



THE GREAT SOCIALIST CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA

(4)

中国的社会主义文化大革命
(第四期)

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LONG LIVE THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

— Editorial of *Red Flag* (*Hongqi*), No. 8, 1966 —

Under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, a great mass proletarian cultural revolution without parallel in history is swiftly and vigorously unfolding with the irresistible force of an avalanche.

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals are sweeping away the representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the Party, the monsters of all kinds and all forms of decadent bourgeois and feudal ideology. An unprecedentedly favourable situation has emerged on the political, ideological and cultural fronts.

This is an extremely acute and complex class struggle to foster what is proletarian and eradicate what is bourgeois in the superstructure, in the realm of ideology — a life-and-death struggle between the bourgeoisie attempting to restore capitalism and the proletariat determined to prevent it. This struggle affects the issue of whether or not the dictatorship of the proletariat and the economic base of socialism in our country can be consolidated and developed, and whether or not our Party and country will change colour. It affects the destiny and future of our Party and our country as well as the destiny and future of world revolution. It is most important that this struggle should not be taken lightly.

Why is it imperative that the proletarian cultural revolution be launched? Why is this revolution so important?

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has scientifically summed up the international historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and put forward the theory of contradiction, classes and class struggle in socialist society. He constantly reminds us never to forget the class struggle, never to forget to give prominence to politics and never to forget to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that we must take every measure to prevent a revisionist usurpation of leadership, to prevent a capitalist restoration. He points out that the overthrow of political power is necessarily preceded by efforts to seize hold of the superstructure and ideology in order to prepare public opinion, and that this is true both of the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary classes. Proceeding from this fundamental starting point, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has called on us to launch the class struggle in the ideological field to foster what is proletarian and eradicate what is bourgeois.

Here is a great truth, a great development of Marxism-Leninism.

History shows that the bourgeoisie first took hold of ideology and prepared public opinion before it seized political power from the feudal landlord class. Starting from the period of the "Renaissance", the European bourgeoisie persistently criticized feudal ideology and propagated bourgeois ideology. It was in the 17th and 18th centuries, after several hundred years of preparation of public opinion, that the bourgeoisie seized political power and established its dictatorship in one European country after another.

Marx and Engels began propagating the theories of communism more than a century ago. They did so to prepare public opinion for the seizure of political power by the proletariat. The Russian proletarian revolution culminated in the seizure of political power only after decades of preparation of public opinion. Our own experience is even fresher

in our minds. When the Chinese proletariat began to appear on the political scene, it was weak and unarmed. How was the revolution to start? It started with the propagation of Marxism-Leninism and the exposure of imperialism and its lackeys in China. The struggle of the Chinese proletariat for the seizure of political power began precisely with the May 4th cultural revolution.

In the final analysis, the history of the seizure of political power by the Chinese proletariat is a history of Mao Tse-tung's thought gripping the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. As the masses have aptly put it: "Without Mao Tse-tung's thought, there would have been no New China." By integrating Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great revolutionary standard-bearer, changed the whole face of the Chinese revolution. Historical experience shows that Mao Tse-tung's thought enabled us to gain the increasing support of the masses, to have armed forces and guns, to set up one revolutionary base area after another, to seize political power bit by bit and finally to take over political power throughout the country.

Having seized political power, the proletariat has become the ruling class and the landlord and capitalist classes have become the ruled. The landlord class and the reactionary bourgeoisie will never be reconciled to being ruled or to their extinction. They are constantly dreaming of a restoration through subversion of the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that they can once again ride on the backs of the working people. They still have great strength. They have money, extensive social contacts and international links, and experience in counter-revolution. In particular, the ideology of the exploiting classes still has a very big market. Some unsteady elements in the revolutionary ranks are prone to be corrupted by this ideology and consequently become counter-revolutionaries. Moreover, the spontaneous influence of the

petty-bourgeoisie ceaselessly engenders capitalism. Having seized political power the proletariat still faces the danger of losing it. After being established the socialist system still faces the danger of a capitalist restoration. Failure to give this serious attention and take the necessary steps will end in our Party and our country changing colour and will cause tens of millions of our people to lose their lives.

Bourgeois and feudal ideologies are one of the most important strongholds of the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has been effected. Their efforts at restoration are first of all directed at getting their hold over ideology and using their decadent ideas in every possible way to deceive the masses. The seizure of ideology and the moulding of public opinion are the bourgeoisie's preparation for the subversion of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And when the opportunity is ripe, they will stage a coup to seize political power in one way or another.

After the establishment of socialist relations of production, the Soviet Union failed to carry out a proletarian cultural revolution in earnest. Bourgeois ideology ran rife, corrupting the minds of the people and almost imperceptibly undermining the socialist relations of production. After the death of Stalin, there was a more blatant counter-revolutionary moulding of public opinion by the Khrushchov revisionist group. And this group soon afterwards staged its "palace" coup to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and usurped Party, military and government power.

In the 1956 Hungarian counter-revolutionary incident, the counter-revolutionaries also prepared public opinion before they took to the streets to create disturbances and stage riots. This counter-revolutionary incident was engineered by imperialism and started by a group of anti-Communist intellectuals of the Petofi Club. Imre Nagy, who at that time still

wore the badge of a Communist, "mounted the throne" and became the chieftain of the counter-revolutionaries.

International historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat shows that this dictatorship cannot be consolidated, nor can the socialist system be consolidated, unless a proletarian cultural revolution is carried out and persistent efforts are made to eradicate bourgeois ideology. Bourgeois ideas spreading unchecked inevitably lead to the subversion of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the emergence of such representatives of the bourgeoisie as Khrushchov, who will seize political power through a "palace" coup or a military coup, or a combination of both. If the dictatorship of the proletariat is to be consolidated, if a country under the dictatorship of the proletariat is to advance in a socialist and communist direction, a proletarian cultural revolution is imperative; proletarian ideology must be fostered and bourgeois ideology eradicated and the ideological roots of revisionism must be pulled out completely and the roots of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, must be firmly implanted.

Socialist revolution and socialist construction demand energetic efforts in many fields of work. Running through this work there must be a red line, which is nothing other than the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the struggle between the socialist and the capitalist roads, and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the field of ideology.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung teaches us:

The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this

respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled. (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*)

The purpose of the proletarian cultural revolution is to settle the question of "who will win" in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It is a protracted and difficult historical task that runs through every field of work.

Some comrades regard the debates in the press between the proletariat and the reactionary bourgeoisie as "trivial, paper polemics" of literary men. Immersed in their work, some comrades are not concerned with the struggle on the ideological and cultural fronts and pay no heed to the class struggle in the field of ideology. This is absolutely wrong and most dangerous. If bourgeois ideology is allowed to run wild, the dictatorship of the proletariat will become the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and the socialist system will become a capitalist system, or a semi-colonial, semi-feudal system. We must shout to these people: Comrades! The enemy is sharpening his sword, he wants to cut off our heads, he wants to overturn our state power. How is it that you see it and hear it and take no notice?

Both the seizure and consolidation of political power depend on the pen as well as the gun. If we are to safeguard and carry forward the revolutionary cause, we must not only hold on firmly to the gun but must take up the proletarian pen to blast and sweep away the pen of the bourgeoisie. Only by sweeping away all bourgeois ideology can we consolidate proletarian political power and keep an ever firmer hold on the proletarian gun.

A good look at the class struggle on the ideological and cultural fronts shakes one to the core.

The struggle on the ideological and cultural fronts between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between Marxism and

anti-Marxism, has never ceased for a moment since the founding of the Chinese People's Republic. After the establishment of socialist relations of production this class struggle in the ideological field has become ever deeper, ever more complex and acute.

In 1957 the bourgeois Rightists launched a frenzied attack against the Party and socialism. Before the alliance of the reactionary politicians headed by Chang Po-chun and Lo Lung-chi came out into the open in this offensive, bourgeois Rightist intellectuals had already scattered a good many poisonous weeds around; one after another, there emerged a number of counter-revolutionary notions, political programmes and films and novels. These were obviously efforts to prepare public opinion for the bourgeois Rightists to seize political power.

Under the wise leadership of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, the Chinese people repulsed this wild offensive of the bourgeois Rightists and won an important victory on the political and ideological fronts.

Then in 1958, under the great red banner of the general line for socialist construction, the Chinese people embarked with boundless enthusiasm and energy on the great leap forward in every field of work and set up the people's communes on an extensive scale. At the same time, the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers enthusiastically studied Chairman Mao's works and applied his thought in a creative way. A revolution also began on the ideological and cultural fronts.

From 1959 to 1962, China suffered temporary economic difficulties as a result of sabotage by the Soviet revisionists and three successive years of serious natural calamities. But difficulties could not intimidate the revolutionary Chinese people. They worked hard and courageously forged ahead under the wise leadership of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao. Within a few years they had overcome the difficulties and brought about an excellent situation. However, in these few years of economic difficulties, one monster

after another had come out of its hiding place. The offensive of the reactionary bourgeoisie against the Party and socialism reached a pitch of utmost fury.

In the field of philosophical studies, Yang Hsien-chen blatantly spread the fallacy denying the identity of idea and being in an attempt to hold back the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers from bringing their subjective initiative into play and to oppose the great leap forward. Subsequently, he came out with the theory of "two combining into one", thus providing philosophical "grounds" for the extremely reactionary political line which advocated the liquidation of struggle in our relations with imperialism, the reactionaries and modern revisionism, and reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggle of other peoples, as well as the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas based on the household. The so-called "authorities" representing the bourgeoisie who had wormed their way into the Party wildly brandished the three cudgels of "philistinism", "oversimplification" and "pragmatism" to oppose the workers, peasants and soldiers from studying Chairman Mao's works and applying his thought in a creative way. Moreover, exploiting their positions and powers, they stopped the press from publishing philosophical articles written by workers, peasants and soldiers. At the same time, under the guise of studying the history of philosophy, certain bourgeois "specialists" widely propagated the ideas of "liberty, equality and fraternity" and lavished praise on Confucius, making use of this mummy to publicize their whole set of bourgeois ideas.

In the field of economic studies, Sun Yeh-fang and company put forward a whole set of revisionist fallacies. They opposed putting Mao Tse-tung's thought and politics in command, and wanted to put profit and money in command. They vainly attempted to change the socialist relations of production and turn socialist enterprises into capitalist ones.

In the field of historical studies, a pack of bourgeois "authorities" launched unscrupulous attacks on the revolution in historical studies which began in 1958. They opposed putting Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought in command in historical research and spread the notion that historical data are everything. They used what they called "historicism" to counter the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle. They bitterly hated those revolutionary research workers in history who made critical appraisals of emperors, kings, generals and prime ministers and gave prominence to the peasants and the peasant wars. They lauded the emperors, kings, generals and prime ministers to the skies while energetically vilifying the peasants and peasant wars. They were the bourgeois "royalists" in the field of historical studies. Among them, some were inveterate anti-Communists. These include Wu Han and Chien Po-tsan.

In the field of literature and art, the representatives of the bourgeoisie spared no effort in propagating the whole revisionist line in literature and art which is opposed to Chairman Mao's line, and vigorously propagated what they called the traditions of the 1930s. Typical were their theories on "truthful writing", on "the broad path of realism", on "the deepening of realism", on opposition to "subject-matter as the decisive factor", on "middle characters", on opposition to "the smell of gunpowder", on "the merging of various trends as the spirit of the age", and on "discarding the classics and rebelling against orthodoxy". Under the "guidance" of these theories, there appeared a wave of bad, anti-Party, anti-socialist operas and plays, films and novels, and histories of the cinema and of literature.

In the field of education, the representatives of the bourgeoisie did their utmost to oppose the educational policy advanced by Chairman Mao, which is aimed at enabling the educated to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become socialist-minded, cultured working people. They spared no effort in opposing the part-work, part-study edu-

cational system and propagating the educational "theories" and systems of Soviet revisionism. They made desperate efforts to win the younger generation away from us in the vain hope of training them into heirs of the bourgeoisie.

In the field of journalism, the representatives of the bourgeoisie exerted themselves to oppose the guiding role of journalism, and advocated the bourgeois conception of "imparting knowledge". They vainly attempted to strangle the leadership of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought in journalistic work, hoping to give free currency to bourgeois contraband and wrest our base in journalism from us.

The most reactionary and fanatical element in this adverse current was the anti-Party "Three-Family Village" gang. They had many bases — newspapers, magazines, forums and publishing organizations. Their long arms reached out to all corners of the cultural field in which they usurped some positions of leadership. Their nose for anything reactionary was extremely sharp and their writings showed extremely close and prompt co-ordination with anything reactionary in the political atmosphere. Under direction, in an organized way, acting according to plan and with a set purpose, they prepared public opinion for the restoration of capitalism and the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Playing the main role in this adverse current were the representatives of the bourgeoisie who had sneaked into the Party. They waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag and donned the cloak of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought to oppose Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. Dressing themselves up as "authorities" on Marxism, as "authorities" clarifying the Party's policies, they wantonly spread poison and deceived the masses. They took advantage of their positions and powers, on the one hand to let loose all kinds of monsters, and on the other hand to suppress the counter-attacks of the proletarian Left. They are a bunch of schemers who put up the signboard of communism behind

which they actually peddled anti-Party and anti-socialist poison. They are a most dangerous bunch.

We have constantly fought back against the attacks launched by the bourgeoisie from 1959 onwards. Especially since last November, when Comrade Yao Wen-yuan published his article "On the New Historical Drama *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*" and sounded the clarion of the great proletarian cultural revolution, a mass counter-offensive against the bourgeoisie's attacks has opened up.

In this counter-attack the political consciousness of the broad masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals has risen to an unprecedented level and their fighting power has enormously increased. The battles fought by the masses have shattered and uprooted the "Three-Family Village" anti-Party clique. And its roots lay nowhere else than in the former Peking Municipal Party Committee. A black anti-Party and anti-socialist line ran through the leadership of the former Peking Municipal Committee of the Communist Party. Some of its leading members are not Marxist-Leninists, but revisionists. They controlled many bases and media and exercised a dictatorship over the proletariat. They were a clique of careerists and conspirators. But their plots were exposed and they were defeated. The Central Committee of our Party reorganized the Peking Municipal Party Committee and established a new one. This decision was very wise and absolutely correct. It was a new victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

From the moment we launched this large-scale counter-attack last year, the representatives of the bourgeoisie who had wormed their way into the Party and waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, were thrown into utter confusion. They hurriedly invoked five "talismans" to support and shelter the bourgeois Rightists and suppress and attack the proletarian Left.

One of these "talismans" was raised in the name of "opening wide".

The representatives of the bourgeoisie, who had wormed their way into the Party and waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, tried their best to distort the Party's "opening wide" policy by removing its class content and perverting it into one of bourgeois liberalization. They allowed only the bourgeois Rightists to "speak out" and did not allow the proletarian Left to enter the contest. They allowed only the bourgeois Rightists to attack and did not allow the proletarian Left to counter-attack. They let the Rightists "open" as wide as they could while they either shelved the counter-attacking manuscripts sent in by those of the Left or compelled the authors to rewrite them according to their ideas. They said that *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* should not be criticized from a political angle, otherwise this would affect the "opening wide" policy and people then would not dare to speak up. We would like to ask these lords: Did you just "open" very slightly? Haven't you attacked the Party politically in a most blustering and aggressive manner? Why did you prohibit the proletariat from "opening wide" to counter-attack the bourgeois Rightists politically? In fact, your "opening wide" policy gave the green go ahead light to the bourgeoisie and the red stop light to the proletariat.

Another "talisman" went by the name of "construction before destruction".

Pretending to be "dialecticians", the representatives of the bourgeoisie, who had wormed their way into the Party and waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, set up a clamour about "construction before destruction" when the proletariat countered the bourgeois attack. And on the pretext of "construction before destruction", they would not allow the proletariat to destroy bourgeois ideology, to attack the reactionary political citadel of the bourgeoisie. "Construction before destruction" is opposed to dialectics and Mao Tse-tung's thought. Comrade Mao Tse-tung constantly teaches us that there is no construction without destruction. It is precisely destruction that must come first. Destruction means revolution, it means

criticism. Destruction necessarily calls for reasoning, and reasoning is itself an act of construction. Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought have all developed in the struggle to destroy bourgeois ideology, Right opportunism and "Left" opportunism. Destruction before construction and construction in the course of destruction — these are the dialectics of history. Are not Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought — the greatest truth ever known since time immemorial — construction? We would like to ask those bourgeois lords, what is it you want to construct? Obviously, only bourgeois, reactionary ideology and not proletarian, revolutionary ideology. When the proletariat, employing Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, irresistibly countered the bourgeois attack and set to work to destroy bourgeois ideology, the clamour you set up about "construction before destruction" was precisely for the purpose of protecting the Rightists and preventing the Left from counter-attacking. It was opposition to the proletarian cultural revolution.

A third "talisman" came under the head of opposing and holding back the growth of "Left scholar-tyrants".

Whenever the proletarian Left countered bourgeois attacks, the representatives of the bourgeoisie, who had wormed their way into the Party and waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, on the pretext of wanting to be "meticulous" and "profound", condemned the Left as being "crude" and acting like a "cudgel". During the present great counter-offensive against bourgeois attacks, they again invoked the "talisman" of opposing and holding back the growth of "Left scholar-tyrants" in a vain attempt to hold the proletarian Left down and suppress it. This could not be allowed. We say that the tag of "scholar-tyrant" fits you bourgeois representatives and "academic authorities" perfectly. You lords who wormed your way into the Party and shielded and backed the bourgeois scholar-tyrants are the big Party-tyrants and scholar-tyrants — tyrants who do not read the newspapers and books, who are divorced from the masses and devoid of knowledge, and who try to

overwhelm others by the use of your power. The proletarian Left always insists on the truth of Marxism-Leninism, the truth of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and relies on scientific contention and evidence in criticizing bourgeois ideology. The proletarian Left has nothing in common with "scholar-tyrants". We must make a sweeping condemnation on a mass scale of all bourgeois "scholar-tyrants" as well as the handful of big Party-tyrants and big scholar-tyrants such as you are. We tell you lords, who malign the Left as a "cudgel", that the Left is the steel cudgel, the golden cudgel, of the proletariat. And we shall use this cudgel to smash the old world to smithereens, defeat you handful of big Party-tyrants and scholar-tyrants and destroy your underworld kingdom. This is what is called the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Another "talismán" went by the name of "purely academic discussion".

In order to cover up the bourgeois Rightist attacks on the Party and socialism and, at the same time, to suppress the counter-attacks of the proletarian Left, the representatives of the bourgeoisie, who had wormed their way into the Party and waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, described the class struggle in the realm of ideology as a "purely academic discussion". We would ask these lords: Is there really anything academic about Wu Han's "Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor" and *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* and the anti-Party and anti-socialist double-talk of Teng To, Liao Mo-sha and company? The so-called "purely academic discussion" is a fraud the bourgeoisie often plays. There is nothing "purely academic" in class society; everything academic is based on the world outlook of a given class, is subordinate to politics and serves the politics and economy of a given class in one way or another. In the course of our present full-scale counter-offensive, the representatives of the bourgeoisie held up the "talismán" of so-called "purely academic discussion" and opposed giving prominence to politics in order to cover up the vital political issue concerning the anti-Party "Three-Family

Village" or "Four-Family Village" gangster inns, to give prominence to bourgeois politics and oppose giving prominence to proletarian politics, and to drag this great struggle to the Right and divert it on to a revisionist course.

Still another important "talismán" of theirs was what they called: "Everybody is equal before the truth", "everyone has his share of erroneous statements" and "it is all a muddle".

In the course of the proletarian counter-offensive against the bourgeoisie, the representatives of the bourgeoisie, who had wormed their way into the Party and waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, invoked this "talismán", on the one hand to get their own men to hang on to their positions and not retreat an inch, and on the other hand to create confusion so that they could fish in troubled waters and await an opportunity to counter-attack.

The out-and-out bourgeois slogan of "everybody is equal before the truth" is thoroughly hypocritical. There can be no equality at all between opposing classes. Truth has its class nature. In the present era, the proletariat alone is able to master objective truth because its class interests are in complete conformity with the objective laws. The reactionary and decadent bourgeoisie has long been completely divorced from the truth. Its so-called "truth" can be nothing more than a fallacy that runs counter to the tide of the times and the objective laws. There can be no equality whatsoever between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between proletarian ideology and bourgeois ideology, between proletarian truth and bourgeois fallacy. The only question involved is whether the East wind prevails over the West wind or vice versa. Can any equality be permitted on such basic questions as the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the sphere of the superstructure including the various fields of culture, and the continual cleansing of the proletarian ranks of representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the Party

and waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag? The old social democrats in the decades gone by and the modern revisionists in the past decade and more have never permitted the proletariat to enjoy equality with the bourgeoisie. In bringing up the slogan "everybody is equal before the truth", the representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the Party want to bolster up the anti-Party and anti-socialist elements while suppressing the counter-attacks of the Left. We would like to ask these lords: Since you were prating about equality, why did you refuse to publish articles by the Left, while permitting the Rightists alone to publish their numerous poisonous weeds? What equality was this? We have to tell you bluntly, we absolutely will not permit you any equality with the proletariat. Our struggle against you is one of life and death. With regard to your kind of anti-Party and anti-socialist gangs, dictatorship is the only thing.

The argument that "everyone has his share of erroneous statements" and "it is all a muddle" was a big conspiracy. We consider that first of all a line of demarcation must be drawn between classes, between revolution and counter-revolution. In the course of understanding objective events, the revolutionary Left may commit one error or another, but these cannot be mentioned in the same breath as the anti-Party, anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary statements and actions of the bourgeois Rightists; the two things are radically different. In the present great cultural revolution the principal contradiction is the antagonistic one between, on the one hand, the broad masses of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, and, on the other hand, you the handful of anti-Party and anti-socialist representatives of the bourgeoisie. This is a contradiction between revolution and counter-revolution, an irreconcilable contradiction between the enemy and ourselves. As for your counter-revolutionary statements and actions, we must subject them all to merciless criticism and sound the call for attack.

Bourgeois academic ideas in general must, of course, come under criticism, but that is different from the treatment befitting anti-Party and anti-socialist elements such as you are. In dealing with ordinary bourgeois scholars, we shall go on providing them with suitable conditions of work and let them remould their world outlook in the course of their work, provided they do not oppose the Communist Party and the people. When we hit back at the attacks by the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois representatives who sneaked into our Party set up the clamour about "everyone has his share of erroneous statements" and "it is all a muddle". Their aim was none other than to hold the Left in a tight grip, muddy the waters, create confusion and launch a counter-offensive. This was just a waste of effort. We go by Chairman Mao's guidance and make a distinction between the Left, the middle and the Right; we rely on the Left, combat the Right and win over, unite with and educate the majority so as to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

All these "talismans" of the bourgeois representatives who had sneaked into the Party and waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, were all directed at one goal—the subjection of the proletariat to their dictatorship. They have already usurped some leading positions and exercised a dictatorship over us in various fields of culture. We have to recapture all these positions and overthrow these bourgeois representatives.

A striking feature of the bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the Party is their opposition to the red flag while waving "red flags".

How can we recognize them? The only way is "to read Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings and act on his instructions".

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, it is living Marxism-Leninism at its highest. The theory and practice of Comrade Mao Tse-tung may be likened to the ceaseless movement of the sun and moon in the skies and the endless flow of the rivers and

streams on earth. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works are the highest directives for all our work. The line of demarcation between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, between revolution and counter-revolution, lies in whether one supports Mao Tse-tung's thought and acts in accordance with it or whether one resists it and refuses to act in accordance with it.

We endorse and support all that is in keeping with Mao Tse-tung's thought. We shall fearlessly struggle against and overthrow anybody who opposes Mao Tse-tung's thought, no matter how high his position and how great his "fame" and "authority".

The representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the Party look like a "colossus". Yet in fact, like all reactionaries, they are only paper tigers.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the steering gear, and the workers, peasants and soldiers are the main force in the proletarian cultural revolution. This being so, we can certainly defeat every kind of monster and win victory after victory in the proletarian cultural revolution.

Maliciously and gleefully, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists at home and the imperialists and revisionists abroad think they can make some gains while we are unmasking and criticizing the anti-Party "Three-Family Village" gang. We have to tell the reactionaries at home and abroad that they are as stupid as an ass. The exact purpose of unmasking the anti-Party "Three-Family Village" gang, subjecting them to criticism and sweeping away all the monsters is to eliminate your agents within our Party and our country and remove the "time-bomb" on which you place your hopes. As the great proletarian cultural revolution develops in depth, we shall implant Mao Tse-tung's thought still more firmly among the people all over the country and completely dig out the roots of revisionism and all that which may foster the restoration of capitalism. History will ruthlessly deride you silly asses.

The reactionaries at home and abroad have spread the lie that we are attacking all intellectuals. This is nonsense. China's great proletarian cultural revolution is directed against a handful of evil men who put up the signboard of communism behind which they peddled their anti-Communist wares; it is directed against a handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary bourgeois intellectuals. With regard to the great number of intellectuals who came over from the old society, our policy is to unite with them, educate and remould them. And the ranks of the proletarian intellectuals are steadily growing in the course of the great cultural revolution.

Revolutionary people, let us all unite still more closely on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and the great red banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, let us go forward in triumph!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

CAPTURE THE POSITIONS IN THE FIELD OF HISTORICAL STUDIES SEIZED BY THE BOURGEOISIE

— Editorial of the *People's Daily (Renmin Ribao)* of June 3, 1966 —

The great proletarian cultural revolution is pounding the reactionary fortresses in every sphere of ideology, including those in the field of historical studies.

The representatives of the bourgeoisie have made historical studies an important position of theirs in opposing the Party and socialism. They have distorted history and used the past to satirize the present with a view to deceiving the masses and preparing public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. However, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals are using the weapon of the materialist conception of history to reveal history as it really was and analyse the present trends of different classes, and they are waging a fierce struggle against the reactionary conception of history in defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism.

The revolutionary materialist conception of history, *i.e.*, historical materialism, and the reactionary idealist conception of history, *i.e.*, historical idealism, are diametrically opposed to each other. The former holds that the history of mankind is the history of the working people, whereas the latter holds that the history of mankind is the history of emperors and kings, generals and prime ministers. The former holds that revolution can change everything, whereas the latter holds that the favours granted by emperors and kings, generals and

prime ministers determine everything. These two diametrically antagonistic conceptions of history can never coexist in peace.

Proletarian revolutionary fighters arm their minds with historical materialism and use it to observe and change the world. All reactionaries are historical idealists who invariably attempt to turn back the wheel of history in violation of the laws of historical development. As the socialist revolution deepens, those who cling fast to historical idealism inevitably degenerate, one batch after another, into anti-Party and anti-socialist elements. This is an objective law independent of man's will.

That is why the bourgeois "authorities" entrenched in a number of positions in the field of historical studies, as well as the bourgeois representatives backing them, have set themselves against the people. Some of these "authorities" have already become anti-Party and anti-socialist elements, while others have degenerated and are on the verge of becoming anti-Party and anti-socialist elements.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says, "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force of world history."

He also says, "The class struggles of the peasants, the peasant uprisings and peasant wars constituted the real motive force of historical development in Chinese feudal society."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung also points out by way of summing up that "classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years. To interpret history from this viewpoint is historical materialism; standing in opposition to this viewpoint is historical idealism."

It is precisely these scientific theses of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's that the bourgeois "authorities" in the field of historical studies are opposing. They stubbornly deny that the thousands of years of the history of civilization are the history of class struggle. They use their so-called historicism, *i.e.*, the idealist conception of history, to oppose and adulterate

the Marxist-Leninist teachings on class struggle. They stubbornly deny that the people are the motive force of world history, and they spare no effort to smear the working people and the peasant wars. Clamouring that the "policy of concession" of the reactionary ruling classes is the motive force of historical development, they completely write off the great role of the working people and of peasant wars. They eulogize only emperors, kings, generals and prime ministers who rode roughshod over the people. They are the "royalists" in the field of historical studies.

These "royalists" in historical studies do not want revolution themselves and forbid others to make revolution. The revolutionary historians must take Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought as their guide and re-write the whole of history. The great revolution in the science of history has incurred the rancorous hatred of these "royalists" in historical studies, who feel their approaching doom. Hence they have been doing their best to resist and undermine this revolution.

In carrying out all kinds of activities against Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, these bourgeois "authorities" in the field of historical studies are catering to the needs of the bourgeois and landlord classes in their resistance to socialism. What these "royalists" are doing is nothing but protecting the old system, the conservatives and the old ideology, that is, protecting the ideological positions in preparation for the restoration of capitalism. Moreover, some of them have made use of the corpses of historical figures to launch direct and virulent attacks on our great proletarian Party and socialist system.

The battle between the two opposing forces in the field of historical studies is decided by the law governing the class struggle in socialist society.

In our new era of great changes, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has developed the Marxist materialist conception of history and raised it to a new peak. He has systematically and comprehensively put forward theories on contradictions, classes

and class struggle in socialist society and given a penetrating explanation of the motive force of the development of socialist society. He points out that the progressive development of socialist society must take as its key link the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism.

This holds true in the various spheres of activity of our Party and state, and of course in the field of historical studies too. Innumerable facts prove that the field of historical studies is replete with fierce class struggle. This position of historical studies will be seized by the bourgeoisie, the moment the proletariat relaxes its hold on it. In this field, either the materialist conception of history is applied to interpret history in the service of proletarian politics and the socialist revolution, or the idealist conception of history is applied to interpret history in the service of bourgeois politics and the restoration of capitalism. In historical studies, as in other sciences, the materialist and idealist conceptions of history can never coexist in peace. Nor can proletarian ideology and bourgeois ideology. Between them there can only be a struggle of "who will win", a life-and-death struggle.

While insisently denying the existence of class struggle, the bourgeois "authorities" in the field of historical studies have in fact been waging a flagrant class struggle against the proletariat by their numerous reactionary ideas and activities.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says:

Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law.

This law is completely applicable to our domestic class enemies. The landlords, rich peasants, reactionaries, bad elements and Rightists will never go against this logic, nor will such gangsters as the "Three-Family Village" clique and

the anti-Communist intellectuals in the field of historical studies.

Historical science is an important ideological battlefield where a fierce class struggle to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology is going on. In the great proletarian cultural revolution we must capture, one after another, the positions seized by the bourgeois "authorities".

The bourgeois "authorities" who have seized a number of positions in historical studies have exercised a dictatorship over the proletariat in some departments. Taking advantage of their power, they have produced great numbers of poisonous weeds and suppressed the counter-attacks by the proletarian Left. They use contemptible means of all kinds to deal blows at revolutionary historians. Behaving like profiteers, they try to monopolize historical data. Even after Wu Han, the eager vanguard of the "Three-Family Village" anti-Party clique, had been exposed, they still hid the background materials concerning him and shielded this old anti-Communist hand. In the field of historical studies, they are virtually like the notorious despots of pre-liberation days.

These "authorities" regard historical science as a domain under their monopoly. When other people published articles criticizing them, they even shouted publicly that this was an "aggression against history". We want to tell these lords: we must occupy your anti-Party and anti-socialist positions in historical studies. As you see it, this is "aggression". As we see it, this is "seizure of power". What we are doing is precisely to regain the leadership you have usurped from the proletariat and to re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat over the domain in which you are exercising the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

In this great proletarian cultural revolution, we must completely destroy the reactionary bourgeois positions in historical studies and smash the counter-revolutionary idealist system of historical studies which serves the restoration of capitalism. Armed with the newest, highest and militant historical

materialism of our times developed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the proletarian fighters in the cultural revolution can undoubtedly win great new victories and firmly hoist the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought over the positions in historical studies.

TEAR ASIDE THE BOURGEOIS MASK OF "LIBERTY, EQUALITY AND FRATERNITY"

— Editorial of the *People's Daily* of June 4, 1966 —

There is an upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution in China today. This surging tide is forcefully pounding away at all the decadent ideological and cultural positions held by the bourgeoisie and the feudal survivals. Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the workers, peasants and soldiers, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals have launched a fierce counter-offensive against the black anti-Party and anti-socialist line of the bourgeoisie. This is a serious, acute and complex political struggle, a struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, between revolution and counter-revolution, between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism; it is a life-and-death class struggle. In no way is this struggle a trivial matter; it is a matter of prime importance that affects the destiny and future of our Party and state; it is a matter of prime importance that affects what our Party and state will look like in the future, and also affects the world revolution.

Basing himself on the fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism and the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao Tse-tung has comprehensively and systematically analysed classes and class struggle in socialist society and creatively developed Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao teaches us that class contradiction still exists and class struggle does

not die out in socialist society after the completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. There is struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie, between the socialist and capitalist roads throughout the stage of socialism. The socialist revolution must be carried through to the end on the political, economic, and ideological and cultural fronts in order to ensure the successful building of socialism and prevent the restoration of capitalism. It is precisely Chairman Mao's theory on classes and class struggle in socialist society, on the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the need to carry out the socialist revolution not only in the matter of ownership but also in the field of ideology, that provides the correct line and guiding principles which we must follow in this great socialist cultural revolution.

With ulterior motives, a handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie, who had wormed their way into our Party, covered up the true class nature of the struggle and twisted this serious political struggle into a "purely academic problem" and a "discussion of different opinions". They hoisted aloft the black bourgeois banner of "liberty, equality and fraternity" in opposition to the line of the proletarian cultural revolution advanced by the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They ranted along these lines: "full expression should be given to different opinions (including those opposed to Marxism-Leninism)", "everyone is equal before the truth", "one should not be arbitrary like a scholar-tyrant or overwhelm others by the use of one's position or power", and cried that "care" and "prudence" must be exercised in the struggle against the anti-Party and anti-socialist monsters and that they should not be "held in such a tight grip" and so on. Their vicious motive was: to deceive the masses of the people, muddy the waters, mix up the proletarian and the bourgeois class fronts and shift the target of the struggle; to encourage the bourgeois Right and frustrate the proletarian Left, protect the bourgeois Right and attack the

proletarian Left. Their motive was to bring about bourgeois liberalization and revisionism and reduce proletarian rule to chaos so that they could capture power from the proletariat and restore capitalism when the opportunity arose.

Messrs. bourgeois "authorities"! You are experts at making mistakes. Your appraisal of the situation was entirely wrong. Your estimation of the consciousness and strength of the workers, peasants and soldiers was entirely wrong. Your estimation of the power of the Party's leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat was again entirely wrong. You cannot possibly succeed in using the tattered banner of "liberty, equality and fraternity" to cover up your attack on the Party and socialism. Equally, you cannot possibly succeed in using that banner as a "protective umbrella" to cover your retreat. All the more is it impossible for you to realize your vain hope of making us relinquish the dictatorship of the proletariat and deal with you monsters on the footing of liberty, equality and fraternity, and allow you to impose your dictatorship over us. You are demons in human shape. Don't imagine that you wolves, once in sheep's clothing, can deceive people. The worker, peasant and soldier masses, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, are firm and clear-sighted and their banner is bright and distinctive. We have torn aside your sordid camouflage of counter-revolution and caught you red-handed. We shall strip you of your disguises and expose you in all your ugliness.

You Messrs. bourgeois "authorities" talked glibly about "liberty" and put great stress on the "opening wide" policy in an underhand attempt to distort this policy of the Party and wipe out its class content. Your "opening wide" was to meet the needs of your own class and bring about bourgeois liberalization. It was opposed to the Party's leadership, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

"Isn't it the Party's policy to 'open wide'?" This was the pretext put forward by Messrs. bourgeois "authorities". Yes, we are firmly in favour of the policy of opening wide. Chair-

man Mao said: "We choose the policy of opening wide, because it is the policy which will help to consolidate our country and develop our culture." He also said: "To 'open wide' means to let all people express their opinions freely, so that they dare to speak, dare to criticize and dare to debate." In discussing this question, Chairman Mao specially pointed out that "we still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. It is wrong not to understand this and to give up ideological struggle. All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked". Our policy of "opening wide" is a firm proletarian class policy and is distinguished by proletarian political criteria. But your so-called "opening wide" encourages the bourgeoisie alone and not the proletariat. It permits only such bourgeois "authorities", "specialists" and "scholars" as yourselves to spread their poison without allowing the worker, peasant and soldier masses and the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals to hit back. In a word, under the pretext of "opening wide", you are actually opposing the Party and socialism.

Weren't these the facts? For years, Messrs. bourgeois "authorities", you turned loose a horde of monsters to spread their load of poison, without let-up for a single day, in co-ordination internationally with the big anti-China chorus of the imperialists, the modern revisionists and all reactionaries. Your poisonous products filled our newspapers, radio, magazines, books, textbooks, lectures, literary works, films, plays, operas and ballads, fine arts, music, dancing, etc. You never advocated the need to accept proletarian leadership, and never asked anyone for approval of what you did. Yet when we launched a counter-attack on the ideological and cultural front, what attitude did you take towards the worker, peasant and soldier masses and towards the proletarian Left? You shelved everything critical of the poisonous weeds, holding some things back for as long as several years. You set up one taboo after

another, put on airs and deliberately turned simple matters into mysteries to scare off the workers, peasants and soldiers. You lavished praise on the so-called academic "authorities" of the bourgeoisie and showed hostility to and suppressed the militant, new emerging forces representing the proletariat. You would not allow the workers, peasants and soldiers to rise up and overthrow the bourgeois "authorities", you would not allow them to make revolution.

Obviously, the "liberty" you wanted was nothing but liberty to set up the "Three-Family Village" gangster inn, liberty to spread the villainous "Evening Chats at Yenshan", liberty to stage widely such unsavoury plays and films as *Hsieh Yao-huan*, *Li Hui-niang*, *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, and *Laying Siege to the City*, liberty to complain that the Right opportunists had been wronged and to encourage them to stage a come-back, liberty to pour cold water on the enthusiasm of the worker, peasant and soldier masses for creatively studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's works and to use the big stick on them, liberty to spread widely the decadent and degenerate landlord, bourgeois and revisionist ideology to pave the way for the restoration of capitalism. The "liberty" you wanted was liberty to attack the Party and socialism, to attack the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to attack Mao Tse-tung's thought. In short, you wanted the liberty of counter-revolution.

Chairman Mao has said:

Freedom and democracy do not exist in the abstract, only in the concrete. In a society rent by class struggle, if there is freedom for the exploiting classes to exploit the working people, there is no freedom for the working people not to be exploited, and if there is democracy for the bourgeoisie, there is no democracy for the proletariat and other working people.

Our socialist system certainly will not allow freedom of speech to counter-revolutionaries; this freedom is permitted

only among the people. You want to oppose the leadership of the Party and socialism but we will never give you this freedom. If you were allowed freedom to oppose the Party and socialism, the revolution would suffer defeat, the people would suffer disaster and this would lead the country to destruction.

Messrs. bourgeois "authorities"! You harped on "equality", alleging that "everybody is equal before the truth". This is an out-and-out bourgeois slogan, an extremely reactionary slogan which protects the bourgeoisie and opposes the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Did you really practise equality? No, not in the least. How wildly and tyrannically you attacked the proletariat! You revered as sacred, as priceless, all the things that came from the bourgeois "specialists" and "scholars", and, giving them your whole attention, you published them, advertised them, performed them and lauded them. As for the products of the workers, peasants and soldiers, even their good articles on the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, you dismissed contemptuously. You dared to denigrate them as typically "philistine", "oversimplified", and "pragmatic" and forthwith consigned them to the back shelf. Is that equality? You spread a lot of poison, yet the moment we counter-attacked you yelled "everyone is equal before the truth". Indeed, you clamped the label "scholar-tyrants" on the proletarian Left and maligned our counter-attack as "arbitrary", as "overwhelming others by the use of position or power". Let us ask, what is a "scholar-tyrant", and who is a "scholar-tyrant"? Does not the proletariat need dictatorship, does it not need to prevail over the bourgeoisie? Is it not necessary for proletarian learning to prevail over and eliminate bourgeois learning? By your actions you have been in fact making a last-ditch fight, rejecting criticism, attacking the proletarian Left and giving support to real bourgeois scholar-tyrants. Is that, too, equality?

Were you really talking of the truth? No. You embarked on a conspiracy under the smokescreen of "truth". You used

undermining tactics, utterly stripping truth of its class nature. Don't you know that there is only class truth in class society and no such thing as abstract truth above classes? Each particular plant yields its own particular fruit; each class speaks in its own terms. Different classes always hold different views on what is truth and what is falsehood, what constitute fragrant flowers and what poisonous weeds. The "fragrant flowers" you glorify are, to us, simply poisonous weeds which we shall uproot. The "truth" you uphold is exactly the bourgeois falsehood we oppose. Truth is objective. There can be only one truth and who after all arrives at the truth depends not on subjective boasting but on objective practice. The only criterion of truth is the revolutionary practice of the millions of people. Only the proletariat, which is the most advanced and most revolutionary class, can understand the objective laws of social development and grasp the truth. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, living Marxism-Leninism at its highest, the powerful ideological weapon in the hands of the proletariat and the revolutionary people all over the world, the great truth in this great era of ours. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the truth that conforms to the laws of development of socialist society, the laws of development of nature, and the needs of proletarian revolution. In making Mao Tse-tung's thought our supreme guide and leadership we show that we indeed love the truth, uphold the truth and adhere to the truth. You made a hullabaloo about "everybody is equal before the truth". Putting it plainly, what you meant was opposition to Mao Tse-tung's thought, substituting for the great thought of Mao Tse-tung the reactionary ideology of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists. This was the great conspiracy you conceived!

Chairman Mao teaches us that the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the truth of Marxism and the fallacies of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes, is a matter of the East wind prevailing over the West wind or vice versa; in this connection there can never be any such

thing as equality. What equality can be permitted in such fundamental matters as the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the realm of the superstructure including the various fields of culture, and the continuous work that the proletariat has to do in clearing out the bourgeois representatives who have wormed their way into the Communist Party and waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, etc.? For decades the old social democratic parties, and in the last ten years or so, the modern revisionists, have never allowed the proletariat any equality with the bourgeoisie. They entirely deny that the history of mankind for several thousand years has been one of class struggle, they entirely deny proletarian class struggle against the bourgeoisie, proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, they are faithful lackeys of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, and, hand in hand with them cling to the ideology of bourgeois oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the social system of capitalism while opposing the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and the socialist system of society. They are anti-Communist and anti-popular counter-revolutionaries. Their struggle against us is one of life and death in which there is no such thing as equality. Hence, our struggle against them is inevitably one of life and death; our relationship with them can never be that of equality but that in which one class suppresses the other, *i.e.*, a relationship in which the proletariat exercises absolute rule or dictatorship over the bourgeoisie; nor can it be anything else, such as, for example, a so-called relationship of equality, a relationship of peaceful coexistence between the exploited and exploiting classes, or a relationship of benevolence, justice and so on.

Messrs. bourgeois "authorities"! On the black banner you monsters displayed, you inscribed the word "fraternity". What do you mean by "fraternity"? You ardently love the bour-

geoisie and intensely hate the proletariat. That is your conception, the bourgeois conception, of "fraternity".

Let us now see what they really love, these philanthropists who are filled with the spirit of "fraternity". When the anti-Party and anti-socialist gang feverishly attacked the Party in order to give it a heavy "blow on the head" and "pour dog's blood on its head", in the hope of overthrowing the Party leadership, you bosses behind the scenes gave them the green light, beat the drum for them, summoned the wind and the waves, forgot yourselves in your excitement and acclaimed them in the belief that good days were in store for you just around the corner. But your sweet dream was short-lived and your dirty anti-Party and anti-socialist camouflage was soon torn down. Then, when you threw away your shield and armour and fled in panic you hastily hoisted the tattered flag of "fraternity" and assumed a hypocritical air of impartiality and justice, while proclaiming that "those with reactionary academic viewpoints" must be allowed to "reserve their views" and not be "prevented from making revolution" and not "be held in a tight grip", and so on. This was really an example of birds of a feather flocking together. What care and consideration you showed for that anti-Party and anti-socialist gang of yours! As for the staunch proletarian Left, they were a thorn in your flesh and you wanted to "rectify" their "working style" and "purge" them. You longed to devour them. How firm was your bourgeois stand! What a clear distinction you maintained then between love and hate!

Chairman Mao teaches us: "There is absolutely no such thing in the world as love or hatred without reason or cause." He also teaches us:

We definitely do not apply a policy of benevolence to the reactionaries and towards the reactionary activities of the reactionary classes. Our policy of benevolence is applied only within the ranks of the people, not beyond them to the

reactionaries or to the reactionary activities of reactionary classes.

Messrs. bourgeois "authorities"! You are birds of a feather with imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries abroad, and with the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists at home. There is no compatibility between you and us, and the struggle between you and us is irreconcilable. You have never had "fraternal love" for us, nor shall we ever have any for you. Your hatred for our great Party of the proletariat and the people was so bitter that you employed the meanest of tricks and would not feel content till you utterly destroyed them. How then can we talk about "fraternal love" for you? We must never be tender-hearted to the enemies of the revolution. To be tender-hearted to you would mean cruelty to the proletariat and to the millions of working people. We must never mistake the wolf for the lamb or arsenic for sugar. We shall never be deceived by you "tigers with smiling faces". We must reply in kind. We must deal you destructive blows, make your names reek to high heaven and defeat and overthrow you completely. We must thoroughly sweep away all "pests" that harm the people!

"Liberty, equality and fraternity" is the decadent and reactionary world outlook of the bourgeoisie. Two centuries have passed since this slogan was first raised by the French bourgeoisie in the 18th century. Although when they led the French revolution, this slogan had an anti-feudal progressive aspect, it is a hypocritical one used by the bourgeoisie to defend their private class interests. The bourgeoisie made use of this slogan during the democratic revolution to deceive the working people, seize state power from the feudal landlord class and establish a bourgeois dictatorship. After their seizure of power, the bourgeoisie continued to use the slogan to lull the working people, cover up their sanguinary rule and consolidate the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The liberty proclaimed

by the bourgeoisie amounts to nothing more than liberty for them to exploit wage labour and plunder colonies, and on the other hand, liberty for the labouring people to be exploited and the people in the colonies to be plundered. The equality proclaimed by the bourgeoisie means nothing more than equality for them to exploit wage labour and equality for the working people to be exploited. The fraternity proclaimed by the bourgeoisie means nothing more than an attempt to exploit and enslave more and more people, and a demand that the exploited and oppressed people should be grateful for the bourgeois exploitation. Marx and Engels once said that the vampire would not lose its hold so long as there was a muscle, a nerve, a drop of blood to be exploited. This is the reactionary essence of the bourgeois slogan of "liberty, equality and fraternity".

The bourgeoisie never reconcile themselves to their defeat once their state power is overthrown by the proletarian revolution. Invariably they resort to every kind of conspiracy and disruption, and, through their agents who have infiltrated the revolutionary ranks, they employ the reactionary slogan of "liberty, equality and fraternity" to deceive and lull the working people and oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat in the vain hope of restoring their lost "paradise". In opposing the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, the old social-democrats adopted the black banner of "liberty, equality and fraternity". In order to backtrack from socialism to capitalism, and to oppose and undermine people's revolution throughout the world, the Khrushchov modern revisionists have also taken up this reactionary banner and even incorporated it into the notorious programme of the C.P.S.U. In 1956, the Hungarian Petofi Club also used this black banner to incite the masses to stage a counter-revolutionary rebellion. The bourgeois Rightists in our country in 1957 hoisted the same banner in their frenzied attack on the Party and socialism. At the Lushan meeting the Right opportunists who were dismissed from office also vigorously spread this reactionary slogan in their op-

position to the Party's Central Committee, to the Party's correct line and to Mao Tse-tung's thought. Now, Messrs. bourgeois "authorities", you have also plucked this rubbish from history's dustbin, tried to pretty it up and made it your anti-Party, anti-socialist standard, your programme of action against Mao Tse-tung's thought and your magic weapon to obstruct and undermine the great socialist cultural revolution. You have stepped into the shoes of the bourgeoisie and revisionists past and present, at home and abroad, set up cliques for your selfish interests, and tried every trick to mislead the public and match strength with the proletariat, in the hope of undermining the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. You are racking your brains in vain! You are day-dreaming! Your fate cannot be better than that of your fore-runners and brothers-in-crime!

Our socialist society still rests on class antagonism. Although the landlord and the bourgeois classes have been overthrown, they are not yet completely eliminated. We have confiscated the property of the exploiting classes, but we cannot confiscate their reactionary ideas. Persons of these classes are still living and they are not reconciled. They inevitably try to stage a come-back. They form a minuscule minority of the whole population, but their power of resistance is proportionately much greater. The spontaneous forces of the urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie ceaselessly engender new bourgeois elements. Some unwholesome elements come into the workers' ranks as these expand. There are also some people in the Party and government organs who degenerate. Further, imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries are always making efforts, in one way or another, to have a go at us. All this exposes our country to the danger of a restoration of capitalism. We absolutely must not ignore this danger. Just as we must raise our vigilance a hundred-fold against the external enemy; so, too, we must not lower our guard against the enemy at home. While paying serious attention to the enemy with guns, we must not lose sight of

the enemy without guns. A wolf in sheep's clothing is more dangerous than an ordinary wolf, and even more dangerous than a pack of wolves. The enemy holding a red flag is more dangerous than the enemy with a white one. Sugar-coated bullets kill people. Smiling tigers eat people. We must never engross ourselves in work and forget politics just because we have a host of problems to deal with. To forget politics, to forget class struggle, would be to forget the fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. This would be blind carelessness and sheer idiocy. We must follow the instructions of the Party's Central Committee and never for a single instant forget class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the primary place of politics, and never for a single instant forget to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Marxism-Leninism is critical and revolutionary in nature. Its basic point is criticism, struggle and revolution. Towards everything bourgeois and revisionist, we must adopt not reformist but thoroughgoing revolutionary methods. In dealing with the enemy of revolution, we cannot rely on persuasion but on struggle. If you don't struggle against him, he will struggle against you. If you don't hit him, he will hit you. Without destruction, there will be no construction. Destruction means criticism and revolution. Destruction comes first and construction comes in the course of destruction. Messrs. bourgeois "authorities", you say we are "dynamiters" and "clubs". You are right. We want to be proletarian "dynamiters" so as to blow to bits all the anti-Party, anti-socialist gangster villages and inns. We want to be "golden clubs" of the proletariat so as to rout all monsters. We shall smash anyone who tries to oppose the Party and socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat and Mao Tse-tung's thought. No matter what his "authority", no matter how high his post, the whole nation and the whole Party will rise to denounce him.

At the present time, we are facing an excellent situation. The whole world situation is excellent, and so is China's.

Ours is a Party that has been making revolution for dozens of years under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, a Party that is armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, a Party closely linked with the masses, possessing rich revolutionary experience and a glorious revolutionary tradition, a Party that has withstood storm and stress in protracted revolutionary struggles; ours is a glorious, great and correct Party. Any monsters, schemers or careerists who plan to capture our bastion from within and stage in China the ugly drama of Khrushchov's usurpation of Party, army and state power will knock their heads against a brick wall, lose all standing and reputation and end in utter failure. We must use the great Mao Tse-tung's thought and the great, just cause of communism to inspire the revolutionary enthusiasm of the working people of our country, broaden their vistas of the future and press forward unswervingly. The masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals of our country must rally closely around the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, raise aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, smash the rabid attack of the bourgeois gangsters, resolutely tear down the black banner of bourgeois "liberty, equality and fraternity", sweep away all monsters and carry the great socialist cultural revolution through to the end.

NEW VICTORY FOR MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT

— Editorial of the *People's Daily* of June 4, 1966 —

This paper publishes two important items of news today. One is about the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the reorganization of the Peking Municipal Committee of the Party, with the appointment of Comrade Li Hsueh-feng, First Secretary of the North China Bureau of the Party's Central Committee, as concurrently First Secretary of the new Peking Municipal Committee of the Party, and Comrade Wu Teh as Second Secretary. The other item announces that the newly reorganized Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has decided that Lu Ping and Peng Pei-yun be dismissed from all their posts and that the Peking University Party Committee be reorganized. The newly reorganized Peking Municipal Party Committee also decided to send a work team to the university to lead the great socialist cultural revolution and to act as the Peking University Party Committee.

These two items of news, after being broadcast over the radio at four o'clock yesterday afternoon, immediately received the warm support of the worker and peasant masses as well as of government organizations, colleges and schools, people's organizations and the People's Liberation Army units in Peking. The people are elated; and their universally expressed opinion is that these decisions of the Central Committee and the newly reorganized Peking Municipal Committee of the Party are very wise and absolutely correct. This is a new victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

A black anti-Party and anti-socialist line ran through the leadership given by the former Peking Municipal Committee of the Party.

A number of the principal leading members of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee are not Marxists but revisionists.

The anti-Party and anti-socialist counter-revolutionary clique of "Three-Family Village" was uncovered during the great socialist cultural revolution. The roots of this counter-revolutionary clique lay in the former Peking Municipal Committee of the Party.

For a considerable period of time, *Frontline* (*Qianxian*), the *Peking Daily* (*Beijing Ribao*) and the *Peking Evening News* (*Beijing Wanbao*) became instruments of this counter-revolutionary clique for spreading revisionist poison, in a futile attempt to restore capitalism. The former Peking Municipal Committee of the Party was at the very root of this.

For a considerable period of time, many departments of the Peking Party and government organizations carried out not the line of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought mapped out by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, but a revisionist line. They were instruments not of the proletariat for exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie but of the bourgeoisie for exercising dictatorship over the proletariat. The former Peking Municipal Committee of the Party was at the very root of this.

The former Peking Municipal Committee of the Party also carried out an anti-Party and anti-socialist line in education. Peking University was a most stubborn bulwark under its control. As many students of Peking University have revealed, its educational policy was not the training of successors for the proletarian revolutionary cause but the training of successors for the bourgeoisie.

The workers, peasants and soldiers in Peking and the many revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals have for a long time been resisting and fighting against the

black anti-Party and anti-socialist line of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee. They have kept firmly to the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, have done a great deal of work and made their contribution to the socialist revolution and socialist construction. More than 95 per cent of the people and more than 95 per cent of the cadres in the Peking area support Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party. Now that they know the real facts of the matter, those who were temporarily misled are immediately rallying and going into action against the black anti-Party and anti-socialist line of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee.

There is today a vigorous revolutionary situation in Peking University. The poster put up by seven comrades, including Nieh Yuan-tzu, written in big characters, was the opening shot. Everyone in the university was inspired and there was widespread joy as soon as the contents of this poster were broadcast on the radio and published in the newspapers. The proletarian revolutionaries are elated and the ranks of the Left have rapidly expanded. Tens of thousands of big-character posters have descended on the heads of the anti-Party and anti-socialist elements like a rain of shells. The active support given by all universities and colleges in Peking has greatly enhanced the revolutionary power and prestige of the proletariat. The "royalists" have panicked, they have become completely isolated. Under the leadership of the work team sent in by the new Municipal Party Committee, the students, faculty members and workers are firmly settling things and combating the anti-Party and anti-socialist crimes of Lu Ping and the others.

In appearance, these counter-revolutionary anti-Party and anti-socialist cliques looked very tough. Their control and blockade were iron-clad and impenetrable. But once Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee of the Party issued the clarion call to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution, once the masses stood up, the counter-revolutionary

features of these cliques were quickly exposed. Like all reactionaries, they were simply paper tigers.

The situation in our country is excellent. The people of the whole country have boundless love for Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Mao Tse-tung's thought has penetrated people's minds, the political consciousness of the masses is higher than it has ever been and tremendous successes have been registered in the socialist revolution and construction. No one who opposes Chairman Mao, Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Party's Central Committee, the dictatorship of the proletariat or the socialist system can escape the censure and condemnation by the whole Party and the whole nation, whoever he may be, whatever high position he may hold and however much of a veteran he may be. The only possible result is his total ruination.

We are firmly convinced that under the leadership of the newly reorganized Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the erroneous line of the former Municipal Party Committee and the effects of this line will be thoroughly eradicated. Tremendous successes in the great proletarian cultural revolution in Peking are certain. Now, all work in Peking is bound to be well done.

TO BE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARIES OR BOURGEOIS ROYALISTS?

— Editorial of the *People's Daily* of June 5, 1966 —

Responding to the great call of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Peking University has set the great proletarian cultural revolution in dynamic motion. The proletarian revolutionaries in the university who were formerly repressed have risen to their feet. They have overthrown the rule of the bourgeois royalists headed by Lu Ping. A struggle to smash the intrigues for the restoration of capitalism is developing successfully and the bourgeois royalists have found themselves heavily encircled by the masses.

With its long history, Peking University holds one of the most important positions in the field of education in our country. Some anti-Party, anti-socialist leading members of the former Peking Municipal Committee of the Party who adhered to a revisionist line always took Peking University as a base from which to win away the younger generation from the proletariat.

Stubbornly implementing the revisionist line of the former Peking Municipal Committee of the Party, that handful of royalists, Lu Ping and company, exercised the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in Peking University. Under their rule certain departments in the university, while nominally retaining the banner of the dictatorship of the proletariat, actually engaged in criminal activities against it. They carried out a bourgeois and revisionist line in education and went to great

lengths to lead the students astray on to the road of revisionism and train them as successors for the bourgeoisie.

Lu Ping and a handful of other royalists lauded to the skies the bourgeoisie's so-called academic authorities and allowed them to spread their poisonous ideas freely among the students and to systematically propagate bourgeois and revisionist ideology. They tried to oust the revolutionary teachers and relentlessly attacked them.

Lu Ping and a handful of other royalists painstakingly cultivated students who accepted their revisionist policy in education, provided them with all kinds of facilities and gave them special care and attention. They tried to breed revisionist seedlings and spread them around.

Lu Ping and a handful of other royalists intensely hated the students of worker and peasant origins and those students who rejected their whole set of revisionist policies in education. These royalists devised many ways of restricting, squeezing out, obstructing, and discriminating against these good students all the way from the entrance examination to the lectures, and from the final examination to the assignment of jobs on graduation. They went so far as to engage in ruthless struggles against these students.

Lu Ping and a handful of other royalists desperately resisted and sabotaged the socialist education movement. During this movement, the revolutionary teachers and students of Peking University brought to light a great number of the anti-Party and anti-socialist statements and actions of Lu Ping and other royalists and presented a vast amount of material showing their implementation of revisionist policy in education. But they put up a stubborn resistance. Under the direct guidance of the former Peking Municipal Committee of the Party, they launched a frantic counter-offensive in which they hit back and took revenge. They trumped up charges against the revolutionaries, attacked them and labelled them, organized things so as to hedge them in and made one round of attacks after another against them. The cruel struggle against a

number of activists lasted as long as seven months. This was one extremely serious counter-revolutionary event that occurred in 1965.

Lu Ping and a handful of other royalists did not scruple to hound those who would not obey their orders, accusing them of undermining organizational discipline and opposing the leadership. Indeed they showed a very strong party spirit, but it was the party spirit of the bourgeois royalists, the counter-revolutionary party spirit of revisionism. Indeed they had organizational discipline and leadership, but it was the organizational discipline of the bourgeois royalists and the counter-revolutionary leadership of revisionism. We must tell this bunch of lords that it was precisely the proletarian party spirit which opposed your party spirit. It was the conscious observance of the organizational discipline of the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship which destroyed your organizational discipline. It was the conscious support and defence of the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung which opposed your leadership. The people who did this are fine comrades, proletarian revolutionaries, the vanguards of Peking University's proletarian revolution. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao certainly supports the proletarian revolutionaries in overthrowing your leadership and bringing down your bunch of royalists.

The struggle at Peking University is one between proletarian revolutionaries and bourgeois royalists, between Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought on the one hand and revisionism on the other, between the proletarian line and the bourgeois line in education, between revolution and counter-revolution, and it is an extremely sharp class struggle.

The struggle by the bourgeoisie to win the younger generation away from the proletariat is an important part of the class struggle in socialist society. In the last analysis, the struggle between the two lines and the two roads of socialism and

capitalism in the field of education is a question of whether the younger generation will be brought up to become successors to the proletariat or successors to the bourgeoisie. This great issue is one of crucial importance which concerns the destiny and future of our Party and state.

In its illusions about "peaceful evolution" in socialist New China, imperialism is pinning its hopes on the younger generation. Its futile dream is that our younger generation will take not the road of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, but the road of revisionism. Lu Ping and company who, in the sphere of education, obstinately pursued the revisionist line of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee exactly fitted the needs of imperialism.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is taking deeper and deeper root in the hearts and minds of the people of China. It is impossible for anyone to block access by the masses to Mao Tse-tung's thought. Even in that stubborn stronghold in which Lu Ping and company was entrenched for so many years, the overwhelming majority of the students, the faculty and other staff members support Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought, support our Party and its Central Committee. A great many of the students, faculty and other staff members there have all along held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and waged resolute struggles against Lu Ping and company.

The struggle at Peking University is a typical instance of the struggle between the bourgeoisie who wants to restore capitalism and the proletariat who opposes a restoration. Every revolutionary comrade will derive very valuable experience from it and learn the lessons.

The unfolding of the great proletarian cultural revolution confronts educational workers, youth and students, confronts all cultural workers and everyone else with this sharp question — which side are you on in the life-and-death class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist and the capitalist road; to be a proletarian revolu-

tionary or a bourgeois royalist? Everyone must choose for himself.

We are confident that the overwhelming majority, that is, over 95 per cent of the population, will surely repudiate the bourgeois royalists and stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionaries, will firmly rally around Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Party's Central Committee and carry the cause of socialist revolution and the great proletarian cultural revolution in China through to the end!