

A P P E N D I X

National Council Resolution:

RECENT EVENTS IN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA CONNECTED WITH THE SO-CALLED 'GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION'

The national council of the Communist Party of India shares the grave concern expressed by the overwhelming majority of the communist and workers' parties of the world, at the regrettable developments in the People's Republic of China, since June this year and particularly after the decisions of the 11th plenum of the 7th CC of the Communist Party of China (beginning of August 1966) on the so-called 'great proletarian cultural revolution'—developments which place a weapon in the hands of the imperialists and reactionaries to discredit communism.

This 'proletarian cultural revolution' which was initiated by Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao, as a frenzied mass movement of the teenage youth and students, was later sponsored by the 11th plenum of the CC of CPC and proclaimed as 'a new stage in the development of the socialist revolution'. It was supposed to eliminate old culture, ideas, customs and habits of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes and to establish the culture, ideas, customs and habits of the proletariat as a sound basis for building socialism. In practice, however, the campaign started with a frantic campaign of destruction and attack on values of old Chinese and world culture, burning of books and destroying statues and sculptures. This included condemning and banning classical works of Balzac, Tolstoy, Shakespeare, etc., as bourgeois, and the works of music by Beethoven, Bach, Mozart, etc., as devoid of class struggle. This included violent and unseemly mass demonstrations before the embassies of Soviet Union and

other socialist countries and even manhandling of diplomats of these countries.

This campaign has nothing in common with the Marxist-Leninist conception of the cultural revolution, as carried out in the Soviet Union or in the other socialist countries—and not even with the conception of the same as of the CPC itself. This campaign of vandalism, being carried out in a socialist country, gives a weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie and reactionaries to discredit communist and proletarian culture and has to be repudiated.

The 'cultural revolution' at present taking place in China, is said to be a revolutionary mass upheaval led by the party and directed against the revisionists and bourgeois elements who have wormed their way into positions of authority in the party, the state and the cultural field, and are aiming at the restoration of capitalism and the subversion of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The developments are sought to be explained by stating that class struggle goes on sharpening after the victory of the socialist revolution until the question: who beats whom?—capitalism or socialism—is finally decided.

The actual course of development which is characterised by the following features does not fit into this neat scheme:

The 'mass upheaval' is restricted to the teenage youth and students (young people previously unknown) who are organised into a 'red guard' movement in which each has a semi-military uniform with a red band and a new book of Mao Tse-tung's quotations, and which is directed under the leadership of the Mao-Lin Piao group in the central committee.

The bulk of the party organisations, below the central committee, either are lukewarm to this 'red guard' movement or are even opposing it, as can be inferred from the four different situations with regard to the attitude of the party organisation towards the 'cultural revolution', described in the CC plenum resolution on the same.

There have been frequent clashes between the organised red guards and several party organisations and even with

working-class organisations in factories as reported by correspondents from socialist countries. The organised working class or the trade unions nowhere are participating in this mass upheaval.

The 20 million strong Young Communist League of China which is the organised youth wing of the CP is completely out of this red guard youth upsurge. The organ of the YCL was stopped when the organ of the red guards was started.

The red guard upsurge needs to be bolstered up by holding several million strong all-China rallies in Peking within the last four months with the direct participation of Mao Tse-tung and Lin Liao each time and the full utilisation of the prestige of Mao, and the full utilisation of the cult of Mao's thought.

These indisputable facts go to show that the red guard upsurge is neither proletarian nor is it a genuine cultural revolution. In fact the turbulent movement of some 9 million red guards who have to be recruited from teenage youth and students drawn from outside the pale of party and communist youth organisation and organised and set in motion directly under the Mao-Lin Piao leadership, is not directed to solve any of the tasks of the cultural revolution as normally understood. This rebellion of the mass of young students and immature youths, engineered and master-minded by the Lin Piao leadership, frantically inspired by the cult of Mao Tse-tung's thought, was directed against the numerous influential leaders and party cadres, at all levels, who could not be easily removed by the ordinary party methods and who were in recent times expressing their criticism of the policies of the leadership, domestic as well as external, policies connected with problems of socialist development which had led to economic difficulties.

In particular were meant those cadres and leaders, who were critical of the policy of escalating the differences with the Soviet Union and the CPSU and with other socialist countries, policies of launching slanderous and provocative attacks against them in the name of fighting revisionism, and taking them to the point of rejecting united actions

with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the defence of the Vietnamese people fighting for their freedom against US aggression. The criticism and opposition of these cadres and leaders became particularly marked against the background of failure of the 'great leap', people's communes and other economic policies. It was further accentuated when policies of splittism began to meet with disastrous failures as in Indonesia and elsewhere and led to the growing isolation of China among the progressive forces of the world.

It is significant to take note of the methods by which this rebellion of the so-called red guards are carrying out this purge of a large section of the leaders and cadres of the party, the state and those in the cultural fields. They begin with 'big letter posters' denouncing the persons, proceed to holding violent mass demonstrations, surrounding houses and party committee offices, which often culminate in destruction of property and even loss of life. This proceeds under the protection of the state and military authorities who are not to interfere with the red guard activities. The same methods were used against the embassies of fraternal socialist countries particularly of the Soviet Union and against their personnel. The campaign is accompanied by a fantastic deification of Mao Tse-tung, by the elevation of the cult of Mao's thought to a universal solution to all problems—social, national and international, and opposition to which is met by methods reminiscent of religious fanaticism. It is further significant to note that the several million strong red guards are now being declared as an auxiliary force of the PLA, the Chinese army, and are being given military training.

Considering that the cultural revolution and the activities of the red guards was preceded by a purge in the army leadership and that it was initiated and led by the Lin Liao leading group of the army, and in view of the facts stated above the conclusion is irresistible that these developments are in the nature of a *coup* directed against party organisations, leaders and cadres who are opposing the policies

mentioned above. These developments underline the extent to which the present leadership of the CPC is abandoning Marxism-Leninism. They are pitting more and more the thought of Mao Tse-tung against Marxism-Leninism.

The most dangerous aspect of these developments in the PRC and inseparably connected with the same is the unprecedented escalation of the hostile campaign of lies and provocative actions against the unity of the socialist camp and particularly against the Soviet Union and the CPSU; the intensification of the splitting activities in the ranks of the world communist movement and in the international mass organisations, in the ranks of world front against imperialist aggression, for peace and freedom of the peoples.

The communique of the 11th plenum of the CC, CPC (August 1966) which adopted the 16-point resolution on the 'great proletarian cultural revolution' mentioned above, for the first time omits all references to the two unanimously adopted documents of the world communist movement—namely, the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of the Moscow Conference of 81 communist and workers' parties, and puts in its place the document of the Chinese Communist Party of 14 June 1963, which it now claims was drawn up under the personal leadership of Mao Tse-tung and which represents an alternative general line for the world communist movement.

The communique carries a stage further the campaign of slander and lies against the CPSU and other fraternal parties, contained in the 9 comments on the *Open Letter of the CPSU* and in the comment on the Moscow preparatory meeting of communist and workers' parties of March 1965. It has declared war on what it calls the 'camp of modern revisionism at the centre of which stands the leadership of the CPSU.' It attacks the CPSU as 'safeguarding imperialist and colonial domination in the world and restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union,' and as joining with US imperialism and reactionaries of all countries to form a 'holy alliance' against communism, people, revolution and China. Giving a case for drawing a clear line of demarcation

against 'modern revisionists' the communique declares that it is impossible to have united action with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the fight against US aggression in Vietnam.

The leadership of the CPC is putting these declarations of its communique into practice by organising so-called 'Marxist-Leninist' rival parties in various capitalist countries, by stepping up their disruptive and splitting activities in the international mass organisations and above all by sabotaging the proposed joint action by all socialist countries for the defence of the heroic people of Vietnam, who are battling against aggression of US imperialism and its present escalation.

Thus the events connected with the 'cultural revolution' in China are not just an internal affair of that country but cause the greatest concern to the communist and workers' parties of the world, in as much as they represent a stab in the back of the world front of anti-imperialist, democratic forces, of which the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is an important contingent. This blow, coming at a time when the US imperialists are escalating their war of aggression against Vietnam, when they are stepping up their aid to the revanchists and neo-fascists of West Germany and intensifying their pressures and conspiracies against the independent countries of Asia and Africa, is a serious challenge.

The national council of the Communist Party of India is of the opinion that the communist and workers' parties, who stand by the principles and the perspectives of the 1957 and 1960 documents of the world communist movement, must do everything to consolidate their unity and solidarity and intensify their efforts to unite all anti-imperialist and democratic forces in the world to defeat US aggression in Vietnam and to fight back imperialist aggressive policies in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America and support the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence and defend world peace. Positive actions to forge united actions of all anti-imperialist forces, of all forces fighting for the

freedom of the peoples and for world peace, positive actions to coordinate the efforts of the communist and workers' parties in this effort, coupled with a principled stand against left and right opportunist departures from Marxism-Leninism, and against narrow nationalist departures from proletarian internationalism—that is the way to fight for restoring the unity of the world communist movement.

The national council of the Communist Party of India firmly believes that the forces which stand for the restoration of the unity of the world communist movement and of the socialist camp, for solving all outstanding differences by a fraternal dialogue, and by mutual exchange of experiences, will ultimately triumph in the ranks of the great Communist Party of socialist China.

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