

Proletarian Mass Democracy Is Fine!

— Repudiating the slanders of the Soviet revisionist group

by TING HSUEH-LEI

CHINA'S great proletarian cultural revolution which is now going on in depth is a great revolutionary mass movement unparalleled in history and a resounding song of triumph of communism. The words and music have been composed by millions upon millions of people practising mass democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat and guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought. That is why it is so stirring, impressive and magnificent. It has fired the whole country with enthusiasm and shaken the whole world.

The proletarian mass democracy developed fully in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution is a great creation resulting from the integration of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung with the revolutionary mass movement. This mass democracy has displayed its matchless power in destroying the old world and creating the new one the moment it was born. This is the very reason why the revolutionary people throughout the world rejoice over it while the small handful of imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries fear it like a dreadful monster and oppose it vehemently. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique, in particular, hysterically abuses as a "band of hooligans" the great cultural revolutionary contingents armed with the infinitely brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Just as Chairman Mao has written in one of his poems:

"On this tiny globe
A few flies dash themselves against the wall,
Humming without cease,
Sometimes shrilling,
Sometimes moaning."

That the enemy has wildly opposed our proletarian mass democracy shows that it is very fine indeed. We will not only practise it now but shall correctly continue to do so under the dictatorship of the proletariat hereafter.

Genuine Mass Democracy Without Parallel In Human History

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Freedom and democracy do not exist in the abstract, only in the concrete. In a society rent by class struggle, if there is freedom for the exploiting classes to exploit the working people, there is no freedom for the working people

not to be exploited, and if there is democracy for the bourgeoisie, there is no democracy for the proletariat and other working people." Taking the bourgeois stand, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique asserts that the Chinese people enjoy no freedom and democracy. This assertion completely shows that China's proletariat and broad sections of the working people enjoy genuine mass democracy never known in the history of mankind.

Our great leader Chairman Mao always has the greatest faith in the masses, understands their aspirations perfectly, sees their great role most clearly, is most adept in discovering and mobilizing the inexhaustible revolutionary enthusiasm and creativeness of the masses and has the greatest respect for their revolutionary creative spirit. Under Chairman Mao's leadership, the most outstanding feature of our Party and state is to give prominence to the masses and to do everything in accordance with the mass line. In the more than one year of the vigorous great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao's thoroughgoing mass line has seen great, epoch-making development. Guided by this revolutionary line, a mighty and dynamic revolutionary mass movement has emerged in our country. The millions upon millions of revolutionary people have responded to the call of the great leader to concern themselves with state affairs. They enjoy democracy of speech, meeting and demonstration, publication, and association. They may air their views and conduct debates, put up big-character posters and exchange revolutionary experience, all in a big way. Has there been a dynasty, or a country which has practised such mass democracy during all the thousands of years of civilization? Has there been such a thing in a capitalist or revisionist country? No, definitely no!

In the present cultural revolution there are indeed a handful of persons who have sensed imminent disaster and live in constant suspense. They are the small handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists and other monsters and demons. This handful is not even given limited democracy, let alone extensive democracy. The characteristic of mass democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat is to exercise dictatorship over the handful of the counter-revolutionaries and to give full

democracy to the revolutionary masses. To exercise dictatorship over the enemy is exactly for the purpose of giving the masses genuine democracy. Without the powerful dictatorship of the proletariat in back of them, the proletariat and the broad sections of the working people cannot even exist, to say nothing of democracy. The two classes and the two types of democracy are irreconcilable. Their struggle is a life-and-death struggle. This has always been the case.

Messrs Brezhnev and Kosygin cry out that the Chinese people enjoy no democracy and freedom and brag that the Soviet Union has put into reality what they call the most beautiful "genuine democracy of the whole people" in the world. This wild talk can only be regarded as the 20th century *Arabian Nights*.

There is no democracy in the Soviet Union at present. There is only out-and-out fascist dictatorship and white terror. In the native land of the great Lenin, in Moscow's Red Square stained with the blood of the heroes of the October Revolution, whoever dares to adhere to Marxism-Leninism, dares to say what is on his mind, or dares to struggle will be placed under surveillance, shadowed, summoned or arrested by the police, or thrown into a lunatic asylum or, worse still, "disappear" mysteriously. . . . This is the "genuine democracy of the whole people" which the Soviet revisionist renegade clique brags about!

A Great Pioneer Undertaking in Communism

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Democracy sometimes seems to be an end, but it is in fact only a means. Marxism teaches us that democracy is part of the superstructure and belongs to the category of politics. That is to say, in the last analysis, it serves the economic base."

The mass democracy that has been fully developed in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China is also a means, not an end. Our objective is to resolve the important question of how to ensure that our Party and state will never change colour and to successfully accomplish the transition to communist society.

The historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world has proved that for the proletariat, the seizure of political power is only the beginning, not the end, of the revolution. How to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat? How, in the acute and complicated class struggle, to prevent capitalist restoration and persistently carry the socialist revolution through to the end? This is an important question that the older generations of Marxist-Leninists did not encounter or did not have the time to resolve or failed to resolve. It is Chairman Mao, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time, our leader of genius, who has resolved this important question, not only both in theory and practice but also in method. The method is to make a great revolution from below; it is to carry out mass democracy under the dictator-

ship of the proletariat and guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought.

This mass democracy is a general attack to wipe out the most dangerous enemy of the proletarian regime—the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. It is to uncover all their people in the bourgeois headquarters that they have secretly established within the Party, and thoroughly criticize, repudiate and overthrow them. It is to dig out the roots of revisionism and guarantee our country's advance along the broad path of socialism and communism.

This mass democracy is an unprecedented, great test and tempering for the broad sections of revolutionary cadres. A handful of bad elements have been overthrown and large numbers of good people have been discovered, people who understand Chairman Mao's revolutionary line most profoundly, carry it out most resolutely and defend it most courageously. They are the hope of our country. In addition, a number of persons who were not incorrigible but who were on the brink of degeneration have been saved. After having received a great shock they cease to go on the wrong way and undertake to rapidly catch up with the others taking the bright path.

This mass democracy provides the best training for the revolutionary people in learning to make revolution. Never before have the masses been in such high spirits and so militant as they are today. Their socialist enthusiasm and their wisdom and talent have been brought into full play. They have the courage to change both the objective and the subjective world and are determined to temper themselves step by step into new people imbued with the communist spirit.

In a big country with a large population and at a time when the class struggle is so sharp and complicated at home and abroad, what courage and breadth of vision of a great proletarian revolutionary is called for in practising proletarian mass democracy on such an extensive scale! The fact that such mass democracy has been practised shows the great strength of our proletarian dictatorship! Have Brezhnev and Kosygin the courage to do this? Do the other revisionist countries dare to do it? No, absolutely not! There can be no proletarian mass democracy without the dictatorship of the proletariat. In those countries under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the revisionists can never put mass democracy into practice; nor will they dare to. Let them try if they don't agree! One after another, they are sure to topple from their thrones within 24 hours! Only our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao, the great proletarian revolutionary who has been tempered in the most protracted, complicated, bitter and diverse struggles in history, dares to make such a great decision and shoulder this historical burden. Only the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought dares to do it. This is possible only because we have a Great Wall such as the un-

paralleled Chinese People's Liberation Army and the rock-firm proletarian regime. Chairman Mao personally decided to publish China's first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster, most enthusiastically supported the Red Guards as soon as they appeared on the scene, reviewed a total of over 10 million members of the great cultural revolutionary army. . . .

Chairman Mao always gives his wise instructions at the most crucial moment to push the great cultural revolution continuously forward to a still higher stage and keep up the revolutionary morale of the millions upon millions of the cultural revolutionary army. Proletarian mass democracy has raised the Chinese Communist Party's mass line and the Marxist-Leninist theory of the people being the creators of history to a new height. Proletarian mass democracy is Chairman Mao's great creation to solve the problem of making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is Chairman Mao's new, great contribution to Marxism-Leninism and an unprecedented great pioneering undertaking in socialism and communism. All the revolutionary people of the world are glad to note that the Chinese Communist Party guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought has grown more united and powerful than ever through the severe test of this great movement. As the beacon of the international communist movement, it has become brighter than ever. All the revolutionary people in the world are convinced that New China is the hope of the whole world, that China's today will be the tomorrow of the whole world, and that the Chinese people's struggle will open a broad path for the people of the world to march towards communism.

Song of Triumph for Communism, Death Knell for Revisionism

The bitter slanders and calumnies heaped on China's proletarian mass democracy by the Soviet revisionist renegade group can only show that it is gripped by mortal fear. The influence of this mass democracy developed in the course of our great cultural revolution has long since spread beyond China's borders and tolled the death knell for international revisionism.

Here is a piece of admission from the Soviet renegades:

"The events in China indeed do not concern that country alone but also the entire world socialism and all Communists . . . this fact cannot but give rise to fears which are quite justified."

A hundred years ago, Karl Marx, in his preface to the first edition of *Capital*, wrote: "The peculiar nature of the material it (political economy) deals with, summons as foes into the field of battle the most violent, mean and malignant passions of the human breast, the furies of private interest."

This is exactly the case. The proletarian mass democracy in China has lifted a corner of the curtain

over the dark rule of the revisionist renegades in the Soviet Union and their persecution of the Soviet people. This is why it has called forth curses and opposition from the handful of tyrants which are full of the "most mean and malignant passions." With the curtain thus raised, people can now see clearly that in China the Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are only a handful and have never gained supremacy, while in the Soviet Union they formed a privileged stratum after Khrushchov usurped power and ever since have ridden roughshod over the working people.

China's proletarian mass democracy has truly opened the eyes of millions upon millions of people and the renegade features of the Soviet revisionists have become further exposed. Small wonder that they are seized with terror and gripped by fear.

Exactly fifty years ago, the salvos from the cruiser *Aurora* proclaimed the opening of a great new era in the history of mankind. How the news inspired the proletariat and other revolutionary people the world over at that time! The October Revolution passed the death sentence on the capitalist system. Stalin wrote: "Now the labouring masses of the world can no longer be regarded as a 'blind mob,' groping in the dark and devoid of prospects; for the October Revolution has created a beacon which illuminates their path and opens up prospects for them."

Likewise, the mass democracy of the proletariat developed in China's cultural revolution has blazed a path for the Soviet people to emancipate their motherland from dark rule. The Soviet people rejoiced to see China's Khrushchov fall under the onslaught of millions upon millions of the cultural revolutionary army. They have seen with their own eyes that revisionism is only another paper tiger. If only the masses can unite under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, fight in the revolutionary spirit of "he who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor" and start a revolution from the bottom upwards, they can certainly place the destiny of their socialist motherland in their own hands.

For the Soviet revisionists, the downfall of China's Khrushchov foreshadows their own doom. Hence the gnawing "fears which are quite justified."

Our great leader Chairman Mao has said: "The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph."

The Soviet revisionist renegade group is approaching its doom. The day when the Soviet people rise to make revolution from the bottom upwards will be the funeral day of that renegade group. The people of the world will then see the red star over the Kremlin once again shine in dazzling splendour,