



**THE GREAT
SOCIALIST
CULTURAL
REVOLUTION
IN CHINA**

(7)

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PEKING

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THE PROGRAMMATIC DOCUMENT OF THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

— Editorial of *Red Flag (Hongqi)*, No. 10, 1966 —

At the crucial moment in the development of the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published the Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This document which was drawn up under the personal guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung sums up, in a scientific way, the experience in recent months of the mass movement of the cultural revolution. It is the programme of China's great proletarian cultural revolution. The decision is bound to push this revolutionary movement to a new high.

The decision correctly analyses the nature, situation and tasks of the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country and lays down for it the Party's principles and policies.

The decision says:

The great proletarian cultural revolution now unfolding is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls and constitutes a new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country, a stage which is both broader and deeper.

Ten years ago when the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in our country was in the main completed, Comrade Mao Tse-tung already wisely pointed out:

The class struggle is by no means over. 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.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is to fully mobilize the masses under the leadership of our Party and step by step settle this question raised by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the question of which is to win out in the ideological field.

This cultural revolution is a struggle of the proletarian world outlook against the bourgeois world outlook, a struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie over the leadership in the ideological field.

All class struggles are political struggles. The present great cultural revolution is, in the final analysis, a life-and-death struggle between the socialist system and the capitalist system, a struggle in which one side wants to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat while the other side wants to turn the proletarian dictatorship into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It is an extremely fierce, sharp and deep-going class struggle, a struggle by the proletariat to prevent the restoration of capitalism, a struggle to prevent imperialism and modern revisionism from carrying out their subversive plots and "peaceful evolution" in our country. This is a struggle that affects the future of our great motherland.

The tasks of the present great proletarian cultural revolution are, just as the decision points out, firstly, to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road; secondly, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the

ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; and thirdly, to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base.

At present, an excellent situation prevails in our great proletarian cultural revolution. It is a reflection of a great flourishing in the political, economic and other spheres of our country. In this great cultural revolution, unprecedented in history, which is led by the Chinese Communist Party, new changes have taken place in the relationships among the various classes and the various political forces. Where the mass movement has really been set going, it is vigorous and irresistible. The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres have plunged themselves into the torrential current of the revolution, and the reactionary bastions of the bourgeoisie have been shattered one after another. This is the main current of the great cultural revolution. But, it must be noted, resistance to the movement is at present still fairly strong and stubborn. Many places and units are still in a state of seemingly being aroused but not really aroused, or in a relatively lukewarm state and the lid of the class struggle has not yet been completely lifted or has not been lifted at all. In some places and units, there have been zigzags and reverses. There, the persons in charge or those in charge of the work teams sent there have made an error on matters of orientation, an error of line. These persons in charge have organized counter-attacks against the masses who put up big-character posters criticizing them, or even have advanced such slogans as: opposition to the leaders of a unit or a work team means opposition to the Party's Central Committee, means opposition to the Party and socialism and means counter-revolution. They have spearheaded the struggle against the really revolutionary activists, rounded upon and attacked the revolutionary Left and suppressed the revolutionary mass movement. Of course, the great proletarian cultural revolution is, after all, an

irresistible general trend. Once the masses are fully aroused such resistance will be quickly broken down. When zigzags and reverses are over, the movement will proceed in an ever more vigorous and healthy manner.

Our Party's task is to dare to lead this great revolution and be good at leading it. The key of decisive importance to Party leadership is to put daring above everything else and boldly arouse the masses.

The fundamental criterion for judging whether one can lead this great proletarian cultural revolution is, as for other revolutionary movements, whether one dares boldly to arouse the masses.

The spirit running through this decision is to trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative. Cast out fear. Don't be afraid of full and frank expression of views and opinions, of big-character posters and great debates. Don't be afraid of disturbances. All these fears boil down to one thing, fear of the masses. Any person who does not cast out fear cannot lead this revolutionary movement, and will even become an obstacle to the mass movement. Let the masses educate themselves, run their own affairs and rise to make revolution themselves in this great revolutionary movement. Let them learn in revolutionary struggle to distinguish right from wrong and correct from incorrect ways of doing things. Revolutionary order cannot be created by drawing up a set of rules in advance; rather, we must rely on the masses to establish it in accordance with their experience in struggle.

Chairman Mao has constantly taught us:

It has to be understood that the masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge.

Only by being pupils of the masses can we become the teachers of the masses. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, there are some comrades who have forgotten this.

They always blindly think themselves wise and do not believe that the masses are wise. Actually, it is only the broad masses who are really wise. The masses can teach us many things. We must listen to them, learn from and understand their experiences, desires and criticisms, gather these together, ascertain the sum total of what they require and then return these to the masses in the form of policy. Any leading person who does not go and learn from the masses will have no knowledge whatsoever.

In the proletarian cultural revolutionary movement, many new things have emerged, such as the cultural revolutionary groups, committees, etc., which were not dreamt up by anyone and forced on the masses, but which were created by the masses themselves in the course of the movement. Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party have summarized the experiences of the masses and in this decision have affirmed them as new things of great historic significance.

The appearance of these new things at first did not receive people's attention, and they were even suppressed and attacked.

The attitude one takes towards new things represents one's attitude towards the masses, towards revolution and towards revolutionary mass movements.

Chairman Mao has penetratingly pointed out:

The masses have a potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism. Those who can only follow the old routine in a revolutionary period are utterly incapable of seeing this enthusiasm. They are blind and all is dark ahead of them. At times they go so far as to confound right and wrong and turn things upside down. Haven't we come across enough persons of this type? Those who simply follow the old routine invariably underestimate the people's enthusiasm. Let something new appear and they always disapprove and rush to oppose it. Afterwards, they have to admit defeat and do a little self-criticism. But the next time something new appears, they go through the same process all over

again. This is their pattern of behaviour in regard to anything and everything new. Such people are always passive, always fail to move forward at the critical moment, and always have to be given a shove in the back before they move a step.

There is a very dangerous tendency among some comrades who are bent on standing on a commanding height and divorcing themselves from the masses. On the political and ideological level, they lag far behind those previously unknown, those youngsters, who have the courage to break through. Nevertheless, they regard themselves as nobles head and shoulders above the "lower orders". They are accustomed to monopolizing everything themselves, giving orders and reducing the masses to inactivity; they have often developed from standing aloof from and fearing the masses to opposing and suppressing them. They have often trembled before the revolutionary storm, not knowing what to do, and as soon as they recover from their fear, they hastily try to pull the revolutionary movement back. Taking the stand of the reactionary bourgeoisie, they oppress the revolutionaries, put a damper on dissenting opinions and exercise the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Experience has shown that the cultural revolutionary work in various units should be conducted by the masses themselves, and must not be monopolized by the higher organizations. In general, the higher organizations should not send work teams of the cultural revolution. And the personnel appointed by the higher organizations to keep in contact with the various units should not pose as "imperial envoys", making a hullabaloo and spouting opinions "the moment they alight from the official carriage", and formulating preconceived ideas as soon as they hear one side's opinions. They should sincerely and earnestly contact the masses and identify themselves with the masses, seeing more, asking more, hearing more and thinking more.

How can the Party's leadership be realized in such an unprecedented mass movement — the great cultural revolution? The Party organizations at all levels should take Mao Tse-tung's thought as their guide to action, conscientiously implement the correct line, principles and policies formulated by the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and resolutely resist the erroneous leadership that is detrimental to the revolution. To do this, it is necessary to share the weal and woe of the broad masses, to go through thick and thin with the masses, come from the masses and go back to the masses. Some comrades counterpose Party leadership to the practice of boldly arousing the masses. This is quite wrong.

If the masses are to be boldly aroused in the correct manner, the Party's policies must be put into the hands of the masses. The proclamation of this decision directly brings to the masses the Party's policies concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is all the more favourable for boldly arousing the masses.

In the course of the movement, it is necessary to let the masses thoroughly expose those bourgeois Rightists who have yet to expose themselves or who have not exposed themselves to the full, to criticize and repudiate them thoroughly and isolate them to the greatest possible extent. Thus, it is imperative that those Party members who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road should first be identified, and that the utmost should be done to identify them without error and to unmask them completely.

The masses fully understand that it is necessary to make a vigorous effort to win over the middle elements who are wavering and are unclear about the cardinal issues of right and wrong. True, when the masses are aroused the big-character posters put up in the units may name some of the middle elements; this is scarcely avoidable. But no harm can come to them if these big-character posters are not published in the press and those named are allowed to put up big-

character posters to defend themselves; instead, this can stir them into making progress. We believe that in the course of the movement some of the middle elements will change and join the ranks of the Left.

To rely on the Left is even more at one with arousing the masses on an extensive scale. Only by being good at discovering the Left, expanding and strengthening its ranks and firmly relying on the revolutionary Left can the ultra-reactionary Rightists be thoroughly isolated, the middle elements won over and the overwhelming majority united in the course of the movement, can the unity of more than 95 per cent of the cadres and more than 95 per cent of the masses be finally achieved by the end of the movement.

It is necessary in the course of the struggle to raise continuously the ideological and political level of the Left and help them study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively. Only with a revolutionary contingent of the proletariat, a staunch contingent of the Left, that is armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and is extremely revolutionized and extremely militant, can victory be won in this great cultural revolution.

Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution under the invincible banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

MASTER THE IDEOLOGICAL WEAPON OF THE GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION

— Editorial of the *People's Daily (Renmin Ribao)*
of August 11, 1966 —

The Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has enabled the people of our country to hear the voice of our great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

This decision sums up the new experience created by the broad masses of China in the course of the proletarian cultural revolution. It reflects their revolutionary initiative.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: Our policy must be made known not only to the leaders and to the cadres but also to the broad masses. Once the masses know the truth and have a common aim, they will work together with one heart. When the masses are of one heart, everything becomes easy.

The broad worker, peasant and soldier masses, the members of the Communist Party, revolutionary members of the working staffs, revolutionary intellectuals, teachers and students should all earnestly study this decision of the Central Committee of the Party. They should familiarize themselves with it, master it and apply it. In the light of the principles and policies laid down in this decision, they should make a comparative study of the situation of the cultural revolution in their own units in the previous period, continue to do what is right, resolutely correct what is wrong, and do what remains to be done.

There are two opposite principles, policies and ways of doing things. One is to trust the masses, rely on them and boldly

arouse them, believing that they are capable of liberating and educating themselves in the course of the movement, and giving enthusiastic support to their revolutionary spirit and revolutionary action. The other is to stand on the opposite side to the masses and suppress them at the crucial moment of the revolution. The former represents the putting into practice of the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, whereas the latter is the implementation of the erroneous line in opposition to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

It is necessary resolutely to block, repudiate and struggle against the erroneous line. Only in this way will it be possible to fully implement the correct line and carry the great cultural revolution through to victory.

The proletarian cultural revolution is an unprecedented, great revolution. Such a revolution inevitably meets with resistance of various kinds. Just as the decision points out, "At present, this resistance is still fairly strong and stubborn." To carry through and implement this decision of the Party's Central Committee, we must struggle against the erroneous line within the Party, against opportunism of various brands, and against the force of habits from the old society.

Marx and Engels said in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: "The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas."

The current great proletarian cultural revolution is for the elimination of the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, for the liquidation of the old ideas, culture, customs and habits which prepare the ground for a capitalist restoration, and to enable the broadest masses to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought so that they can create the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of socialism.

After mastering this powerful ideological weapon — the decision of the Party's Central Committee — the 700 million Chinese people will surely be able to unite still more closely,

to break through all obstacles and, with the force of an avalanche, to overthrow those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road, and to sweep away all ghosts and monsters.

STUDY THE 16-POINT DECISION, KNOW IT WELL AND APPLY IT

— Editorial of the *People's Daily* of August 13, 1966 —

The Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, i.e., the 16-point decision, was formulated under the personal guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The basic spirit running through the 16-point decision is: trust the masses, rely on them, boldly arouse them and respect their initiative. That is to say, in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the only method is for the masses to educate and liberate themselves, and any method of doing things in their stead must not be used.

The masses are the masters of our society. The great proletarian cultural revolution must rely on the conscious action of the masses and be made by them.

Can the cultural revolution be carried through successfully by relying on the masses of the school or unit in question? Yes, it can! Every revolutionary teacher or student and every revolutionary comrade should be fired with the great and lofty aspirations of the proletariat. Comrades of various schools and units will surely be able to win victory in the great cultural revolution by relying on the masses' own strength, provided that they conscientiously study the 16-point decision, know it well and apply it.

A revolutionary mass movement is a great crucible. Every revolutionary teacher or student and every revolutionary comrade must stand the test, be tempered and learn to make revolutions in this crucible.

Once the revolutionary masses master the 16-point decision, they will have a clear direction in the cultural revolution, distinguish right from wrong in their work, and correctly plan their future action. They should analyse and assess the preceding part of the movement in the light of the 16-point decision, see what is right and what is wrong, which methods are correct and which methods are erroneous.

The cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses are new forms of organization whereby under the leadership of the Communist Party the masses themselves are rising to make the cultural revolution. In accordance with the stipulations of the 16-point decision, it is necessary to hold general elections like those of the Paris Commune. There should be a full exchange of views for several days on the questions of whom to elect and how, and these should be discussed over and over again. Should those elected prove incompetent, they can be replaced by elections or recalled.

The revolutionary masses of each school or unit should devote their main efforts to making the cultural revolution a success in their own school or unit. They should learn to analyse concretely the specific conditions of their own school or unit, find solutions for existing problems and themselves amass experience in practice. This is the best support for other schools and units. The cultural revolution in each school or unit can be unfolded and conducted successfully only when it is carried out by the masses themselves in their own school or unit. We should have confidence in ourselves as well as in the revolutionary masses of other schools and units that they are able to solve their own problems and win their own liberation.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is an ideological and political struggle which touches the people to their very souls. This struggle should be carried out by reasoning, not by coercion or force. The truth is in the hands of the proletariat. Struggle by reasoning and not by coercion or force should be applied even in dealing with bourgeois Rightists.

Struggle by reasoning helps to fully expose the ugly features of the bourgeois Rightists and to thoroughly refute their fallacies so that they will be isolated to the greatest extent.

The 16-point decision is the programme advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for the great proletarian cultural revolution; it is the revolutionary masses' guide in unifying their understanding and action.

The masses of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres resolutely support the 16-point decision. We, the revolutionary masses, must conscientiously study this decision, using it as the yardstick for measuring the movement in our own schools or units. We should continue to do what conforms to the 16-point decision and correct what does not conform to it. Persons in charge in schools or units who resist the 16-point decision should be exposed and repudiated.

SAILING THE SEAS DEPENDS ON THE HELMSMAN

— Editorial of the *People's Daily* of August 15, 1966 —

Comrade Mao Tse-tung personally presided over the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, which was held in a new stage of China's socialist revolution, at a crucial juncture in the development of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This session is a milestone marking the new stage of our country's socialist revolution.

In socialist countries, there still exists the question of which road to take after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. The question sharply posed before people is whether to carry the socialist revolution through to the end and make the gradual transition to communism, or to stop half-way and regress towards capitalism. By summing up and drawing upon both the positive and the negative experience of the Chinese revolution and the international communist movement, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has furnished the theoretical answer to this question, and is gradually solving the question in practice.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, which was held in 1962, Comrade Mao Tse-tung once again stressed the theory of contradictions, of classes and class struggle in socialist society and issued the great call: Never forget class struggle! Furthermore, during the past few years, he has put forward a series of brilliant policies which are of decisive and fundamental importance to

socialist revolution and socialist construction; a series of important directives with regard to the socialist education movement and the great proletarian cultural revolution; and a series of important guiding principles on opposition to imperialism, on the establishment of the broadest possible international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, on opposition to modern revisionism and support for the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed people and nations of the world. All these questions are fundamental for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system in our country, for preventing revisionist usurpation of the Party and state leadership, for preventing the restoration of capitalism and for ensuring China's adherence to proletarian internationalism.

Sailing the seas depends on the helmsman!

The great helmsman of our revolution is Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

It is because our Party and people have a helmsman of such genius as Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the great thought of Mao Tse-tung as the compass to chart the correct course through heavy fog that, during the past few decades, at each critical moment of our revolution, the great ship of our revolution has been able to steer clear of the countless dangerous shoals and hidden rocks and, in the teeth of great storms and waves, sail victoriously along the revolutionary course of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin said: "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." This is perfectly true. Without Mao Tse-tung's thought there would never have been the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China or the victory of our democratic revolution and socialist revolution, or the new China. Without Mao Tse-tung's thought, it would have been impossible to build China into a great socialist country or to enable the Chinese people to stand always erect in the world and to keep marching forward.

Comrade Lin Piao has very aptly explained the supreme importance of Mao Tse-tung's thought for the Chinese revolution and for the future of China. He said:

China is a great socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat with a population of 700 million. It needs a unified, revolutionary and correct thought. That is the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The fundamental task of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China is to ensure that Mao Tse-tung's thought shall be grasped by the greatest possible number of people, to further promote the revolutionization of the people's thinking and turn the spiritual force into a gigantic material force for the transformation of society and nature.

Let us hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, rally even more closely round the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, carry out energetically the policies laid down in the Communiqué of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, unite with all those with whom it is possible to unite and, relying on our own strength and hard work, overcome all resistance and all difficulties and so carry through the great proletarian cultural revolution, the socialist revolution and the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism to the very end.

Strive to build China into a powerful socialist country!

Strive to unite with the people of all countries to build a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the system of exploitation of man by man!

Long live the great unity of the Chinese people!

Long live the great unity of the peoples of the world!

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH SHOULD LEARN FROM THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY

— Editorial of the *People's Daily* of August 28, 1966 —

Learn from the People's Liberation Army — this is the great call given by Chairman Mao Tse-tung to the people throughout the country.

Our revolutionary young people, nurtured by the Party and Chairman Mao, have always warmly loved the People's Liberation Army and learnt from it. They make up their minds at an early age to become honourable fighters of the P.L.A.

In the current great proletarian cultural revolution, our revolutionary young people in colleges and middle schools, taking the P.L.A. as their example, have established Red Guards and other revolutionary organizations. We warmly support their revolutionary actions.

The broad masses of revolutionary young people are determined, in the course of this struggle, to learn still better from the P.L.A., and temper themselves into staunch proletarian revolutionary fighters.

Like the P.L.A., revolutionary young people should always be loyal to the Party, to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought and to the people's revolutionary cause. Every one should "study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings, act in accordance with his instructions and be a good soldier of Chairman Mao". Every one should creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works and make great efforts to apply what is studied. At the present time, special attention should be paid to serious study of Chairman Mao's theses on classes and

class struggle and on the great proletarian cultural revolution, and to serious study of the 16-point decision, which was drawn up under the personal direction of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Chairman Mao's directives must be taken as the guide for all our actions and firmly implemented. We will resolutely carry out everything that conforms to Chairman Mao's directives and resolutely oppose everything that runs counter to them.

Revolutionary young people should learn from the heroes and models of the P.L.A. In the storms of revolutionary war and class struggle, many heroes and models have come to the fore in the P.L.A., men such as Tung Tsun-jui, Huang Chi-kuang, Lei Feng, Ouyang Hai, Wang Chieh, Mai Hsien-teh and Liu Ying-chun. Using Mao Tse-tung's thought as their weapon in revolutionary practice, they all ceaselessly raised their level of proletarian consciousness, remoulded their thinking and established a proletarian world outlook of complete dedication to the people and the revolution. Like these heroes and models, we should follow Chairman Mao, temper ourselves and become mature in violent storms and waves. Wang Chieh said: "I will do as Chairman Mao says." Liu Ying-chun said: "I am determined to act in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, and train myself to become a staunch proletarian revolutionary fighter." This should be the common goal towards which all our young people should strive.

Like the P.L.A., revolutionary young people should serve the people wholeheartedly, keep in close contact with the masses, humbly learn from them, carry out the mass line of "from the masses, to the masses" in their work, and always be loyal servants of the people. The Red Guards and all other revolutionary organizations of the young people should take the P.L.A. as their example, resolutely carry out the "Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention" laid down by Chairman Mao, observe discipline in their relations with the masses, defend the people's interests and protect state property.

Like the P.L.A., revolutionary young people should dare to struggle and make revolution and be good at waging struggles and making revolution. They should pay attention to the method of struggle and resolutely carry out the policies worked out by Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party. In the struggle, they should resolutely rely on the revolutionary Left, unite with the great majority and concentrate all forces to strike at the small handful of ultra-reactionary bourgeois Rightists.

The 16-point decision points out that the struggle should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force. This is applicable not only to the handling of contradictions among the people, but also to the struggle against those in authority who are taking the capitalist road. The truth is with the proletariat and state power is in the hands of the proletariat. By using the method of reasoning we can overthrow those in authority who are taking the capitalist road. To struggle by reasoning means to expose fully and to criticize thoroughly. Only by reasoning can the ugly counter-revolutionary features of those ghosts and monsters be thoroughly exposed, only so can revisionism be uprooted and can they be refuted, overthrown and completely discredited. Only by reasoning can we, through these teachers by negative example, educate ourselves, educate the masses and eliminate the poison they spread among the masses.

Revolutionary young people should learn to swim by swimming, learn to make revolution by making revolution. They should be good at constantly summing up their experience. What is done correctly should be persisted in and continued without wavering. If, owing to lack of experience, some things are not done correctly or are not done correctly in every way, then they should be rectified in good time. Only by acting in this way can one be a good pupil of Chairman Mao.

Like the P.L.A., revolutionary young people should study Mao Tse-tung's thought hard, apply it resolutely in practice, propagate it actively and defend it courageously and use Mao

Tse-tung's thought to guide all actions. We must follow Chairman Mao to make revolution all our lives, to study Mao Tse-tung's thought all our lives and remould our thinking all our lives.

HOLD FAST TO THE MAIN ORIENTATION IN THE STRUGGLE

— Editorial of *Red Flag*, No. 12, 1966 —

The great proletarian cultural revolution, like a mighty red torrent, is sweeping away the old things, old ideas and old forces of habit of the exploiting classes in all their manifestations, educating hundreds of millions of people and propelling our history forward.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution."

This is also a question of the first importance for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Comrade Lin Piao said:

We must, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, distinguish who are our enemies and who are our friends. Attention must be paid to uniting with the great majority, and concentrating forces to strike at the handful of bourgeois Rightists. The main target of the attack is those persons in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. It is essential to hold fast to this main orientation in the struggle.

Our Party organizations at all levels, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, and the broad masses of revolutionary youth must hold firmly to this main orientation in the struggle. They will go astray if they act counter to this main direction.

In this great campaign, the present stage of the proletarian cultural revolution, to concentrate forces to strike at the handful of bourgeois Rightists means to concentrate forces to strike at the ultra-reactionary and most stubborn political representatives of the bourgeoisie. By overthrowing the bourgeois Rightists, it will be possible to crush the schemes of the bourgeoisie for a counter-revolutionary come-back.

Ours is a great country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Ours is a great Party armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. In order to seize state power under such conditions, the bourgeoisie invariably rely on the extremely small number of Party members who are in power and who are taking the capitalist road, that is, the counter-revolutionary revisionists. This handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists is the chief and the most dangerous enemy. Where they have usurped leadership, they pursue bourgeois policies and exercise bourgeois dictatorship. They make use of the power they have usurped to shelter the bourgeois Rightists and suppress the proletarian Left. If they are not overthrown they will, like Khrushchov, rise up to usurp the leadership of our Party and state whenever they see the chance, making our whole country change colour.

The main orientation in the struggle is to concentrate forces to strike at the handful of bourgeois Rightists, at those persons in power within the Party who are taking the capitalist road. By holding firmly to this main direction we can prevent bad elements from fishing in troubled waters and can avoid the mistake of missing the main objective and dealing with problems of secondary importance in the struggle.

If those in power are not proletarian, then they must be bourgeois. There is no such thing as persons in power who are above classes and who are abstract. Support should be given to those in power who are proletarian and to support them is precisely for the purpose of overthrowing those in power who are taking the capitalist road. Those in power who are taking the capitalist road should be overthrown, and

overthrowing them is precisely to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat further.

Ours is a country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Fundamentally speaking it is the proletariat that is in power. Most of the cadres who are responsible for leadership at various levels in the Party, government and armed forces and in industry, agriculture, trade and educational and military circles, in general, support the Party and Chairman Mao and resolutely take the socialist road. They include cadres of the first and second categories as stated in Point 8 of the 16-point decision. Only a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists who are against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Tse-tung's thought have wormed their way into leading posts in the Party and the state. They belong to the fourth category of cadres as stated in the 16-point decision.

These are the basic, objective facts of China's political life. Exactly because of this, our state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat is consolidated. Exactly because of this, it is possible in our country to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and score extremely brilliant successes on all fronts in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Comrade Lin Piao pointed out that a handful of reactionary bourgeois elements, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who have not really turned over a new leaf, "oppose the dictatorship exercised over them by the broad masses of revolutionary people headed by the proletariat, and they are trying to bombard our headquarters of the proletarian revolution. Can we tolerate these actions? No, we must smash the plots of these ghosts and monsters, we must see through them, we must not let their schemes succeed".

Those ghosts and monsters who attempt to bombard our headquarters of the proletarian revolution are only a handful, but they can sometimes deceive some good people who do not know the facts. We need only to use the "monster-detector"

of Mao Tse-tung's thought on them and their true features will be exposed and they will be encircled by the broad masses who ardently love the Party and Chairman Mao.

The aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution is by no means to struggle against all leading cadres, nor to struggle against the masses. It is certainly impermissible to use any pretext, in any form, to attack revolutionary activists or incite the masses to struggle against each other.

In the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution, there will be different views among the masses and sometimes even sharp contention. These different views and contention, including wrong opinions, should be appropriately handled in accordance with Chairman Mao's principle of the correct handling of contradictions among the people.

The Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution says:

A strict distinction must be made between the two different types of contradictions: those among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. Contradictions among the people must not be made into contradictions between ourselves and the enemy; nor must contradictions between ourselves and the enemy be regarded as contradictions among the people.

It is normal for the masses to hold different views. Contention between different views is unavoidable, necessary and beneficial. In the course of normal and full debate, the masses will affirm what is right, correct what is wrong and gradually reach unanimity.

The method to be used in debates is to present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning. Any method of forcing a minority holding different views to submit is impermissible. The minority should be protected, because sometimes the truth is with the minority. Even if the minority is wrong, they should still be allowed to argue their case and reserve their views.

Every one of our revolutionary comrades should seriously and thoroughly carry out the above-mentioned decision, which was formulated under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao.

The proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls. This revolutionary movement of a mass character inevitably concerns all kinds of questions deep in the minds of the people. This movement is a great socialist education to the broad masses of our cadres and people. It is an extremely good thing, and of profound and far-reaching significance to destroy the old ideas, culture, customs and habits and to establish new ideas, culture, customs and habits and to spread the revolutionary spirit quickly throughout the country. All the revolutionary comrades should enthusiastically welcome and resolutely support it. They should consciously temper themselves in the flames of the revolution and, following the teachings of Chairman Mao, stick to the truth and correct mistakes. Their attitude towards the criticism by the masses should be one of "correcting mistakes if you have committed them, and guarding against them if you have not".

As to the movement as a whole, we must grasp the principal contradiction and main target, and correctly handle the relations between the principal and the ordinary contradictions. People who have ordinary shortcomings and mistakes in their style of work should consciously correct them in the course of this great cultural revolutionary movement and they should not be taken as the main target of the movement. Questions of this type should be solved by the method of correctly handling contradictions among the people. It is necessary to persuade and educate and to guard against over-simplification and being crude. Do not use the method of handling contradictions between ourselves and the enemy where questions of ordinary shortcomings and mistakes in style of work are concerned, and do not treat this kind of question as the main target of struggle in the movement, in order to avoid interfering with the main orientation of our struggle.

The proletarian cultural revolution is a great, torrential class struggle. This struggle is sharp, complicated, and there will be twists and turns and reversals. We must be fully aware of this. As long as we hold fast to the main orientation of the movement, use the viewpoint of class struggle and the method of class analysis to treat all kinds of problems and contradictions that crop up in the movement and sum up our experience from time to time, we will certainly make this great revolutionary struggle advance triumphantly step by step.

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