

Raise High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought and Carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Through to the End

— Essential Points for Propaganda and Education in Connection With the Great Cultural Revolution

"Jiefangjun Bao" (Liberation Army Daily) published on June 6 the essential points for propaganda and education in connection with the great cultural revolution. These points were reprinted in "Renmin Ribao" and other Peking papers, and the editor's note in "Renmin Ribao" pointed out: "These essential points recount in popular form the historical situation of the struggles that have been waged on the ideological and cultural fronts in China since liberation, between the two classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the two roads—the road of socialism and the road of capitalism. They expound Chairman Mao's important instructions on the line of the proletarian cultural revolution; they analyse the excellent situation existing in the great proletarian cultural revolution at the present time, and point out the nature and significance, and the profound and far-reaching influence of this great revolution. They bring to the commanders and fighters of the Liberation Army the militant call to be thoroughgoing proletarian revolutionaries and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. These essential points are also suited to the broad masses of workers and peasants and to the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals. It is hoped that all people will organize the study and discussion of them and thus push the current, vigorously unfolding great cultural revolution a further step forward." The full text of these essential points follows. — P.R. Ed.

IN response to the militant call of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the high tide of the great proletarian cultural revolution has been sweeping through the whole of China in the last few months with tempestuous force. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the several hundred million workers, peasants and soldiers and the masses of revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals are clearing out the many monsters entrenched in the ideological and cultural positions. The so-called "Three-Family Villages" or "Four-Family Inns," the bourgeois "experts," "scholars," "authorities"

and "respected masters" and their like have been routed and their whole arrogance has been scattered to the winds. This great cultural revolution has no parallel in scale, in sweep, in strength or in momentum. It is already spurring the socialist cause in China forward with great vigour and undoubtedly is having and will continue to have an immeasurably profound and far-reaching impact on the world revolution. All commanders and fighters in our army should actively plunge right into this great revolution, open fire at the black anti-Party and anti-socialist line and temper themselves and raise their level in the revolution.

One. There Has Been a Sharp Class Struggle on the Ideological and Cultural Fronts of Our Country Ever Since the Founding of New China

(1) A Handful of Representatives of the Bourgeoisie Within the Party and Outside It Have Countered Chairman Mao's Line on the Proletarian Cultural Revolution With Their Own Black Anti-Party and Anti-Socialist Line.

Chairman Mao has always put great emphasis on the class struggle on the ideological and cultural fronts.

During China's new-democratic period, Chairman Mao gave a thorough theoretical refutation of the bourgeois cultural line. Chairman Mao's *On New Democracy* and *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* are the most complete, the most comprehensive and the most systematic historical summing-up of this struggle between the two lines on the cultural front. They have

carried on and developed the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art.

After China entered the stage of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the two works of Chairman Mao. *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, were published. They are the most recent summing-up of the historical experience of the movements for the revolutionary ideology and literature and art in China and other countries. They represent a new development of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art.

These works of Chairman Mao's have given a systematic exposition of the revolutionary new culture of the proletariat, formulated the line and the concrete principles and policies of the proletarian cultural revolution, and affirmed that literature and art should serve proletarian politics, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, serve the consolidation and development of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system. Chairman Mao's great thinking on the new culture of the proletariat is our powerful weapon in waging the cultural revolution and the sole criterion for distinguishing fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds and revolution from counter-revolution; it is our Party's supreme guide in leading the cultural revolution.

Over a long period, however, a handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie within and outside the Party countered Chairman Mao's brilliant ideas with a black anti-Party and anti-socialist line of their own. Using all sorts of insidious and devious methods, they have set up a rival stage in the academic, educational, journalistic, literary, artistic, publishing and other cultural spheres in opposition to Chairman Mao's line on the proletarian cultural revolution, and they have fought the proletariat tooth and nail for leadership. In a thousand and one ways they have tried to spread bourgeois and revisionist ideology in such ideological fields as the press, radio broadcasting, periodicals, books and textbooks, lectures, literary and art works, the cinema, the theatre, ballads, the fine arts, music and dancing, making frenzied attacks on our socialist system, the dictatorship of the proletariat, our great Party, our great leader Chairman Mao and the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

They usurped the leadership in some departments, newspapers, and periodicals, turned monsters of all kinds loose and refused to carry out Party policy. The reality in these departments was that the bourgeoisie was exercising dictatorship over the proletariat and not the proletariat exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. Bourgeois representatives of this sort include Yang Hsien chen, the former President of the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Hsia Yen, the former Vice-Minister of Culture, Tien Han, the former Chairman of the Union of Chinese Stage Artists, Yang Han-sheng, the former Secretary-General of the All-China Federation of Liter-

ary and Art Circles, and Chien Po-tsan, Vice-President of Peking University, who had been exposed earlier; and Teng To, former member of the Secretariat of the Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Wu Han, Vice-Mayor of Peking, Liao Mo-sha, the former Director of the Department of United Front Work of the Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Lu Ping, the former President of Peking University, who have now been exposed, and those who backed and shielded them.

Over a long period they made use of their positions and power to spread their poison and level wild attacks on our Party, thus stirring up a bourgeois and revisionist adverse current. Among the big anti-Party and anti-socialist poisonous weeds that emerged under the domination and influence of this adverse current were *Evening Chats at Yenshan*, *Notes From Three-Family Village*, "Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor," *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, *Hsieh Yao-huan*, *Li Hui-niang*, *The Pressgang*, *Laying Siege to the City*, *Red Sun*, *Threshold of Spring*, *Sisters of the Stage*, and *The Lin Family Shop*.

(2) Under the Direct Leadership of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, We Have Conducted a Series of Major Struggles Against This Black Anti-Party and Anti-Socialist Line During the Past 16 Years.

Soon after China's liberation, the film world produced that big poisonous weed, *The Life of Wu Hsun*. Wu Hsun was a lackey of the feudal forces. When the Chinese people were struggling against imperialism and the feudal rulers in the latter years of the Ching Dynasty, he never lifted a finger against the reactionary ruling class; on the contrary, he carried on frantic propaganda for feudal culture and abjectly did everything possible to curry favour with the feudal ruling class. Yet the film *The Life of Wu Hsun* portrayed him as a "great personality" who made self-sacrifice to provide opportunities for the children of poor peasants to get an education. The film smeared the revolutionary tradition of the Chinese people and spread bourgeois reformism and capitulationism. Acting on the instructions of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, *Renmin Ribao* on May 20, 1951, published an editorial solemnly pointing out the reactionary nature of *The Life of Wu Hsun* and calling for a nationwide criticism of the film. This was the first large-scale criticism of reactionary bourgeois ideas after the founding of New China.

From September 1954 onward, the criticism of the book *Studies in the "Dream of the Red Chamber"* and of the reactionary ideas of Hu Shih was conducted. To distort and erase the positive, anti-feudal significance of the *Dream of the Red Chamber*, the author of the book, Yu Ping-po (a professor at Peking University), using the approach of bourgeois idealism, formalism and scholastic textual research, declared that it was the autobiography of Tsao Hsueh-chin. Yu Ping-po's methods were a complete carry-over of the line of the reactionary comprador-bourgeois scholar Hu Shih. An inveterate

enemy of communism and the people, Hu Shih had twice been Kuomintang ambassador to the United States; in 1919, he published the reactionary article, "Study Problems More and Talk Less About 'isms,'" opposing Marxism-Leninism as the guide for the Chinese revolution in the hope of luring the Chinese youth away from reality and leading them down the devious road of evading class struggle. A serious nationwide criticism of these bourgeois idealist ideas was undertaken, thoroughly repudiating and discrediting the various kinds of disciples of Hu Shih.

In May 1955, the whole nation hit back effectively at the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique. Hu Feng was a renegade who had wormed his way back into the ranks of the revolution. After liberation, he organized a sinister gang in the field of literature and art to carry out counter-revolutionary activities. In a 300,000-character "suggestion" which he presented to the Central Committee of the Party in 1954, he venomously attacked the Party's literary and art policy and Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art. During May and June of 1955, *Renmin Ribao* published three collections of material on Hu Feng's counter-revolutionary clique, thoroughly smashing its counter-revolutionary plot and exposing a number of major and minor Hu Feng elements.

In 1957, taking advantage of the rectification movement launched by our Party, the bourgeois Rightists launched a wild onslaught on the Party. Their dream was to create a Hungarian incident in China and stir up chaos, so that they could come forward "to clear up the mess," replace the Party and bring about a capitalist come-back in China. The Party and Chairman Mao led the whole people in waging a vigorous struggle against the Rightists and thus repulsed this frenzied attack by the bourgeoisie.

In 1959, the Right opportunists in the Party attacked the Party's Central Committee at the Lushan meeting. Co-ordinating with them both before and after this event, the "Three-Family Village" sinister gang attacked the Party without let-up for several years, bringing out "Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor" and *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* and then publishing their *Evening Chats at Yenshan* and *Notes From Three-Family Village* in the fortnightly *Qianxian* (Frontline), *Beijing Ribao* (the Peking Daily) and *Beijing Wanbao* (the Peking Evening News).

Monsters and demons came out of their lairs in other cultural fields, too, and we waged tit-for-tat struggles against them. The current great cultural revolution represents the continuation and deepening of these struggles.

This series of struggles has been carried out under the direct leadership of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao. In September 1962, at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao issued his great call: "Never Forget the Class Struggle." Then on a number of occasions in 1963, 1964 and 1965 he gave extremely impor-

tant instructions on the question of the cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao pointed out in December 1963 that in all forms of art — drama, ballads, music, the fine arts, the dance, the cinema, poetry and literature, etc., — problems abounded; the people engaged in them were numerous; and in many departments very little had been achieved so far in socialist transformation. The "dead" still dominated in many departments. Wasn't it absurd that many Communists showed enthusiasm in advancing feudal and capitalist art, but no zeal in promoting socialist art, Chairman Mao added.

In June 1964, during the rectification movement within the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and its affiliated associations, Chairman Mao pointed out: In the past 15 years these associations and most of their publications (a few said to be good) for the most part (this did not apply to every individual) had not carried out the policies of the Party and had acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, had not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and had not reflected the socialist revolution and construction. In recent years, they had even slid to the verge of revisionism. If serious steps were not taken to remould them, they were bound at some future date to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club.

On many other occasions, too, Chairman Mao has given important verbal instructions on the question of the cultural revolution.

These instructions of Chairman Mao's have given a great impetus to the struggle to foster what is proletarian and eradicate what is bourgeois in the cultural fields. A new situation has emerged in China's cultural revolution in the last three years, under the personal care of Chairman Mao, and guided by his line on the proletarian cultural revolution. The most outstanding examples of revolutionary art have been the Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes such as *Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang*, *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*, the ballets *Red Detachment of Women* and *The White-Haired Girl*, the symphonic music *Shachiapang*, the sculptures *Rent Collection Courtyard* and the recent revolutionary music festival "Shanghai Spring."

Another example of this revolutionary situation is the extensive, mass activity of the workers, peasants and soldiers on the ideological, literary and art fronts. They have done many fine essays in philosophy, showing skill in expressing Mao Tse-tung's thought in a practical way and created many outstanding works of literature and art in praise of China's socialist revolution and construction, of the new heroes of our era and our great Party and great leader.

In the last few years, too, many literary and art workers in the army have given prominence to politics, creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's works, gone to the basic units and integrated themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. The result has

been the creation of such fine works as *On Guard Beneath the Neon Lights*, *A Great Wall Along the South Coast* and *Song of Ouyang Hai*, and the emergence of such fine units as the seaborne cultural team of the Canton army units and the Haifang cultural troupe of the Nanking army units. At the same time, countless small but effective amateur teams of performers and groups of singers that give prominence to politics have emerged in the army units.

(3) The Great Cultural Revolution Has Now Attained a High Tide of Unprecedented Magnitude.

At a Central Committee meeting of the Chinese Communist Party in September 1965, Chairman Mao pointed to the need to subject reactionary bourgeois ideology to criticism. In November *Wenhui Bao*, under the leadership of the Communist Party organization in Shanghai, took the lead in publishing Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's article "On the New Historical Drama *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*"; it was the opening shot in the criticism of Wu Han and his ilk. Then *Jiefangjun Bao* reprinted the article and pointed out that *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* was a big poisonous weed.

Since the end of February 1966 *Hongqi* (Red Flag) has carried articles by Yin Ta, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu and other comrades. *Jiefangjun Bao* published two editorials, entitled "Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought and Actively Participate in the Great Socialist Cultural Revolution" and "Never Forget the Class Struggle," on April 18 and May 4 respectively. Since May 8 *Hongqi*, *Jiefangjun Bao*, *Guangming Ribao* and Shanghai's *Jiefang Ribao* and *Wenhui Bao* have carried a series of articles which exposed the bourgeois, anti-Party stand of *Qianxian* journal, *Beijing Ribao* and *Beijing Wanbao* and launched a counter-attack against Teng To and a handful of other anti-Party elements and their supporters. Immediately, masses of workers, peasants and soldiers throughout the country plunged into the struggle to smash the "Three-Family Village." Rapidly, and with irresistible power, the great cultural revolution swept forward and attained a high tide of unprecedented magnitude. In recent years, besides, the revolutionary masses have exposed and criticized a number of reac-

tionary views on philosophy and history and a number of bad plays and films.

Beginning June 1 this year, *Renmin Ribao* has published a series of important editorials, including "Sweep Away All Monsters," "A Great Revolution That Touches the People to Their Very Souls," "Capture the Positions in the Field of Historical Studies Seized by the Bourgeoisie," "New Victory for Mao Tse-tung's Thought," "Tear Aside the Bourgeois Mask of 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity'," and "To Be Proletarian Revolutionaries or Bourgeois Royalists?" which give a profound explanation of the tremendous significance of the great cultural revolution and provide powerful guidance for the present struggle. On June 2, the press published the big-character poster put up by Nieh Yuan-tzu and six other comrades of Peking University which exposed the criminal anti-Party, anti-socialist acts committed by Lu Ping and company. On the afternoon of June 3 the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party announced the decision to reorganize the Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and, at the same time, declared that Comrade Li Hsueh-feng, First Secretary of the North China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, had been appointed concurrent First Secretary of the Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Comrade Wu Teh its Second Secretary. The new, reorganized Peking Municipal Committee made the decision to relieve Lu Ping, President of Peking University and concurrent Secretary of the University Party Committee, and Peng Pei-yun, Deputy Secretary, of all their posts. The work team sent by the new Municipal Committee is providing leadership for the great socialist cultural revolution at Peking University and it is exercising the functions of the University Party Committee. The decisions of the Central Committee and the new Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party won immediate, enthusiastic support of the people in the capital and throughout the country and carried the tide of the nationwide great cultural revolution to a new high. Now with its great momentum the high tide of the great cultural revolution is pounding away at all the corrupt ideological and cultural positions still held by the bourgeoisie and the survivals of feudalism.

Two. The Great Cultural Revolution Is an Issue of Prime Importance for the Destiny, Prospect and Outlook of Our Party and Country and Also an Issue of Prime Importance for the World Revolution

(1) It Is a Life-and-Death Struggle Between The Bourgeoisie in Its Scheming for a Come-Back And the Proletariat in Its Efforts to Prevent This.

Over the past 16 years, there has been one struggle after another on the ideological and cultural fronts, each more profound than the one before. Far from

being isolated and accidental phenomena, these struggles are manifestations of the deepening class struggle in China and abroad. A handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie, constantly and stubbornly trying to assert themselves, have been desperately holding on to their stronghold in bourgeois ideology and engaging

in frantic anti-Party and anti-socialist activities. Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again, till their doom—that is the logic of all reactionaries. This handful of bourgeois representatives is certainly no exception to the rule.

We know from the historical experience of the proletarian revolution that the basic question in every revolution is that of state power. We conquered the enemy in the country and seized state power by the gun. They can all be overthrown, be it imperialism, feudalism or the bureaucrat capitalist class; millionaires, billionaires and trillionaires can be toppled, whoever they may be. And their property can be confiscated. However, confiscation of their property does not amount to confiscation of the reactionary ideas in their minds. Daily and hourly they are always dreaming of a come-back, dreaming of restoring their lost “paradise.” Although they are only a tiny percentage of the population, their political potential is quite considerable and their power of resistance is out of all proportion to their numbers.

Socialist society emerges out of the womb of the old society. It is not at all easy to eradicate the idea of private ownership formed in thousands of years of class society and the forces of habit and the ideological and cultural influence of the exploiting classes associated with private ownership. The spontaneous forces of the petty bourgeoisie in town and country constantly give rise to new bourgeois elements. As the ranks of the workers grow in number and extent, they take in some elements of complex background. Then, too, a number of people in the ranks of the Party and state organizations degenerate following the conquest of state power and living in peaceful surroundings. At the same time, on the international plane the imperialists headed by the U.S. and the reactionaries of various countries are trying hard to eliminate us by using the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of threats of war and “peaceful evolution.” And the modern revisionist group with the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party as the centre is also trying by hook or by crook to topple us. If we were to forget about class struggle and drop our guard in these circumstances, we would be in danger of losing state power and allowing capitalism to make a come-back.

Our struggle against the bourgeoisie is a protracted one. As Chairman Mao teaches us: “It is true that in China, socialist transformation, in so far as a change in the system of ownership is concerned, has in the main been completed, and the turbulent, large-scale, mass class struggles characteristic of the revolutionary periods have in the main been concluded. But the remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes still exist, the bourgeoisie still exists, and the petty bourgeoisie has only just begun to remould itself. Class struggle is not yet over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the various political forces, and the

class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will still be long and devious and at times may even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question whether socialism or capitalism will win is still not really settled.”

Our struggle against the representatives of the bourgeoisie on the ideological and cultural fronts is not just “polemics on paper” that are of no great consequence, but a class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between the road of capitalism and the road of socialism. It is a struggle to determine whether capitalism or socialism will win out, a struggle between Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung’s thought on the one hand and capitalist and revisionist ideology on the other, a struggle between the bourgeoisie scheming to restore capitalism and the proletariat determined to prevent it. There must be no minimizing of this point, nor the slightest lack of vigilance in this regard.

(2) It Is a Struggle That Is Both Extremely Complex and of Tremendous Significance.

The anti-Party and anti-socialist activities of the bourgeoisie’s representatives on the ideological and cultural fronts are intended to open up a road to the restoration of capitalism.

We know from the historical experience of the proletariat that the bourgeoisie invariably uses two tactics in working for a counter-revolutionary come-back. One is armed suppression of the proletarian revolution. The world’s first dictatorship of the proletariat, established in 1871 by the French proletariat in Paris, eventually failed as a result of counter-revolutionary armed suppression. After the victory of the October Revolution, Russia was subjected to the combined attack of 14 capitalist-imperialist countries and counter-offensives by the landlord and capitalist White Guards attempting a come-back, and it was only after three full years of war that the new-born revolutionary regime was made secure. The armed counter-attacks of the bourgeoisie, whether alone or in collusion with the forces of international reaction, are an obvious, military form of staging a come-back. It is easier to see and to notice, and people are more alert to it. The other form of staging a come-back is “peaceful evolution.” It starts operating in the sphere of ideology in order to prepare public opinion for a come-back, for subversion and a counter-revolutionary coup d’etat. Once the conditions are ripe, they will seize state power and restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. People often fail to see this, fail to take note of this and are not vigilant against this.

The role of advance guard in the 1956 counter-revolutionary riots in Hungary was played precisely by a group of revisionist men of letters of the Petofi Club. The Tito clique of Yugoslavia had long before

defected through "peaceful evolution." The Khrushchov revisionist group used the same method to bring about a capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union. We must never, never forget these historical lessons paid for in blood.

Such were the methods adopted by the handful of representatives of the overthrown bourgeoisie in China who have now been brought to light. They tightened their grip on ideology and the superstructure, theoretical and academic work, literature and art, etc. On the cultural front they made efforts to see that emperors and kings, generals and prime ministers, scholars and beauties, foreign idols and dead men dominate the stage and conducted anti-Party and anti-socialist propaganda. Using the tactics of nibbling away, they tried to devour our positions in ideology mouthful by mouthful. By their infiltration tactics, they wanted to infect our minds with bourgeois ideas, bit by bit. They used extremely underhand and cunning tricks. For a long time they controlled a number of Party propaganda media and waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag. They launched wanton attacks on the Party under the guise of telling stories, imparting knowledge and carrying out academic research. They corrupted young people with the bourgeois idea of "making one's own way" and of achieving personal fame and career, in order to win the masses and the younger generation away from our Party. Usurping the name of the Party, they drew all the monsters and demons of society into their gangsters' inns and staged frantic counter-revolutionary activities.

What they were doing was to prepare the political, ideological and organizational ground for the restoration of capitalism. The means they used, while differing in minor points, were the same in essentials as those of the Petofi Club in Hungary and those used by Khrushchov. It would be very dangerous if we failed to see this point!

Therefore, with regard to the anti-Party and anti-socialist articles and booklets and the poisonous anti-Party and anti-socialist operas, plays and films written by the bourgeois "scholars," "specialists" and "writers," who were supported and shielded by back-stage manipulators, we must not adopt such an attitude as: "when scholars staged a rebellion, they could not succeed if they tried for three years," or "a few carp cannot stir up big waves and overturn boats." Nor can we take the view that after having seized state power all is well and propitious and we can sleep soundly. If we pay attention only to construction, to production and to culture and education, if we think only of dealing with the Chiang Kai-shek gang and U.S. imperialism but neglect the possibility that the bourgeoisie can still work for a come-back and subvert us from within, and if we are not clear-headed and allow the bourgeois careerists to carry out their plots, then history will judge us as criminals.

Precisely for this reason, the present struggle has great and far-reaching significance:

First, we are conducting the great proletarian cultural revolution to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat.

If we do not carry out this revolution but allow the representatives of the bourgeoisie to carry out their schemes of restoring capitalism, some incident of the Hungarian type or some counter-revolutionary coup d'etat of the Khrushchov type is bound to occur. At such a moment, the possibility would arise that the Chiang Kai-shek gang would return to the mainland and that great numbers of landlords and despots and their armed bands would hit back and take retaliation, our Party and our country would fall into rack and ruin, we ourselves would be killed and history be drastically pushed back. Gone would be the fruits of the revolutionary struggles waged by the Chinese people during the past hundred years and more, years in which fresh forces continually came forward to take the place of those who fell shedding their blood and sacrificing their lives. The Chinese people would once more become the beasts of burden of imperialism, the bourgeoisie and the feudal class.

As Chairman Mao has pointed out: "If the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and ogres and demons were allowed to crawl out, while our cadres shut their eyes to all this and in many cases failed even to differentiate between the enemy and ourselves but collaborated with the enemy and became corrupted and demoralized, if our cadres were thus dragged into the enemy camp or the enemy were able to sneak into our ranks, and if many of our workers, peasants, and intellectuals were left defenceless against both the soft and the hard tactics of the enemy, then it would not be long, perhaps only a few years or a decade, or a few decades at most, before there inevitably occurred counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale. The Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change colour."

Second, the great proletarian cultural revolution is having and will have an incalculably profound and far-reaching effect on the world of our time and of the future.

The first socialist country, the Soviet Union, was dragged by Khrushchov revisionism on to the road of capitalist restoration. Now all the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the whole world place their hopes on the revolutionary New China. Under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee, holding high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, persisting in their firm stand against imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries of various countries, and greatly deflating the enemy's arrogance and boosting the morale of the people, the Chinese people have set a brilliant example for the people of the whole world. Our country has become the base of the world revolution. Our Party has become the standard bearer of the world revolution. Mao Tse-

tung's thought is the beacon of the world revolution. If these anti-Party and anti-socialist elements made China change its colour, who can say how many more of the oppressed people in all countries would die, how much more suffering they would have to endure and by how many years the victory of the world revolution would be delayed.

By their anti-Party and anti-socialist activities, the handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie interacted internationally with imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries. And their exposure is a serious blow to the class enemy abroad; it removed a hidden time-bomb inside our Party. With the deepening of China's great cultural revolution, the propaganda machinery of the imperialists, modern revisionists and all reactionaries has gone into top gear and they are bombarding us with their anathemas. By negative example, this proves the great significance of this struggle of ours.

Third, the great proletarian cultural revolution is a training in actual class struggle for every one of our comrades.

This struggle makes us clear all the dust from our eyes once more and gives us a deeper insight into the fact that socialist society is a society with classes and class struggle. It is not enough and not secure to have only a socialist revolution on the economic front and socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production; there must also be a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological front. And a long, long time—decades or even centuries—will be required to decide the issue of who will win in the struggle in the political and ideological field between socialism and capitalism. When one black line is eliminated, yet another will appear. Some representatives of the bourgeoisie have been found out, while others who are as yet undiscovered still nestle in our midst. Since the enemy uses the most underhand and cunning means in its efforts to restore capitalism, our exposure of them develops our ability to conduct class struggle and makes us understand its complexity.

(3) The Exposure of the Handful of Anti-Party and Anti-Socialist Representatives of the Bourgeoisie Is Not a Bad Thing But a Good Thing And a Great Victory for Mao Tse-tung's Thought.

Our Party, government, armed forces and workers in all fields of culture do not live in a vacuum. Naturally, the sharp class struggle finds its reflection within them. There is nothing strange in the fact that a handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie wormed their way into our Party, government and armed forces and various fields of culture. It is an inevitable law of the class struggle. Our class enemies know that a citadel is most easily taken if attacked from within. And so, they always use every possible trick to "pull somebody out or put someone in" in order to sneak into our ranks or find their agents within our Party. We cannot prevent this, much as we might wish to do so. As Chairman Mao has pointed out: "There is nothing that does

not contain contradiction; without contradiction nothing would exist," and "opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end."

Our Party and armed forces have developed and grown from strength to strength precisely in the tit-for-tat struggles over the last few decades against the various erroneous lines and against the class enemies of various kinds who wormed their way into the Party and the armed forces.

In the course of our Party's history, didn't we see the divisive criminal activities of renegades such as Chen Tu-hsiu and Chang Kuo-tao? Didn't we see the anti-Party conspiracy of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih since the founding of New China? Didn't we see the attacks on the Party by the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique and the bourgeois Rightists? Were there not also attacks on the Party by Right opportunist elements during the Lushan meeting? Didn't they befoul the atmosphere for a short time? But what was the outcome? One by one they failed ignominiously. They became completely isolated as soon as they were exposed. They were unable to halt or obstruct the development of our revolution and construction. The earth revolved as usual and the wheel of history continued to roll forward. And today, too, although a handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie have concealed themselves very carefully, climbed very high and operated very cunningly, to what avail? One by one they are being exposed and their real character shown up as paper tigers!

All this fully demonstrates the great power of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It shows that our Party is politically, ideologically and organizationally consolidated and united as never before, a Party that has been tested in storm and stress, a Party that is closely linked with the masses, has a wealth of experience of struggle and a fine revolutionary tradition; it is a great, glorious and correct Party. The handful of anti-Party and anti-socialist elements are just so much ugly froth that cannot stand the light of day, a swarm of buzzing blow flies. Our present era is one in which the worker, peasant and soldier masses are grasping hold of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Provided we equip our minds with Mao Tse-tung's thought and wipe the dust from our eyes, these elements will not be able to stand up to a single blow. We need not in the least fear their anti-Party and anti-socialist activities; what we should fear is relaxation of vigilance on our part which would land us in their traps.

Our exposure in this struggle of the group of anti-Party and anti-socialist elements who sneaked into our Party, government and armed forces and all fields of culture, is another important victory for our socialist revolution and a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Three. Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought, Be Thoroughgoing Revolutionaries and Carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Through to the End

(1) We Must Have a Profound Grasp of the Relation Between the Current Great Cultural Revolution and the Intensified Revolutionizing of Our Army, and We Must Take an Active Part in This Struggle.

The historical experience of the proletariat teaches us that it is far more difficult to maintain and consolidate state power than to seize it. A bourgeois revolution is considered complete with the capture of state power. But the purpose of our proletarian revolution is to wipe out all exploiting classes and systems; it is the most thoroughgoing revolution destined step by step to eliminate the gap between the workers and the peasants, between town and countryside and between mental and manual labour. Therefore, the seizure of the state power is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand *li*. The dictatorship of the proletariat is our very life. We must rely on it to smash all the schemes for a come-back by the enemy at home and abroad. As Chairman Mao has pointed out, "like food and clothing, this power is something a victorious people cannot do without even for a moment. It is an excellent thing, a protective talisman, an heirloom, which should under no circumstances be discarded before the thorough and total abolition of imperialism abroad and of classes within the country."

Our army is the mainstay of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All counter-revolutionaries are mortally afraid of our army and hate it with an inveterate hatred. Didn't the bourgeois Rightist "alliance of Chang Pochun and Lo Lung-chi" openly proclaim in 1957 that the Liberation Army was the greatest obstacle to their ascent to power? They invariably try to exert influence of one kind or another on the army and, through the various propaganda media under their control, to spread poison and corrupt our men behind the guns in an attempt to get our guns to serve them. Naturally, their schemes will not succeed. This is because ours is an army created by Chairman Mao Tse-tung himself, a people's army tempered in tens of years of revolutionary wars, one that has withstood great storm and stress and is highly proletarianized and revolutionized. Nevertheless, if we relax our vigilance, they will seize the chance to get in.

This has been proved by events in the last few years.

Didn't some cultural and art establishments of our army put on such bad plays and make such bad films like *The Pressgang*? Didn't some people write a number of bad works? Weren't there some people who propagated Yang Hsien-chen's fallacy of "two combining into one"? Didn't some people praise such anti-Party, anti-socialist big poisonous weeds as *Evening Chats at Yen-shan*? Didn't some people, corrupted by them, fail in

fighting will, show reluctance to remain in military service, and even defend the "Three-Family Village" gang? These people constituted only a pitiful handful. Yet all this took place in our people's army. Can we take them lightly? How can we permit such things to go on developing and allow their influence to spread?

Precisely for these reasons, we must be deeply concerned over the class struggle in the ideological field. We must never regard it as a trifling matter, one that has nothing to do with us, or something that concerns only literary men. We must never allow individuals of the Khrushchov type to nestle in our midst, never must we relax political and ideological vigilance and allow such rascals to stuff our minds with poisonous weeds! Guns are mindless. If the minds of the men behind the guns change, the guns will serve a different object. Whoever forgets this has forgotten the basic theses of Marxism-Leninism; he is a simpleton.

We must respond to the great call of Chairman Mao and pay close attention to the struggle in the ideological field. raise our proletarian political consciousness to a very high level, keep our eyes wide open and our sense of smell very sharp. Through every storm and stress, we must see things clearly, take up a firm position, stand all tests and adhere to our proletarian stand. We must never allow the anti-Party, anti-socialist elements and their supporters to capture any position in our army. We must join actively and energetically in this great struggle, thoroughly criticize the anti-Party, anti-socialist poisonous weeds and eradicate their influence.

(2) We Must Undertake Full-Scale Ideological Revolutionization, and Prevent and Overcome Corrosion by Bourgeois Ideas of Every Description.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "It has been proved that the enemy cannot conquer us by force of arms. However, the flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the weak-willed in our ranks. There may be some Communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets. We must guard against such a situation."

Many facts brought to light in the current great cultural revolution show that at all times our enemies attempt to overthrow us with sugar-coated bullets. Have not some among us been poisoned or misled by the enemy because their bourgeois-individualist world outlook has not yet been remoulded? This tells us that bourgeois individualism is the root of all evil. There is a struggle between communist and individualist ideas in the minds of our comrades in general and it goes on

every day. The existence of this struggle is an objective fact and there can be no escaping from it. Proletarian ideology can overcome bourgeois-individualist ideology only if one carries on the struggle consciously, in the same way as washing one's own face every day. If we relax in this battle, individualism will grow and from small beginnings will develop into huge proportions. Therefore, every comrade must still more consciously undertake the revolutionizing of his mind, overcome bourgeois individualism of all kinds, learn from Lei Feng, Wang Chieh, Mai Hsien-teh, Chiao Yu-lu, the Good Eighth Company on Nanking Road and other heroes and advanced units, wholeheartedly serve the people, and allow no monsters to find any foothold amongst us.

The proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution that reaches into the very souls of people. Its purpose is not only to demolish all the old ideology and culture and old customs and habits which have been fostered by the exploiting classes and poisoned the minds of the people for thousands of years, but also to create and cultivate among the masses an entirely new, proletarian ideology and culture and entirely new proletarian customs and habits. This great undertaking to transform established traditions and practices is without precedent in human history. We must use the proletarian world outlook to thoroughly criticize all the feudal and bourgeois heritage, all the customs and habits of the feudal and capitalist classes. In this struggle we must foster proletarian ideology and destroy bourgeois ideology in a big way. We must oppose evil works which spread bourgeois ideas and tastes, oppose all perverse trends and vulgar practices, and launch many-sided cultural activities which are rich in revolutionary educational significance, read revolutionary books, sing revolutionary songs, perform revolutionary plays, see revolutionary films, tell revolutionary stories, listen to revolutionary broadcasts and ceaselessly consolidate and raise the fighting capacity of our army.

(3) We Must Study Chairman Mao's Works And Apply His Thought in a Creative Way, Putting The Greatest Stress on the Application, and Take His Works as the Supreme Guide to All Our Work.

The most fundamental task of the great proletarian cultural revolution of our country is to study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought in a creative way and popularize it in the course of the stormy class struggle, so that it becomes integrated with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Every comrade should earnestly undertake the study of Chairman Mao's works and the application of his thought in a creative way, and in the course of struggle take a step forward in grasping Mao Tse-tung's thought.

We should take up the various questions arising in the present great cultural revolution and turn to and earnestly study the relevant writings or extracts from Chairman Mao's works. These include, for instance, his expositions on classes and class struggle in

socialist society, on the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the line for the cultural revolution, on the protracted and complex nature of the class struggle in the ideological field, on how to distinguish fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds, on ideological remoulding, and so on.

In accordance with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, Chairman Mao has summed up the practical experience of the Chinese and world revolutions and the tragic lesson of the Soviet Party and state being usurped by the modern revisionist clique; he has formulated systematic theories and policies for the period of socialism concerning the need to keep a vigorous grip on the class struggle, persist in the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent and oppose modern revisionism and prevent the restoration of capitalism; he has thus greatly enriched and developed Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this great cultural revolution, we must advance our study and comprehension of these instructions of Chairman Mao and take them as the supreme guide to all our work and our sole criterion for distinguishing right from wrong, truth from falsehood.

In a complex struggle, we must distinguish genuine Marxism-Leninism from sham Marxism-Leninism and fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds. We should resolutely support and steadfastly carry out all that conforms to Mao Tse-tung's thought. As for anyone who contravenes or opposes Mao Tse-tung's thought, we will expose him to the light of day, repudiate and discredit him thoroughly no matter how high he stands or whatever "authority" he is.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in our epoch. It is living Marxism-Leninism at its highest and the sharpest weapon to combat imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries. In the magic mirror of Mao Tse-tung's thought, all monsters will be revealed for what they are. Once again the great proletarian cultural revolution is providing a vivid demonstration of the fact that once Mao Tse-tung's thought is grasped by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, it becomes a mighty material force. People armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are the greatest fighting force; they have the greatest courage, wisdom and unanimity of will. When they grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought, which is both a political telescope and a political microscope, the worker, peasant and soldier masses have the highest criterion to distinguish right from wrong, they have the vantage ground from which to see far ahead, and they can discern the essence through the appearance. People who possess Mao Tse-tung's thought have the keenest nose and the sharpest eyes, and no anti-Party, anti-socialist element can escape their notice no matter what tricks he plays.

This is exactly why the enemy fears Mao Tse-tung's thought most of all and has the greatest hatred for it. But the more the enemy opposes it, the more ardently we love it. We must persist in studying Chairman Mao's works and applying his thought

creatively. The revolution requires it, the situation requires it, the struggle against the enemy requires it, good preparatory work for smashing the U.S. imperialist war of aggression requires it, and the prevention and opposition to revisionism and the thwarting of capitalist restoration require it. Mao Tse-tung's thought is our very life. Anyone who opposes it will be condemned by the whole Party and denounced by the whole nation.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is a people's army personally created by Chairman Mao. Every one of our comrades has grown up nourished by Mao Tse-tung's thought. The Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao, the Military Commission of the Central Committee and Comrade Lin Piao have all called on us to join in criticizing reactionary bourgeois ideas and to play a major role in the great cultural revolution. We are determined not to fall short of their expectations.

We shall conscientiously study the instructions of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao on the great cultural revolution and be thoroughgoing revolutionaries. Alongside the people of the whole country, we shall completely destroy the black anti-Party, anti-socialist line, safeguard our dictatorship of the proletariat, safeguard the Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In taking part in the great cultural revolution, we must go further in giving prominence to politics, in

putting the "four goods"* on a solid footing and in strengthening our combat-readiness. While struggling against the enemy without guns, we should give close attention to the enemy with guns. Should U.S. imperialism dare to impose war on the Chinese people, we shall definitely annihilate it resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.

We must determinedly adhere to the directives of the Party's Central Committee, the Military Commission and Comrade Lin Piao to **study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings, act in accordance with his instructions, and be good soldiers of Chairman Mao. We must never forget the class struggle, never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat, never forget to give prominence to politics and never forget to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought**—so that we shall carry our cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction forward from one great new victory to another!

*The "four goods" are: good in political and ideological work, good in the "three-eight" working style, good in military training and good in arranging daily life. In the "three-eight" working style, the "three" refers to the three mottoes: keep firmly to the correct political orientation, maintain an industrious and simple style of work, and be flexible in strategy and tactics; and the "eight" refers to the eight characters which means unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness.—Ed.