

[Full text of a Chieh-fang-chun Pao editorial, 3 November 1966, entitled: "Once Again on Promoting the 'Public' Concept."]

The great proletarian cultural revolution which was initiated and is being guided by our great leader Chairman Mao himself is a creative undertaking without parallel in the international communist movement and in the history of mankind.

Conducted mainly in the ideological field, fundamentally it is a great revolution to destroy the thousands of years old concept of private ownership and establish the socialist concept of public ownership.

In the light of Chairman Mao's teachings, Comrade Lin Piao has repeatedly instructed us to work hard to promote the "public" concept, the idea of working for revolution and the people, and establish the communist world outlook of complete devotion to the public interest. This instruction is of the greatest and most far-reaching importance.

Ideas, culture, customs, habits, political views, legal concepts, views on art and so on are all ideological forms in society, which generally go under the name of culture. Why must we carry out a cultural revolution in the period of socialism? The reason is that the economic base of society has undergone fundamental change. It is a fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, that the mental springs from the material and social consciousness arises out of social being, out of the social economic base and the social system of ownership. Social consciousness is secondary; at the same time it has a tremendous influence and impact on social being. In China, the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has already been effected and the socialist economic system of public ownership has been established. Since the economic base has changed, the ideological superstructure must change accordingly to keep step with it. Otherwise, it will obstruct the

consolidation of socialist ownership, prevent the new social productive forces from developing, lead to the loss of the already-won fruits of the revolution, and give rise to revisionist rule and the restoration of capitalism, causing our country to go back on to the old colonial or semi-colonial and feudal or semifeudal road.

What does the proletariat overthrow and what does it strive to set up when it rises in revolution? Politically, it overthrows the rule of the bourgeoisie and establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat. Economically, it abolishes ownership by the landlords and capitalists, gradually transforms individual ownership and builds up socialist public ownership. Ideologically, it eradicates the concept of private ownership and establishes the concept of socialist public ownership in people's minds.

After seizing state power, in addition to carrying out the socialist revolution on the economic front the proletariat must carry the socialist revolution through to its conclusion on the ideological and cultural fronts.

Without any exception all ruling classes throughout history establish the domination of the ideology which represents their class interests. When the proletariat seizes state power it has both the power and the need to establish the domination of the ideology which represents the interests of the proletariat and the rest of the laboring people, namely, the domination of Marxist-Leninist ideology, and to make a clean sweep of the old ideology, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes, and all the concepts formed on the basis of private ownership. Only so can the dictatorship of the proletariat be further consolidated, the socialist economy developed and the conditions created for the gradual transition to communism.

What is the essential quality of the old ideology, culture, customs and habits? All in all, it boils down to the concept of private ownership, or, in a word, of "self."

Since the beginning of culture, for thousands of years human society has been class society and, all through, the one point in common has been private ownership. And all the old forms of culture have defended and served private ownership.

In the course of establishing and consolidating public ownership, we must destroy the old culture and all notions of private ownership. The concept of private ownership is at the root of the emergence of capitalism and of revisionism. The more thoroughly the concept of private ownership is eradicated, the more consolidated will proletarian state power become and the more the socialist economy will develop.

The new, proletarian ideas, culture, customs and habits can be generalized in one word, "public." Since we have to consolidate public ownership and build socialism and communism, we must advocate whole-hearted devotion to the public and promote the "public" concept.

It needs new people to build a new society. In a sense, communism is synonymous with selflessness, with devotion to the public. We must train and mold communist new people who are utterly devoted to the public. They are people of the type of Chang Szu-te, Norman Bethune, Liu Hu-lan and Lei Feng, whom Chairman Mao has called on us to learn from. They are noble-minded and pure, people of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, people who are of value to the people. Free from any selfishness, they work whole-heartedly for the people and are wholly and thoroughly devoted to the people. Only with large numbers of communist new people is it possible to engage in socialist revolution and construction successfully and, step by step, arrive at communism.

There can be no construction without destruction. To promote the devotion to the public interest it is necessary to destroy self-interest. Man's thinking reflects his social being, contains contradictions and struggles and has a class character. In the period of socialism, the struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism, is inevitably reflected in the mind of every one of us. Whether when any issue arises one thinks of the people before oneself, of the collective before the individual, of the public interest before self-interest -- or the other way round -- is a question everyone is constantly up against and has to answer. To work for the public interest and to work for self-interest represent two different kinds of mentality, ideology and world outlook of two different classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. When two armies are pitted against one another in battle, the issue has to be decided. Either one or the other wins out. If it is not the public interest then it is self-interest. And self-interest means thinking only of striving for fame, wealth, power position and opportunities to be in the limelight for oneself, and thinking only in terms of oneself and one's own small circle at every turn, which makes one forget the whole, forget the people, the seven hundred million people of China and the three thousand million people in the world. Those who think in this way have their eyes turned inward on to themselves. Their world outlook is a "self-outlook" and they view the world from that position, seeing everything from a bourgeois standpoint. Unless this bourgeois "self-outlook" is smashed, conquered and overthrown, it is impossible firmly to establish the proletarian world outlook of serving the whole people of China and the world.

To eliminate the concept of private ownership and all exploiting class ideology handed down over thousands of years and firmly establish the domination of its own ideology, the proletariat must work very hard at the study of Chairman Mao's works and fight to uphold the ascendancy of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the highest level of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, it represents the whole body of communist ideology in the present era and is the concentrated expression of proletarian ideology. That which truly represents the new ideology and is able to counter the old is none other than the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. Mao Tse-tung's thought is diametrically against the concept

of private ownership and all exploiting class ideology and is the most powerful ideological weapon for remolding the souls of the people.

Nurtured by the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, there are now growing up and coming forward in large numbers communist new people who work whole-heartedly for the public interest. Lei Feng was one such, and so were Ouyang Hai, Wang Chieh, Chiao Yu-lu, Mai Hsien-te, Liu Ying-chun and Tsai Yung-hsiang. The outstanding members of such advanced units as "the good 8th company," "the staunch 6th company," "the red 9th company" and the heroes of the No. 32111 oil drilling team are also people of that type. Large numbers of communist heroes who fear neither hardship nor death, who work not for personal fame or gain but whole-heartedly for the revolution and the people, are to be found at all posts of work, in the army and in all parts of the country. This is the pride of our era. It is the hope of the future new world -- the world of communism.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: "Of all things in the world, people are the most precious." We rely on the people in all the work of building socialism and communism. Whatever we do, we give prominence to the factor of man and take man as the central issue. In taking a grip on the super-structure, on ideology, on the great proletarian cultural revolution, we are in fact dealing with man, dealing with political and ideological work, and we are educating, remolding and arming the people with Mao Tse-tung's thought. In building up the army and the country, we -- unlike the modern revisionists who onesidedly put the stress on the material factor, on mechanization and modernization -- pay chief attention to the revolutionization of people's thinking and through which to command, guide and promote the work of mechanization and modernization. To imbue the whole party, the whole army and the whole people with Mao Tse-tung's thought, to promote the revolutionization of the thinking of the people and to unify their thinking and actions -- this is the fundamental orientation and fundamental task of political work.

In the present circumstances in which the great proletarian cultural revolution and the socialist revolution are in process of still deeper development, the question facing every comrade, ever more prominently and sharply, is whether he is for the public interest or for self-interest. To eliminate self-interest and promote the devotion to the public interest is at the core of the whole issue of the remolding of one's world outlook. And in order to eliminate self-interest completely and put the public interest above everything else, it is imperative to undertake creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, particularly the three much-read articles -- "Serve the People," "In Memory of Norman Bethune" and "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains." These are required reading for the remolding of one's world outlook. Every member of the Communist Party, every cadre and fighter, must study the three much-read articles as basic truths, in accordance with Comrade Lin Piao's instruction. Comrade Lin Piao has said that each one of our comrades should regard himself not only as a motive force in the revolution and do his utmost to make a

contribution in the service of the people, but also as a target of revolution, practice constant self-criticism and never cease from revolutionizing oneself. We must have high revolutionary consciousness and free ourselves from all "egoism," from the limitations of selfish departmentalism and the "mountain-strongholds" mentality and indeed make ourselves pure communists, proletarian revolutionary fighters who understand and bear in mind the interests of the whole, are all for the public interest and are truly selfless. This is what the younger comrades should be like, and the older comrades all the more should be conscientious and earnest, work selflessly for the public interest, keep loyal and uphold moral integrity as they grow older so as to set an example for the next generation.

At this new stage of the movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works in our army, let us raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, thoroughly eliminate the bourgeois "selfish" concept, vigorously promote the proletarian "public" concept and march forward in great strides on the road of revolutionization of our army building!