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### 105 - AN IMPORTANT HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE -- BY TIEN CHIH-SUNG

Peking, September 21 (Peking Review) - While paying attention to one tendency, it is imperative to note that this tendency could very well be covering another tendency. This is an important historical experience scientifically summed up by our great leader Chairman Mao from the practice of revolution and construction in China.

In the political report delivered to the Tenth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, Comrade Chou En-lai emphatically pointed out: "Chairman Mao has constantly taught us: It is imperative to note that one tendency covers another." He used the historical experience of the two-line struggle within the Party to demonstrate the importance of going against the tide. The general programme of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China has summed up the lessons and experience gained in the two-line struggle in the past and laid down clearly that "comrades throughout the Party must have the revolutionary spirit of daring to go against the tide."

Paying attention to one tendency but not forgetting to note that it could be covering another tendency is the materialist-dialectical world outlook and methodology. All things contain two contradictory aspects and have "CONTRADICTION, MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE, OPPOSITE TENDENCIES." (Lenin: On the Question of Dialectics.) Opposites struggle with each other and, under certain conditions, always transform themselves into each other. The idealist metaphysical viewpoint is blind to the struggle of opposites and their transformation, blind to the fact that one tendency could well be covering another tendency. This viewpoint leads to a wrong estimation of the class forces and erroneous directives for work and causes harm to the revolution.

#### PROFOUND LESSONS

In this respect, profound lessons can be drawn from the history of our Party. During the latter period of the First Revolutionary Civil War when Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunist line of "all alliance, no struggle" dominated the Party's leading organs, the revolution met with defeat. Our Party opposed this Right opportunist line and rectified this deviation. Soon afterwards, Chu Chiu-

pai's "Left" putschism emerged and held sway during the end of 1927 and the beginning of 1928, followed by Li Li-san's "Left" opportunist line in June-September 1930 and then Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line of 1931-34.

The renegade Wang Ming, in particular, did not understand a thing about class relations in China, denying the existence of a middle camp. He raved that the middle-of-the-roaders were "the most dangerous enemy" and called for wholesale opposition to the bourgeoisie and the upper stratum of the petty bourgeoisie, forcing on the Party a "Left" opportunist line of "all struggle, no alliance" and thus causing serious damage to the revolutionary cause.

At the same time, the Right splinter line of Lo Chang-lung which appeared from the other extreme when the revolution was at a low ebb lost sight of our achievements when confronted with temporary difficulties, failed to see the bright future and was pessimistic about the revolution, slithered into liquidationism and plotted to split the Party.

The fight against one erroneous line tends to mask another erroneous line. Sometimes a Right deviation is covered up when a "Left" deviation is being combatted and sometimes a "Left" deviation is covered up when a Right tendency is being fought. At other times, while opposing a "Left" tendency, another tendency even more "Left" than the one opposed is covered up. Mistakes and setbacks have educated us and in the midst of struggles our Party came to recognize Chairman Mao as its great leader. At the Tsunyi Meeting in 1935, Chairman Mao's leading position in the whole Party was established and the Party's line was put on the correct Marxist-Leninist course.

In leading our Party in revolutionary struggles, Chairman Mao has always adhered to the dialectical-materialist method in observing and analysing problems and guiding revolutionary practice. He has always kept a firm hold on the helm, watchful of the covered-up tendency while taking note of the main tendency so that the Party steered clear of many hidden shoals and advanced victoriously along the correct course. During the Red Army's Long March subsequent to the Tsunyi Meeting, Chairman Mao led the whole Party to  
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smash the Right splittist line of Chang Kuo-tao and to win a great victory in accomplishing the world-famous Long March of 25,000 li, thereby laying a solid foundation for the victorious prosecution of the War of Resistance Against Japan.

When the national contradiction between China and Japan rose to become the principal contradiction during the War of Resistance Against Japan and the domestic contradictions between classes have for the time being dropped into a secondary place, the renegade Wang Ming sprang from the extreme "Left" to the extreme Right, reverting to Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunist line of "all alliance, no struggle". He clamoured that "everything should be done through the united front" and "everything must be subordinated to the united front", which in essence meant everything was to be done through the Kuomintang and subordinated to the Kuomintang, not daring to wage a resolute struggle against the Kuomintang's reactionary policies and handing over the leadership of the anti-Japanese national united front to the Kuomintang.

Chairman Mao led the whole Party to criticize and repudiate Wang Ming's Right opportunist line and to adhere to the policy of both alliance and struggle with the bourgeoisie and achieving unity through struggle. In the Party's relations with the bourgeoisie, Chairman Mao always and repeatedly taught the whole Party that, at a time when alliance was the main trend, we must not neglect necessary and resolute struggle against the bourgeoisie's plots to undermine the alliance and must fight the Right deviation of "all alliance, no struggle", and that at a time when struggle became the main tendency following the break-up of the alliance, we must maintain the principle of utilizing contradictions, striving to win over the many and opposing the few and breaking up the enemy piece by piece and oppose the "Left" deviation of "all struggle, no alliance".

Comrade Chou En-lai in his report to the Tenth Congress said: "Today, in both international and domestic struggles, tendencies may still occur similar to those of the past, namely, when there was an alliance with the bourgeoisie, necessary struggles were forgotten and when there was a split with the bourgeoisie, the possibility of an alliance under given conditions was forgotten."  
**FORESIGHT IS NECESSARY**

During the period of socialist revolution, there have been many instances of one tendency covering another. In the early post-liberation days when China's socialist revolution and construction had scored initial successes and were expanding further, Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih banded together in an anti-Party alliance and vainly attempted to split the Party Central Committee and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. In 1958 China's industrial and agricultural production flourished and made a great leap forward, and in this excellent situation of rapid development in both revolution and construction Peng

Teh-huai surfaced in 1959 to attack the general line, the great leap forward, and people's commune and tried to seize the leadership of the Party and state and restore capitalism. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the shattering of the bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-chi and his revisionist line covered Lin Piao's revisionist line. The historical experiences of these two-line struggles demonstrate that guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has taken deep root in the hearts of the people; that Party unity has been strengthened all the time and the Party's fine style of work has become ever more developed; that the dictatorship of the proletariat has been further consolidated and socialist revolution and construction are making great strides forward. This is the main stream, the main tendency. But the class enemies will never be reconciled to their defeat; they will surface to make trouble. Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught the Party to use the theory of "one divides into two" to look at problems and be aware of one tendency covering another tendency. He enjoined the whole Party to "PRACTISE MARXISM, AND NOT REVISIONISM; UNITE, AND DON'T SPLIT; BE OPEN AND ABOVE-BOARD, AND DON'T INTRIGUE AND CONSPIRE". This is not only because the struggle between the two classes and the two lines at home will inevitably find reflection inside the Party, but also because internationally imperialism and social-imperialism, to carry out their aggression and subversion against China, will naturally try to find agents inside our Party. Consequently, the two-line struggle inside the Party will inevitably be of long duration. If we fail to see this, if we fail to see that representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the Party will practise revisionism, cause splits and carry out intrigues and conspiracies, we shall be disarmed ideologically and organizationally and grave harm will be done to the Party's cause.

The reason why our Party today is united and flourishing as never before and socialist revolution and construction are winning continuous victories is because our Party under Chairman Mao's wise leadership saw through and defeated in time the anti-Party plots of capitalist-roaders in authority line Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. At present, great victories have been won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and an excellent situation prevails on all fronts. Naturally, we have cause for rejoicing. However, we must not assume that henceforth all is peace and quiet and we can lower our revolutionary guard or relax our revolutionary fighting will. If we bury ourselves in production and vocational work and do not pay attention to grasping the ideological and political line and grasping the implementation of policies and the building of the leading groups, if we pay attention only to the line and policies for specific

and forget the basic line and policies of the Party, if we become preoccupied with day-to-day work and forget to grasp well first of all the major matters of the whole Party and the overall situation, we shall not be able to see clearly the orientation and the enemy will take advantage of this and the consequences will be serious. We must never at any time forget Chairman Mao's instruction: "WE HAVE WON GREAT VICTORY. BUT THE DEFEATED CLASS WILL STILL STRUGGLE. THESE PEOPLE ARE STILL AROUND AND THIS CLASS STILL EXISTS. THEREFORE, WE CANNOT SPEAK OF FINAL VICTORY. NOT EVEN FOR DECADES. WE MUST NOT LOSE OUR VIGILANCE."

One tendency obscuring another also frequently occurs in our day-to-day work and the life of our Party. This is why Chairman Mao always reminds the whole Party: Guard against "Left" deviations when the army has won victories in attacks against the enemy; guard against Right deviations when the army has suffered defeats; in land reform guard against Right deviations where the masses have not yet been fully aroused and the struggle has not yet unfolded, and guard against "Left" deviations where the masses have been fully aroused and the struggle has already unfolded; in handling contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, guard against attacking on too broad a front, and in implementing policies, guard against reversing all previous decisions; and when times are rough, keep in sight the bright future and pluck up courage and guard against despondency, pessimism and a sense of frustration; and when things are going fine, we should anticipate likely difficulties and problems and guard against unfounded optimism, conceit and arrogance. Furthermore, politics and vocational work, revolution and production, the whole and the part, the leadership and the led, democracy and centralism, freedom and discipline, red and expert, the advanced and the backward and so on are all two contradictory aspects of things we frequently meet with in the course of our work. We must grasp the dialectical relationship between them, analyse and tackle problems in a comprehensive manner so as to do our work well and propel socialist revolution and construction forward.

To note one tendency being covered by another, we must not only be able to discern and solve in time the secondary tendency which has already appeared, but we must also have prescience of problems which we have not yet perceived but which may probably arise. The idea is to take precautions beforehand. Foresight is not a subjective product of the brain; it is scientific estimation and judgement of the trend of development of a thing arrived at through revolutionary practice and based on objective laws. To be able to do this, we must take part in revolutionary practice, make a comprehensive and systematic investigation and study of the actual situation, seeing its present state and its future, and its positive and negative aspects, noting not only isolated things but their internal relations. Then we make a comprehensive analysis of this rich material and estimate the various possibilities of development, adopt appropriate measures to achieve optimum results. So, even if an unfavourable situation should emerge, we shall not be at a loss as

we are already prepared against all eventualities. Only when foresight tallies relatively well with facts can we have freedom of action and really do a good job of our work.

#### GOING AGAINST THE TIDE

We must work hard to grasp the laws of development of an objective thing and push its development in a direction favourable to the revolution. But if an erroneous tendency already exists and is endangering the Party's cause, we must have the resolution and courage to go against the tide and wage a resolute struggle against this erroneous tendency.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "GOING AGAINST THE TIDE IS A MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLE." All Communists and revolutionaries must have the revolutionary spirit to oppose opportunism and revisionism and all other erroneous trends. Of course, when one confronts an erroneous trend, there is not only the question of daring or not daring to go against it but also the question of being able to recognize it or not. To discern a trend, one must "READ AND STUDY CONSCIENTIOUSLY AND HAVE A GOOD GRASP OF MARXISM." Moreover, one must take an active part in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, remould one's world outlook and enhance one's ideological and political consciousness. Only thus can one judge between a right and a wrong trend and distinguish the Marxist line from the revisionist line. Only thus can one make sure what one must support and what one must oppose, and be sure one is opposing the right thing. More often than not, what turned out to be correct in history was not recognized by most people at the very outset. Many people often fail at first to spot a wrong trend and tendency. But once it is recognized, we must display a dauntless spirit of upholding what is true and be daring to expose, boycott and oppose the wrong trend. We must not flinch even when we come under the attack of the conservative and reactionary forces and find ourselves isolated. Newborn, revolutionary things are invincible, while an erroneous trend will eventually be spurned by the broad masses of the people. Especially in a socialist country like ours, the advanced elements who range themselves against an erroneous trend are sure to receive the firm support and protection of our Party and people. Marxism has developed in its struggles against the erroneous trend of revisionism, splits and intrigues and conspiracies. No one can call himself a Marxist unless he opposes this erroneous trend when he comes face to face with it.

In the long years of revolutionary struggles, Chairman Mao, with dauntless proletarian revolutionary spirit, has always led the whole Party in waging resolute struggles against opportunism, revisionism and other erroneous tendencies that appeared in the Party. He has always adhered to the principled stand of Marxism and opposed the erroneous lines even when they got the upper hand and the correct line was not understood by the majority. In daring to go against the tide and adhere to the correct line in the ten struggles between the two lines within the Party, Chairman

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Mao is our example and teacher. We must learn well from Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary spirit, strive to master the dialectical-materialist methods of thinking and work, and learn to use the "theory of two points" to analyse problems. This will enable us to carry out in a better way Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and lead the revolution forward from victory to victory.

(An abridged translation of an article published in "Hongqi" No. 9, 1973. Subheads are ours.)

End item.

106 - U. N. SECURITY COUNCIL CONTINUES  
DISCUSSION OF MIDDLE EAST SITUATION

United Nations, October 9 (Hsinhua) - The fresh Israeli military aggression against Egypt and Syria was condemned by the representatives of Syria, Egypt and some other countries at the meeting of the U. N. Security Council on the Middle East situation here this afternoon.

Mohammed Zakariya Ismail, Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs of Syria, said that the Arab states had suffered continuing aggression from Israel which even bombed Damascus, capital of Syria, today. The Arab countries had time and again warned the United Nations about the explosive situation, but nothing had been done. Israel, seconded by the United States, had sabotaged all efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

He said that the War of Resistance Against Israeli Aggression was a struggle for national liberation. The Syrians and Egyptians were fighting for their own territory. The United Nations should support this struggle.

On what moral basis could the United States ask for a return to the positions before October 6? the Syrian Assistant Foreign Minister asked. The areas concerned were territories occupied by Israel, he pointed out.

The Syrian Deputy Foreign Minister said that Syria believed in peace based on justice. Syria was fighting to repel the aggressors in exercise of the right of self-defence. It had nothing against the Jews. It was fighting against colonialism and Zionist expansionism.

Mohamed Hassan El-Zayyat, Foreign Minister of Egypt, said at the meeting that an air raid by Israel had taken place on Cairo. If these air raids on civilian targets went on, he said, the

Government of Egypt would make every effort to dissuade Israel from continuing them.

Zayyat said that the representative of Israel kept speaking about Israel "defending itself", but the fighting was going on in Egyptian and Syrian land, not in the territory of Israel.

Mansour Khaled, Foreign Minister of the Sudan said in his speech that the peoples of Egypt and Syria were fighting for the liberation of their own occupied territories. "Wars of liberation are the last resort of a self-respecting nation," he said.

Any political solution, he said, must come to grips with two basic facts: first, the totally unacceptable occupation of Arab territory; and second, the national consciousness of the Palestinian people.

Milos Minic, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council and Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, in a speech, expressed support for the just struggle of the Arab countries against Israel for the liberation of all the occupied territories.

Louis de Guiringaud, representative of France, stated at the meeting that it was essential to remember that the military operations were taking place in territories of Egypt and Syria which had been occupied by Israel since 1967. A hasty decision by the Security Council could only further complicate an already complex situation, he said.

Indonesian representative Chaidir Anwar Sani said that peace could return to the Middle East only if the occupied territories were returned to their lawful owners and the rights of the Palestinians were respected.

The Security Council meeting was adjourned after hearing the speeches by various representatives.

End item.

The Central Organization of U. S. Marxist-Leninists was formed at the Conference of American Marxist-Leninists held in Detroit from August 18 to 28. The organizations which participated in founding the Central Organization of U. S. Marxist-Leninists included: the Red Star Cadre (Marxist-Leninist), the Red Collective, the Red Banner (Marxist-Leninist), the Lexington Communist Collective (Marxist-Leninist), the Association of Communist Workers and the American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist). The Central Organization of U. S. Marxist-Leninists calls upon all genuine Marxist-Leninist groups and individuals to work together to build one national Marxist-Leninist Center in order to build the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party and organize the proletarian revolution. Subscriptions or bulk orders for Workers' Daily News Release may be obtained by writing to Necessity for Change Publications, PO Box 930, Boston MA 0210