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## 'HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE MERITS ATTENTION!

At a time when the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China, celebrating its 50th anniversary, has declared **THE IMPORTANT THING IS TO BE GOOD AT LEARNING**, it is most timely for the revolutionary people in England to take firmly to heart and resolutely put into practice Chairman Mao's principle **IT IS NECESSARY TO SUM UP EXPERIENCE CONSCIENTIOUSLY**.

Right from the founding of the English Internationalists at the historic "Necessity for Change" Conference in August 1967, the communist revolutionaries put forth the slogan **SEEK TRUTH FROM FACTS TO SERVE THE PEOPLE** in fundamental opposition to all the agents of the Holy Alliance, whose slogan in practice was "Select facts to justify mentally deduced theories in order to serve British monopoly capitalism".

Since that time, and particularly since the founding of the English Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist) in January 1970, the slogan **SEEK TRUTH FROM FACTS TO SERVE THE PEOPLE** has proved a powerful weapon for combatting all forms of revisionism and dogmatism. This is so because it grasps the essence of dialectical materialism; as Chairman Mao points out, "The Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism has two outstanding characteristics. One is its class nature: it openly avows that dialectical materialism is in the service of the proletariat. The other is its practicality: it emphasizes the dependence of theory on practice, emphasizes that theory is based on practice and in turn serves practice." (Our italics)

The experience of the revolutionary movement is that whenever **SEEK TRUTH FROM FACTS** was followed, i.e., whenever experience was conscientiously summed up and learnt from, things moved forward, while whenever it was not, things went backward. This is fully in line with the experience of the Communist Party of China: At each stage of the revolution Chairman Mao made concrete analysis of concrete conditions, scientifically summed up the positive and negative experience and correctly formulated the Party's line and policies; and whenever Chairman Mao's line was followed the revolution advanced, while whenever this line was not followed grave setbacks were encountered.

In its May Day 1971 statement, the National Executive of the E.C.M. (M-L) pointed out that subjective idealism was the main enemy within the ranks of the revolutionary people, one of its chief manifestations being the refusal to sum up historical experience. In the light of this, the revolutionary people in various localities correctly grasped the necessity of summing up experience conscientiously and were thus able to formulate correct line and policy for their localities (see the article "Summing Up the Two Lines in Brighton", page 2).

However a tiny handful of backward elements in some localities still refused to sum up experience and learn from it. Chairman Mao teaches us to "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones". But these elements absolutely refused to do any such thing. Instead of conscientiously examining the historical experience of the revolutionary practice, seeing what is positive and what is negative, and on this basis determining what are the guidelines for further developing the revolutionary struggles, they persisted in subjective idealism, in viewing things statically, in "lumping all in one bag", and so were unable to take a single step forward.



Vice-Chairman Lin Biao presented his political report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, summing up the historical experience of the earth-shaking Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Photo: Delegates warmly acclaim the Report.

All phenomena are divisible. This means that experience is not either "all good" or "all bad", but, on the contrary, there is always positive experience and negative experience. Refusing to make any distinctions, the subjective idealists first of all pretend that things are "all good" and, mindlessly optimistic, engage in empty "revolutionary" phrasemongering and are completely unable to mobilise the masses, who are rightly extremely suspicious of all demagoguery. Then, faced with setbacks, the subjective idealists immediately swing to the opposite pole; they plunge into the depths of despair and now claim that things are "all black"; they become completely passive and wallow in their own nausea, kicking up a din that change is not possible. This is their subjective idealism. Dialectical materialism correctly points out that all things change; in all contradictions there is a primary aspect and a secondary aspect; if negative experience is encountered it simply means that line or method were wrong.

The method of "all bad" or "all good" is the method of concocting facts to prove mentally deduced theories, theories which say that everything is black or everything is white depending on one's subjective state of mind. Thus this method goes fundamentally against dialectical materialism and against all facts. As Chairman Mao points out: "One-sidedness means thinking in terms of absolutes, that is, a metaphysical approach to problems. In the appraisal of our work, it is one-sided to regard everything either as all positive or as all negative. ... To talk as though our work is good in every respect is at variance with the facts. It is not true that everything is good; there are still shortcomings and mistakes. But neither is it true that everything is bad, and that, too, is at variance with the facts." By putting into practice their reactionary theory of "all good" or "all bad", these counter-revolutionary elements attempt to liquidate the revolutionary movement, as, for example, in Brighton, where, following their line of object

pessimism, a handful of diehard elements closed the revolutionary bookshop at a crucial time. These diehards must be thoroughly weeded out from the ranks of the revolutionary people.

As well as the complete refusal to sum up experience on the part of a tiny handful of diehard idealists, there is a tendency on the part of some otherwise good cadres to take the matter of summing up lightly. This means that instead of thorough analysis of the positive and negative experience, going into detail and thus being able to formulate correct guidelines, these comrades treat the matter casually and, selecting one or two instances of positive and negative experience, jump to hasty conclusions. This method is bound to lead to errors. "Concrete analysis of concrete conditions, Lenin said, is 'the most essential thing in Marxism, the living soul of Marxism'. Lacking an analytical approach, many of our comrades do not want to go deeply into complex matters, to analyse and study them over and over again, but like to draw simple conclusions which are either absolutely affirmative or absolutely negative. ... From now on we should remedy this state of affairs."

Chairman Mao pointed out in 1939: "To sum up our eighteen years of experience and our current new experience on the basis of our understanding of the unity between the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of the Chinese revolution, and to spread this experience through the Party, so that our Party becomes as solid as steel and avoids repeating past mistakes - such is our task." All our experience testifies to the correctness of Chairman Mao's insistence on the summing up of historical experience. Historical experience indeed merits attention! Cadres in all the localities should take to heart the slogan **SEEK TRUTH FROM FACTS TO SERVE THE PEOPLE** and conscientiously sum up the historical experience in their localities.

## Seek Truth from Facts to Serve the People!

# SUMMING UP THE TWO LINES IN BRIGHTON

The past few weeks have seen the unfolding of a most important struggle in Brighton. Imbued with the spirit of daring to struggle and daring to win, the communist revolutionaries have gone out boldly to defend the right to sell WORKERS' ENGLAND WEEKLY NEWS and COMMUNIST ENGLAND and uphold the fundamental democratic right of the people to take up Mao Tsetung Thought, the ideology of the proletariat. Panic-stricken at the growth of the revolutionary forces and at the popularity of Workers' England Weekly News and Communist England, the bourgeoisie sent out the fascist Brighton police to attack the supporters of the ENGLISH COMMUNIST MOVEMENT (M-L) at every opportunity and six arrests were made in just over one month.

In the face of these fascist attacks two lines arose on the question of whether to fight for the democratic right to disseminate Mao Tsetung Thought, or whether to capitulate either by giving papers away or by hiding when the police drove past. After intensive struggle the overwhelming majority rallied around the former line and isolated the latter which was identified as the line promoted by trotskysts and neo-revisionists. With the two lines clarified, the communists went out bravely to resist further fascist attacks and adopted the mass-democratic style of work with the result that on one occasion over one hundred people gathered to denounce the fascist police when it took fifteen of these lackeys to arrest two comrades selling Workers' England Weekly News. Badly shaken on all fronts by the resistance to their fascism, by the intense hatred the broad masses showed for them, and by the militant stand adopted by the communists in the courts, the fascist police have been forced to capitulate and now drive past the communists feebly pretending not to see them.

This spirit of DARE TO STRUGGLE, DARE TO WIN is the spirit of the new and invincible force growing in England today, that is, the spirit of the broad masses of working and oppressed people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and under the leadership of communist revolutionaries. Widely disseminating Mao Tsetung Thought and defending the right to disseminate Mao Tsetung Thought, this struggle clearly serves the present stage of the revolution and represents the correct political line being developed in Brighton today. However, a correct political line does not drop from the skies; it develops through struggle against erroneous lines. Without two lines clearly emerging and struggling against one another, progress cannot occur. These two lines, the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line, represent the two world outlooks of the two classes locked in irreconcilable conflict in England today. The former, correct line, represents the new and invincible force of a proletariat armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, whilst the latter, incorrect line, represents the world outlook of the decaying British monopoly capitalist class and appears in various forms at every stage to make attempts to subvert the revolutionary struggle. The two lines appear inside a revolutionary organisation as well as outside as a reflection of the struggle between the two classes in society.

The two lines have been present in Brighton and locked in struggle against one another ever since the formation of the first communist student movement in England, the Sussex Student Movement, in 1969. The broad masses of students today are fed up with the life of detached consumption, of parasitism and decay, which, under imperialism, they are forced to live, and have a strong revolutionary sentiment. However, two lines arose on the question of how to mobilise students. One line, based on no analysis of the situation in which a student finds himself, de-

nounces students for not being workers, says that "only three or four students every year can be revolutionaries", and that students are not oppressed and can only become "militant" when they find there are no jobs for them to go to. This line advocates appealing to the most backward elements among students by campaigning for higher grants, for reforms of the students unions, or against various imperialist firms recruiting on campus. The other line, based on concrete analysis of concrete conditions and seeking truth from facts, puts forward a clear analysis of a student's oppression, i.e., cultural oppression, of the vacuousness and confusion he feels and advocates detailed academic work amongst students, in order to lead them in struggling against the fascist ideas promoted in universities, and dissemination of Mao Tsetung Thought, in order to arm them with the correct ideas. There has been continuous and bitter struggle between these two lines throughout the last two years, both inside and outside SSM, which has resulted in wide support for SSM and a high degree of political consciousness amongst students at Sussex University. For this reason large numbers of students have been mobilised on various occasions, under the leadership of SSM, to oppose various reactionaries who dare to visit the University. On the most recent occasion over one hundred students upheld the correct line of: IT IS RIGHT TO REBEL AGAINST REACTIONARIES!, and participated in throwing fascist Julian Amery off campus, whilst the holy alliance of the 'Left' ran around bleating that students couldn't be mobilised on a Saturday. Actions like this have polarised the situation on campus and paved the way for detailed academic work to build a mass movement of students under communist leadership.

During the Summer of 1970, the English Communist Movement (M-L) began to develop extensive political work in Brighton factories and to develop the correct line on organising workers, in complete opposition to the line being peddled by various so-called revolutionaries - that Brighton workers are backward and bourgeoisified, etc. The experience gained by E.C.M. (M-L) showed the very opposite - that workers are thirsting for Mao Tsetung Thought and have deep aspirations to seize state power. The actual struggles which developed, on a low level initially, against management lackeys and union hacks, clarified the two lines and gave rise to a regular newsheet, "DARE TO STRUGGLE, DARE TO WIN", to be distributed specifically for workers at one factory, in order to disseminate Mao Tsetung Thought, report the actual struggles taking place there, give guidelines to move the struggle forwards, and integrate the local struggle with the national politics of E.C.M. (M-L); this leaflet later developed into a newsheet for all Brighton workers and has an important influence on the workers' struggles.

The political work developed by E.C.M. (M-L) accelerated the struggle on the factory estate (which, as many workers pointed out, had been dead before the English Communist Movement arrived) so rapidly that the management were forced to fascistically victimise, and assault on some occasions, the communists for the sole reason that they had won much support from the workers there. On one occasion two lackeys, attempting to physically throw out a communist who refused to be sacked, were forced to flee by militant workers who rushed over, spanner in hand, on seeing their comrade attacked, and later held a protest strike. In this period of sharp struggle, two lines became abundantly clear: whether to vigorously disseminate Mao Tsetung Thought and stand up to lead the workers in actual struggles, or whether to keep quiet, under the pretext of "staying underground", avoid mass work among the workers and, in-

stead, trail behind them and criticise their struggles.

These struggles, and the smashing of the right capitulationist line, have led to the formation of a small, steel-hard group of communist workers, willing to sacrifice their last drop of blood for the emancipation of the proletariat, and laid the basis for a mass movement of workers led by a Communist Party. The experience gained by these workers has shown clearly the importance of detailed ideological work, over a protracted period, in order to build unity with the advanced workers and then wage actual struggles against the class enemy to develop that unity in practice, mobilise the middle elements and arouse the backward.

The situation in Brighton factories is similar to that in the University: in both cases the communists have drawn a clear line of distinction between their political line and the politics of betrayal peddled by the revisionists, neo-revisionists and trotskysts. The reformism and economism promoted by these political swindlers is a dying force rapidly being overtaken by the proletarian revolutionary line of disseminating Mao Tsetung Thought and developing actual struggles against the class enemy. Even those who don't support the politics of E.C.M. (M-L) have been forced to admit that "The English Communist Movement is the only group to have done anything to get sacked for!" By wider dissemination of Mao Tsetung Thought and applying even more firmly the line of uniting with the advanced elements to develop actual struggles the revolutionary situation will develop even faster.

In the community, too, the correct line has developed in stark contrast to the bourgeois reactionary line of capitulation. By clearly moving the struggle forwards to a higher stage the communists have enhanced their own position by developing the contradictions both internally and amongst the bourgeoisie, further isolating the holy alliance of the 'Left' from the broad masses of people, and winning victory over the right to disseminate Mao Tsetung Thought on the streets of Brighton. The capitulationist line came to a head, thoroughly exposed itself, and thus prepared the ground for its eventual defeat, by organising to give up the Brighton branch of Progressive Books and Periodicals at a time when both it and the supporters of E.C.M. (M-L) were under attack and the bourgeoisie was trying to create public opinion for fascist attacks on the bookshop. The elements who promoted this capitulationist line are now thoroughly isolated and have degenerated to the extent of slandering the political line of E.C.M. (M-L) by claiming that "all there is to do is go out and sell a few papers or fight a few police", in order to hide their own self-interest.

The bourgeoisie is also splitting in Brighton. While on the one hand the open fascists like local M.P.s Amery and Bowden are trying to stir up a witch-hunt for communists, wildly dreaming of a new 'McCarthy era', on the other hand the liberal bourgeoisie is up in arms protesting against attacks on communists who, they say, "Should have the same rights as anyone else in a democratic society"! Brighton has traditionally been a stronghold for fascists and in the 1930s the Hitler youth openly paraded in the streets, only to be attacked by irate workers. So whilst one section of the bourgeoisie has a long history of developing fascism in Brighton, so do the workers have a long tradition of fighting that fascism. Was it not the Brighton workers who organised massive demonstrations on the Level in the 1920s, '30s and '40s, who fought off fascist attacks by the police, and who, on more than one occasion, chased the fascist Oswald Moseley out of

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# Commemorate the 50th Anniversary Of the Communist Party of China

## The Important Thing is to Be Good at Learning

A review of the fighting course traversed by our Party over the past 50 years confirms this truth: When our Party departs from Chairman Mao's leadership and goes against Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's line, it suffers setbacks and defeats; when our Party closely follows Chairman Mao, acts in accordance with Mao Tsetung Thought and implements Chairman Mao's line, it advances and triumphs. Comrade Mao Tsetung's works are the most comprehensive summary of the theory and practice of the Chinese Communist Party in leading the revolution and construction. In summing up the historical experience of our Party, Comrade Mao Tsetung said in 1939: "To sum up our eighteen years of experience and our current new experience on the basis of our understanding of the unity between the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of the Chinese revolution, and to spread this experience throughout the Party, so that our Party becomes as solid as steel and avoids repeating past mistakes — such is our task."

Of the historical experience of our Party summed up by Chairman Mao, what in particular should the whole Party pay attention to and study today?

1. It is necessary to adhere to "the consistent ideological principle of our Party," namely, integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution.

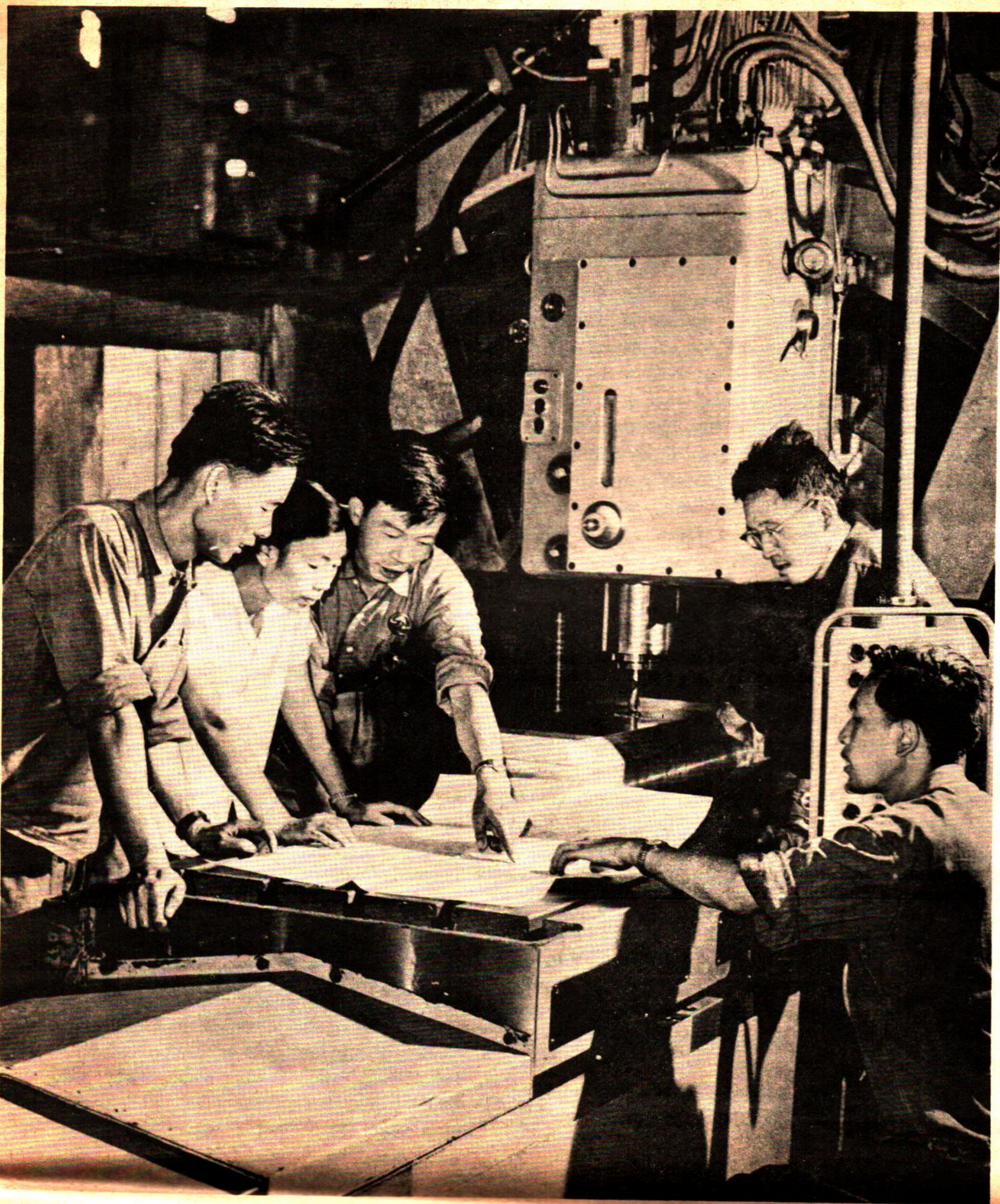
The history of our Party tells us: In his great practice in leading the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao has always adhered to the world outlook of dialectical and historical materialism and used the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method to make thorough investigations and studies of the political and economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and their inter-relations, make a concrete analysis of the conditions of our enemies, our friends and ourselves, scientif-

ically sum up positive and negative historical experience and correctly formulate the Party's line and policies; he has thus inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism and led the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country in their triumphant advance. But the divorce of theory and practice and the split between the subjective and the objective are the ideological characteristics of Chen Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi and other sham Marxists. Proceeding from their idealist and metaphysical world outlook, they opposed and distorted dialectical and historical materialism, opposed investigation and study and class analysis, and opposed the unity of theory and practice, either from the Right or from the "Left." They, too, talked about Marxism-Leninism and even pretended to be Marxist theoreticians, but only to bluff and hoodwink worker-peasant cadres and innocent young people, whereas they themselves never intended to act in accordance with Marxism but were always anti-Marxist. Hence their words and deeds inevitably ran counter to the objective laws of social development, to the desires of the masses and to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line which correctly reflects objective laws and the desires of the people, and they were bound to go bankrupt in the practice of revolution. For a time, some of our comrades were unable to distinguish between the correct and incorrect lines because, as far as the subjective factor was concerned, they had not read Marxist-Leninist works or, though having read some, they were unable to apply the fundamental ideological principle stressed time and time again by Comrade Mao Tsetung in observing and handling problems and remould their subjective world in the process of transforming the objective world. This is a most profound historical lesson all Communist Party members, old and new, must always bear in mind.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching "Read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism," comrades throughout the Party, and primarily senior cadres, are now conscientiously studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, and studying the Party's historical experience over the past 50 years and its current new experience. The integration of the cadres' study movement with that of the masses has produced positive results and will continue to do so. We must persist in this. In reading and studying, it is essential to keep to the principle of integrating theory with practice. It is essential to read and study with problems in mind, problems arising in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and problems in the Chinese and the world revolution. This means combining reading with investigation and study and with the summing up of experience, combining the study of historical experience with the present-day struggle and the criticism of opportunism in the past with the criticism of modern revisionism. Since countrywide liberation, Chairman Mao has led the whole Party in making a number of criticisms — from the criticism of *The Life of Wu Hsun* and the bourgeois ideology reflected in the study of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, the criticism of Hu Shih, the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique and the bourgeois Rightists to the criticism of the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique; these criticisms have deeply educated the whole Party, army and people. The criticism of modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at its centre conducted by the whole Party under Chairman Mao's leadership and the great polemics on the general line of the international communist movement especially provide most profound and vivid Marxist-Leninist education for the whole Party. The struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism is a struggle of principle between the two lines in

Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, socialist China, led by Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of China, has made even greater advances in socialist construction on all fronts — industrial, agricultural, military, cultural, educational, scientific, medical etc. Photo: Literature and art now serve the people. The revolutionary Peking Opera, "Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy", is an example of the new proletarian culture which portrays the masses of workers and peasants as the true heroes.





On the industrial front, through the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought, workers rely on the initiative of the masses and not on bourgeois 'experts' and thus approach and surpass advanced world standards. Photo: Workers of Peking No. 1 Machine Tool Plant discuss how to improve a program-controlled 4-dimensional milling machine with electronic computer which they made, a machine of advanced world-level standards.



"It is still necessary to have universities; here I refer mainly to colleges of science and engineering. However, it is essential to shorten the length of schooling, revolutionise education, put proletarian politics in command and take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers. Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and they should return to production after a few years' study." Photo: In accord with Chairman Mao's instruction, students from the ranks of workers, peasants and soldiers start their university education.

the international communist movement. Khrushchov, Brezhnev and company are renegades from the proletarian revolution, mad present-day social-imperialists and world storm-troopers opposing China, opposing communism and opposing the people. It is our Party's bounden internationalist duty to continue the exposure and criticism of modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism at its centre and carry the struggle through to the end. Comrades throughout the Party must combine the study of Marxism-Leninism with the criticism of modern revisionism in China and abroad, and learn to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism and acquire a really good grasp of Marxism in the course of struggle.

2. It is necessary to wage inner-Party struggle correctly. Making a correct distinction between the two different types of contradictions—those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves—and handling them correctly are the fundamental guarantee that the Party will strengthen its unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and lead the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in defeating the enemy.

It is essential thoroughly to expose the few bourgeois conspirators, careerists, renegades and enemy agents, who have concealed themselves in the Party, and the hidden traitors who have illicit relations with foreign countries. Bad people invariably disguise themselves and resort to conspiracy and double-dealing. But since they are engaged in evil-doing, they are bound to expose themselves. For example, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi who had hidden inside the Party for decades was exposed in the end: Wang Ming fled abroad and finally became a "100 per cent" traitor and enemy agent.

As for comrades in the Party who have committed errors, they must all be dealt with according to a different principle, namely, "unity, criticism, unity" and "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "cure the sickness to save the patient" so as to achieve the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades. In explaining this principle, Chairman Mao said: "The mistakes of the past must be exposed without sparing anyone's sensibilities; it is necessary to analyse and criticize what was bad in the past with a scientific attitude so that work in the future will be done more carefully and done better. This is what is meant by 'learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones.' But our aim in exposing errors and criticizing shortcomings, like that of a doctor curing a sickness, is solely to save the patient and not to doctor him to death." Chairman Mao once again stressed this principle during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, pointing out: "Apart from those obstinate anti-Party and anti-socialist elements who have refused to mend their ways after repeated education, people should be allowed to correct their errors and be encouraged to atone for their misdeeds." This correct principle of Comrade Mao Tsetung's in handling inner-Party contradictions is different from both the Right opportunist fallacy of "inner-Party peace," which negates contradictions and confuses right and wrong, and the "Left" opportunist fallacy of "ruthless struggle and merciless blows." We should study the historical experience of inner-Party struggle waged under different historical conditions so as to enable our Party to play its leading role as the vanguard of the proletariat still better.

3. Efforts must be made to guard against arrogance. This is of particular importance to a Party which has won great victories, a Party which is in power and leads the people of all nationalities of the country in carrying out the socialist revolution and construction and a Party which shoulders great internationalist obligations to the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the world.

Comrade Mao Tsetung pointed out: "There have been several occasions in the history of our Party when great conceit manifested itself and we suffered in consequence. The first was in the early half of 1927. The Northern Expeditionary Army had reached Wuhan, and some comrades became so proud and overweening as to forget that the Kuomintang was about to assault us. The result was the error of the Chen Tu-hsiu line, which brought defeat to the revolution. The second occasion was in 1930. Taking advantage of Chiang Kai-shek's

large-scale war against Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan, the Red Army won a number of battles, and again some comrades became proud and overweening. The result was the error of the Li Li-san line, again causing some losses to the revolutionary forces. The third occasion was in 1931. The Red Army had smashed the Kuomintang's third 'encirclement and suppression' campaign and, immediately afterwards, faced with the Japanese invasion, the people throughout the country started the stormy and heroic anti-Japanese movement; and again some comrades became proud and overweening. The result was an even more serious error in the political line, which cost us about 90 per cent of the revolutionary forces that we had built up with so much toil. The fourth occasion was in 1938. The War of Resistance had begun and the united front had been established; and once again some comrades became proud and overweening. As a result they committed an error somewhat similar to the Chen Tu-hsiu line. This time the revolutionary work suffered serious damage in those places where the effects of these comrades' erroneous ideas were more especially pronounced. Comrades throughout the Party should take warning from these instances of pride and error." They should "not repeat the error of becoming conceited at the moment of success."

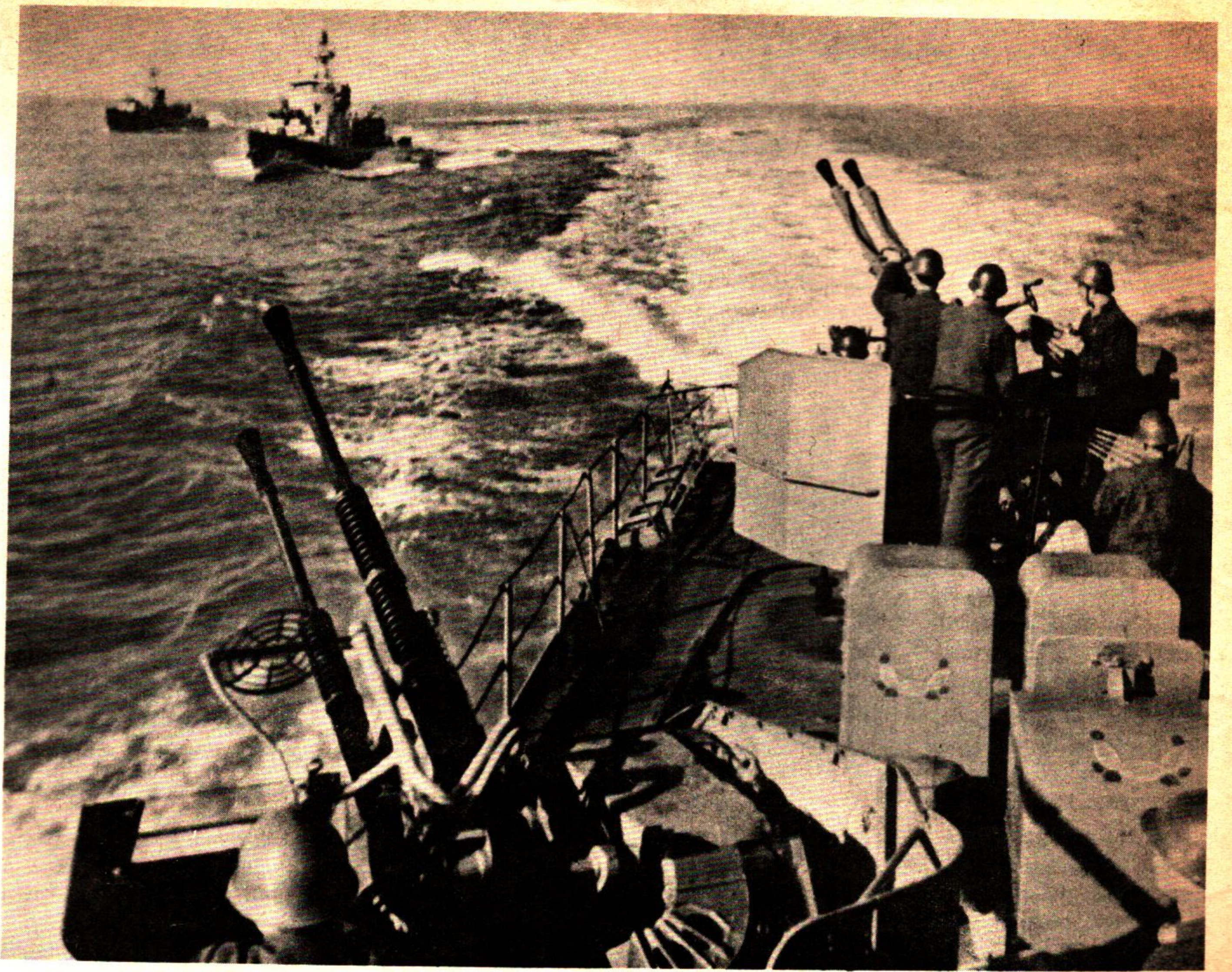
"Modesty helps one to go forward, whereas conceit makes one lag behind. This is a truth we must always bear in mind."

4. We should follow the theory of two points, not the theory of one point. While paying attention to the main tendency, we should take note of the other tendency which may be covered up. We must take full notice and firmly grasp the principal aspect and at the same time solve one by one the problems arising from the non-principal aspect. We should see the negative as well as the positive aspects of things. We should see the problems that have already arisen and also anticipate problems which are not yet perceived but which may arise.

During the democratic revolution, when our Party formed a united front with the bourgeoisie and alliance became the main trend, Comrade Mao Tsetung paid attention to opposing the Right tendency of "all alliance and no struggle." When the alliance between our Party and the bourgeoisie broke up and armed struggle became the main form of the revolution, Comrade Mao Tsetung paid attention to opposing the "Left" tendency of "all struggle and no alliance." On the eve of the countrywide victory of the People's War of Liberation, Chairman Mao foresaw that "there may be some Communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets." Chairman Mao issued this call to the whole Party: "The comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be helped to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle."

During the socialist revolution, whenever our attacks on the bourgeoisie and our victories over them become the main trend, Chairman Mao invariably reiterates various proletarian policies and reminds us to remain prudent, help more people through education and narrow the target of attack, unite with all forces that can be united, and prevent and overcome the "Left" tendency running counter to these policies. But when the bourgeoisie launches attacks on us or when our Party encounters temporary difficulties on its way forward or concentrates on correcting certain shortcomings or mistakes in work, Chairman Mao invariably reminds us to remain firm, persist in proletarian leadership, distinguish between the principal and secondary aspects, not to regard everything as positive or to negate everything, to guard against sabotage and counter-attacks by open and hidden enemies and oppose and overcome the Right tendency away from the socialist path. At every crucial moment in history when a certain tendency has developed to such extent as to endanger the cause of the Party, Chairman Mao always firmly steers the course for us with proletarian revolutionary fearlessness against the current.

5. It is necessary to adhere to the mass line. The basic line for all work in our Party is to rely on the masses, have faith in them and fully arouse them, "from the masses, to the masses," "take the ideas of the masses



Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army have made full preparations against the U. S. imperialists' and Soviet revisionists' launching a big war at an early date, preparations against their launching a conventional war or a large-scale nuclear war. "We will resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely wipe out all aggressors who dare to invade."



Each year new records are achieved for many crop yields. Following Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line "Grasp revolution and promote production", the Chinese people have transformed China's country-side. Relying on their own resources and armed with Mao Tsetung Thought the peasants in the country-side have reclaimed, deserts, forests, marsh land and rocky hill sides. Photo shows an area of Hsiyang County farmed by the Tachai production brigade. This brigade has become a model for all agricultural people's communes to follow.

and concentrate them, then go to the masses, persevere in the ideas and carry them through." We adhere to the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts precisely because we firmly believe that "the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."

Both in the democratic revolution and in the socialist revolution, Comrade Mao Tsetung has repeatedly stressed the importance of the mass line. He regards perseverance in the mass line as fundamental to perseverance in the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge, and regards working for the interests of the vast majority of the people of China and the world as a requirement for successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has sharply refuted the reactionary viewpoints of such pseudo-Marxists as Chen Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming and Liu Shao-chi who slandered and repressed the masses. And he has constantly criticized and corrected the various tendencies in the Party towards keeping aloof from the masses. Chairman Mao has taught us time and again: The relation of the Communist Party to the people is that of fish to water. At no time should a Communist divorce himself from the masses. Today when we have won tremendous victories in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the ties between the Party and the masses are closer than ever, we should pay still greater attention to going to the masses, showing concern for them, listening attentively to them and consulting with them as matters arise. We should run the May 7 cadre schools well. We should regularly participate in collective productive labour. It is necessary to guard against repeating the mistake of divorcing oneself from the masses. In contradistinction to the type of person who claims to be a "humble little commoner" but is actually a big careerist, we should sincerely learn from the masses while tirelessly educating them in Mao Tsetung Thought, overcome erroneous tendencies and raise the political consciousness of the people.

Chairman Mao has always showed concern for the unity of all nationalities of the country. Ours is a multinational country; it is essential to ensure good relations between the Han people and the minority nationalities. We should oppose both Han chauvinism and local nationalism, develop the fraternal relations the various nationalities have forged in the revolution and in the struggle to build the motherland, and strengthen the great unity of the people of all nationalities of the country.

6. It is necessary to uphold democratic centralism. Our Party Constitution clearly stipulates that the organizational principle of the Party is democratic centralism, that is, centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized guidance. Both inside and outside the Party, we must create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. Our Party is a militant party, and without centralism, discipline and unity of will, it cannot defeat the enemy. But there can be no correct centralism without democracy. Therefore, Comrade Mao Tsetung always opposes the practice of "what I say counts" and advocates the practice of "letting all people have their say." He opposes telling lies and advocates speaking the truth. He makes it a requirement for successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat to be bold in making criticism and self-criticism. We should give play to our Party's traditional democratic style of work, constantly make criticism and self-criticism, uphold the truth and correct mistakes. However, whether in army or in civilian work, our democracy is aimed at consolidating centralism, strengthening discipline and raising militancy, and not the opposite. Party committees at all levels must institute and strengthen the Party committee system, strengthen centralized leadership, prevent excessive decentralization and the practice of "many centres," that is, no centre, and must achieve unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought and under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader.

7. It is necessary to build a powerful people's army. The historical experience of the Party shows that "without a people's army the people have nothing." The Chinese People's Liberation Army is a proletarian army created and led by our great leader Chairman Mao and



Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, medical workers have performed many miracles. With simple equipment and little experience they removed a tumour weighing 45 kgs. With small needles they restored the speech and hearing of deaf mutes, and made the blind see. They rejoined a worker's arm severed in three places in an accident. They saved the life of a heroine who received burns covering 98% of her body fighting a fire, and of a worker whose heart stopped beating for 39 minutes. Photo: Children cured of infantile paralysis.

commanded by Vice-Chairman Lin. "Our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party." Upholding the Marxist-Leninist line, Chairman Mao has defeated sabotage by "Left" and Right opportunism, and as a result, our army has grown in strength and become the pillar of our dictatorship of the proletariat. The world will have no peace as long as there are classes, as long as there is imperialism. The two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, are today contending and colluding with each other and pushing politics of hegemony in a vain attempt to divide the world. Japanese militarism, too, is trying to realize its old fond dream of the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere." Therefore on no account must we ever overlook the danger of their aggression and subversion against our motherland. Our principle is: We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack. We must never for a moment forget preparedness against war. We must at all times be ready to smash aggression and subversion by any imperialism. We are determined to liberate Taiwan. We need not only a powerful army but also a powerful air force and a powerful navy. Not only must we have a powerful regular army, we must also organize the people's militia on a big scale. Thus, should any imperialism dare to invade our country, we will drown it in the vast ocean of people's war.

8. It is necessary to uphold proletarian internationalism. Chairman Mao has always educated the whole Party and the people of the whole country in proletarian internationalism so that they can overcome both "Left" and Right opportunist interferences and correctly handle the relation between the revolution in China and her support and aid to the world revolution.

In its struggles over the past 50 years, the Chinese Communist Party has always enjoyed the support of the world proletariat and the people of all countries, the support of friendly countries and organizations and the support of fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations throughout the world. The victories we have won are inseparable from their support. We will be for ever grateful to them and will never forget them. Chairman Mao teaches us: "According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated." The fundamental interests of the Chinese proletariat and Chinese people are identical not only with those of the people of Albania, Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia and Korea and all Asian, African and Latin American countries, but also with those of the people of all countries, including the people of the United States, the Soviet Union and Japan. As Chairman Mao pointed out in his statement of May 20, 1970, "The danger of a

new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today." The task of the Chinese Communist Party is: On the one hand, to lead the proletariat and the people of the country in doing a good job in revolution and construction at home; on the other, to exert our greatest efforts to struggle together with the people of all countries to defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs, oppose the politics of hegemony pushed by the two superpowers and oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war. This is our principled stand which is firm and unshakable. Although we have achieved some success in our revolution and construction, our country is still comparatively poor and backward. Our contribution to the world revolution is still very small. We must continue our efforts. But even when China becomes a strong socialist country after several decades, we should never become tainted with arrogant great-power chauvinism or big-party chauvinism either. We should always remember Chairman Mao's teaching: "In our international relations, we Chinese people should get rid of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely." Every nation, big or small, has its strong and weak points. We should learn from the strong points of the revolutionary people of other countries and always unite with them, fight side by side and win victory together.

Thousands upon thousands of martyrs dedicated their lives to the cause of liberation of the people of China and the world in protracted, arduous struggle. Their revolutionary spirit is for ever an inspiration to us. Whatever the difficulties and hardships, nothing can stop our advance.

We are living in the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. Compared with the days when the Chinese Communist Party was born 50 years ago, the revolutionary situation throughout the world today is excellent; it is better than ever before. The final destruction of imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries is not far off.

**Unite to win still greater victories!**

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!

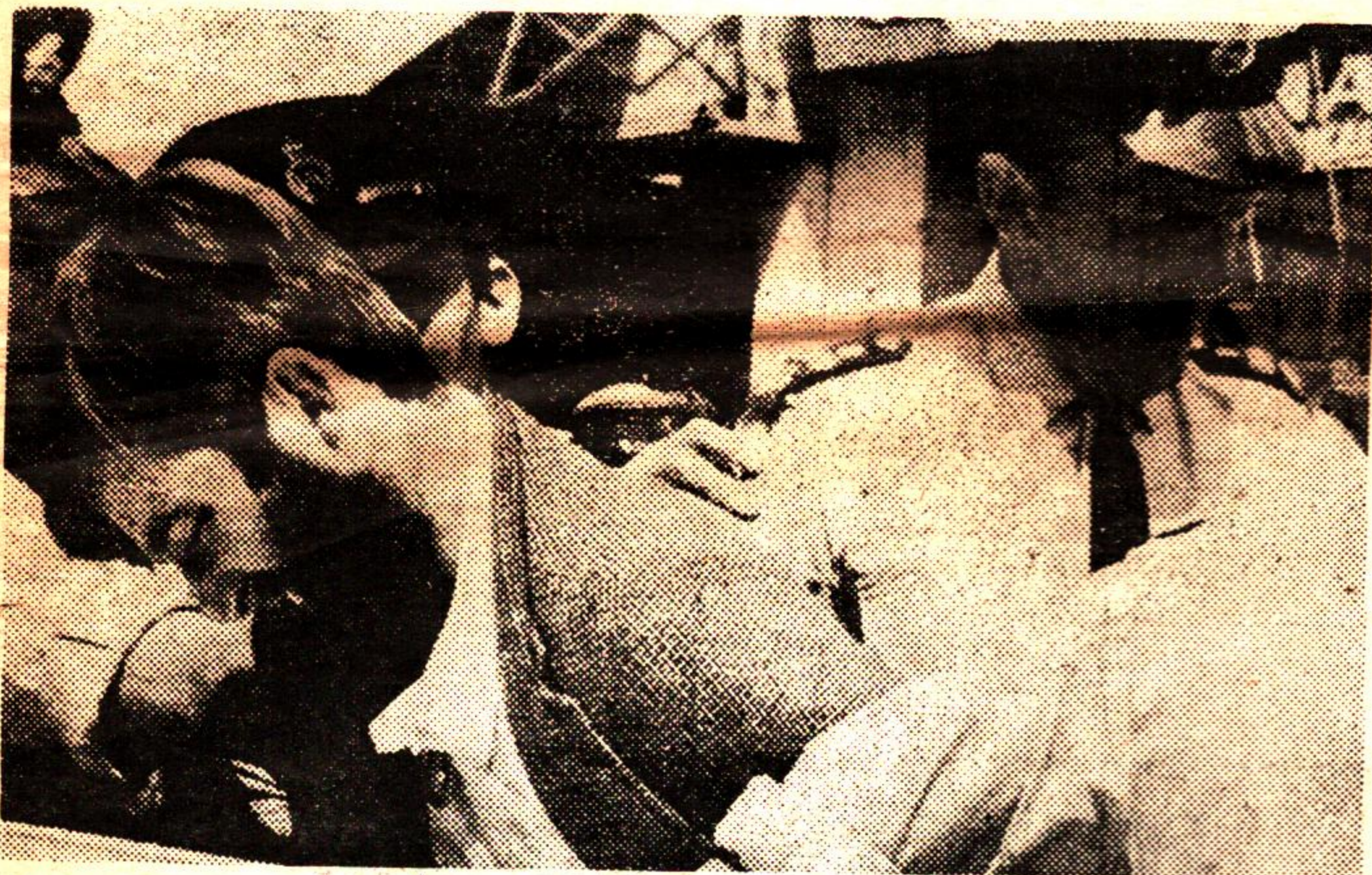
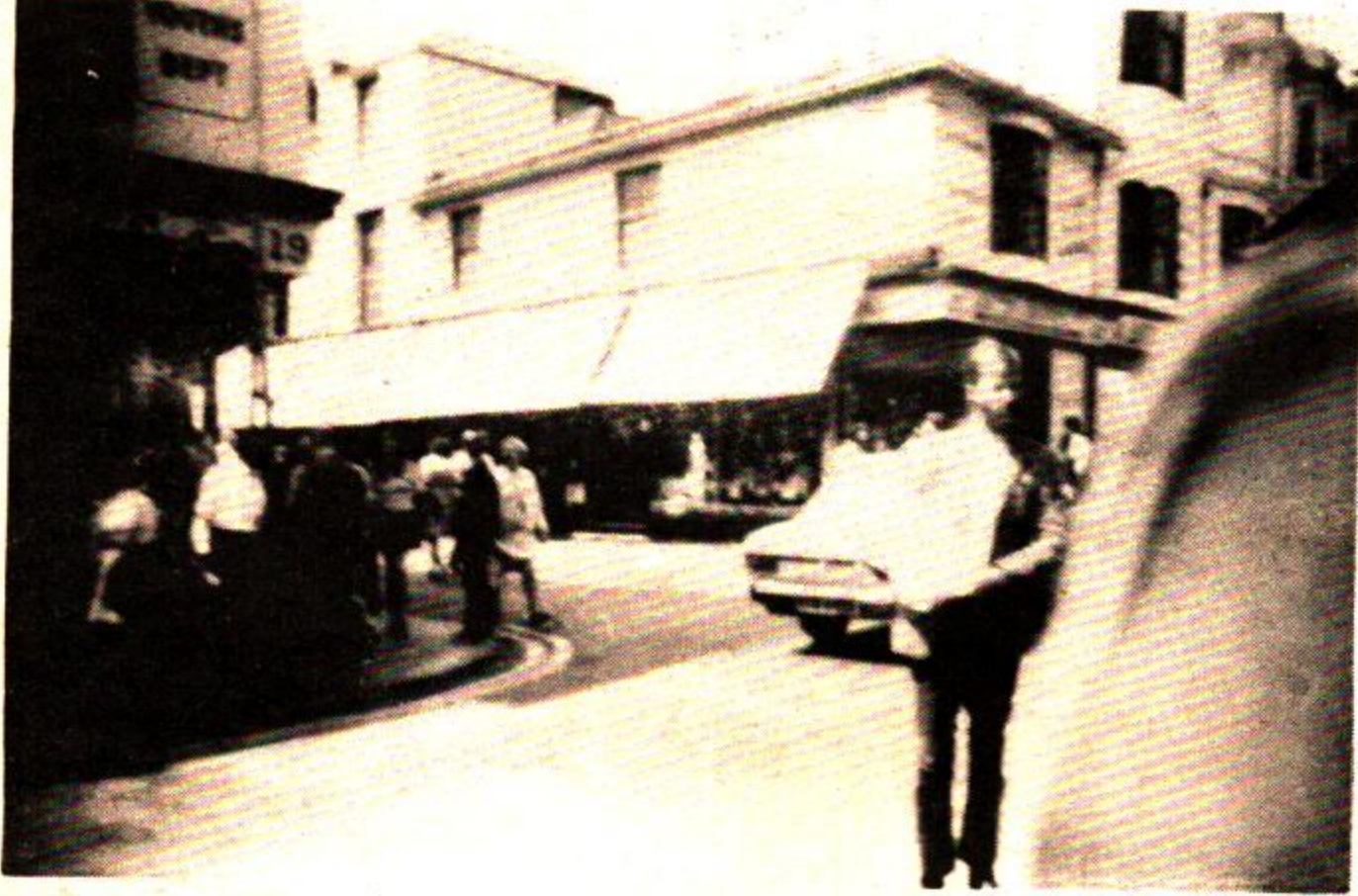
Long live the great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

Parts One and Two of this article were reprinted in Workers' England Weekly News numbers 13 and 14.

# BRIGHTON REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE UPHOLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARY LINE IN MASS WORK

Putting into practice the call of the English Communist Movement(M-L) of UPHOLD THE WIDESCALE DISSEMINATION OF MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT and FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT TO POLITICALLY ORGANISE, communist revolutionaries go boldly amongst the masses distributing revolutionary literature. Photos show a sequence of events depicting the cowardly frenzy of the fascist lackey police and the resolute courage and determination of communists. This comrade was eventually charged with "obstructing the police". The vicious display of this cowardly

attack by the police aroused the wrath of the people in the community, who vowed to defend the right to disseminate Mao Tsetung Thought in the event of any further attacks on the part of the lackey police. In court the comrades were found "guilty" and heavily fined. Since these attacks on the democratic rights of the broad masses of the people by both the police and courts, the dissemination of Mao Tsetung Thought has increased and the revolutionary ideas of Chairman Mao are being steadily popularised amongst the people of Brighton.



## WHERE DO CORRECT IDEAS COME FROM? Chairman Mao Tsetung

Where do correct ideas come from? Do they drop from the skies? No. Are they innate in the mind? No. They come from social practice, and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice, the struggle for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment. It is man's social being that determines his thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world. In their social practice, men engage in various kinds of struggle and gain rich experience, both from their successes and from their failures. Countless phenomena of the objective external world are reflected in a man's brain through his five sense organs — the organs of sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch. At first, knowledge is perceptual. The leap to conceptual knowledge, *i.e.*, to ideas, occurs when sufficient perceptual knowledge is accumulated. This is one process in cognition. It is the first stage in the whole process of cognition, the stage leading from objective matter to subjective consciousness, from existence to ideas. Whether or not one's consciousness or ideas (including theories, policies, plans or measures) do correctly reflect the laws of the objective external world is not yet proved at this stage, in which it is not yet possible to ascertain whether they are correct or not. Then comes the second stage in the process of cognition, the stage leading from consciousness back to matter, from ideas back to existence,

in which the knowledge gained in the first stage is applied in social practice to ascertain whether the theories, policies, plans or measures meet with the anticipated success. Generally speaking, those that succeed are correct and those that fail are incorrect, and this is especially true of man's struggle with nature. In social struggle, the forces representing the advanced class sometimes suffer defeat not because their ideas are incorrect but because, in the balance of forces engaged in struggle, they are not as powerful for the time being as the forces of reaction; they are therefore temporarily defeated, but they are bound to triumph sooner or later. Man's knowledge makes another leap through the test of practice. This leap is more important than the previous one. For it is this leap alone that can prove the correctness or incorrectness of the first leap, *i.e.*, of the ideas, theories, policies, plans or measures formulated in the course of reflecting the objective external world. There is no other way of testing truth. Furthermore, the one and only purpose of the proletariat in knowing the world is to change it. Often, a correct idea can be arrived at only after many repetitions of the process leading from matter to consciousness and then back to matter, that is, leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice. Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge, the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge. Among our comrades there are many who do not yet understand this theory of knowledge. When asked the

source of their ideas, opinions, policies, methods, plans and conclusions, eloquent speeches and long articles, they consider the question strange and cannot answer it. Nor do they comprehend that matter can be transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter, although such leaps are phenomena of everyday life. It is therefore necessary to educate our comrades in the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, so that they can orientate their thinking correctly, become good at investigation and study and at summing up experience, overcome difficulties, commit fewer mistakes, do their work better, and struggle hard so as to build China into a great and powerful socialist country and help the broad masses of the oppressed and exploited throughout the world in fulfilment of our great internationalist duty.

This passage is from the "Draft Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Certain Problems in Our Present Rural Work", which was drawn up under the direction of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The passage was written by Comrade Mao Tse-tung himself.

**Down with British Imperialist fascist aggression against the Irish People !  
Oppose British Imperialist Propaganda for Sectarian Civil War in Ireland!  
Victory to the national liberation struggle of the Irish people !**

# REVOLUTIONARY MEETINGS AND DEMONSTRATIONS

AGAINST BRITISH IMPERIALIST ACTS OF FASCIST AGGRESSION IN IRELAND

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**LONG LIVE THE MILITANT UNITY BETWEEN THE ENGLISH WORKING CLASS  
AND THE IRISH PEOPLE !**

## BRIGHTON CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

Brighton? A working class with such a fine tradition of anti-fascist fighting will certainly carry on that tradition to oppose future fascist attacks!

The struggle waged by E.C.M. (M-L) in factories, the University and the community of Brighton has illustrated many concrete manifestations of the proletarian philosophy that "one divides into two". In order to move forwards it is necessary to develop struggle so that "one divides into two" and clarifies the two lines, and then carry out constant propaganda to isolate the bourgeois reactionary line and strengthen the proletarian revolutionary line. In this way the correct line inevitably wins support, develops the revolutionary struggle stage by stage, and isolates the

erroneous line in order to remove from the ranks of the communists the backward elements who consistently oppose the correct line. Chairman Mao says: "A human being has arteries and veins through which the heart makes the blood circulate, and he breathes with his lungs, exhaling carbon dioxide and inhaling fresh oxygen, that is, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh. A proletarian party must also get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, for only thus can it be full of vitality. Without eliminating waste matter and absorbing fresh blood the Party has no vigour." The method for carrying out this teaching of Chairman Mao and building in England a truly Marxist-Leninist Party is to consciously act as the advanced guard of the proletariat by developing actual struggles against the class enemy over the right to disseminate Mao Tse-

tung Thought and clarifying the two lines in order to strengthen the correct line and isolate the erroneous line. By consciously carrying out these tasks the Brighton communists are daily consolidating their position and winning support.

**DOWN WITH COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY  
RIGHT CAPITULATIONIST LINE !**

**UPHOLD CHAIRMAN MAO'S PROLETARIAN  
REVOLUTIONARY LINE !**

**WIDELY DISSEMINATE MAO TSETUNG  
THOUGHT, DEFEND THE RIGHT TO  
DISSEMINATE MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT !**

**DEVELOP ACTUAL STRUGGLES AGAINST  
THE CLASS ENEMY !**

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Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world.

Mao Tse-tung

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Journal of English Communist Movement (M-L)

RED PATRIOT, Journal of Communist Party of Ireland (M-L)

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