

〈英文要約〉

## On Chinese Communist Leaders: An Introspection of the Cultural Revolution

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I suppose that it is meaningful to introspect the Cultural Revolution from different perspectives during its Twentieth Anniversary. The Cultural Revolution not only created a catastrophe within the Chinese Communist Party, but also caused a great calamity in the Chinese society. The main purpose of this paper is to understand the political style of the current Chinese Communist leaders by an analysis of the origins and nature of the Cultural Revolution. It is expected that a better understanding of the various problems in the present Chinese Communist government and society can be reached by this discussion.

The interpretations of the origins of the Cultural Revolution are varied; but none of them can be claimed as definite. Some scholars say that it was caused by Mao Tse-tung's attempt to maintain the theory and practice of proletarian revolution and to prevent the Chinese revolution from "changing colour". Some suggest that the movement was rooted in the problems of "anti-bureaucratism". But some say that it was the outcome of the true spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Other scholars claim that the movement was the outburst of prolonged discontent among the masses. And there are also some scholars who say that the catastrophe was originated from the problems of power struggle and factionalism. I, however, consider its fundamental cause was due to the cultural crisis in China over the past century. During this period, the Chinese, especially the radical intellectuals, had lost their confidence in the value of traditional Chinese culture in a rapidly changing society. They subsequently

abandoned it and replaced it by western culture, which, they believed, was the only dose to cure the Chinese illness. Under the propaganda launched by the then Third International, Marxism-Leninism became the "Bible" amongst the Chinese Communists and an "article of faith" for their political action. The immediate cause leading to the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution, I believe, was derived from the role of Marxism-Leninism in Chinese politics; it was the culmination of power struggle among the Chinese Communist leaders as a result of their conflicts in ideology and policy.

That the Cultural Revolution could be mobilized to such a massive scale deserves our close attention to its strategy. To be sure, the role of the human character of individual leader was a contributive factor. But this concept of "cult of personality" cannot be sufficiently explained the whole political movement.

First, all Chinese Communist leaders recognize that it was essential to launch different types of political campaign with a view to controlling the masses. But this political movement had to depend on two crucial and indispensable conditions: (A) to establish a totalitarian authority and to create a leadership of absolute obedience; (B) to launch a massive propaganda to "brain-wash" the masses who would be convinced about the "wrongs" of the political opponents and subsequently mobilized themselves to engage in a cruel political struggle.

Second, all Chinese Communist leaders believe in power and authority rather than in knowledge even though they also realize that the latter is a source of the former. Therefore, the Chinese intellectuals are all subjected to the unitary Marxist-Leninist leadership. The Chinese Communist leaders even control the interpretation of this concept of leadership; their interpretation is based on their political needs rather than on scientific explanation. Accordingly, all academic and intellectual activities have become the political tools serving the interests of the Communist leaders.

Because of this, the current Chinese Communist leaders, after the fall of the "Gang of Four" and the commencement of the "Four Modernizations", announce that political campaign will not be staged again. Si-

multaneously, they begin to respect the intellectual. The reason for launching this policy is simply that the Chinese masses are tired of political movement and that the Chinese Communist Party has in fact become a victim of the previously organized campaigns.

Unfortunately, the current Chinese Communist leaders has not yet carefully and thoroughly analysed the reasons for, and the consequences of, the catastrophe caused by the Cultural Revolution. This leads to the awareness among the Chinese people that the present "liberal" political environment is only temporary and that the method of government is based on the will of individual leaders rather than on any democratic measures. As can be seen from the resolution adopted in the Sixth Plenum to make an assessment on Mao Tse-tung, the gap between Marxist-Leninist ideology and the concept of modernity is still very wide.