

The significance of the Shaoshan commemoration for our revolution

Revolutionary Socialist Front (RSF) Editorial Board

I. Significance and issues of the commemoration

This year's commemoration of the 130th birth anniversary of Comrade Mao Zedong on 26 December is an important anniversary for the revolutionary masses of the world and of China. We can see that he is being commemorated by the revolutionary masses all over the world, in the cities, in the countryside, in the bourgeois dominated areas, in the revolutionary bases in India and the Philippines. In China, too, when the exploiting classes in China were frantically denigrating, slandering or harmlessly deifying or fetishizing this great revolutionary, when all kinds of vulgar characters were misinterpreting him in terms of nationalism, mercantile thinking or other bourgeois ideology, many of the revolutionary masses of our country rushed from all parts of the country to Shaoshan to commemorate him in the name of the revolution, and countless numbers of old people, middle-aged people, young people and groups of all walks of life in the country commemorated him in the name of the revolution on this day. Countless old people, middle-aged people, young people and groups from all walks of life across the country are at this very moment putting up banners and slogans symbolising, to varying degrees, the significance of the revolution. This proves that a considerable number of revolutionary people in our country have long since seen through and detested all the acts of the exploiting class and the common people that emasculate, distort or vulgarise the revolutionary nature of the social movement and the revolutionary doctrines that he represented, as well as the system of exploitation and oppression in contemporary society.

The Shaoshan scenic area received 111,570 tourists in just one day, from 25 to 26 December 2023, an increase of 712.93% compared to 2022, and 13.92% compared to 2019. In addition to the factors caused by the special anniversary and the end of the impact of the previous epidemic, if we look at the early years of the data we can also find a steady increase in the phenomenon, in the 12 years from 2008 to 2019, Shaoshan's annual tourist reception rose from 3.6 million people in 2008 to 25.63 million people in 2019, a 7-fold increase in 12 years. It was not until the 2020-2022 period, when the epidemic was under control, that it slipped to an average of around 10 million visitors.

The fact that this year's Shaoshan commemorations have grown substantially on the basis of a rapid revival speaks volumes about the depth of the sources of the mass and revolutionary movement in our country. It illustrates the fact that the more the class struggle develops in society as a whole, and the more the exploited classes as a whole become enlightened in their revolutionary thinking, the deeper the attachment of the masses to the great revolutionaries whose destiny of liberation is directly linked to their own and the greater the commemorative activities are likely to be.

Throughout the Shaoshan commemorative movement, it was basically difficult for the meagre strength of the police to pose any strong obstacle to the activities of the masses, and they were overwhelmed by the flood of the masses. Some people realised that the police were powerless to stop them from carrying out radical activities under these circumstances, so some radicals started waving the most radical flags and chanting the most radical slogans (e.g. "Continue the revolution", "Revolution is not guilty, It is right to rebel", etc.), and they won over many other people. They were applauded by the rest of the crowd, while the police could at best hide in the crowd and take pictures of the most radical elements (which could have been prevented or countered quite easily).

The commemorative event in Shaoshan is a special event. It is a wave of mass activities and revolutionary activities formed by leftist groups across the country who gather together to lead other

people. When such power is concentrated in a small area, a powerful force is formed. The power of the local ruling class appears extremely weak. The development of Shaoshan commemorative activities also proves the development of our country's revolutionary movement; at the same time, it also proves that the power of the oppressors is small in the face of strong mass power, and their autocracy will be ineffective in the face of such power.

At the same time, we can also find that there are no independent activities of the Chinese working class in the Shaoshan commemorative activities. The operation of the entire activity is still spontaneously dominated by various groups and petty bourgeois elements who lack understanding. But without the leadership and organization of the working class, it is impossible for the movement to develop into a disciplined and conscious one; and in the long run, there is no proletarian vanguard to carry out a highly party-oriented approach to all masses and all social movements. Without such organization, the victory of our revolution would be impossible. Therefore, the rudimentary nature of this revolutionary movement is also reflected in the lack of the working class, the lack of its vanguard and its leadership. Therefore, we should make use of the current movement to develop the power of our country's revolutionary working class and integrate it with all social movements, so that all social movements with mass participation can be brought into the orbit of the revolutionary working class.

Because of the lack of working-class strength and other factors, there were various shortcomings in the activities in Shaoshan, and these shortcomings also reflected the elementary and infantile nature of the revolutionary movement in China. The whole event was not organised and self-conscious enough; the vast majority of the masses only went as far as commemorating Comrade Mao Zedong, and only a relatively small number of them chanted radical slogans, and only a small number of them had the desire for revolution, or dared to express their revolutionary aspirations. Moreover, the entire commemoration was made up of the individual activities of many small, relatively independent groups, with the old, the middle-aged, the youth, and various regions, as well as various groups of people and teams conducting their own spontaneous commemorative activities; and when the entire commemoration was over, the movement of these groups was basically over as well, as if they existed for the sake of commemoration only. That is to say, the movement as a whole is still rather spontaneous, dispersed and unorganised, and the potential of the movement has not been fully exploited and developed, and the movement lacks continuity.

But the Shaoshan movement is also the most revolutionary movement in our country at the present time, and everywhere we find the rudimentary nature of this revolutionary movement, which is sufficient to reflect the rudimentary nature of the revolutionary movement in our country; but the good thing is that this infant revolutionary activity is developing in a gratifying manner, and it shows us all the possibilities of its rapid maturity through the excellent work of our revolutionaries.

The Shaoshan commemorations were a source of joy and encouragement for all revolutionaries and the progressive masses; on the other hand, the existing problems of the movement could not fail to make all those who want to really realise the cause of people's liberation and social revolution feel inadequate; if we do not spend a great deal of energy and dedication to solving these problems, we will not be able to make full use of the movement and develop it, and this huge progressive mass force of struggle will not be transformed into a conscious force of social revolution. In other words, a true revolutionary is never satisfied with the status quo of any social movement; he must strive to develop the movement to a higher level and use the power of each movement to continue to promote the cause of social revolution as a whole. Therefore, we must not allow the Shaoshan commemorative activities to remain at the present rudimentary level, where they are confined to the spontaneous commemoration of great men and the chanting of revolutionary slogans by small

groups of all sorts, and we must not allow the non-proletarian, non-party, segregationist, spontaneous, decentralised and unorganised situation to persist.

II. Primary shortcomings of the commemoration

The entire Shaoshan commemoration was a wave of spontaneous commemorations of revolutionary leaders and many revolutionary slogans, which quickly subsided at the end of the commemoration. Although the whole event was a clear manifestation of the revolutionary will of the masses, it was limited to the level of commemorations and chanting of slogans, with no more action to realise the revolution and promote it, and with no power to continue the event in any other form, and such a level of activity cannot produce a revolution and complete the cause of revolution in society. A revolutionary movement that can subvert the whole of capitalist society can only be a class workers' movement, and such a workers' movement must have a party character (the revolutionary party character of the proletariat).

For all mass movements and revolutionary activities to reach a revolutionary level, they must be led by the revolutionary working class with party spirit. Activities led by elements with insufficient understanding of the revolution or insufficient motivation or ability to realise the revolution, or by the petty bourgeoisie who are held hostage by the movement, will definitely not reach the revolutionary level. Therefore, we can see that both the elderly, who generally have little understanding of the revolution, and the most radical young people, who basically have no motivation to make it happen, and who lack strong revolutionary practice, are still at a loss, not knowing what to do or how to do it, and often this activity is the most "revolutionary" thing they have ever done.

There is no one to lead them, to educate them, to organise them. Therefore, judging by the criteria of revolutionary activity, the primary deficiency of the whole activity lies in the absence of independent working class activity, and even more so in the absence of party-like revolutionary working class leadership; in a word: the absence of working class activity and vanguard-like leadership. Because of this deficiency, the activity was always non-proletarian and non-partisan.

The first job of revolutionary workers is therefore to increase the power of the working class in such an activity, to transform it into a working class activity and to lead it by vanguard methods.

In similar revolutionary activities in the future, we need a specialised team of activists working with a revolutionary mission, which can already be seen as a vanguard of sorts. We also need to have a strong revolutionary slogan, but also a strong slogan for the realisation of the leadership of the working class or the proletariat, and when it is feasible (when the forces allow it, when it is basically self-protecting, when it is acceptable to a large number of people), a slogan for the re-establishment of the Communist Party. In addition to this we must carry out organisational activities, distribute leaflets to inform and organise the masses, and link and organise the existing mass organisations and militants in an appropriate way. The purpose of this is not only to increase the revolutionary character of other social groups and to develop their revolutionary movement, but also to bring them into the revolutionary orbit of the proletariat, to use their power for the cause of the proletarian revolution in our country, and to increase the power of our present work among the workers. We must fulfil this task with distinction.

III. Characteristics and organisational problems of the groups in the movement

Because of the lack of working-class activity and vanguard-style leadership, the current campaign is mainly petty-bourgeois in nature. However, the characteristics and organisation of the different groups in the movement also require attention.

Although the Shaoshan commemorative activities at a certain time and in a certain place concentrated many left-wing and other masses throughout the country, forming a force that could not be ignored in certain parts of the country, anyone who took part in the activities or who did a more detailed investigation and study could find that the whole event was made up of countless small groups and organisations, which each carried out their own commemorative activities relatively independently of the others. Some sang songs, some marched and some chanted slogans, and because of the differences in the organisations or groups they belonged to, they were also manifested in the existence of separate singing, marching and slogan-chanting activities on the square; so we could see that every seven or eight metres on the spot, there would be a different organisation singing a Red Song, a different marching square and chanting a different slogan, and the contents of these activities were different in most cases. In most cases, the content of these activities differed, but sometimes there was no difference in content at all, but they were carried out by two different groups in close proximity to each other. For example, there were at least dozens of groups singing the Internationale at the same time in the Mao Zedong Square area, and these could have been organized as a group.

Then there is the independence of the various groups, such as the development of a certain relative independence between the elderly, the middle-aged and the young, which is also manifested mainly through organisations and organised activities. Each group is always composed mainly of one of these groups, and the vast majority of them are initially composed exclusively of people from one group, and only in the course of the movement do they attract the participation of some of the other groups, or of individual people from other groups who are not organised. In this case, the power of revolutionary activity is relatively dispersed, and this dispersal has led to the fact that the small groups are limited in their activities and are to a greater extent influenced by their own group identity, and therefore this dispersal now hinders the further development of revolutionary organisational activity. If the movement is to become more revolutionary and organised, our vanguard must, first of all, seek to break down the relative isolation of the groups and existing organisations, by fairly and appropriately concentrating the organisational activities of the groups on the basis of their revolutionary character, to form a larger and more disciplined organisational grouping (which will end in the development of the disciplined organisations which will comprise all the participating masses and which will be guided by the revolutionary lines and fronts), and only in this way will the movement be able to develop more and more. Only then will the movement be in a position to go beyond mere commemoration and develop into a higher revolutionary movement.

As far as each group is concerned, the older people's group has a much larger and more disciplined organisation, and all large-scale parades and activities requiring a high degree of technicality and organisation are basically organised by older people, and all organised activities with more than 30 or 40 people are basically initiated by them. For example, the parade of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) anthem was the largest organised event in Shaoshan, with the whole team made up of older people, marching in an army formation, with a variety of instrumentalists playing in formation, and with specialised people holding banners and flags in a more orderly structure. However, the problem with senior citizen teams is that, compared to young and middle-aged groups, the slogans, banners and songs in their activities are relatively conservative and moderate. For example, the senior citizens' party celebrating Chairman Mao's birthday is a seemingly innocuous and neutral party, but for the oppressed in our country, the Shaoshan commemoration and our revolutionary movement

can never be satisfied with innocuous and purely commemorative content in honour of Comrade Mao Zedong, and it would be detrimental if such content constituted the mainstay of the activities in Shaoshan (but at present they do account for a considerable portion of influence), because it precisely represents the mainstay of the Shaoshan activities, and it is the most important element of the Shaoshan activities. If such activities have any progressive element in the movement as a whole, it is purely organisational, but this progress is of a secondary nature, and even the most organised and large-scale pure commemorative activities do not contribute in any way to the qualitative development of the revolutionary movement.

Thus, the general characteristics of most of the activities of the old people's groups in the Shaoshan commemorative movement lie in their sheer size, the discipline of their organisation and the loss of their revolutionary soul. This loss represents precisely the interests of the bourgeoisie of our country to harmlessly vulgarise the social movement and the revolutionary doctrine represented by comrade Mao Zedong. That is why, although they were an important part of the whole movement in Shaoshan (the other part being the young people) and the most organised and disciplined part, they were on the contrary the least cared for by the police. Therefore, as far as the issue of the older people's organisations is concerned, we need to revolutionise their activities.

The middle-aged groups were the least independently organised of the three groups in the campaign, and it was often difficult to find them leading the organisational activities, and their situation was relatively the most complex. If those who took part in the Shaoshan event made some deliberate observations, it would not be difficult to find that the groups of the 70s, 80s and early 90s were also the smallest part of the event, and that the older groups of the 60s and above and the younger groups of the late 90s and after were the two largest, so if we were to depict the general age composition of the Shaoshan movement, a gourd shape would be the most appropriate.

The middle-aged group lacks organisational activities, and most of them participate in this organisational activity as extremely dispersed individuals or small families, relatives and friends. Therefore, this group often joins the activities organised by the older people as later participants of a certain size, or sporadically participate in the activities organised by the younger people in small groups. Therefore, some of them were able to follow the parade of the older people's organisations, and some of them were able to sing red songs together with other organisations, and some of them were able to join the young people in shouting the most radical slogans, waving the young people's radical flags, taking photos, and so on. Because this group lacks a more general organisational activity, we cannot judge its nature by its general independent organisational activity. The problem of this group is reflected in the exchanges between some middle-aged people of the 1980s, who are surprised by the large number of young people participating, but at the same time feel insufficiently satisfied with the scarcity of leftists of their generation, which is often attributed to the poisonous nature of education in the years of special characteristics¹ and the prevalence of capitalist ideology in their generation. Of course, the problem is not that simple, but we don't have the need or the materials to go into it right now. So, in the Shaoshan movement as a whole, the middle-aged groups are now characterised by their small numbers, their lack of independent organisation, their dispersed activities, and their dependence on other groups' organisations for their activities. But because of these characteristics they are also easy to win over and bring in, and in our organisational activities our vanguard should pay attention to winning over and organising these dispersed middle-aged groups into our orbit.

¹ This refers to the revisionist line promoting socialism with Chinese characteristics – trans.

The young people were one of the most numerous groups in the movement, and their organisational activities reflected precisely the opposite characteristics to those of the older people. Most of the organisational groups in the whole movement are made up of this group, but basically all the small groups in the whole movement are also made up of them. Compared with the older people's organisations, the young people's organisations are obviously less organised and less disciplined, and are not able to carry out organisational activities of a high level of difficulty and demand; but they are often also the most active group, and the most revolutionary slogans are basically chanted by this group, such as: "Continue the revolution", "Rebellion is justified, revolution is not sinful", "Destroy capitalism", "Down with the capitalists"; the most revolutionary banners were also carried by young people; when the large party of elderly people marched with banners such as "Happy Birthday to Chairman Mao" and "Happy Birthday Comrade Mao Zedong", young people in the neighbourhood carried banners such as "Continue the Revolution" and "Proletarianism", and "The Proletariat" and "The Revolution". "Long live the proletariat", "Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought" and the banners of the Comintern, the International Column and the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. While older people sing songs such as "Without the Communist Party, there would be no new China", "The Army Song of the Chinese People's Liberation Army", "Singing of the Motherland" and "On the Golden Hills of Beijing", younger people tend to favour songs with a more obviously revolutionary nature such as "The Internationale", "Sailing seas depends upon the helmsman", and other songs that are also of a revolutionary nature, but relatively less popular, such as "Singing of the Socialist Motherland". Therefore, the more revolutionary nature is the most distinctive characteristic of this group.

These groups of young people were also taken more seriously by the police, and after some of the most radical slogans and banners were produced, the police, who are weak and powerless, did not dare to take any radical action due to the collective strength of the mass movement. They tried to mingle with these crowds and secretly filmed the most active among them, naturally in order to make it easier for them to settle scores with later on, and this can be effectively avoided if the person concerned is protected by wearing a mask or a hat. If you wear a mask or a hat to carry out your activities, and then let the rest of the group protect and cover you, then you can effectively avoid being recorded, and of course, other behaviours can be prevented as well. Therefore, we can see that when the power of the masses is gathered, the power of the police is extremely weak, and even if they chant the most dangerous slogans, they will not be dealt with in any forceful manner, and the dictatorship of the exploiting class will be ineffective in the face of the power of the masses.

In contrast to older people's groups, which are often organised by dozens of people in advance, young people's organisations are often realised in this way: one person holds a banner, three or five friends help out, and sing or shout slogans together, which immediately gathers more young people and some middle-aged people (with the least participation of older people), who are then led by such a small number of people who sing and shout slogans together. Some of the young people's organisations also did some artistic activities, but the most technical young people's organisation in this event consisted of one person holding a banner, another young person playing a musical instrument and leading the singing, while the others surrounded him and sang and shouted slogans together at the end. So the young people's organisation was more of an improvisation.

The organisational activities of young people are also a more striking reflection of the rudimentary nature of the revolutionary movement in our country. It is a fledgling movement with a more distinctive revolutionary character, with a handful of leaders and a scattering of organisations that come together sporadically. The organisational activities of the young people thus represent the revolutionary aspect of the current political nature of the movement as a whole, the most active soul

of the movement, but at the same time they represent the disorganisation and fragmentation of the Shaoshan commemorative movement. But this revolutionary soul has not yet reached the height of the revolutionary proletariat, and they are only a little more progressive than the other two groups. But our vanguard should focus on winning over this group so that they can reach the revolutionary heights under the leadership of the revolutionary proletarian line and organisation. Moreover, the young people are the ones who are in a better position to take part in the revolutionary proletarian cause of our country in large numbers, and they are the only ones who are in the best position to take part in the cause of going to the workers. Therefore, we must not only improve their revolutionary and organisational qualities, but also educate them to participate in the cause of the workers of our country.

Therefore, for campaigns like the Shaoshan commemoration, we in the vanguard should organise our activities in such a way as to address the characteristics of the organisational activities of the various groups:

1. First of all, it is necessary to increase the activities of the working class and to realise vanguard-style leadership. This involves breaking down the segregation between groups and existing organisations and addressing their ideological and operational deficiencies, seeking to bring all the masses together to form larger and more disciplined organisational groups, and developing a revolutionary movement that goes beyond the existing content of activities.
2. For the young people, who are the most revolutionary part of the population at present, we want to make them the backbone of the movement we lead, and to raise them rapidly to the level of revolutionary proletarian lines of activity.
3. For the middle-aged, who are the most complex but the easiest to win over, we have to include them and transform them.
4. For the elderly, who are at present relatively conservative but the most powerful and organised group, we have to be more careful in our relations with them, and seek to unite, lead and transform them gradually.

IV. The rudimentary nature of the movement

From the point of view of the "lack of working class activity and vanguard leadership", a result proved by Marxist theory and the history of socialist revolution, the Shaoshan commemorative programme as a whole must still be the most immature kind of revolutionary activity, the kind of activity that is necessarily the result of a period in which the proletariat's revolutionary movement was still very much underdeveloped, a period in which the proletariat had not yet integrated Marxism, i.e. an extremely elementary revolutionary activity. This kind of activity is necessarily the most immature kind of revolutionary activity. At best, it can only provide a subjectively felt revolutionary element for the various class groups in society.

However, from the point of view of the historical process of the spontaneous development of revolutionary activity, the working class's leadership of the movement and the realisation of a high degree of self-consciousness, to the realisation of the revolution, the Shaoshan commemorative activities still reflect many problems, and in addition to the isolated nature of the organisational activities, there are also various shortcomings, and the common denominator of all of these problems lies in the rudimentary nature of the revolutionary activity.

The Shaoshan commemoration was a movement full of contradictions, with many organisations arising spontaneously from various groups across the country to carry out commemorative activities,

with varying degrees of political awareness among the participants (some of whom had a revolutionary consciousness), but all the activities of the participating masses basically remained at the level of a spontaneous movement. Whether they are purely commemorative activities or commemorations with the most radical revolutionary slogans, they are only commemorative activities, which are still spontaneous compared to the mass consciousness of the revolutionary period (of course, they are more revolutionary than in the past), but the difference lies in the fact that the latter is more capable of inspiring other people's revolutionary sentiments and consciousness. The movement still only provides a revolutionising effect in thought, but in action it remains largely the same as in the past, and we can see the advanced development of this past form (organised, large-scale commemorations) in the organisation of the elderly. Thus, just as the revolutionary activity in our country was on the verge of becoming independent from this particular mass movement, but could not do so for the time being because of the lack of conditions for its existence, the revolutionary nature of the Shaoshan commemorative activities seems to be on the verge of becoming independent from the general spontaneity of the masses, but it is being hampered by negative factors (spontaneity of the movement, segregation of the organisations of the various groups, etc.), by the archaic forms of activity, and by the fact that the revolutionary self-consciousness has developed further in the past. The further development of revolutionary self-consciousness here is already in fundamental contradiction with all the old factors and forms of activity of the past. If revolutionary theory does not resolve the contradiction between revolutionary factors and these old negative factors and old forms of activity, the qualitative change will never succeed, then the Shaoshan commemoration will always remain a spontaneous commemoration, and the embryo of the revolutionary movement will never be able to get out of its mother's womb, for which the vanguard of the working class is the midwife.

Thus, the primordial nature of the revolutionary movement is also reflected in the fact that the revolutionary nature that has developed in its current activities has always been limited by the old negative factors and old forms of organisation and activity.

The rudimentary nature of the revolutionary movement is also reflected in the lack of independence of its revolutionary activities. The highly organised groups of older people are mostly lacking in revolutionary character, while the more revolutionary organisations of young people are often recent or ad hoc, and most of them do not carry out any other revolutionary movement or mass movement of struggle. Thus, we can see that the activities of groups that want to be revolutionary are organised only to carry out a single, but very limited, political activity, and not as part of their daily struggle and revolutionary activities, which shows that their will and action towards the revolution is not complete, independent or, in practice, ad hoc. They only dare to carry out activities of a revolutionary nature, that is to say, activities that are not independent, under such special conditions. Thus, the force that is going to the new society is still tentative, fearful or reluctant to leave the womb of the mother of the old society, and dares to move only as far as the curved umbilical cord will allow it to do so.

Secondly, the primitiveness of the revolutionary movement is also reflected in the follow-up to the event. When the Shaoshan commemorative activities were over, the movement of these groups and organisations basically came to an end, as if these groups and organisations had been created and existed only for the sake of commemoration. The spontaneity, dispersed nature and lack of organisation of the movement were also evident in the end of the campaign. If one looks at some of the organisations involved in this campaign, it is easy to see that many of them had no intention of organising revolutionary activities or other struggles other than commemorative activities, and most of them disbanded as if they were just releasing their emotions for a few days, and many of them

were only used to carry out activities of a related nature when they had nothing else important to do. As a result, it is difficult for the next movement to build on the existing foundations to reach a higher stage, and the revolutionary nature of the groups participating in the movement has not been qualitatively developed, resulting in the revolutionary movement remaining at this stage. There are, of course, a few good examples, such as the young people who, on the basis of their activities, have set up organisations within the walls², who have spontaneously attempted to conduct theoretical exchanges and to organise theoretical studies, and the progressive students who have attempted to link up with other comrades whom they have met in the movement and have tried to form an organisation. These individual actions represent a positive factor in the development of the movement, and to varying degrees these comrades have contributed to a more sustained development of the movement, to the development of organisations of a revolutionary nature, and to the utilisation and development of the potential of the movement. Of course, many of their actions were not thorough enough, and they did not take into account enough aspects, such as the fact that the comrades who organised the creation of organisations within the walls and the liaisons did not have a clear idea of the long-term purpose and significance of the formation of these organisations, were not active enough in doing so (to a large extent, they just felt that it was necessary to do so), and did not attach enough importance to security (they did not value the use of cumbersome, but safe, means of organising outside the walls and in secrecy), and did not attach enough importance to achieving various aspects of revolutionary activity), and a rudimentary understanding of the need to realise all aspects of revolutionary activity.

So the Shaoshan commemoration is now basically a bottle of revolutionary and spontaneous liquid filled with the old form of mass movement. All the forms of spontaneous activity, all the characteristics of spontaneous activity of the mass movement are also present here, and they are increasingly in contradiction with the revolutionary nature of the movement. The Shaoshan commemoration was therefore a special movement, on the one hand a primary revolutionary activity, with the characteristics of a primary revolutionary movement, and on the other hand a special mass movement, which also contained some of the characteristics of a mass movement.

The rudimentary nature of the revolutionary movement is reflected in these areas:

1. the lack of working-class activity and vanguard leadership
2. the revolutionary nature that has developed in the present activity is still always limited by the old negative factors (isolation, spontaneity) and the old forms of organisation and activity.
3. Then, the rudimentary nature of the revolutionary movement is also reflected in the lack of independence of its revolutionary activity. The masses were organised only for the purpose of carrying out a single special political activity, but not for the purpose of carrying out a single special political activity which was only a part of their organised activity.
4. Secondly, the primordial nature of the revolutionary movement is also reflected in the follow-up of its activities. After all the stages of the movement, the significance of the organisation or organisation of the masses disappears, and so does the revolutionary activity. The revolution cannot build on the foundation of the existing movement, which in turn leads to the fact that the revolution can only build again on the old foundation of the previous one.

That is why our revolutionaries and vanguards need to endeavour to solve these problems in their practical work, to bring more comrades and progressive masses together to solve these problems, and to use all feasible methods to develop the Shaoshan commemoration and all other mass

² Within the walls means within parameters allowed by the legal system.

movements to a higher level and to serve the cause of the proletarian revolution in our country, which is now to serve the workers.

V. Conclusion

The Shaoshan commemoration is a special social movement, which is a valuable historical material of the revolutionary and mass movement, a key material for the science of social movements. It is a rich reflection of the characteristics of the primary form of the revolutionary movement, which enables us to discover its characteristics and to change them using Marxist-Leninist-Maoist methods, and which tells us about the shortcomings of practice and the points of improvement; of course, there are still more questions worth studying (for example, the relationship with the struggle of the masses, and the aspects of the mass movement reflected in the particularity of the mass movement), but those secondary aspects are not what we want to pay attention to at present; they will be the concern of future historians of the revolution.

Since the Shaoshan commemoration is currently the most revolutionary movement in our country, its resolution will also help to guide us in the conduct and development of other revolutionary movements in the future.

In view of our historical conditions and the needs of actual revolutionary work today, revolutionaries in our country must endeavour to solve the problems mentioned above in their practical work and bring more comrades and progressive masses together to solve these problems. We must not be satisfied with the status quo. If we want to promote and realise the revolution in our country, we must use all feasible means to take the Shaoshan commemoration and all other mass movements to the level of a revolutionary movement. Specifically, we must organise a vanguard of activists to work on a revolutionary line, to increase the activity of the working class and achieve vanguard leadership, to raise the revolutionary nature of other social groups and develop their revolutionary movements, to bring them into the orbit of the proletarian revolution, to utilise their strengths to serve the cause of the proletarian revolution in our country, and to increase the strength of our work amongst the workers.