

Down with

Dogmatism!

FACING FACTS

A.H. EVANS

Down with

Revisionism!

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RED FLAG WAVERS ARE INSIDE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA AT TOP LEVEL.

PREFACE.

Who does not know that the class enemy when he slithers, serpent like, into our ranks resorts to many disguises to mask the poison which he has come to spread? Is it not obvious that when one cloak becomes threadbare, another is promptly donned on? The principal monsters which the real left - the Maoist left - must wage war upon are, as we know, revisionism and dogmatism. Yet many comrades preoccupied with hitting out at the first have completely ignored the second, failing to see that many revisionist devils - writhing, twisting vipers startled beneath an upturned rock - have been forced to look for a new home and are increasingly finding it in the phrasemongering hysteria, the raucous chant of blind dogmatism.

What precisely is dogmatism? Comrades should listen with especial care to the words of our great leader and helmsman, Comrade Mao, for he tells us that

where our dogmatists err ... is that, on the one hand, they do not understand that we have to study the particularity of contradiction and know the particular essence of things, that, on the other hand, they do not understand after knowing the common essence of things, we must go further and study the concrete things that have not yet been thoroughly studied ... our dogmatists are lazy bones. They refuse to undertake any painstaking study of concrete things, they regard general truths as emerging out of the void, they turn them into purely abstract unfathomable formulas and thereby completely deny and reverse the normal sequence by which man comes to know the truth.

In the statement before you, Comrade Arthur Evans proves beyond all reasonable doubt that a dangerous dogmatism has crept into recent commentaries on the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, a dogmatism which completely disregards Mao's advice to examine the particular. Would comrades who had carefully examined the facts of the situation still declare that the Soviet revisionists - bitterly reviled at the present moment by the imperialist world - are guilty of fascist aggression when it is surely obvious that it was precisely to stem the tide of naked reaction that their troops entered Czechoslovakia in the first place? It is without question revisionism to think of the Soviet Khrushchovites, in the face of repeated crime and treachery, as supporters of Marxism - Leninism: but is it not dogmatism - is it not a falsehood everybit as glaring - to ignore the gulf, the sharp contradictions which separate the world of revisionism from that of outright capitalism, to simply ignore the fact that the Czech affair has been a most severe set back to the developing Soviet - U.S. detente, and to overlook the most virulent opposition voiced by liberal reactionaries both in the West and within the revisionist bloc itself?

Is it not a fact that a number of outright liberals in the Soviet bloc have been punished by the revisionists for protesting at the intervention, liberals who we need hardly add, are the sworn enemies of the proletariat? Is it not

trua that certain of the Dubchek clique having thrown off all pretense of Marxism have been disciplined by the Soviet revisionists and labelled - correctly too! - counter revolutionaries, Zionist reactionaries and supporters of the capitalist road? Who can then possibly confuse fascism with revisionism when facts like these are widely known?

What cannot be over-emphasised is the fact that revisionism, now in increasing crisis, assumes many forms, shows many faces and comrades must familiarise themselves with each and every one of them - for if we do not come to grips with the particular nuance - how can we ever reach the truthful generality? Did not Marx in his brilliant studies of the French class struggle pay meticulous attention to the precise position of each of the actors in the drama which he so splendidly analysed? Why then do comrades ignore the fact - surely obvious upon reflection that the revisionist parties in France, Italy and Britain were seriously split by the Soviet invasion with the rank and file in many cases supporting the Soviet action and the leadership, egged on by their bourgeois patrons, expressing vehement dissent? And not only among the rank and file was there support for the Soviet, East German, Hungarian, Bulgarian and Polish intervention? Did not the wife of Maurice Thorez in the French revisionist party and Hugh MacDiarmid, the Scottish poet of the British C.P. come out openly in support of the action taken against the Dubchek clique? If we are to split our revisionist adversaries to the maximum possible extent, doing all in our power to win over their left wing, then clearly a careful analysis of their particular attitudes is absolutely essential. For such is the Maoist way.

Dogmatism is a disease that blights an individual's entire thought process if not instantly checked. The Chinese intellectuals whom Comrade Evans so properly censures in the statement before you have clearly shown that ultra-leftism or dogmatism does not hesitate to reach down to the gutter in its attempt to justify views which are so obviously contrary to the truth. We note with satisfaction that the Chinese Foreign Office appear to have recalled at least two of their London representatives, Mrs Li Ching and Mr Yu Hang. The support of the Chinese intellectuals for/nakedly an anti-communist organisation as SACU and one of its allies, the Reg Birch clique, is unworthy of men and women whose sacred responsibility it is to put Maoist politics to the fore. As for the affair of the faked photograph, this is a matter which - along with the other points Comrade Evans raises, deserves the most outspoken criticism from all who seek earnestly to grasp and apply the unshakeable truth of the thought of the great genius of our times, Mao Tse-tung.

DOWN WITH REVISIONISM!

DOWN WITH DOGMATISM!

DEATH TO THE SABOTEUR'S OF THE THOUGHT
OF MAO TSE TUNG!

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OPEN LETTER to
CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY of CHINA.

The recent invasion of Czechoslovakia by the armed forces of the revisionist bloc, headed by the Soviet Union, has led to a furor of discussion and heated debate in all quarters, from all political circles.

This is the second time that revisionist armed forces have crossed the frontiers of another state on the plea that that state was betraying revolutionary Marxism and was preparing to restore capitalism. On the first occasion, the 1956 invasion of Hungary by Soviet forces, the unity of the Socialist camp was maintained and the action of the Soviet forces, in taking swift and merciless action against the Petrófi school of plotters, was acclaimed as absolutely necessary.

In the overwhelming main, the individuals and groups who sought to overthrow the Hungarian Socialist regime were headed by intellectuals and received the support of the students in the higher institutions. A great many of the students came from homes of former wealthier classes and since the teachers came from the same background, the students from the working class and peasantry were largely brainwashed. As we recall, the world bourgeoisie screamed their hate for the action of the Soviet troops.

As Mao has insistently pointed out, a revolutionary people can, under the influence of reactionary leadership, turn into their opposite and support the establishment of an outright fascist regime. Did not the revolutionary German working class of the twenties and early thirties turn away from Marxism and become tools of the Hitler regime? The leadership of the Communist Party of Germany failed to split the opposition, they treated the fascists as a blackly amorphous mass, yet, as we recall, within a short time of taking state power - being given it by German imperialism - the Hitler faction within his party were forced to take murderous action against that section of the party who were demanding anti-capitalist measures. How little has been written on "the night of the long knives". The bourgeoisie want the event to be forgotten and unfortunately, dogmatic "Marxists", thinking as blindly as Trotskyites, have learnt nothing from the lesson that within classes exist sub-classes, all of whom find political expression.

It is the job of revolutionary Marxists, of the followers of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, "to go deeply into complex matters, to analyse and study them over and over again ... not to draw simple conclusions which are either absolutely affirmative or absolutely negative". It is with this thought of Chairman Mao's sounding through to us that we turn to an examination of the recent Czechoslovakian events.

External Contradictions in the Contemporary World.

There are in the world today three main contradictions: the contradictions within the outright capitalist bloc, the contradictions within the revisionist bloc and the contradictions within the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist bloc.

Out of these internal contradictions spring external connections which inevitably lead to three external contradictions: that between the outright capitalist bloc and the revisionist bloc; that between the capitalist bloc and the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist bloc; and that between the revisionist bloc and the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist bloc. These basic contradictions are themselves reflections of the fundamental antagonism which rests on class struggle.

Some thoughtless people dislike the study of contradictions, and of antagonism, they blur them over and are over anxious and frightened that "We might stir up things" meaning that all Marxists should act "in a comradely manner". We on the contrary, believe with Mao, that the bigger the poster display the better, and that sometimes it becomes necessary to aim at the headquarters. We strongly oppose, as did Mao, the idea that "the Party can do no wrong" - one of the propaganda tricks of Liu Chao Chi, who has earned the death penalty times over.

It goes without saying that external and internal factors are closely linked, one influencing the other. But for purpose of examination it is useful to study them in their separateness as a clever General studies the component parts of his army, for without such intimate knowledge, we reduce our knowledge of the general to phrasemongering formalism.

Let us briefly examine what happened at the end of the last world war. The chief event was the transfer of power from the defeated Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis to the Washington-London-Moscow axis. The victorious axis re-divided much of the world according to the precise degree of power wielded, or thought to be wielded, by the victorious capitalist bloc of Washington-London on the one hand, and the Moscow bloc on the other. Formal treaties came into being and informal "understanding" also came into being.

Germany was dismembered and even the territory previous to Hitler's conquests were heavily altered in favour of the Soviet Union, Poland, France, and Czechoslovakia. Capitalist Germany was split into two parts, an ostensibly Socialist sector with roughly a third of the population and a capitalist sector with the remaining two thirds. The Socialist sector recognised the legality of the new frontiers while the capitalist sector has stated its determination to regain the lands which it lost.

The Russian frontier was moved to the West, likewise the Polish frontier which engulfed the highly industrialised German region of Silesia: a transfer of populations running into millions took place. So much for a part of the external factors arising out of the last world war. In short, a new set of contradictions emerged and must be carefully considered if we are to keep in close touch with the reality of events which led to the recent invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Is it not plain that history dictates the rapidity of the development of any social system? Let us take capitalism. In 1800 Britain was a very great world power, in many respects, the most powerful of all. In the ensuing half a century Britain lost that position and by the end of the last world war - by 1945 - the United States was without question by far the greatest of capitalist powers. But is the U.S. of today in a position to dominate world capitalism? No and a very emphatic no. West Europe and Japan have arisen out of the ashes of war and their combined industrial output is more than that of the U.S. The struggle for markets, plus the anarchy of the system, is tearing once again to shreds the so called unity of the capitalist camp.

West Germany has emerged as the most powerful competitor in the capitalist sector of the European continent, so much so that the "unity of the common market" stands in dread of German competition, let alone competition from Britain which has a very large and well organised industrial base, much broader than that of its continental rivals. The dictate of the well-being of national economies always takes precedence over the well-being of world capitalism.

Contradictions within the capitalist world are endless with more and more young and rapidly growing economies beginning to enter the markets for finished and partly finished goods; Brazil is a good example. The power of modern technique to turn out goods is multiplying faster than ever before in the history of the system and it is evident that a major crisis of overproduction is hastening with the speed of a storm wind.

We have touched upon the external changes which have taken place within the capitalist world of our immediate time and have shown that these changes have led to contradictions which seek resolution. Is it not obvious that if one of the major external contradictions, that of frontiers, is resolved in favour of capitalism that this would be a serious blow to the revisionist camp, particularly to East Germany, Poland, and the Soviet Union?

By setting down this simple proposition we find that there is no necessity at this time to go deeper into the contradictions which exist between the open capitalist camp and the revisionist camp.

What of the external contradictions inside the revisionist bloc? We will bring in history to help us illustrate. It is obvious that there must be such contradictions otherwise the Czech frontier would not have been violated by the armed forces of other revisionist countries. The key to understanding the main contradiction within the revisionist bloc revolves around the historical formation of the Soviet Union which arose upon the foundation of a revolutionary alliance between the most revolutionary minded section of the European working class and the majority of the peasantry. This revolutionary outlook of the Russian and Ukraine peoples was conditioned by a heightening of the class struggle against the Czarist dictatorship of the preceding century, a class struggle as intense and more prolonged than the struggle of the French bourgeoisie against their own brand of feudalism culminating in 1789. This fact must be stressed: only the fertile ground of revolutionary Russia and the Ukraine allowed the seed of revolutionary Marxism to be carried to full fruition under the commanding genius of Lenin. Only Lenin, because he was working with history, because conditions were highly favourable to the spread and acceptance of revolutionary ideas, was able to build a party of sufficient strength to hold back and check the growth of social democratic ideas. Later Mao Tse-tung was to triumph for precisely the same favourable historical conditions operating in China.

To this very day the world bourgeoisie find it very difficult to accept the fact that revisionism is restoring the capitalist mode of production in the Soviet Union. They feel that the ground is very shaky under the feet of the Moscow clique of usurpers; they have the feeling that within the C.P. of the Soviet Union there exists a powerful "conservative" group, only awaiting a favourable opportunity to smash Kosygin, Brezhnev and co. to restore "Stalinism".

The Moscow revisionists cannot restore capitalism swiftly in the Soviet Union because they must take into account the Soviet working class, the poor and middle peasants. Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that the ideology of capitalism

is deep rooted, that it may well take a century or more to uproot it. Are we expected to believe that the ideas of revolutionary Socialism impregnated into the very lifeblood of the Soviet people through two mass uprisings, through the lessons of war and civil war, through the teachings of Lenin and his comrade in arms, Stalin, have been wiped out in the Soviet Union, that revisionism has triumphed all along the line? This is not so, otherwise there would never have been an invasion of the Czech lands.

The Czech revisionists were bent on returning to outright capitalism at a gallop. They were openly preparing to bring into being dual parties, while the apparatus of propaganda had already passed into the hands of the most reactionary of the intellectual forces. The success of a right wing coup d'etat in Czechoslovakia would have strengthened the right wing within the East German and Polish parties. Capitalist propaganda mounted to a storm, as the Czech crisis developed, doing all in its power to support the Czech attempt at swift capitalist restoration. The language they used against the Soviet Union was the language used in the days of Lenin and in the days of Stalin. Yet there are comrades who appear to think that the antagonisms between the outright capitalist world and the world of revisionism have vanished in ripples of minor contradictions.

The East German revisionists had likewise to consider its working class. Although it is true that the German working class turned to Hitler and backed reaction they did it with many a guilty conscience. Chauvinism swept the ranks of the young workers, those coming to maturity under the years of the Hitler regime, but the older workers accepted Hitlerism without a real struggle for the simple reason that they were betrayed by the C.P. leadership. As Mao has stated plainly, without revolutionary leadership, the workers are helpless. The Hitlerites chopped off the heads of the most militant of the workers, the rest - without leadership - drifted into opportunism and chauvinism, like a canker, ate into the very fibre of their beings. However with the defeat of the Hitlerites the ideas of Marxism once again penetrated to East Germany and, as the years rolled by, the working class could practically compare their new life with that under the Hitler regime and with that under so called democratic capitalism. This new life was a better, a much richer life, and it would have been still far richer culturally if the trend within the C.P. of East Germany toward revisionism had been altered and revolutionary Marxist politics placed in control. It is plain that the revisionist leadership in East Germany had to take account of a working class with a greater watchfulness over politics than ever before. Excessively hasty action on the part of the revisionists, too sharp a swing toward capitalist restoration would have been a very great gamble: that is why revisionism in East Germany "staunchly supported our Soviet comrades".

So with Poland: fear of frontier change, of losing Silesia, of a forced withdrawal to the East, forced the revisionist leadership, a leadership which is to the right of that of Moscow, to support Moscow and furnish troops for the crossing of the Czech frontier.

As for Hungary: did the Hungarians not taste the partial triumph of reaction in 1956 when the streets of Budapest ran red with the blood of revolutionaries? Had not the people been brought back to their senses by the events of that fateful year in the history of Hungary? Reactionary triumph in Hungary would soon make mince meat of most of the revisionist leadership. Only a few could hope to escape the terror of open reaction once again in the saddle.