China's Revolutionary Masses Acclaim Central Committee's Circular

THE publication of the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has been warmly acclaimed by the revolutionary masses throughout the country (see *Peking Review*, No. 21, 1967). They hailed this Circular, drawn up under the personal guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao, as a sign indicating that Marxism-Leninism has developed to an entirely new stage — the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The publication of this document is an event of great importance in the political life of our country, and in the international communist movement.

An important article entitled "A Great Historic Document" (see *Peking Review*, No. 21, 1967) was jointly published by the Editorial Departments of *Hongqi* and *Renmin Ribao* on May 18.

The General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army issued on the following day a directive calling on the whole army to study the Circular. The directive says: "The May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, drawn up under the personal guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao, has now been made public. This is a great historic document. It represents the first programme for China's great proletarian cultural revolution. Chairman Mao has correctly solved the theoretical and practical questions of carrying on the revolution and preventing a capitalist restoration under the dictatorship of the proletariat - in this great historic document, in a number of great writings and instructions by him, and in the actual practice of the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by him. This is a brilliant epoch-making development of Marxism-Leninism and a new milestone in the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism. It marks a completely new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism — the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The release of this great historic document, the Circular, to the general public is an event of outstanding importance in the political life of our country and also in the international communist movement."

The directive calls on all commanders and fighters in all units in the armed forces to study this document in earnest, taking into consideration the experience gained in the struggle during the past year so as to further arm themselves with the thought of Mao Tsetung and achieve a better understanding and grasp of the theory, line, principles and policies set forth by Chairman Mao for the great proletarian cultural revolution, and to develop in greater depth the mass movement for the criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and thus carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

In Peking, revolutionary workers and staff, poor and lower-middle peasants, revolutionary teachers and students, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary masses of the cultural organizations went to the Party Central Committee to present their messages of congratulations and letters of greetings to Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee, carrying portraits of Chairman Mao, singing songs of Chairman Mao's quotations set to music and beating gongs and drums as they went.

In Shanghai, China's biggest city. Taiyuan in north China, Harbin in the northeast. Tsinan in east China, Kweiyang in the southwest and in other cities, proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary masses held meetings, parades and discussions to hail the publication of the May 16 Circular and celebrate the past year's achievements in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Again and again they shouted "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" They hailed the glorious, great and correct Communist Party of China and the first anniversary of the establishment of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party Central Committee.

First Programme for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

At Peking University, Sung Yi-hsiu and Chao Cheng-yi, two of the seven who jointly wrote the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster in the country (see *Peking Review*, No. 37, 1966) during the current great cultural revolution, described the Circular as a great programme for the great proletarian cultural revolution. Our big-character poster, they said, was written as a result of the encouragement and guidance of the Circular. Without the Circular, there could never have been this Marxist-Leninist big-character poster and without Mao Tse-tung's thought and support of Chairman Mao, the proletarian revolutionaries would have nothing, they said.

Tan Hou-lan, member of the Standing Committee of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of Peking Normal University, wrote in an article: "This great, Marxist-Leninist document, drawn up under the personal guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao, has set forth in a systematic way the theory, line, principles and policies for the great proletarian cultural revolution, and pointed to people throughout the country the triumphant prospects of this cultural revolution. In the Circular, Chairman Mao emphatically pointed 'Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who out: have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various cultural circles are a bunch of counterrevolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchov, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter.""

Chairman Mao has pointed out to us that the most dangerous enemy of the proletarian dictatorship is the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, she said. The release of the Circular to the general public has spurred us to push the mass movement of criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road to a stage of even greater scope and depth.

Class Struggle Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Is Still a Question of Political Power

In studying the Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and "A Great Historic Document," an important article published by the Editorial Departments of *Hongqi* and *Renmin Ribao*, the revolutionary masses made repeated efforts to grasp this great teaching of our great leader Chairman Mao: The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time. It should not be thought by any Party member or any one of the people in our country that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or even three or four. We must be very much on the alert and never lose vigilance.

Wang Hung-wen, a leading member of the Revolutionary Rebellion General Headquarters of Shanghai Workers, said at a forum: "The Circular brilliantly points out that the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, when reduced to a single point, is the question of political power. This means that the proletariat wants to consolidate its dictatorship while the bourgeoisie wants to overthrow it. Those who do the greatest harm to the dictatorship of the proletariat are the ones in authority taking the capitalist road who have sneaked into leading Party and government organs and who wave 'red flags' to oppose the red flag. This points out for us the general orientation of struggle. Chairman Mao has taught us: 'All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it. The desperate struggles waged by counter-revolutionaries against revolutionary forces are likewise solely for the sake of maintaining their political power.' Our struggle to seize power from a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road fully proved that political power means everything and without it everything is lost. Acting according to this principle, we proletarian revolutionaries of Shanghai have united to seize power from a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, firmly grasped the political, economic and cultural power of the Shanghai municipality in our hands, and established the revolutionary provisional organ of power based on a 'three-in-one' combination - the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee. This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's theory of proletarian dictatorship and for the correct orientation of the great proletarian cultural revolution that is pointed out in the Circular."

Wang Tao-ming of an army unit under the Shenyang Command, an activist in the study of Chairman Mao's works, published an article entitled "Consolidate the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Guarantee That Our Country Never Changes Colour." He wrote:

"Historical experience tells us that the question of political power is the fundamental question of revolution in the capitalist countries where the proletariat has not seized power. It is still the fundamental question of revolution in the socialist countries where the proletariat has seized power. The task to consolidate the political power of the proletariat is a more strenuous and an even greater one than that of seizing power.

"We know that in certain countries the proletariat seized political power, repulsed the armed intervention by foreign imperialism, and suppressed the armed rebellion by domestic counter-revolutionaries. However, they failed to solve the question of carrying the revolution through to the end under the dictatorship of the proletariat. As a result, a handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie who had sneaked into the Party usurped political power and changed a dictatorship of the proletariat into dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by peaceful evolution.

"The Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, drawn up under the personal guidance of our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao, creatively developed Marxism-Leninism and solved the question of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It not only shattered the scheme of China's Khrushchov to restore capitalism and provided a reliable guarantee that our Party and country would never change colour, but also pointed out for the proletariat of the world the road of how to consolidate political power and ensure the transition of socialism towards communism after it has seized power."

Teng Wan-tien, member of the Standing Committee of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and leader of the Zhaili brigade of the Songzhuang Commune in Tunghsien County, wrote in an article that the experience in the class struggle of the past 17 years and the great cultural revolution of the past year showed us that a handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road had exercised dictatorship over us, the proletariat and the poor and lower-middle peasants. The struggle between us and them was a life-and-death struggle. If they were not overthrown our socialist land would have changed colour.

He continued: "After our village was liberated in early 1949, we poor and lower-middle peasants seized power from the landlords. But the landlords and rich

peasants were not reconciled to their defeat and used both hard and soft methods to drag the cadres to their side and become their agents. In the past 17 years, we have experienced five or six struggles for the seizure of power and the counter-seizure of power during political movements ranging from land reform and the 'four clean-ups' movement [the socialist education movement to clean things up in politics, ideology, organization and economy] to the current great proletarian cultural revolution. Class struggle has been extremely sharp and complex. The last counter-seizure of power took place in this great cultural revolution. Relying on the support of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, our brigade's Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road actively carried out the bourgeois reactionary line, turned right into wrong, stirred up one section of the masses to struggle against another section, organized a White terror, and labelled more than a dozen of us proletarian revolutionaries 'counter-revolutionaries.' However, raising the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought high, we are resolute, fear no sacrifice, and are determined to surmount every difficulty. We finally dragged out the brigade's handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and seized political power back."

Teng Wan-tien expressed his determination to make great efforts in studying Chairman Mao's works, and, by following the teachings of Chairman Mao, to never forget class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat and to firmly carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.