed struggle, ILA 80, dwells here and puts the final touches on the past, specifies the present and opens the future. Comrades, we have accomplished this. Thus the future opens with promise and hope. We remember the words of a wise old man: "What life promises you, fulfill it yourself to life."

Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought, the international proletariat, the people of the world, the working class, the people of this country, the Party with its bases, cadres, and leaders, all this magnificent action through the centuries has been realized here. The promise blossoms and the future unfolds. ILA 8o.

Our duty is to fulfill it. What has been given to us as a future, we must fulfill it with our own lives, for the people, workers, and Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought.

Comrades, the efforts invested are a satisfaction, a delight in the accomplished tasks, pleased by what has been done, and seek no compensation.

The future is in the barrels of the guns! The armed revolution has begun!
Glory to Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought!

Long Live the Communist Party of Peru!

Initiate the Armed Struggle!

(From the First Military School, April 19, 1980)

