

A Great Strategic Measure

"HONGQI" AND "RENMIN RIBAO" EDITORIAL

Chairman Mao on June 1, 1966, personally approved publication of the first revolutionary big-character poster put up in Peking University and acclaimed it as the country's first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster (see "Peking Review," No. 37, 1966). This great strategic measure of Chairman Mao lit the mighty flame of the great proletarian cultural revolution and launched the powerful offensive on the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. In the past year the great proletarian cultural revolution has achieved brilliant victories.

On June 1 this year, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, the young revolutionary fighters and revolutionary cadres all over the country held celebration meetings, forums and big demonstrations to commemorate the first anniversary of Chairman Mao's decision to publicize the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster in the country.

To mark the occasion, "Hongqi" and "Renmin Ribao" jointly published the following editorial on June 1. — Ed.

ON June 1, 1966, our great leader Chairman Mao decided to publicize through press and radio the Marxist-Leninist big-character poster which was the first to appear in China and had been put up in Peking University. This was a great strategic measure.

This great strategic measure was a battle order issued directly to the entire Party and to the people of the whole country. It called on the proletarian revolutionaries and the broad masses of revolutionary people to launch a mass movement from below—the great proletarian cultural revolution—to expose and struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, to fight to smash the scheme for a capitalist restoration and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This great strategic measure lit the mighty flame of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Thereafter, the vigorous mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution spread in mighty waves throughout the country.

This great strategic measure clarified for all the people of the country the main target of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the road and method to be followed in the making of that revolution.

In the final analysis, the struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road, is one in which the proletariat wants to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat while the bourgeoisie wants to subvert it. And this finds concentrated expression in the struggle between the proletarian revolutionaries on the one hand and the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road on the other.

The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, who sneaked into leading organs of the Party and organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, usurped the leadership in some areas and departments. They waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, they donned a cloak of Marxism but carried on revisionist activities, they hung up the signboard of the dictatorship of the proletariat but exercised a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This is precisely what was done by Lu Ping, Sung Shuo, Peng Pei-yun and their like exposed by the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster at Peking University. It was also true of the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique and its behind-the-scenes boss, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. The main target of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The great proletarian cultural revolution is directly aimed at making revolution against them, exposing them, seizing power from them and thoroughly defeating them.

The great proletarian cultural revolution means boldly mobilizing the masses to carry on a mass movement, it means carrying out this great revolution by practising mass democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, freely airing one's views, contending and debating to the fullest extent and publicizing one's views in big-character posters. Only so can we break the bonds of slavishness peddled by the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road; only so can we smash the yoke they imposed on the masses and destroy their reactionary citadel. Only so can we expose this handful of Party persons in authority, big or small, taking the capitalist road to the full light of day and overwhelm them in the mighty ocean of the revolutionary masses.

Chairman Mao's great strategic measure mobilized for action the hundreds of millions of the revolution-

ary masses in fierce attacks against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This mighty, vigorous mass movement scared them out of their wits. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and his cronies hastened to cook up a bourgeois reactionary line. They proceeded to suppress the masses, suppress the revolution and stifle mass democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat in an attempt to stamp out the newly arisen mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

At this crucial moment, our great leader Chairman Mao returned to Peking and convened the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party. At this session Chairman Mao made public his big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters," which is of great historic significance. Chairman Mao said in this poster: "This first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster in the whole of China and the commentary on it in *Renmin Ribao* are really well written! Comrades please read this big-character poster and this commentary again. But in the last fifty days or more some leading comrades from the central right down to the local levels have acted in a contrary direction. Taking a reactionary bourgeois stand, they have exercised a bourgeois dictatorship and suppressed the vigorous movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution. They have called black white and stood the facts on their heads, encircled and attacked the revolutionaries, suppressed opinions differing from their own, and imposed a white terror, and they have done all this with great smugness. They inflated the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and damped down the morale of the proletariat. This is utterly vicious! Associating this with the erroneous tendencies of the Right deviation in 1962 and the apparently 'Left' but actually Right deviation in 1964, shouldn't this awaken people and make them ponder?"

Chairman Mao's big-character poster and the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" drawn up under his personal guidance exposed in a penetrating way the bourgeois reactionary line and the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This big-character poster and decision illuminated the road along which the great proletarian cultural revolution was to advance, and greatly encouraged the proletarian revolutionaries and the broad masses throughout the country. The mass movement went into action on an even greater scale and with a deeper content. The Red Guard movement and the large-scale exchange of revolutionary experience pushed the great proletarian cultural revolution forward to a new upsurge. Carrying further forward the mass democracy of the proletariat, the broad revolutionary masses launched a large-scale mass criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line and ferreted out of their corners all those persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

On the basis of the mass exposure of the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, our great leader Chairman Mao called upon the proletarian revolutionaries to unfold the struggle to seize power. The storm of the "January Revolution" which first appeared in Shanghai swept the country. Thereafter, the great proletarian cultural revolution entered the stage of the struggle to seize power. The ranks of the proletarian revolutionaries have since swelled. The Chinese People's Liberation Army has made important contributions by actively supporting the great proletarian cultural revolution in the various localities. In places and organizations where a seizure of power is necessary, provisional organs of power, based on a revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, have been established or are in preparation. At the stage of the struggle to seize power, complex contradictions of various kinds remain. But the target of struggle has become more concentrated. It is to capture, one by one, the strongholds in which the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road have entrenched themselves, take those strongholds back into the hands of the proletariat and force the enemy finally to lay down their arms.

A whole year has elapsed since Chairman Mao decided to make public the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster in the country which was put up in Peking University. In that year, the great proletarian cultural revolution has achieved brilliant victories and momentous changes have taken place in the political life of China and the complexion of Chinese society.

In summing up the experiences of the struggle during the last 12 months, every revolutionary comrade and every revolutionary mass organization must study Chairman Mao's directives on the great proletarian cultural revolution, and at all times pay attention to keeping firm hold of the general orientation of the struggle.

Holding to the general orientation of the struggle demands clear recognition of whom the revolution is directed against, the object of the revolution, against whom the spearhead of attack should be directed. Why is the first big-character poster of Peking University described as Marxist-Leninist? It is because it clearly, penetratingly and unequivocally directs the spearhead of attack at the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. If the general orientation is wrong all else will be wrong. A number of unclear, confusing and incorrect slogans were spread on this question. For instance, "all persons classified as 'leading' cadres should step aside," "sweep everything out from top to bottom," "direct the spearhead upwards" and so forth. All of them are devoid of class analysis and are wrong. If we act in this way, without discriminating between the proletariat and the bourgeois, between the headquarters of the proletariat and that of the bourgeoisie, and without discriminating between the broad masses and the handful of bad elements, then mistakes of orientation will occur.

We must clearly recognize that after one year of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road have been exposed and at the same time, the great majority of our cadres have proved to be good or comparatively good. In those places and departments where a vigorous mass movement was unfolded, generally speaking, the class alignments have been clear or fairly clear. These were the circumstances in which the proletarian revolutionaries' struggle for the seizure of power was carried out. All revolutionary mass organizations should actively respond to Chairman Mao's great call, and unite and complete the task of seizing power from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. During the course of this, the exposed top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and those in authority taking the capitalist road in each unit and area should be overthrown and discredited politically, ideologically and theoretically, and the task of "struggle-criticism-transformation"* should be fulfilled step by step in each unit. It is imperative to realize the revolutionary great alliance through mass criticism and repudiation, and through it raise our level of understanding of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and truly keep power in the hands of the proletariat.

Holding to the general orientation of the struggle is inseparable from the correct understanding and practice of mass democracy. **Chairman Mao has taught us: "Democracy sometimes seems to be an end, but it is in fact only a means."** Why do we use the means of mass democracy in the great proletarian cultural revolution? Who are we dealing with? What is our aim? Our mass democracy is to arouse hundreds of millions of people to open fire at the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. We use the means of mass democracy precisely to awaken the masses in order to expose and overthrow the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. If we depart from this aim, we will lose our bearings and it is not democracy of the proletariat and the class enemy will take advantage of this. If we take democracy as an end, we will go astray down the bourgeois road.

Holding to the general orientation of the struggle is inseparable from correct understanding and handling of the two types of contradictions which are different in nature. Every revolutionary comrade and revolutionary mass organization must not only learn to handle the contradictions between ourselves and the

* The task of "struggle-criticism-transformation" means the task of struggling against and overthrowing those persons in authority taking the capitalist road, criticizing and repudiating the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and transforming education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base. — Tr.

enemy, but must also learn to handle correctly the contradictions among the people. At no time and under no circumstances should the spearhead of struggle be directed against the broad masses and cadres. Also, we should not direct the spearhead of struggle against people who are misled, but should patiently and meticulously do political and ideological work with them, persuade them, educate them and help them cast off their mental burdens, correct their mistakes and return to the side of the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao. The Left, and the Left mass organizations must develop first rate capabilities in doing such work among the masses. It is all the more necessary that the contradictions among Left organizations be settled by the method of democracy and the principle of "unity-criticism-unity." If the spearhead of struggle is not directed against the enemy but against people whose views differ from one's own, and "civil wars" are waged among the Left organizations, the general orientation of the struggle will be shifted and only the class enemy will be happy.

To hold to the general orientation of the struggle, we must creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, carry out rectification campaigns, seize power from the "self-interest" in our own minds and firmly oppose anarchism. No one burdened with many selfish ideas and personal considerations can possibly hold to the general orientation of the struggle. Without overcoming anarchism, no one can hold to the general orientation of the struggle. It is necessary to pay particular attention to this point in the course of the struggle for the seizure of power and after seizing it. Unless selfish ideas and personal considerations are overcome, the proletarian struggle for the seizure of power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road will, in the course of the struggle, turn into a struggle for power and fame for small groups and individuals, and after the seizing of power it will be absolutely impossible to implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Unless anarchist ideas are overcome, the serious mistake of undermining proletarian revolutionary discipline and the dictatorship of the proletariat will be committed in the course of the struggle for the seizure of power, and, after seizing it, various people will build up their own "independent kingdoms." Every revolutionary comrade must be highly vigilant and not be led into wrong ways by "self-interest" and anarchist ideas.

Chairman Mao points out: Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution and it is likewise a question of the first importance for the great cultural revolution. On this first anniversary of the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we should firmly bear this teaching of Chairman Mao's in mind and hold fast to the general orientation of the struggle.