

We Uphold the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!*

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru

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“Regarding the fate of a nation that holds such a prominent position in time and space, it is not possible to remain indifferent. China carries too much weight in human history for us not to be drawn to its events and its people.”

- *Mariátegui.*

“To be a Marxist-Leninist is to adhere to Mao Zedong Thought.”

- *C.C. of the P.C.P.*

In the 1960s, the world watched in astonishment as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China unfolded. The People’s Republic of China, committed to building a new socialist society, once again shook under the storm of class struggle. Gigantic masses moved like human rivers throughout China, inciting rebellion. The global press hurried to vilify China and its leaders, especially Chairman Mao Zedong; the world’s reaction, gleeful with delight, predicted the destruction and downfall of the Chinese revolution. Yankee imperialism proclaimed that China was bleeding in the midst of a civil war; meanwhile, Soviet social-imperialism clamored that the Great Proletarian Revolution was a “tragic crusade against world culture.”

But, what really happened in that great Asian nation?

Contrary to the phonetic hopes of those who anticipated China being plunged into chaos and the socialist revolution being fatally wounded, it turned out that it was the Revolution itself which, brimming with energy and **under the wise guidance of the Communist Party of China and its leader Chairman Mao Zedong, was embarking on an epic offensive against the bourgeoisie to thwart their efforts to restore capitalism in China.**

The world was in turmoil. The vigorous revolutionary struggle of the peoples was unfolding tirelessly, and the movements of liberation were magnificently resurging in the opposing forces worldwide. **Marxism-Leninism had drawn clear boundaries in a resolute battle against contemporary revisionism. The People’s Republic of China** was standing taller and taller as a **potent foundation for world revolution**, while the hatred of its enemies grew immeasurably against it.

Inside China, the bourgeoisie, stripped of power, had managed to infiltrate their agents within the very heart of the Communist Party. They went so far as to usurp important state positions and, using the superstructure - especially various cultural spheres - as

the center of their malicious counter-revolutionary actions, they were preparing to assault the entirety of political Power. José Carlos Mariátegui, the great teacher of the Peruvian proletariat and of our entire people, warned about this: “Capital can be violently expropriated; culture cannot. And in the hands of the bourgeoisie, culture is an eminently political weapon, a reactionary weapon, a counter-revolutionary weapon.”

Liu Shaoqi, the ultimate representative of the bourgeoisie and a sinister seller-out of workers who had infiltrated the Communist Party, sought to impose his revisionist political line in close collusion **with the infamous arch-revisionist Khrushchev.** His plan was to carry out a counter-revolutionary restoration, to transform the Communist Party into a revisionist and fascist party, and to change the color of China by subjecting it to Soviet social-imperialism. In the face of such a situation, Chairman Mao Zedong’s red line launched a counterattack against the bourgeoisie, leading to the development of the **Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.** The bourgeoisie trembled in terror. The unstoppable fury of the revolutionary masses, mobilized by millions across all of China, blasted apart the bourgeois strongholds. **The fighting proletariat tore off the “revolutionary” mask that the bourgeoisie had been wearing, revealing their repugnant features to the outraged masses.** One by one, the vile elements entrenched within the Communist Party of China and the State, who were plotting capitalist restoration, were exposed and duly punished by the people. **Liu Shaoqi, the “Chinese Khrushchev,” Peng Zhen, Deng Xiaoping, along with their other accomplices, were ignominiously condemned by the masses and consigned to the dustbin of history, the common fate of all reactionaries around the world.**

However, the bourgeoisie didn’t lay down their arms. They had enough cunning to slip away, hide for a certain time, and wait for the opportune moment to resurface and launch a new treacherous blow against the Revolution. The red line of the Communist Party of China, embodied in Chairman Mao Zedong, with the support of the popular masses, had to embark on new struggles against the bourgeois monsters that dared to confront the proletariat. **Lin Biao and, more recently, Deng Xiaoping were the malicious revisionist figures who schemed and carried out numerous crimes** once again, aiming to destroy the socialist revolution and pave the way for the resurgence of capital in China. **Deng Xiaoping, who pretended to be “repentant”** for his crimes and falsely promised to serve the

revolution, as soon as he believed he was out of the vigilant eyes of Chairman Mao's red line and the masses, **unleashed a rightist wind aimed at overturning the just conclusions of the GPCR.** Brandishing his revisionist notions of the "extinction of class struggle" and the "theory of productive forces," he vehemently opposed the proletarian dictatorship in all aspects of the superstructure and desperately sought capitalist restoration **under the banner of "industrial development."** Deng Xiaoping's line is nothing but a continuation of the revisionist line of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao. **Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's red line, the Chinese people engaged in a life-and-death struggle against these unrepentant vermin who upheld the capitalist path, defeating them and subjecting their dark revisionist counter-revolutionary line to relentless criticism.** With these magnificent triumphs, the revolutionary combativeness of the masses grew, **the red line was strengthened, and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution shone even brighter, elevating the world revolution to greater heights.**

A great misfortune came to mourn China and all the peoples of the world: **on September 9, 1976, Chairman Mao Zedong passed away in Beijing at the age of 82.** This irreplaceable loss would bring significant challenges to the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. Taking advantage of the profound void left by the inevitable departure of Chairman Mao, the Chinese bourgeoisie has once again, and with even greater determination, embarked on their greedy attempt to seize power from the working class. **Today, the right-wing has carried out a reactionary coup in China.** The bourgeoisie has begun to unleash a new offensive against Chairman Mao Zedong's red line and a fierce persecution against the most distinguished leaders of the proletariat who have excelled in advancing the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution under the guidance of Chairman Mao. **The reaction fervently aims to transform the red Communist Party of China into a revisionist and fascist party in the style of the Soviet Union, all in an attempt to suffocate the revolution.** In China, the handful of bourgeois reactionaries who have seized power are raising the red flag to oppose it. They talk about revolution and Marxism, but what they practice is counterrevolution and revisionism. They misrepresent Chairman Mao, distorting him into a "mediocre bourgeois." They futilely seek to flatter the masses while deep down, their hearts hold a long-accumulated hatred towards them. **The spearhead of the bourgeoisie is directly aimed at the brilliant achievements of the Communist Party of China, against the red line**

of Chairman Mao, against the revolutionary masses, and against Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

However, the red line of Chairman Mao has not been defeated, far from it. The struggle is long and has only just begun. The left, tempered in the fiery battles of the Communist Party of China and personally educated by Chairman Mao, is waging a heroic resistance against the right. In the face of the momentary onslaught of the bourgeoisie, the brave Chinese people are demonstrating that they do not forget Chairman Mao's guidance: "After all, all the truths of Marxism can be summed up in one phrase: 'It is right to rebel.' " We must have infinite confidence that Chairman Mao's red line will overcome this setback, crush the reactionary attempts of the bourgeoisie to subdue China, and continue to achieve greater and greater victories. **Chairman Mao has said: "If the Rightists were to stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they would have no peace either and their rule would most probably be short-lived, because it would never be tolerated by the revolutionaries who represent the interests of the people constituting more than 90 per cent of the population."** Let us be absolutely convinced that this scientific foresight of Chairman Mao will undoubtedly come to pass.

China is the cornerstone of the world revolution. Therefore, it is urgent for the proletariat and the peoples of the world to understand the current situation in China; it is crucial for them, as a vital matter, to distinguish between the red line and the black line. The concern of the working class and revolutionary peoples arises from their intuition that the fate of the proletarian revolution is being played out in China, from the simple understanding that a blow struck against China by the bourgeoisie is a blow received by the world revolution, and that a step forward taken by China in favor of the revolution is a step forward in the world revolution.

Given the current Chinese situation, it is not possible to understand it solely by focusing on the detailed events of the moment. **It is necessary to delve deeper into the analysis of the two lines that have clashed during the course of the Chinese revolution, particularly during the GPCR.** We must understand the propositions and actions of the red line and the black line, the struggles that have taken place between them, and who their main representatives have been and how they have acted. Only with this comprehensive analysis will we have a general view of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for seizing and counter-seizing power. It is essential to study the teachings of the GPCR, analyze its process

and content; we must come to understand that the political line guiding those who currently hold the leadership of the state in China is the same as the one that was upheld by Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping. **In summary, we must take the class struggle as the key to understanding the current Chinese situation.**

In this way, it becomes clear why we engage with the GPCR. Voz Popular, an informative organ dedicated to serving the working class and the people of Peru, seeks to contribute to the understanding of the two lines and to clarify the understanding of the red line of the CPC, which carries the banner of Chairman Mao and sheds an inexhaustible light on the Chinese people and all the peoples of the Earth. In three successive issues, we will present the central issues of the GPCR. This edition contains the fundamental guidelines established by Chairman Mao Zedong, which set the direction of the GPCR, and the basic documents of the CPC that initiated the struggle against the bourgeoisie. Issue number 7 of Voz Popular will include the process of the GPCR, highlighting the most important milestones in the struggle between the two lines. Finally, issue number 8 of Voz Popular will be dedicated to elucidating the content and significance of the GPCR. Through the dissemination of these publications, Voz Popular aims to contribute to the analysis of the pressing and crucial Chinese situation, the international communist movement, and the world revolution.

The working class has no homeland or frontiers: workers from all countries are united by the strong bond of proletarian internationalism and by the ultimate goal of realizing communism on Earth. The global working class, oppressed nations, and peoples of the world view China as a solid support base for their struggles for emancipation and revolution. For these reasons, revolutionaries from all continents have the sacred duty to support the red line of the Communist Party of China, especially in this decisive hour when the bourgeoisie once again seeks to strike down the Chinese working class and people, weaken the high morale of the proletariat, assert control over China, and push back the world revolution.

WE UPHOLD THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION!

Chairman Mao Initiated and Led the GPCR: Five Documents from Chairman Mao On Literature and Art

Letter to the Yen-an Peking Opera Theater After Seeing “Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels”

(January 9, 1944)

Having seen your performance, I wish to express my thanks to you for the excellent work you have done. Please convey my thanks to the comrades of the cast! History is made by the people, yet the old opera (and all the old literature and art, which are divorced from the people) presents the people as though they were dirt, and the stage is dominated by lords, and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters. Now you have reversed this reversal of history and restored historical truth, and thus a new life is opening up for the old opera. That is why this merits congratulations. The initiative you have taken marks an epoch-making beginning in the revolutionization of the old opera. I am very happy at the thought of this. I hope you will write more plays and give more performances, and so help make this practice a common one which will prevail throughout the country.

Pay Serious Attention to the Discussion of the Film *The Life of Wu Hsun*¹

(May 20, 1951)

The question raised by *The Life of Wu Hsun* is fundamental in nature. A fellow like Wu Hsun, [1] living as he did towards the end of the Ching Dynasty in an era of great struggle by the Chinese people against foreign aggressors and domestic reactionary feudal rulers, did not lift a finger against the feudal economic base or its superstructure; on the contrary, he strove fanatically to spread feudal culture and, in order to gain a position for this purpose previously beyond his reach, he fawned in every way on the reactionary feudal rulers – ought we to praise such disgusting behaviour? How can we tolerate praising it to the masses, especially when such praise flaunts the revolutionary

¹This article is taken from an editorial written by Comrade Mao Zedong for Renmin Ribao.

banner of “serving the people” and when the failure of revolutionary peasant struggles is used as a foil to accentuate the praise? To approve or tolerate such praise is to approve or tolerate abuse of the revolutionary struggles of the peasants, abuse of Chinese history, abuse of the Chinese nation, and to regard such reactionary propaganda as justified.

The appearance of the film *The Life of Wu Hsun*, and particularly the spate of praise lavished on Wu Hsun and the film, show how ideologically confused our country’s cultural circles have become!

In the view of many writers, history proceeds not by the new superseding the old, but by preserving the old from extinction through all kinds of exertion, not by waging class struggle to overthrow the reactionary feudal rulers who ought to be overthrown, but by negating the class struggle of the oppressed and submitting to these rulers in the manner of Wu Hsun. Our writers do not bother to study history and learn who were the enemies oppressing the Chinese people and whether there was anything commendable about those who submitted to these enemies and worked for them. Nor do they bother to find out what new economic formations of society, new class forces, new personalities and ideas have emerged in China during the century and more since the Opium War of 1840 in the struggle against the old economic formations and their superstructures (politics, culture, etc.) before they decide what to commend and praise, what not to, and what to oppose.

Certain Communists who have allegedly grasped Marxism merit special attention. They have studied the history of social development – historical materialism – but when it comes to specific historical events, specific historical figures (like Wu Hsun) and specific ideas which run counter to the trend of history (as in the film *The Life of Wu Hsun* and the writings about Wu Hsun), they lose their critical faculties, and some have even capitulated to these reactionary ideas. Isn’t it a fact that reactionary bourgeois ideas have found their way into the militant Communist Party? Where on earth is the Marxism which certain Communists claim to have grasped?

For the above reasons, it is imperative to unfold discussion on the film *The Life of Wu Hsun* and on the essays and other writings about Wu Hsun and thereby thoroughly clarify the confused thinking on this question.

Letter Concerning the Study of the *Dream of the Red Chamber*²

(October 16, 1954)

Enclosed are two articles refuting Yu Ping-po. Please read them.

It is the first time in over thirty years that a serious attack has been levelled against the erroneous views of the so-called authorities on *The Dream of the Red Chamber*. The authors are two Youth League members. At first they wrote to the *Literary Gazette* to ask whether it was all right to criticize Yu Ping-po, but they were ignored. In the circumstances, they were obliged to write to their teacher at Shantung University, their alma mater, and they received support. Their article refuting "An Essay on *The Dream of the Red Chamber*" was published in the university journal *Literature, History and Philosophy*. Then the matter came up again in Peking. It was suggested that the *People Daily* reprint the article in order to start a debate and carry on the criticism. This, too, came to naught because certain persons objected for a variety of reasons (the main ones being that it was "an article written by nobodies" and that "the Party paper is not a platform for free debate"). In the end a compromise was reached and the article was allowed to be reprinted in the *Literary Gazette*. Later, the "Literary Legacy" page of the *Kuangming Daily* carried another article by the two young men refuting Yu Ping-po's book, *Studies on "The Dream of the Red Chamber."* It seems that a struggle may now be able to get under way against the Hu Shih school of bourgeois idealism in the field of classical literature, which has poisoned the minds of the young for more than thirty years. The whole thing has been set going by two "nobodies," while the "bigwigs" have ignored and obstructed it as is their wont; they go in for a united front with bourgeois writers on the question of idealism and become willing captives of the bourgeoisie. The case is almost the same as with the films *Inside Story of the Ching Court* and *The Life of We Hsun* when they were shown. *Inside Story of the Ching Court*, which has been described by certain people as a film of patriotism but is in fact one of national betrayal, has never been criticized since it was shown all over the country. *The Life of Wu Hsun* has been criticized, but up to now no lessons have been drawn; what is more, such strange things have happened as tolerating Yu Ping-po's idealism while suppressing the lively

²Letter from Comrade Mao Zedong to the comrades of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and other interested comrades.

critical essays by the “nobodies.” This deserves our attention.

Towards such bourgeois intellectuals as Yu Ping-po, our attitude should naturally be one of uniting with them, but we should criticize their erroneous ideas which poison the minds of the young, and we certainly should not surrender to them.

Two Instructions on Literature and Art

I. Instruction of December 12, 1963

Problems abound in all forms of art such as the opera, ballads, music and fine arts, the dance, the cinema, poetry and literature, and the people involved are numerous; in many departments very little has been achieved so far in socialist transformation. The ‘dead’ still dominate in many departments. What has been achieved in the cinema, new poetry, folk songs, the fine arts, and the novel should not be underestimated, but there, too, quite a few problems exist. As for such departments as the opera, the problems are even more serious. The social and economic base has changed, but the arts as part of the superstructure, which serves this base, still remains a serious problem. Hence we should proceed with investigation and study and attend to this matter in earnest.

Isn’t it absurd that many communists are enthusiastic about promoting feudal and capitalist art, but not socialist art?

II. Instruction of June 27, 1964

During the fifteen elapsed years, these associations and most of their publications (it is said that a few are good) have not essentially put into practice the Party’s policy (not all individuals). They have acted as high-handed and overbearing bureaucrats, not reaching out to workers, peasants, and soldiers, nor reflecting the socialist revolution and construction. In recent years, they have even slipped to the brink of revisionism.

If they do not take serious steps to transform themselves, someday in the future, they will inevitably turn into organizations of the type of Hungary’s Club Petofi.

Directive on May 7th by Chairman Mao

Published in Peking Review No. 20 of 19/May/1976.

On May 7, 1966, Chairman Mao gave an important directive that states: The People's Liberation Army should be a big school. In this big school, members of the military must study politics and military affairs and acquire general knowledge. They can also engage in agricultural production and secondary occupations, manage certain medium or small factories, and produce specific items to meet their own needs or engage in barter with the state following the principle of equal value exchange. Additionally, members of the military should be ready to engage in mass work and participate in the socialist education movement in factories and in the countryside. After this movement concludes, they will always have tasks to perform among the masses, solidifying the integration of the military with the people. Furthermore, they must seize every opportunity to participate in the struggles of the cultural revolution in order to criticize the bourgeoisie.

Workers, although their main activity is in the industry, must study military and political matters and acquire general knowledge. Furthermore, they should participate in the socialist education movement and criticize the bourgeoisie. Where conditions allow, they should engage in agricultural production and secondary occupations, just as they have been doing in the Taching Oil Field.

The peasants in the communes have as their main activity agriculture (including forestry, livestock, secondary occupations, and fish farming), but they must also study military matters and politics, as well as acquire general knowledge. When conditions allow, they must collectively manage small factories. Likewise, they must criticize the bourgeoisie.

This is also valid for students: With studying being their main activity, they must learn other things, meaning not only general culture but also industry, agriculture, and military matters. Likewise, they must criticize the bourgeoisie. The study period should be shortened, and a revolution in education must be carried out, preventing the phenomenon where bourgeois intellectuals dominate our schools.

Workers in commerce, service branches, and within Party and Government organizations should act in the same way whenever conditions allow for it.

Bombard the Headquarters

– *My first dazibao* –
(August 5, 1966)

Published in Peking Review No. 33 of 16/August/1976.

China's first Marxist-Leninist *dazibao* and Commentator's article on it in *Renmin Ribao* are indeed superbly written! Comrades, please read them again. But in the last fifty days or so some leading comrades from the central down to the local levels have acted in a diametrically opposite way. Adopting the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, they have enforced a bourgeois dictatorship and struck down the surging movement of the great cultural revolution of the proletariat. They have stood facts on their head and juggled black and white, encircled and suppressed revolutionaries, stifled opinions differing from their own, imposed a white terror, and felt very pleased with themselves. They have puffed up the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and deflated the morale of the proletariat. How poisonous! Viewed in connection with the Right deviation in 1962 and the wrong tendency of 1964 which was "Left" in form but Right in essence, shouldn't this make one wide awake?

Quotations from Chairman Mao Regarding the GPCR

1. Basis of the GPCR

The next approximately 50 to 100 years from today will be a significant era of radical change in the social system worldwide, a time that will shake the earth, incomparable to any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in a great struggle, the forms of which will have many different characteristics than those of past eras.

1962. Peking Review No. 11, 1968

Throughout the entire transition period, class contradictions exist, there is the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths. We will deviate if we forget this basic theory and fundamental practice that our Party has observed for over ten years.

1965. Peking Review No. 1, 1976

The socialist society encompasses a rather lengthy historical stage. During the historical stage of socialism, classes still exist, along with class contradictions and class struggle. The struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths persists, and the danger of capitalist restoration exists. It's necessary to understand how long and complex this struggle is. It's imperative to

heighten our vigilance. Socialist education must be conducted. It's necessary to correctly comprehend and address the issue of class contradictions and class struggle, and to accurately distinguish between contradictions between us and the enemy from those within the ranks of the people, and handle them correctly. Otherwise, a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite, degenerate, and restoration will occur. From now on, we must discuss this every year, every month, and every day, so that we have a relatively clear understanding of this issue and follow a Marxist-Leninist line.

1962. Peking Review No. 14, 1976

To overthrow political power, it is always necessary first and foremost to create public opinion and work in the ideological field. This is how revolutionary classes proceed, and it's also how counter-revolutionary classes operate.

Intervention in the Tenth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CPC. September 1962.

A very extended period is required to resolve the struggle of 'who will overcome whom': socialism or capitalism, on the political and ideological fronts. To achieve success, a few decades are not enough; it will take from one hundred to hundreds of years. Regarding time, it's better to prepare for a long period rather than a short one; regarding work, it's better to consider the task as difficult rather than easy. Thinking and acting in this way is more advantageous and less detrimental.

July, 1964. Peking Review No. 26, 1967

The class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experimentation are the three great revolutionary movements to build a powerful socialist country. These movements provide a solid guarantee that the communists will be free from bureaucracy, immune to revisionism and dogmatism, and will always remain invincible. They are a secure guarantee that the proletariat will be able to unite with the broad working masses and practice a democratic dictatorship. If, in the absence of these movements, landlords, wealthy peasants, counter-revolutionaries, harmful elements, and other monsters were allowed to emerge, and in the face of this, our cadre were to close their eyes and, in many cases, not distinguish between enemies and us, but rather collaborate with them and become corrupted and demoralized; if as a result, our cadre were dragged into the enemy camp or the enemy managed to infiltrate our ranks, and if many of our workers, peasants, and intellectuals were left defenseless against the enemy's soft and harsh tactics, then it wouldn't take much time, perhaps only a few years or a decade, or at most

several decades, for an inevitable counter-revolutionary restoration to occur on a national scale, the Marxist-Leninist party to transform into a revisionist or fascist party, and for all of China to change its color. Let comrades think about it: how dangerous that situation would be!

May 9, 1963. Peking Review No. 20, 1966

...The main target of the current movement are those elements with power who follow the capitalist path within the Party... Among the elements with power who follow the capitalist path, some take action on the stage while others operate behind the scenes.

[Supporting these elements] there are individuals at higher levels - in the communes, territories, districts, prefectures, and even at the provincial and central department levels - who oppose the construction of socialism.

Document of 23 points. January, 1965

One must remain vigilant against the rise of revisionism, especially against its emergence within the Central Committee of our Party.

Peking Review No. 22, 1967

What will you do if revisionism emerges in the Central Committee? This is very likely. This is the greatest danger.

Peking Review No. 33, 1967

They must be especially vigilant against opportunists and conspirators like Khrushchev, and prevent such evildoers from usurping, at any level whatsoever, the leadership of the Party and the State.

Quotation in "On Khrushchev's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World." July, 1964

The class of bureaucrats, on the one hand, and the working class, poor peasants, and lower-middle peasants, on the other hand, constitute two classes in sharp opposition (...) Administration itself is socialist education. If administrative personnel do not go to workshops and teams to work, study, and live alongside the workers, and if they don't take them as teachers to learn one or several trades, then they will find themselves in a state of acute class struggle with the working class throughout their lives, and they will inevitably end up being overthrown as bourgeoisie by the working class. Without assimilating technical knowledge and remaining ignorant for a long time, they also won't be able to manage well. Those with confused minds are incapable of bringing clarity to others (...) These leaders who follow the capitalist path have become or are becoming bourgeois elements, sucking the blood of the workers; how is it possible for them to have enough awareness of the necessity of the socialist revolution? They are the target of

the struggle, the target of the revolution, and in no way should we rely on them in the socialist education movement. The only ones we can rely on are those cadres who do not harbor hatred towards the workers and who possess a revolutionary spirit.

1964. Peking Review No. 27, 1976

The serious problem is the education of the peasantry [...] The fundamental task of the political work [of the Party in the countryside] is to constantly instill socialist ideology in the peasant masses and critique the tendency towards capitalism.

1964. Peking Review No. 49, 1967

Almost everywhere, opportunists can be found who want to stop the current, but it can never be stopped. Socialism is advancing triumphantly everywhere, leaving all obstacles behind.

1965. Peking Review No. 17, 1976

To ensure that our Party and our country do not change their color, we must not only have a cohesive line and policy, but also prepare and forge tens of millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Quotation in "On Khrushchev's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World." July, 1964

2. Development of the GPCR

The current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.

Quotation in the 12th Plenary Session of the CC of the CPC, October 1968

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is, in essence, a significant political revolution undertaken, under the conditions of socialism, by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. It is the continuation of the prolonged struggle between the Communist Party of China and the broad revolutionary popular masses under its leadership, on one hand, and the reactionaries of the Kuomintang, on the other hand. It is the continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

May, 1968. Peking Review No. 19, 1968

This great proletarian cultural revolution boldly mobilizes the masses from the bottom up through broad democracy under the dictatorship of the

proletariat and, at the same time, forges the grand alliance of proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary trio of revolutionary masses, the People's Liberation Army, and revolutionary cadres.

Peking Review No. 46, 1967

The fundamental program of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the ideological realm consists of "combatting the concept of the private, and criticizing and repudiating revisionism (...) Therefore, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a profound revolution that reaches the very soul of the people and is destined to solve the problem of their worldview."

November, 1967. Peking Review No. 46, 1967

The proletariat must exercise complete dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including various domains of culture.

Peking Review No. 46, 1967

In the past, we fought battles in rural areas, in factories, in cultural circles, and carried out the socialist education movement. However, all of this couldn't solve the problem because we hadn't found a way, a means to mobilize the broad masses openly, in all fields and from the bottom up, to expose our dark side.

Conversation in February 1967. Peking Review No. 7, 1976

The current great cultural revolution is only the first one, and in the future, there will undoubtedly be many others. In the revolution, the question of who will overcome whom will only be resolved over a long historical period. If things are not properly resolved, there will always be a possibility of a capitalist restoration at any time. Members of the Communist Party and the people throughout the country should not think that everything will be resolved after one or two great cultural revolutions, or even three or four. We must always be very vigilant and never lower our guard.

1967. Peking Review No. 22, 1967

It seems essential to carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, as our foundation is not solid. Judging from my observation, I fear that in a fairly large majority of factories—not all, nor the overwhelming majority of them—the leadership was not in the hands of genuine Marxists and the working masses. It's not that there weren't good people among those in charge of factory management. There were. There were good people among Party secretaries, deputy secretaries, committee members, and among Party cell secretaries. But they followed the line of Liu Shaoqi; they simply resorted to material incentives, prioritized profits, and instead of promoting the proletarian policy, they gave rewards and such. (...) But there were in-

deed malicious individuals in the factories. (...) This demonstrates that the revolution has not been completed.

First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee. April, 1969

In China, after the emperor was overthrown in 1911, no reactionary was able to stay long in power. The longest was only twenty years (Chiang Kai-shek), but he was also toppled once the people rose in revolt. Chiang Kai-shek climbed to power by taking advantage of Sun Yat-sen's trust in him and by running the Whampoa Academy and gathering around him a bunch of reactionaries: Practically the whole landlord class and bourgeoisie supported him when he turned against the Communist Party. Moreover, the Communist Party was inexperienced at the time. So, he gleefully gained temporary ascendancy. In those twenty years, however, he never achieved unification. There occurred the war between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, the wars between the Kuomintang and the various warlord cliques, the Sino-Japanese war and, finally, the four-year large-scale civil war, which sent him scampering to a cluster of islands. If the Rightists were to stage an anti-Communist coup d'état in China, I am sure they would have no peace either and their rule would most probably, be short-lived, because it would never be tolerated by the revolutionaries who represent the interests of the people constituting more than 90 percent of the population. (...) Conclusion: The perspectives are brilliant, but the path has twists and turns.

1966. Peking Review No. 11, 1975

Marxism consists of thousands of truths, but in the end, all of them are summed up in a single sentence: 'It is right to rebel.' For millennia it had been said that oppression and exploitation were right and that rebellion was not justified. With the rise of Marxism this old verdict was reversed. This is a great contribution. This truth was reached by the proletariat through struggle and Marx drew the conclusion. In accordance with this truth, resistance is opposed, struggle and struggle for socialism.

Quotation in "Challenging the Old World." August 22, 1966

The revolutionary actions of the red guards express anger and condemnation against the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, imperialism, revisionism and its lackeys, all of them exploiters and oppressors of workers, peasants, intellectuals, revolutionaries, and revolutionary parties and groups, and demonstrate that it is right to rebel against the reactionaries. I offer you my warm support.

"Letter to the Red Guards." August, 1966. Peking Review No. 36, 1976

The erroneous direction, which causes harm to the revolution, should not

be accepted unconditionally but should be resolutely boycotted.

April 1967. Peking Review No. 16, 1967

Outside a party there are other parties and within it there are factions: this has always been the case. (...) Every faction is a wing of a class. (...) With the exception of deserts, where there are groups of people, these are invariably composed of left, center and right. This will still be so even in ten thousand years.

Peking Review No. 19, 1968

We Communists seek not official posts, but revolution. Everyone of us must be a thoroughgoing revolutionary in spirit and we must never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses (...).

[A communist] must be full of vigour, he must have a strong revolutionary will, (...) always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas and actions.

Peking Review No. 51, 1968

Marx said: The proletariat must not only emancipate itself but must also emancipate all humanity. Without emancipating all mankind, the proletariat will not be able to emancipate itself definitively. Comrades, I beg you to pay attention to this truth.

“Letter to the Red Guards.” August, 1966. Peking Review No. 36, 1966

The proletariat is the largest class in the history of mankind. It is the most powerful revolutionary class ideologically, politically and by its strength; it can and must unite around itself the overwhelming majority to isolate as much as possible the handful of enemies and attack it.

Peking Review No. 45, 1974

In the epoch when classes and class struggle still exist inside and outside the country, the working class and the masses of the people who have seized state power must suppress all counterrevolutionary classes, groups or individuals who resist the revolution, prevent their restorationist activities and prohibit all counterrevolutionaries from exploiting freedom of speech to achieve their counterrevolutionary aims.

Peking Review No. 19, 1976

The old exploiting classes are totally submerged in the immense ocean of the working masses, and whether they like it or not, their individuals are obliged to transform themselves. There are undoubtedly people who, being reluctant to death to change, are ready to present themselves before God with their granite head; but this does not affect the general situation. All the decadent ideologies and other inadequate factors subsisting in the

superstructure are collapsing day by day. It still takes time to sweep away all this garbage, but certainly its elimination is inevitable.

Peking Review No. 30, 1974

Most of our intellectuals today come from the old society and from non-working families. Even those who descend from working class and peasant families are still bourgeois intellectuals because the education they received before liberation was a bourgeois education and their criterion regarding the world was essentially bourgeois. If they do not put aside the old and replace it with the proletarian conception of the world, they will remain at variance with the workers and peasants in their point of view, in their position and feelings and will be to them like square pegs in round holes, and the workers and peasants will not open their hearts to them.

Peking Review No. 11, 1976

3. Continuation of the GPCR

A great disorder under the heavens leads to a great order under the heavens. And so it happens again every seven or eight years. Monsters and demons will come to the forefront on their own. As determined by their own class nature, they cannot act otherwise.

Peking Review No. 36, 1976

We have been singing The Internationale for 50 years; however, on 10 occasions, there have been individuals in our Party who tried to create division. In my opinion, this will happen another 10, 20, 30 times. Don't you think so? Even if you don't, I still believe it. Will the struggles cease when we have reached communism? I don't think so. Even in communism, there will still be struggles, but they will be struggles between the new and the obsolete, between the correct and the erroneous. Even tens of thousands of years from now, the erroneous will also not hold any value or sustain itself.

During an Inspection Tour in August and September 1971. Peking Review No. 34, 1976

Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation. (...)

In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as capitalism. Even now she practises an eight-grade wage system, distribution to each according to his work and exchange by means of money, which are scarcely different from those in the old society. What is different

is that the system of ownership has changed. Chairman Mao pointed out: Our country at present practises a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, there being the eight-grade wage system, etc. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus it would be quite easy for people like Lin Biao to push the capitalist system if they come to power. Therefore, we should read some more Marxist-Leninist works. (...)

Lenin said, "Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale." This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life.

1975. Peking Review No. 10, 1975

It happens that the socialist revolution falls upon oneself like a blow to the head. Even during agricultural collectivization, there were those within the Party who opposed it, and in the face of criticism of bourgeois law, they show resentment. The socialist revolution is underway; however, there is a lack of understanding about where the bourgeoisie is located. It is precisely within the Communist Party; it refers to the leaders who follow the capitalist path within the Party. The followers of the capitalist path are still following their course.

1976. Peking Review No. 11, 1976

In 1949, it was pointed out that the main contradiction in the country is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Thirteen years later, the question of class struggle was reexamined, with reference to the fact that the situation was beginning to improve. What is the Great Cultural Revolution? It is a class struggle. Liu Shaoqi advocated for the theory of the extinction of class struggle, but what he himself did was not to extinguish it. He wanted to protect his band of renegades and sworn accomplices. Lin Biao attempted to overthrow the proletariat and stage a coup. Was the class struggle extinguished?

1976. Peking Review No. 15, 1976

Lenin spoke about a bourgeois state without capitalists, built to protect bourgeois rights. We ourselves have built a state like that, where things do not differ much from those in the old society, as there is hierarchy and an eight-tier wage system in place, distribution based on work, and the exchange of equal values.

1976. Peking Review No. 25, 1976

After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-

middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and, want to protect the interests of the high officials.

1976. Peking Review No. 25, 1976

Will there be need for revolution a hundred years from now? Will there still be need for revolution a thousand years from now? There is always need for revolution.

1976. Peking Review No. 34, 1976

The masses are the true heroes, whereas we are childish and ridiculous (...) it often happens that those who are at a lower level surpass those who are at a higher level, the masses surpass the leaders, and these lag behind the common workers, because they are isolated from the masses and lack practical experience.

1976. Peking Review No. 23, 1976

Basic Documents of the Communist Party of China on the Great Proletarian Cultural Rev- olution: DIRECTIVE OF THE CENTRAL COMMIT- TEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

(May 16, 1966)

To all regional bureaus of the Central Committee, to all provincial, municipal, and autonomous regional committees of the Party, to all departments and commissions of the Central Committee, to all leading groups and Party committees within State institutions and popular organizations, and to the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army:

The Central Committee has decided to revoke the "Schematic Report of the Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution on Current Academic Discussions," which was approved and distributed on February 12, 1966, **to disband the "Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution" and its offices, and to establish a new group responsible for the cultural revolution, directly subordinate to the Permanent Committee of the Politburo.** The schematic report of the so-called "Group of Five" is

entirely incorrect; it goes against the line set by the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong for the socialist cultural revolution, and it contradicts the guiding principles formulated in 1962 by the Tenth Plenary Session of the Central Committee elected at the Eighth Party Congress, concerning the issue of classes and class struggle in socialist society. The schematic report, though pretending to be in accordance, actually stubbornly resists the great cultural revolution initiated and personally directed by Comrade Mao Zedong and resists his instructions regarding the criticism of Wu Ján given at the Central Committee's work conference held in September and October 1965 (that is, in the session of the Permanent Committee of the Politburo of the Central Committee in which comrades responsible for all regional bureaus of the Central Committee also participated).

The schematic report of the so-called "Group of Five" is actually the exclusive work of Peng Zhen, who crafted it according to his own viewpoints behind the back of comrade Kang Sheng, a member of the same group, and other comrades. When dealing with a document of this kind regarding important issues related to the overall situation of the socialist revolution, Peng Zhen did not discuss or exchange opinions at all within the "Group of Five." He did not consult any local Party committee, nor did he make it clear that it should be submitted to the Central Committee for examination as an official document of it, and even less did he obtain approval from Comrade Mao Zedong, Chairman of the Central Committee. Using extremely dishonorable methods, he acted arbitrarily, abused his authority, and hastily circulated the schematic report throughout the Party, usurping the name of the Central Committee.

The main errors in the schematic report are as follows:

1. Proceeding from a bourgeois stand and the bourgeois world outlook in its appraisal of the situation and the nature of the current academic criticism, the outline completely reverses the relation between the enemy and ourselves, putting the one into the position of the other. Our country is now in an upsurge of the great proletarian Cultural Revolution which is pounding at all the decadent ideological and cultural positions still held by the bourgeoisie and the remnants of feudalism. Instead of encouraging the entire party boldly to arouse the broad masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers, and the fighters for proletarian culture so that they can continue to charge ahead, the outline does its best to turn the movement to the right. Using muddled, self-contradictory, and hypocritical language, it obscures the sharp class struggle that is taking place on the cultural and ideological front. In

particular, it obscures the aim of this great struggle, which is to **criticize and repudiate** Wu Han and the **considerable number of other anti-party and anti-socialist representatives of the bourgeoisie** (there are a number of these in the Central Committee and in the party, government, and other departments at the central as well as at the provincial, municipal, and autonomous region level). By avoiding any mention of the fact repeatedly pointed out by Chairman Mao, namely, that the key point in Wu Han's drama *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* is the question of dismissal from office, the outline covers up the serious political nature of the struggle.

2. The outline violates the basic Marxist thesis that all class struggles are political struggles. When the press began to touch on the political issues involved in Wu Han's *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, the authors of the outline went so far as to say: "The discussion in the press should not be confined to political questions, but should go fully into the various academic and theoretical questions involved." Regarding the criticism of Wu Han, they declared on various occasions that it was impermissible to deal with the heart of the matter, namely, the dismissal of the right opportunists at the Lushan plenum in 1959 and the opposition of Wu Han and others to the party and socialism. Comrade Mao Zedong has often told us that the ideological struggle against the bourgeoisie is a protracted class struggle which cannot be resolved by drawing hasty political conclusions. However, P'eng Chen deliberately spread rumours, telling many people that Chairman Mao believed political conclusions on the criticism of Wu Han could be drawn after two months. P'eng Chen also said that the political issues could be discussed two months later. His purpose was to channel the political struggle in the cultural sphere into the so-called pure academic discussion so frequently advocated by the bourgeois politics and opposing giving prominence to proletarian politics.

3. The outline lays special emphasis on what it calls "opening wide." But playing a sly trick it grossly distorts the policy of "opening wide" expounded by Comrade Mao Zedong at the party's National Conference on Propaganda Work in March 1957 and negates the class content of "opening wide." It was in dealing with this question that Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: **"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."**

Comrade Mao Zedong 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.”** This outline, however, poses “opening wide” against exposure by the proletariat of the bourgeoisie’s reactionary stand. What it means by “opening wide” is bourgeois liberalization, which would allow only the bourgeoisie to “open wide,” but would not allow the proletariat to “open wide” and hit back; in other words, it is a shield for such reactionary bourgeois representatives as Wu Han. The “opening wide” in this outline is against Mao Zedong’s thought and caters for the needs of the bourgeoisie.

4. Just when we began the counter-offensive against the wild attacks of the bourgeoisie, the authors of the outline raised the slogan: “everyone is equal before the truth.” This is a bourgeois slogan. Completely negating the class nature of truth, they use this slogan to protect the bourgeoisie and oppose the proletariat, oppose Marxism-Leninism, and oppose Mao Zedong’s thought. In the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the truth of Marxism and the fallacies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, either the East wind prevails over the West wind or the West wind prevails over the East wind, and there is absolutely no such thing as equality. **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 superstructure, including all the various spheres of culture, and the continued efforts of the proletariat to weed out those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the communist party and who wave “red flags” to oppose the red flag?** For decades the old-line Social Democrats, and for over ten years the modern revisionists, have never allowed the proletariat equality with the bourgeoisie. They completely deny that the several thousand years of human history is a history of class struggle. They completely deny the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the 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. Together with the bourgeoisie and imperialism, they cling to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system, and they oppose Marxist-Leninist ideology and the socialist system. They are a bunch of

counter-revolutionaries opposing the communist party and the people. Their struggle against us is one of life and death, and there is no question of equality. Therefore, our struggle against them, too, can be nothing but a life-and-death struggle, and our relation with them can in no way be one of equality. On the contrary, it is a relation of one class oppressing another, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. There can be no other type of relation, such as a so called relation of equality, or of peaceful co-existence between exploiting and exploited classes, or of kindness or magnanimity.

5. The outline states: “It is necessary not only to beat the other side politically, but also, by academic and professional standards, truly surpass and beat it by a wide margin.” This concept which makes no class distinction on academic matters is also very wrong. The truth on academic questions, the truth of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Zedong’s thought — which the proletariat has grasped — has already far surpassed and beaten the bourgeoisie. The formulation in the outline shows that its authors laud the so-called academic authorities of the bourgeoisie and try to boost their prestige, and that they hate and repress the militant newborn forces representative of the proletariat in academic circles.

6. **Chairman Mao often says that there is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation; it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction.** Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong’s thought, was founded and has constantly developed in the course of the struggle to destroy bourgeois ideology. This outline, however, emphasizes that “without construction, there can be no real and thorough destruction.” This amounts to prohibiting the destruction of bourgeois ideology and prohibiting the construction of proletarian ideology. It is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao’s thought. It runs counter to the revolutionary struggle we have been waging on the cultural front for the vigorous destruction of bourgeois ideology. And it amounts to prohibiting the proletariat from making any revolution.

7. The outline states that ‘we must not behave like scholar-tyrants who are always acting arbitrarily and trying to overwhelm people with their power’ and that ‘we should guard against any tendency for academic workers of the left to take the road of bourgeois experts and scholar-tyrants’. What is really meant by “scholar-tyrants”? Who are the “scholar-tyrants”?

Should the proletariat not exercise dictatorship and overwhelm the bourgeoisie? Should the academic work of the proletariat not overwhelm and eradicate that of the bourgeoisie? And if proletarian academic work overwhelms and eradicates bourgeois academic work, can this be regarded as an act of “scholar-tyrants”? The outline directs its spearhead against the proletarian left. Obviously, its aim is to label the Marxist-Leninists “scholar-tyrants” and thus to support the real, bourgeois scholar-tyrants and prop up their tottering monopoly position in academic circles. **As a matter of fact, those party people in authority taking the capitalist road who support the bourgeois scholar-tyrants, and those bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the party and protect the bourgeois scholar-tyrants, are indeed big party tyrants who have usurped the name of the party, have no contact with the masses, have no learning at all, and rely solely on “acting arbitrarily and trying to overwhelm people with their power.”**

8. For their own ulterior purposes, the authors of the outline demand a “rectification campaign” against the staunch left in a deliberate effort to create confusion, blur class alignments and divert people from the target of struggle. Their main purpose in dishing up the outline in such a hurry was to attack the proletarian left. They have gone out of their way to build up dossiers about the left, tried to find all sorts of pretexts for attacking them, and intended to launch further attacks on them by means of a “rectification campaign,” in the vain hope of disintegrating their ranks. They openly resist the policy explicitly put forward by Chairman Mao of protecting and supporting the left and giving serious attention to building up and expanding their ranks. On the other hand, they have conferred on those bourgeois representatives, revisionists, and renegades who have sneaked into the party the title of “staunch left,” and are shielding them. In these ways, they are trying to inflate the arrogance of the bourgeois rightists and to dampen the spirits of the proletarian left. They are filled with hatred for the proletariat and love for the bourgeoisie. Such is the bourgeois concept of brotherhood held by the authors of the outline.

9. At a time when the new and fierce struggle of the proletariat against the representatives of the bourgeoisie on the ideological front has only just began, and in many spheres and places has not even started — **or, if it has started, most party committees concerned have a very poor understanding of the task of leadership in this great struggle and their leadership is far from conscientious and effective** — the outline stresses again

and again that the struggle must be conducted “under direction,” “with prudence,” “with caution,” and “with the approval of the leading bodies concerned.” All this serves to place restrictions on the proletarian left, to impose taboos and commandments in order to tie their hands, and to place all sorts of obstacles in the way of the proletarian cultural revolution. In a word, the authors of the outline are rushing to apply the brakes and launch a counter-attack in revenge. As for the articles written by the proletarian left refuting the reactionary bourgeois “authorities,” they nurse bitter hatred against those already published and are suppressing those not yet published. **But on the other hand, they give free rein to all the various ghosts and monsters who for many years have abounded in our press, radio, magazines, books, text-book, platforms, works of literature, cinema, drama, ballads and stories, the fine arts, music, the dance, etc., and in doing so they never advocate proletarian leadership or stress any need for approval. The contrast here shows where the authors of the outline really stand.**

10. The present struggle centres on the issue of implementation of, or resistance to, Comrade Mao Zedong’s line on the Cultural Revolution. Yet the outline states: “Through this struggle, and under the guidance of Mao Zedong’s thought, we shall open up the way for the solution of this problem (that is, ‘the thorough liquidation of bourgeois ideas in the realm of academic work’).” Comrade Mao Zedong opened up the way for the proletariat on the cultural and ideological front long ago, in his *On New Democracy*, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, *Letter to the Yen-an Peking Opera Theatre after Seeing the Performance of “Driven to Joint the Liangshan Rebels,”* *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, and *Speech at the Communist Party of China’s National Conference on Propaganda Work*. Yet the outline maintains that Mao Zedong’s thought has not yet opened up the way for us and that the way has to be opened up anew. Using the banner of “under the guidance of Mao Zedong’s thought” as cover, the outline actually attempts to open up a way opposed to Mao Zedong’s thought, that is the way of modern revisionism, the way for the restoration of capitalism.

In short, the outline opposes carrying the socialist revolution through to the end, opposes the line on the Cultural Revolution pursued by the Central Committee of the party headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, attacks the proletarian left and shields the bourgeois right, thereby preparing public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. It is a reflection of bourgeois ideology in

the party, it is out-and-out revisionism. Far from being a minor issue, the struggle against this revisionist line is an issue of prime importance having a vital bearing on the destiny and future of our party and date, on the future complexion of our party and date, and on the world revolution.

Party committees at all levels must immediately stop carrying out the "Outline Report on the Current Academic Discussion made by the Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution." The whole party must follow Comrade Mao Zedong's instructions, **hold high the great banner of the proletarian Cultural Revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called "academic authorities" who oppose the party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art, and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is necessary at the same time to criticize and repudiate those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the party, the government, the army, and all spheres of culture, to clear them out or transfer some of them to other positions. Above all, we must not entrust these people with the work of leading the Cultural Revolution. In fact many of them have done and are still doing such work, and this is extremely dangerous.**

Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the party, the government, the army, and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen thorough, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchev, for example, who are still nestling beside us. **Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter.**

This circular is to be sent, together with the erroneous document issued by the Central Committee on 12 February 1960, down to the level of county party committees, party committees in the cultural organizations, and party committees at regimental level in the army. These committees are asked to discuss which of the two documents is wrong and which is correct, their understanding of these documents, and their achievements and mistake.

Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

(Adopted on August 8, 1966)

1. A New Stage in Socialist Revolution

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.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Mao Zedong said: to overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class. This thesis of Comrade Mao Zedong's has been proved entirely correct in practice.

Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavour to stage a comeback. The proletariat must do the exact opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. At present, our objective is to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

2. The Main Current and the Zigzags

The masses of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals, and revolutionary cadres form the main force in this Great Cultural Revolution. Large numbers of revolutionary young people, previously unknown, have become courageous and daring pathbreakers. They are vigorous in action and intelligent. Through the media of big-character posters and great debates,

they argue things out, expose and criticize thoroughly, and launch resolute attacks on the open and hidden representatives of the bourgeoisie. In such a great revolutionary movement, it is hardly avoidable that they should show shortcomings of one kind or another; however, their general revolutionary orientation has been correct from the beginning. This is the main current in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It is the general direction along which this revolution continues to advance.

Since the Cultural Revolution is a revolution, it inevitably meets with resistance. This resistance comes chiefly from those in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. It also comes from the force of habits from the old society. At present, this resistance is still fairly strong and stubborn. But after all, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is an irresistible general trend. There is abundant evidence that such resistance will be quickly broken down once the masses become fully aroused.

Because the resistance is fairly strong, there will be reversals and even repeated reversals in this struggle. There is no harm in this. It tempers the proletariat and other working people, and especially the younger generation, teaches them lessons and gives them experience, and helps them to understand that the revolutionary road zigzags and does not run smoothly.

3. Put Daring Above Everything Else and Boldly Arouse the Masses

The outcome of this Great Cultural Revolution will be determined by whether or not the Party leadership dares boldly to arouse the masses.

Currently, there are four different situations with regard to the leadership being given to the movement of Cultural Revolution by Party organizations at various levels:

(1) There is the situation in which the persons in charge of Party organizations stand in the van of the movement and dare to arouse the masses boldly. They put daring above everything else, they are dauntless communist fighters and good pupils of Chairman Mao. They advocate the big-character posters and great debates. They encourage the masses to expose every kind of ghost and monster and also to criticize the shortcomings and errors in the work of the persons in charge. This correct kind of leadership is the result of putting proletarian politics in the forefront and Mao Zedong's thought in the lead.

(2) In many units, the persons in charge have a very poor understanding of the task of leadership in this great struggle, their leadership is far from being conscientious and effective, and they accordingly find themselves incompetent and in a weak position. They put fear above everything else, stick to outmoded ways and regulations, and are unwilling to break away from conventional practices and move ahead. They have been taken unaware by the new order of things, the revolutionary order of the masses, with the result that their leadership lags behind the situation, lags behind the masses.

(3) In some units, the persons in charge, who made mistakes of one kind or another in the past, are even more prone to put fear above everything else, being afraid that the masses will catch them out. Actually, if they make serious self-criticism and accept the criticism of the masses, the Party and the masses will make allowances for their mistakes. But if the persons in charge don't, they will continue to make mistakes and become obstacles to the mass movement.

(4) Some units are controlled by those who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. Such persons in authority are extremely afraid of being exposed by the masses and therefore seek every possible pretext to suppress the mass movement. They resort to such tactics as shifting the targets for attack and turning black into white in an attempt to lead the movement astray. When they find themselves very isolated and no longer able to carry on as before, they resort still more to intrigues, stabbing people in the back, spreading rumours, and blurring the distinction between revolution and counter-revolution as much as they can, all for the purpose of attacking the revolutionaries.

What the Central Committee of the Party demands of the Party committees at all levels is that they persevere in giving correct leadership, put daring above everything else, boldly arouse the masses, change the state of weakness and incompetence where it exists, encourage those comrades who have made mistakes but are willing to correct them to cast off their mental burdens and join in the struggle, and dismiss from their leading posts all those in authority who are taking the capitalist road and so make possible the recapture of the leadership for the proletarian revolution.

4. Let the Masses Educate Themselves in the Movement

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the only method is for the masses to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things in their stead

must not be used.

Trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative. Cast out fear. Don't be afraid of disturbances. Chairman Mao has often told us that revolution cannot be so very refined, so gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. Let the masses educate themselves in this great revolutionary movement and learn to distinguish between right and wrong and between correct and incorrect ways of doing things.

Make the fullest use of big-character posters and great debates to argue matters out, so that the masses can clarify the correct views, criticize the wrong views and expose all the ghosts and monsters. In this way the masses will be able to raise their political consciousness in the course of the struggle, enhance their abilities and talents, distinguish right from wrong and draw a clear line between ourselves and the enemy.

5. Firmly Apply the Class Line of the Party

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.

Party leadership should be good at discovering the left and developing and strengthening the ranks of the left; it should firmly rely on the revolutionary left. During the movement this is the only way to isolate the most reactionary rightists thoroughly, win over the middle and unite with the great majority so that by the end of the movement we shall achieve the unity of more than 95 per cent of the cadres and more than 95 per cent of the masses.

Concentrate all forces to strike at the handful of ultra-reactionary bourgeois rightists and counter-revolutionary revisionists, and expose and criticize to the full their crimes against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Zedong's thought so as to isolate them to the maximum.

The main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road.

Care should be taken to distinguish strictly between the anti-Party, anti-socialist rightists and those who support the Party and socialism but have said or done something wrong or have written some bad articles or other works.

Care should be taken to distinguish strictly between the reactionary bourgeois scholar despots and "authorities" on the one hand and people who have the ordinary bourgeois academic ideas on the other.

6. Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People

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.

When there is a debate, it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force.

In the course of debate, every revolutionary should be good at thinking things out for himself and should develop the communist spirit of daring to think, daring to speak and daring to act. On the premise that they have the same general orientation, revolutionary comrades should, for the sake of strengthening unity, avoid endless debate over side issues.

7. Be on Guard Against Those Who Brand the Revolutionary Masses as “Counter-Revolutionaries”

In certain schools, units, and work teams of the Cultural Revolution, some of the persons in charge have organized counter-attacks against the masses who put up big-character posters criticizing them. These people have even advanced such slogans as: opposition to the leaders of a unit or a work team means opposition to the Central Committee of the Party, means opposition to the Party and socialism, means counter-revolution. In this way it is inevitable that their blows will fall on some really revolutionary activists. This is an error on matters of orientation, an error of line, and is absolutely impermissible.

A number of persons who suffer from serious ideological errors, and par-

ticularly some of the anti-Party and anti-socialist rightists, are taking advantage of certain shortcomings and mistakes in the mass movement to spread rumours and gossip, and engage in agitation, deliberately branding some of the masses as “counter-revolutionaries.” It is necessary to beware of such “pick-pockets” and expose their tricks in good time.

In the course of the movement, with the exception of cases of active counter-revolutionaries where there is clear evidence of crimes such as murder, arson, poisoning, sabotage or theft of state secrets, which should be handled in accordance with the law, no measures should be taken against students at universities, colleges, middle schools and primary schools because of problems that arise in the movement. To prevent the struggle from being diverted from its main target, it is not allowed, under whatever pretext, to incite the masses or the students to struggle against each other. Even proven rightists should be dealt with on the merits of each case at a later stage of the movement.

8. The Question of Cadres

The cadres fall roughly into the following four categories:

1. good;
2. comparatively good;
3. those who have made serious mistakes but have not become anti-Party, anti-socialist rightists;
4. the small number of anti-Party, anti-socialist rightists.

In ordinary situations, the first two categories (good and comparatively good) are the great majority.

The anti-Party, anti-socialist rightists must be fully exposed, refuted, overthrown and completely discredited and their influence eliminated. At the same time, they should be given a chance to turn over a new leaf.

9. Cultural Revolution Groups, Committees and Congresses

Many new things have begun to emerge in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Cultural Revolutionary groups, committees and other organizational forms created by the masses in many schools and units are something new and of great historic importance.

These Cultural Revolutionary groups, committees and congresses are excellent new forms of organization whereby the masses educate themselves under the leadership of the Communist Party. They are an excellent bridge to keep our Party in close contact with the masses. They are organs of power of the proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The struggle of the proletariat against the old ideas, culture, customs and habits left over by all the exploiting classes over thousands of years will necessarily take a very, very long time. Therefore, the Cultural Revolutionary groups, committees and congresses should not be temporary organizations but permanent, standing mass organizations. They are suitable not only for colleges, schools and government and other organizations, but generally also for factories, mines, other enterprises, urban districts and villages.

It is necessary to institute a system of general elections, like that of the Paris Commune, for electing members to the Cultural Revolutionary groups and committees and delegates to the Cultural Revolutionary congresses. The lists of candidates should be put forward by the revolutionary masses after full discussion, and the elections should be held after the masses have discussed the lists over and over again.

The masses are entitled at any time to criticize members of the Cultural Revolutionary groups and committees and delegates elected to the Cultural Revolutionary congresses. If these members or delegates prove incompetent, they can be replaced through election or recalled by the masses after discussion.

The Cultural Revolutionary groups, committees and congresses in colleges and schools should consist mainly of representatives of the revolutionary students. At the same time, they should have a certain number of representatives of the revolutionary teaching and administrative staff and workers.

10. Educational Reform

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution a most important task is to transform the old educational system and the old principles and methods of teaching.

In this Great Cultural Revolution, the phenomenon of our schools being dominated by bourgeois intellectuals must be completely changed.

In every kind of school we must apply thoroughly the policy advanced by Comrade Mao Zedong of education serving proletarian politics and education being combined with productive labour, so as to enable those receiving an

education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and to become labourers with socialist consciousness and culture.

The period of schooling should be shortened. Courses should be fewer and better. The teaching material should be thoroughly transformed, in some cases beginning with simplifying complicated material. While their main task is to study, students should also learn other things. That is to say, in addition to their studies they should also learn industrial work, farming and military affairs, and take part in the struggles of the Cultural Revolution to criticize the bourgeoisie as these struggles occur.

11. The Question of Criticizing by Name in the Press

In the course of the mass movement of the Cultural Revolution, the criticism of bourgeois and feudal ideology should be well combined with the dissemination of the proletarian world outlook and of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong's thought.

Criticism should be organized of typical bourgeois representatives who have wormed their way into the Party and typical reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities," and this should include criticism of various kinds of reactionary views in philosophy, history, political economy and education, in works and theories of literature and art, in theories of natural science, and in other fields.

Criticism of anyone by name in the press should be decided after discussion by the Party committee at the same level, and in some cases submitted to the Party committee at a higher level for approval.

12. Policy Towards Scientists, Technicians and Ordinary Members of Working Staffs

As regards scientists, technicians and ordinary members of working staffs, as long as they are patriotic, work energetically, are not against the Party and socialism, and maintain no illicit relations with any foreign country, we should in the present movement continue to apply the policy of "unity, criticism, unity." Special care should be taken of those scientists and scientific and technical personnel who have made contributions. Efforts should be made to help them gradually transform their world outlook and their style of work.

13. The Question of Arrangements for Integration With the Socialist Education Movement in City and Countryside

The cultural and educational units and leading organs of the Party and government in the large and medium cities are the points of concentration of the present proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The Great Cultural Revolution has enriched the socialist education movement in both city and countryside and raised it to a higher level. Efforts should be made to conduct these two movements in close combination. Arrangements to this effect may be made by various regions and departments in the light of the specific conditions.

The socialist education movement now going on in the countryside and in enterprises in the cities should not be upset where the original arrangements are appropriate and the movement is going well, but should continue in accordance with the original arrangements. However, the questions that are arising in the present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution should be put to the masses for discussion at the proper time, so as to further foster vigorously proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology.

In some places, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is being used as the focus in order to add momentum to the socialist education movement and clean things up in the fields of politics, ideology, organization and economy. This may be done where the local Party committee thinks it appropriate.

14. Take Firm Hold of the Revolution and Stimulate Production

The aim of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is to revolutionize people's ideology and as a consequence to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all fields of work. If the masses are fully aroused and proper arrangements are made, it is possible to carry on both the Cultural Revolution and production without one hampering the other, while guaranteeing high quality in all our work.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country. Any idea of counterposing the Great Cultural Revolution to the development of production is incorrect.

15. The Armed Forces

In the armed forces, the cultural revolution and the socialist education movement should be carried out in accordance with the instructions of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party and the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army.

16. Mao Zedong's Thought Is the Guide for Action in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it is imperative to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Zedong's thought and put proletarian politics in command. The movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao Zedong's works should be carried forward among the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, the cadres and the intellectuals, and Mao Zedong's thought should be taken as the guide to action in the Cultural Revolution.

In this complex Great Cultural Revolution, Party committees at all levels must study and apply Chairman Mao's works all the more conscientiously and in a creative way. In particular, they must study over and over again Chairman Mao's writings on the Cultural Revolution and on the Party's methods of leadership, such as *On New Democracy*, *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, *Speech at the Communist Party of China's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, *Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership and Methods of Work of Party Committees*.

Party committees at all levels must abide by the directions given by Chairman Mao over the years, namely that they should thoroughly apply the mass line of "from the masses, to the masses" and that they should be pupils before they become teachers. They should try to avoid being one-sided or narrow. They should foster materialist dialectics and oppose metaphysics and scholasticism.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is bound to achieve brilliant victory under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Zedong.

Message of Greetings to Revolutionary Rebel Organizations in Shanghai

From the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee

To The Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters and 31 other revolutionary mass organizations:

Your "Urgent Notice" issued on January 9, 1967, is indeed excellent. The guiding principles which you have put forward and the actions you have taken are entirely correct.

You have held aloft the great red banner of Mao Zedong's thought. You are models in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works.

You have taken a firm stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. You have seen through and exposed in time the schemes of the bourgeois reactionary line in starting a new counter-attack and have launched a forceful counter-offensive.

You have upheld the dictatorship of the proletariat, persisted in the general direction of socialism and put forward the fighting task of opposing the economism of counter-revolutionary revisionism.

You have formulated a correct policy in accordance with Chairman Mao's principle of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production."

You have brought about a great alliance of the proletarian revolutionary organizations and become the nucleus uniting all revolutionary forces. You have taken firmly in your hands the destiny of the proletarian dictatorship, the destiny of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the destiny of the socialist economy.

Your revolutionary actions have set a brilliant example for the working class and all labouring people and the revolutionary masses throughout the country.

We hereby call on Party, Government, Army and civilian circles, on the workers, peasants, revolutionary students, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres throughout the country to learn from the experience of the revolutionary rebel groups in Shanghai, to take concerted action and to beat back the new counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line, so as

to ensure that the great proletarian cultural revolution will forge ahead triumphantly along the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party The State Council The Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party The Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

January 11, 1967. Published in Peking Review No. 4, January 25, 1967

Communique of the Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

(Published in Peking Review No. 44, November 6, 1968)

The Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China opened in Peking on October 13, 1968 and was successfully concluded on October 31.

The Plenary Session holds that in his great revolutionary document **“Bombard the Headquarters”** issued at the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, Chairman Mao charted the course of victory for the current great proletarian cultural revolution.

The Plenary Session holds that the “Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution” drawn up under Chairman Mao’s personal guidance at the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee and the Communique of the 11th Plenary Session are correct.

The Plenary Session holds that Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line, his great strategic plan for the great proletarian cultural revolution and the series of important instructions he has given at various stages of this revolution, and Vice-Chairman Lin’s many speeches are all correct. The Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee has played an important role in the struggle to carry out Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line.

Practice in the great proletarian cultural revolution proves that, as Comrade Mao Zedong has said, **the current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration**

and building socialism. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the leadership of the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, and in the process of extremely complicated and acute class struggle over the past two years, hundreds of millions of people have been mobilized on a scale unprecedented in breadth and depth and, with the support of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and through repeated trials of class strength, have finally smashed the bourgeois headquarters represented by Liu Shaoqi together with its agents in various places, which vainly attempted to usurp the leadership of the Party, the Government and the army, and have seized back that portion of power they usurped. Revolutionary committees have been set up in 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, that is, throughout the country with the exception of Taiwan Province. Today this momentous proletarian cultural revolution has won great and decisive victory.

The Plenary Session holds that the victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution are further proof that the Communist Party of China with Comrade Mao Zedong as its leader is a great, glorious and correct Party. The Plenary Session holds that through the storms of the great proletarian cultural revolution, ample ideological, political and organizational conditions have been prepared for convening the Ninth National Congress of the Party. The Plenary Session decided that the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China will be held at an appropriate time.

The Plenary Session ratified the "Report on the Examination of the Crimes of the Renegade, Traitor and Scab Liu Shaoqi" submitted by the special group under the Central Committee of the Party for the examination of his case. The report confirms with full supporting evidence that Liu Shaoqi, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, is a renegade, traitor and scab hiding in the Party and is a lackey of imperialism, modern revisionism and the Kuomintang reactionaries who has committed innumerable crimes. The Plenary Session holds that the exposure of the counter-revolutionary features of Liu Shaoqi by the Party and the revolutionary masses in the great proletarian cultural revolution is a tremendous victory for Mao Zedong's thought and for the great proletarian cultural revolution. The Plenary Session expressed its deepest revolutionary indignation at Liu Shaoqi's counter-revolutionary crimes and unanimously adopted a resolution to expel Liu Shaoqi from the Party once and for all, to dismiss him from all posts both inside and outside the Party and to continue to settle

accounts with him and his accomplices for their crimes in betraying the Party and the country. The Plenary Session calls on all comrades in the Party and the people of the whole country to carry on deep-going revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and eradicate the counterrevolutionary revisionist ideas of Liu Shaoqi and the handful of other top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

The Plenary Session points out that a fierce struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines runs through the history of the great proletarian cultural revolution over the past two years and more. The struggle centres on the question of political power, the question of the fight for leadership between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and **the question of whether the leadership of the Party and state is to be in the hands of Marxists or of revisionists.** Unreconciled to their doom, the exploiting classes and their agents used all kinds of political and economic means both from the Right and from the extreme “Left” — that is, “Left” in form but Right in essence — in a vain attempt to confuse class alignments, sabotage the great proletarian cultural revolution and stage a counter-seizure of power from the proletariat. But all their plots have been exposed one after another by the masses of revolutionary people who have grasped Mao Zedong’s thought. The Plenary Session holds that it is essential to continue sharpening vigilance against sabotage by the exploiting classes and their agents.

The Plenary Session seriously criticized and repudiated the “adverse February current” of 1967 directed against the decision of the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, against the great proletarian cultural revolution and against the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader. The Plenary Session holds that the shattering of the “adverse February current” and of the sinister trend last spring to reverse the correct verdict on the “adverse February current” was an important victory for Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line in smashing the bourgeois reactionary line.

The Plenary Session holds that the tremendous victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution have further demonstrated the profound and far-reaching significance of Comrade Mao Zedong’s theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao Zedong’s thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory; it is the thought guiding all the work of the Party, the army and the country. Once Mao

Zedong's thought is grasped by the masses of the people, it generates an immense material force. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, Mao Zedong's thought has been rapidly disseminated among hundreds of millions of people, making its way deep into their hearts; in their struggles, the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers have eagerly and creatively studied and applied Mao Zedong's thought. This is the basic guarantee for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing our country from ever changing its political colour. The whole Party, the whole army and the revolutionary committees at all levels must continue to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Zedong's thought, unite closely around the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, conscientiously carry out each and every one of Chairman Mao's latest instructions, carry forward the mass movement for the study of Chairman Mao's works, run Mao Zedong's thought study classes well, use Mao Zedong's thought to unify their thinking and co-ordinate their steps and actions and criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois theory of "many centres," so as to go on winning fresh victories in all fields of our work.

The Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee calls on all workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary Red Guards and revolutionary intellectuals and on the revolutionary people of all nationalities in the country to carry out resolutely Chairman Mao's teaching that **the working class must exercise leadership in everything**, to establish **the dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture**, to fulfil the tasks in all stages of struggle-criticism-transformation put forward by Chairman Mao and to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

We must continue to carry out Chairman Mao's great principle on the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary three-in-one combination and conscientiously implement Chairman Mao's instructions on conducting revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, on simplifying the administrative structure, on cadres' going down to do manual labour and on changing irrational rules and regulations, so that our new-born revolutionary committees can forge close links with the masses, be constantly consolidated, developed and improved and perform the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat still better.

We must continue fully to arouse the masses, conscientiously to carry out

the work of purifying the class ranks in factories, people's communes, Party and government institutions, schools, all enterprises and undertakings and neighbourhoods, etc., and to dig out the handful of counter-revolutionaries hiding among the masses.

We must carry out Chairman Mao's directive that **the Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy**, carry out Chairman Mao's instruction on "**getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh,**" conscientiously do the work of Party consolidation and Party building, expel from the Party proved renegades, enemy agents, diehard capitalist loaders, degenerate elements and other alien class elements who have sneaked into the Party, take into the Party fresh blood from the proletariat — above all, advanced elements with communist consciousness from among industrial workers — and select outstanding Party members who are resolute in carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line for leading posts in the Party.

We must fulfil the great historic mission of the proletarian revolution in education. As regards intellectuals, **they must be re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers so that they can integrate themselves with the workers and peasants. The workers' propaganda teams should stay permanently in the schools and colleges, take part in all the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation there and always lead these institutions. In the countryside, schools and colleges should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants — the most reliable ally of the working class.** This is a question of key importance in carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. The workers, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army who are undertaking this glorious task should constantly raise their political consciousness in the course of struggle.

We must **grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparedness against war**, and do a still better job in building socialist industry, socialist agriculture and all other socialist undertakings in our country. The great proletarian cultural revolution is a tremendous motive force for the development of socialist production in our country. It is promoting the emergence of a new leap in our socialist construction and will continue to do so.

We must continuously strengthen the great Chinese People's Liberation Army, further consolidate national defence, and continue to do a good job in **supporting the army and cherishing the people**. We are determined to liberate Taiwan. We must heighten our vigilance a hundredfold against the rapacious U.S. imperialists and the Soviet modern revisionist renegade clique. Should the enemy dare to impose war on us, we will wipe him out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.

The Plenary Session holds that, as Comrade Mao Zedong has pointed out, **the world revolution has entered a great new era**. The revolutionary movement of the people in all countries is developing vigorously.

Let us closely follow our great leader' Chairman Mao and courageously march forward! Victory will be ours!

Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China

Delivered on April 1 and adopted on April 14, 1969

The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China will be a congress with a far-reaching influence in the history of our Party.

Our present congress is convened at a time when great victory has been won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao. This great revolutionary storm has shattered the bourgeois headquarters headed December by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shaoqi, exposed the handful of renegades, enemy agents and absolutely unrepentant persons in power taking the capitalist road within the Party, with Liu Shaoqi as their arch-representative, and smashed their plot to restore capitalism; it has tremendously strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, tremendously strengthened our Party and thus prepared ample conditions for this congress politically, ideologically and organizationally.

1. On the Preparation for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a genuine proletarian revolution on an immense scale.

Chairman Mao has explained the necessity of the current great revolution in concise terms:

“The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.”

In order to comprehend this scientific thesis of Chairman Mao’s fully, we should have a deep understanding of his theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In 1957, shortly after the conclusion of the Party’s Eighth National Congress, Chairman Mao made public his great work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, in which, following his Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, he comprehensively set forth the existence of contradictions, classes and class struggle under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, set forth the thesis of the existence of two different types of contradictions in socialist society, those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people, and set forth the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This great work, like a radiant beacon, illuminates the course of China’s socialist revolution and socialist construction and it has laid the theoretical foundation for the current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

In order to have a deeper understanding of Chairman Mao’s great historic contribution, it is necessary briefly to review the historical experience of the international communist movement.

In 1852, Marx said:

“Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society.” (Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Chinese ed., p. 63.)

Marx's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat clearly distinguished scientific socialism from utopian socialism and sham socialism of every kind. Marx and Engels fought all their lives for this theory and for its realization.

After the death of Marx and Engels, almost all the parties of the Second International betrayed Marxism, with the exception of the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin. Lenin inherited, defended and developed Marxism in the struggle against the revisionism of the Second International. The struggle focused on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In denouncing the old revisionists, Lenin time and again stated:

“Those who recognize only the class struggle are not yet Marxists.... Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat.” (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 25, p. 399.)

Lenin led the proletariat of Russia in winning the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and founding the first socialist state. Through his great revolutionary practice in leading the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin perceived the danger of the restoration of capitalism and the protracted nature of class struggle:

“The transition from capitalism to Communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration.” (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 28, p. 235.)

Lenin stated:

“...the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the force of habit, in the strength of small production. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.” (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 31, p. 6.)

His conclusion was: “For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential.”; (Ibid.)

Lenin also stated that “the new bourgeoisie” was “arising from among our Soviet government employees”. (Lenin, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 29, p. 162.)

He pointed out that the danger of restoration also came from capitalist encirclement: The imperialist countries “will never miss an opportunity for military intervention, as they put it, i.e., to strangle Soviet power”. (Lenin, Collected Works, Chinese ed. Vol. 31, p. 423.)

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has completely betrayed these brilliant teachings of Lenin’s. From Khrushchev to Brezhnev and company, they are all persons in power taking the capitalist road, who had long concealed themselves in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. As soon as they came to power, they turned the bourgeoisie’s “hope of restoration” into “attempts at restoration”, usurped the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin and, through “peaceful evolution”, turned the world’s first state under the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dark fascist state under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao has waged a tit-for-tat struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre and has inherited, defended and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has comprehensively summed up the historical experience both positive and negative, of the dictatorship of the proletariat and, in order to prevent the restoration of capitalism, has put forward the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As early as March 1949, on the eve of the transition of the Chinese revolution from the new-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out in his report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party: After the country-wide seizure of power by the proletariat, the principal internal contradiction is “the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie”. The heart of the struggle is still the question of state power. Chairman Mao especially reminded us:

“After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly. If

we do not now raise and understand the problem in this way, we shall commit the gravest mistakes.”

Having foreseen the protracted and complex nature of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao set the whole Party the militant task of fighting imperialism, the Kuomintang and the bourgeoisie in the political, ideological, economic, cultural and diplomatic spheres.

Our Party waged intense battles in accordance with the resolution of the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee and the Party’s general line for the transition period formulated by Chairman Mao. By 1956, the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce had been in the main completed. That was the crucial moment for deciding whether the socialist revolution could continue to advance. In view of the rampancy of revisionism in the international communist movement and the new trends of class struggle in our country, Chairman Mao, in his great work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, called the attention of the whole Party to the following fact:

“In China, although in the main socialist transformation has been completed with respect to the system of ownership... there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started.”

Countering the fallacy put forward by Liu Shaoqi in 1956 that “in China, the question of which wins out, socialism or capitalism, is already solved” Chairman Mao specifically pointed out: “The question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled.” “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.” Thus, for the first time in the theory and practice of the international communist movement, it was pointed out explicitly that classes and class struggle still exist after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has been in the main completed, and that the proletariat must continue the revolution.

The proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao led the broad masses in carrying on the great struggle in the direction he indicated. From the struggle against the bourgeois rightists in 1957 to the struggle to uncover Peng Dehuai's anti-Party clique at the Lushan Meeting in 1959, from the great debate on the general line of the Party in building socialism to the struggle between the two lines in the socialist education movement—the focus of the struggle was the question of whether to take the socialist road or to take the capitalist road, whether to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat or to restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Every single victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, every victory in every major campaign launched by the Party against the bourgeoisie, was gained only after smashing the revisionist line represented by Liu Shaoqi, which either was Right or was "Left" in form but Right in essence.

Now it has been proved through investigation that Liu Shaoqi betrayed the Party, capitulated to the enemy and became a hidden traitor and scab as far back as the First Revolutionary Civil War period, that he was a crime-steeped lackey of the imperialists, modern revisionists and Kuomintang reactionaries and that he was the arch-representative of the persons in power taking the capitalist road. He had a political line by which he vainly attempted to restore capitalism in China and turn her into an imperialist and revisionist colony. In addition, he had an organizational line to serve his counter-revolutionary political line. For many years, recruiting deserters and turncoats, Liu Shaoqi gathered together a gang of renegades, enemy agents and capitalist-roaders in power. They covered up their counter-revolutionary political records, shielded each other, colluded in doing evil, usurped important Party and government posts and controlled the leadership in many central and local units, thus forming an underground bourgeois headquarters in opposition to the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. They collaborated with the imperialists, modern revisionists and Kuomintang reactionaries and played the kind of disruptive role that the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and the reactionaries of various countries were unable to do.

In 1939, when the War of Resistance Against Japan and for National Liberation led by Chairman Mao was vigorously surging forward, Liu Shaoqi came up with his sinister book *Self-Cultivation*. The core of that book was the betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It did not touch at all upon the questions of defeating Japanese imperialism and of waging the struggle

against the Kuomintang reactionaries, nor did it touch upon the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle of seizing state power by armed force; on the contrary, it urged Communist Party members to depart from the great practice of revolution and indulge in idealistic “self-cultivation,” which actually meant that Communists should “cultivate” themselves into willing slaves going down on their knees before the counter-revolutionary dictatorship of the imperialists and the Kuomintang reactionaries.

After the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, when the U.S. imperialists were arming Chiang Kai-shek’s counter-revolutionary troops in preparation for launching an all-out offensive against the liberated areas, Liu Shaoqi, catering to the needs of the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries, dished up the capitulationist line, alleging that “China has entered the new stage of peace and democracy”. It was designed to oppose Chairman Mao’s general line of “go all out to mobilize the masses, expand the people’s forces and, under the leadership of our Party, defeat the aggressor and build a new China”, and to oppose Chairman Mao’s policy of “give tit for tat and fight for every inch of land”, which was adopted to counter the offensive of the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries. Liu Shaoqi preached that “at present the main form of the struggle of the Chinese revolution has changed from armed struggle to non-armed and mass parliamentary struggle”. He tried to abolish the Party’s leadership over the people’s armed forces and to “unify” the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, predecessors of the People’s Liberation Army, into Chiang Kai-shek’s “national army” and to demobilize large numbers of worker and peasant soldiers led by the Party in a vain attempt to eradicate the people’s armed forces, strangle the Chinese revolution and obeisantly hand over to the Kuomintang the fruits of victory which the Chinese people had won in blood.

In April 1949, on the eve of the countrywide victory of China’s new-democratic revolution when the Chinese People’s Liberation Army was preparing to cross the Yangtse River, Liu Shaoqi hurried to Tientsin and threw himself into the arms of the capitalists. He fiercely opposed the policy of utilizing, restricting and transforming private capitalist industry, a policy decided upon by the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party which had just concluded. He clamoured that “capitalism in China today is still in its youth”, that it needed an unlimited “big expansion” and that “capitalist exploitation today is no crime, it is a merit”. He shamelessly praised the capitalist class, saying that “the more they exploit, the greater their merit”, and feverishly advertised the revisionist theory of

productive forces. He did all this in his futile attempt to lead China onto the capitalist road.

In short, at the many important historical junctures of the new-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, Liu Shaoqi and his gang always wantonly opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and engaged in counter-revolutionary conspiratorial and disruptive activities. However, since they were counter-revolutionaries, their plots were bound to come to light eventually. When Khrushchev came to power, and especially when the Soviet revisionists ganged up with the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries of India and other countries in whipping up a large-scale anti-China campaign, Liu Shaoqi and his gang became all the more rabid.

Chairman Mao was the first to perceive the danger of the counter-revolutionary plots of Liu Shaoqi and his gang. At the working conference of the Central Committee in January 1962, Chairman Mao pointed out the necessity of guarding against the emergence of revisionism. At the working conference of the Central Committee at Peitaiho in August 1962 and at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in September of the same year, Chairman Mao put forward more comprehensively the basic line of our Party for the whole historical period of socialism. Chairman Mao pointed out:

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line.

This Marxist-Leninist line advanced by Chairman Mao is the lifeline of our Party. Following this, in May 1963, under the direction of Chairman Mao, the Draft Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Certain Problems in Our Present Rural Work (i.e., the 10-Point Decision) was worked out, which laid down the line, principles and policies

of the Party for the socialist education movement. Chairman Mao again warned the whole Party: If classes and class struggle were forgotten and if the dictatorship of the proletariat were forgotten, “then it would not be long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale would inevitably occur, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party, a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour. Comrades, please think it over. What a dangerous situation this would be!” Thus Chairman Mao still more sharply showed the whole Party and the people of the whole country the danger of the restoration of capitalism.

All these warnings and struggles did not and could not in the least change the reactionary class nature of Liu Shaoqi and his gang. In 1964, in the great socialist education movement, Liu Shaoqi came out and repressed the masses, shielded the capitalist-roads in power and openly attacked the Marxist scientific method of investigating and studying social conditions initiated by Chairman Mao, branding it as “outdated”. He raved that whoever refused to carry out his line was “not qualified to hold a leading post”. He and his gang were working against time to restore capitalism. At the end of 1964, Chairman Mao convened a working conference of the Central Committee and, under his direction, the document *Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas* (i.e., the 23-Point Document) was drawn up. He denounced Liu Shaoqi’s bourgeois reactionary line which was “Left” in form but Right in essence and repudiated Liu Shaoqi’s absurdities, such as “the intertwining of the contradictions inside and outside the Party” and “the contradiction between the ‘four cleans’” and the ‘four uncleans’”. And for the first time Chairman Mao specifically indicated: “The main target of the present movement is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road.” This new conclusion drawn by Chairman Mao after summing up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, domestic and international, set right the course of the socialist education movement and clearly showed the orientation for the approaching Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Reviewing the history of this period, we can see that the current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution with the participation of hundreds of millions of revolutionary people has occurred by no means accidentally. It is the inevitable result of the protracted and sharp struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in socialist society. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is “a great political revolution carried out by

the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; it is a continuation of the prolonged struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party and the masses of revolutionary people under its leadership against the Kuomintang reactionaries, a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.” The heroic Chinese proletariat, poor and lower-middle peasants, People’s Liberation Army, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, who were all determined to follow the great leader Chairman Mao closely in taking the socialist road, could no longer tolerate the restoration activities of Liu Shaoqi and his gang, and so a great class battle was unavoidable.

As Chairman Mao pointed out in his talk in February 1967:

“In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below.”

Now we have found this form—it is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It is only by arousing the masses in their hundreds of millions to air their views freely, write big-character posters and hold great debates that the renegades, enemy agents and capitalist-roaders in power who have wormed their way into the Party can be exposed and their plots to restore capitalism smashed. It was precisely with the participation of the broad masses in the examination of Liu Shaoqi’s case that his true features as an old-line counter-revolutionary, renegade, hidden traitor and scab were brought to light. The Enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party decided to dismiss Liu Shaoqi from all posts both inside and outside the Party and to expel him from the Party once and for all. This was a great victory for the hundreds of millions of the people. On the basis of the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, our great teacher Chairman Mao has personally initiated and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This is indeed “absolutely necessary and most timely” and it is a new and great contribution to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

2. On the Course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great political revolution personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a great revolution in the realm of the superstructure. Our aim is to smash revisionism, seize back that portion of power usurped by the bourgeoisie, exercise all-round dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture, and strengthen and consolidate the economic base of socialism so as to ensure that our country continues to advance in giant strides along the road of socialism.

Back in 1962, at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao pointed out:

“to overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class.”

This statement of Chairman Mao's dealt the Liu Shaoqi counter-revolutionary revisionist clique a blow at the heart. It was for the sole purpose of creating public opinion to prepare for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat that they spared no effort in seizing upon the field of ideology and the superstructure, violently exercising counter-revolutionary dictatorship over the proletariat in the various departments they controlled and wildly spreading poisonous weeds. To overthrow them politically, we must likewise first vanquish their counter-revolutionary public opinion by revolutionary public opinion.

Chairman Mao has always attached major importance to the struggle in ideology. After the liberation of our country, he initiated many criticisms including those of the film *The Life of Wu Hsun*, the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique and *Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber."* And this time it was Chairman Mao again who led the whole Party in launching the offensive on the positions occupied by Liu Shaoqi and his gang for the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao wrote the celebrated essay *Where Do Correct Ideas Come from?* and other documents, in which he criticized Liu Shaoqi's bourgeois idealism and metaphysics, criticized the departments of literature and art under Liu Shaoqi's control as being "still dominated by

‘the dead’,” criticized the Ministry of Culture by saying that “if it refuses to change, it should be renamed the Ministry of Emperors, Kings, Generals and Ministers, the Ministry of Talents and Beauties or the Ministry of Foreign Mummies” and said that the Ministry of Health should likewise be renamed the “Ministry of Health for Urban Overlords.” At the call of Chairman Mao, the proletariat first launched a revolution in the fields of Peking Opera, the ballet and symphonic music, fields that had been regarded as sacred and inviolable by the landlord and capitalist classes. It was a fight at close quarters. Despite every possible kind of resistance and sabotage by Liu Shaoqi and his gang, the proletariat finally scored important successes after arduous struggles. A number of splendid model revolutionary theatrical works appeared and the heroic figures of workers, peasants and soldiers finally took the centre of the stage. After that, Chairman Mao initiated the criticism of Hai Jui Dismissed from Office and other poisonous weeds, focusing the attack right on the den of the revisionist clique—that impenetrable and watertight “independent kingdom” under Liu Shaoqi’s control, the old Peking Municipal Party Committee.

The “Circular” of May 16, 1966 worked out under Chairman Mao’s personal guidance laid down the theory, line, principles and policies for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and constituted the great programme for the whole movement. The “Circular” thoroughly criticized the “February Outline” turned out by Liu Shaoqi’s bourgeois headquarters for the purpose of suppressing this great revolution. It called upon the whole Party and the people of the whole country to direct the spearhead of struggle against the representatives of the bourgeoisie who had sneaked into the Party and to pay special attention to unmasking “persons like Khrushchev... who are still nestling beside us.” This was a great call mobilizing the people of the whole country to unfold a great political revolution. The Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee, which was set up by decision of the “Circular”, has firmly carried out Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line, the broad revolutionary masses plunged into the fight. In Peking University a big-character poster was written in response to the call of the Central Committee. And soon big-character posters criticizing reactionary bourgeois ideas mushroomed all over the country. Then Red Guards rose and came forward in large numbers and revolutionary young people became courageous and daring pathbreakers. Thrown into a panic, the Liu Shaoqi clique

rushed out with the bourgeois reactionary line, cruelly suppressing the revolutionary movement of the student youth. However, this did not win them much time in their deathbed struggle. Chairman Mao called and presided over the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party. The Plenary Session adopted the programmatic document, Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (i.e., the 16-Point Decision). Chairman Mao put up his big-character poster Bombard the Headquarters, thus taking the lid off Liu Shaoqi's bourgeois headquarters. In his letter to the Red Guards, Chairman Mao said that the revolutionary actions of the Red Guards "express your wrath against and your denunciation of the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, the imperialists, the revisionists and their running dogs, all of whom exploit and oppress the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary parties and groups. They show that it is right to rebel against reactionaries. I warmly support you." Afterwards, Chairman Mao received 13 million Red Guards and other revolutionary masses from all parts of the country on eight occasions at Tiananmen in the capital, which heightened the revolutionary fighting will of the people of the whole country. The revolutionary movements of the workers, peasants and revolutionary functionaries developed rapidly. Increasing numbers of big-character posters spread like a raging prairie fire and roared like guns; the slogan "It is right to rebel against reactionaries" resounded throughout the land. And the battle of the people in their hundreds of millions to bombard Liu Shaoqi's bourgeois headquarters developed vigorously.

No reactionary class will ever step down from the stage of history of its own accord. When the revolution touched that portion of power usurped by the bourgeoisie, the class struggle became all the more acute. After Liu Shaoqi's downfall, his revisionist clique and his agents in various places changed their tactics time and again, putting forward slogans which were "Left" in form but Right in essence such as "suspecting all" and "overthrowing all," in a futile attempt to go on hitting hard at the many and protecting their own handful. Moreover, they created splits among the revolutionary masses and manipulated and hoodwinked a section of the masses so as to protect themselves. When these schemes were shattered by the proletarian revolutionaries, they launched another frenzied counter-attack, that is, the adverse current lasting from the winter of 1966 to the spring of 1967.

This adverse current was directed against the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. Its general programme boiled down to this:

to overthrow the decisions adopted by the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, reversing the verdict on the overthrown bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shaoqi, reversing the verdict on the bourgeois reactionary line, which had already been thoroughly repudiated and discredited by the broad masses, and repressing and retaliating on the revolutionary mass movement. However, this adverse current was seriously criticized by Chairman Mao and resisted by the broad revolutionary masses; it could not prevent the main current of the revolutionary mass movement from surging forward.

The twists and reversals in the revolutionary movement further brought home to the broad masses the importance of political power: The main reason why Liu Shaoqi and his gang could do evil was that they had usurped the power of the proletariat in many units and localities, and the main reason why the revolutionary masses were repressed was that power was not in the hands of the proletariat in those places. In some units, the socialist system of ownership existed only in form, but in reality the leadership had been usurped by a handful of renegades, enemy agents and capitalist-roaders in power, or it remained in the hands of former capitalists. Especially when the capitalist-roaders in power failed in their scheme to suppress the revolution on the pretext of “grasping production” and whipped up the evil counter-revolutionary wind of economism, the broad masses came to understand still better that only by recapturing the lost power was it possible for them to defeat the capitalist-roaders in power completely. Under the leadership and with the support of Chairman Mao and the proletarian headquarters headed by him, the working class in Shanghai with its revolutionary tradition came forward courageously and, uniting with the broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres, seized power from below in January 1967 from the capitalist-roaders in power in the former Municipal Party Committee and Municipal People’s Council.

Chairman Mao summed up in good time the experience of the January storm of revolution in Shanghai and issued his call to the whole country: “Proletarian revolutionaries, unite and seize power from the handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road!” Following that, Chairman Mao gave the instruction: “The People’s Liberation Army should support the broad masses of the Left.” He went on to sum up the experience of Heilungkiang Province and other provinces and municipalities, laid down the principles and policies for the establishment of revolutionary committees which embrace representatives of the revolutionary cadres, representa-

tives of the People's Liberation Army and representatives of the revolutionary masses, constituting a revolutionary three-in-one combination, and thus pushed forward the nation-wide struggle for the seizure of power.

The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for the seizure and counter-seizure of power was a life-and-death struggle. During the year and nine months from Shanghai's January storm of revolution in 1967 to the establishment of the revolutionary committees of Tibet and Sinkiang in September 1968, repeated trials of political strength took place between the two classes and the two lines, fierce struggles went on between proletarian and non-proletarian ideas and an extremely complicated situation emerged. As Chairman Mao has said: "In the past, we fought north and south; it was easy to fight such wars. For the enemy was obvious. The present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is much more difficult than that kind of war." "The problem is that those who commit ideological errors are mixed up with those whose contradiction with us is one between ourselves and the enemy, and for a time it is hard to sort them out." Nevertheless, relying on the wise leadership of Chairman Mao, we finally overcame this difficulty. In the summer of 1967, Chairman Mao made an inspection tour north and south of the Yangtse River and issued most important instructions, guiding the broad revolutionary masses to distinguish gradually the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and to further promote the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary three-in-one combination and guiding people with petty-bourgeois ideas onto the path of the proletarian revolution. Consequently, it was only the enemy who was thrown into disorder while the broad masses were steeled in the course of the struggle

The handful of renegades, enemy agents, unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists, active counter-revolutionaries, bourgeois careerists and double-dealers who had hidden themselves among the masses would not reveal their colours until the climate suited them. In the summer of 1967 and the spring of 1968, they again fanned up a reactionary evil wind both from the Right and the extreme "Left" to reverse correct verdicts. They directed their spear head against the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, against the People's Liberation Army and against the new-born revolutionary committees. In the meantime, they incited the masses to struggle against each other and organized counter-revolutionary conspiratorial cliques in a vain attempt to stage a counter-seizure of power from the proletariat. However, like their chieftain

Liu Shaoqi, this handful of bad people was finally exposed. This was an important victory for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The Great Cultural Revolution Will Shine Forever

In commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the May 16, 1966 "Circular" of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

by the Editorial Departments of "Renmin Ribao," "Hongqi" and "Jiefangjun Bao"

TEN years ago, the May 16 Circular of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was drawn up under the personal guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao. This brilliant Marxist document sounded the clarion call for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and illuminated the course of its triumphant advance. Today, having won great victories in the struggle to criticize Deng Xiaoping and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, we warmly celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Great Cultural Revolution and restudy the Circular, which gives us a deeper understanding of the necessity and far-reaching significance of the revolution and a greater confidence to persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Circular was drawn up in the fierce struggle between the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shaoqi as its chieftain. It incisively criticized Liu Shaoqi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, exposed the reactionary essence of the "February Outline Report,"³ refuted the fallacies against the Great Cultural Revolution spread by those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road,

³The "February Outline Report" refers to the "Outline Report on the Current Academic Discussion Made by the Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution" which was approved for distribution on February 12, 1966 to whole Party by the counter-revolutionary revisionist Peng Chen who employed the most dishonest methods, acted arbitrarily, abused his powers and usurped the name of the Party Central Committee. This outline report opposed carrying the socialist revolution through to the end, opposed the line formulated by the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Zedong for carrying out the Cultural Revolution, attacked the proletarian Left and shielded the bourgeois Rightists, and its aim was to prepare public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. It was a reflection of bourgeois ideology in the Party and was out-and-out revisionism.

armed the whole Party with the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship, and called on us to expose and criticize the bourgeois representatives in the Party and seize that portion of leadership they had usurped. The formulation of the Circular proclaimed the bankruptcy of the “February Outline Report.” Since then the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has been forging ahead vigorously.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: “We couldn’t do without the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.” This great revolution, which had been brewing for a long time, was the inevitable outcome of the acute struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. For years the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shaoqi and company had made frenzied efforts to push the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and stubbornly stuck to the capitalist road. They did their utmost to oppose Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line on all fronts: clamouring about capitalists “having merits in carrying out exploitation” and about “consolidating the new-democratic order”; drastically slashing the number of co-operatives and practising *san zi yi bao*⁴; lauding to the skies the reactionary films *Inside Story of the Ching Court* and *The Life of Wu Hsun*; and resisting the criticism of the play *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*. For a period of time Liu Shaoqi’s bourgeois headquarters was in control of Party power and the power in the cultural and propaganda fields and in many localities. Capitalism and revisionism were rampant in the ideological and cultural departments under its control. Hordes of ghosts and monsters came out into the open and filled our press, radio, books and works of literature and art. A grave situation in which the bourgeoisie exercised dictatorship over the proletariat developed in certain spheres in the superstructure. Material incentives and “bonuses in command” were widely practised to lure people to the capitalist road. In a fairly large majority of factories and enterprises, leadership was not in the hands of real Marxists and the masses of workers. Our socialist economic base was not solid. If the Great Cultural Revolution had not taken place, it would not have taken long before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale would inevitably occur, our Party would turn into a revisionist party, and the whole of China would change its political colour.

With great Marxist-Leninist insight, Chairman Mao perceived in good

⁴This refers to 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 farm output quotas for individual households with each on its own.

time the grave danger that the capitalist-roaders in the Party were subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao pointed out in the Circular. “Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.” In the course of the present struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, Chairman Mao has again pointed out: “You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don’t know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party—those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road.” In these important instructions, Chairman Mao has profoundly analysed the changes in the class relations and the characteristics of class struggle during the period of socialism, advanced the scientific thesis that the bourgeoisie is in the Communist Party, developed Marxism-Leninism and further clarified for us the orientation for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the past decade we have waged struggles against Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping. All these struggles have proved that the bourgeoisie is indeed inside the Communist Party. The capitalist-roaders in the Party are the bourgeoisie’s main force in its trial of strength with the proletariat and in its efforts to restore capitalism. The crux of the matter here lies in the fact that these capitalist-roaders are persons in power who have sneaked into the very structure of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chieftains of the revisionist line, like Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping, hold a very large proportion of the Party and state power. They are thus in a position to turn instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat into instruments for exercising dictatorship over the proletariat, and they are therefore even more ruthless in their efforts to restore capitalism than the bourgeoisie outside the Party. They could use the power in their hands to recruit deserters and renegades, form cliques to pursue their own selfish interests, rig up a bourgeois headquarters, work out a revisionist line and push it from top to bottom. They could consolidate and extend bourgeois right, protect their own interests, namely, the interests of the “high officials” who practise revisionism, embezzle and squander huge amounts of social wealth, energetically engage in capitalist activities, undermine and disrupt the socialist relations of production. Donning the cloak of Marxism-Leninism and flaunting all sorts of ensigns, they are able to mislead for a time a number

of people who lack an understanding of the real situation and do not have a high level of consciousness, deceiving them into following their revisionist line. In short, they are political representatives of the bourgeoisie and, in their trial of strength with the proletariat, they are commanders of all social forces and cliques that resist the socialist revolution and oppose and undermine socialist construction.

Deng Xiaoping, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party, played the commander's role in vehemently stirring up the Right deviationist wind which culminated in the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tiananmen Square. Before the Great Cultural Revolution he was the No.2 chieftain of Liu Shaoqi's bourgeois headquarters. The two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao were smashed during the Great Cultural Revolution and, when Deng Xiaoping was criticized by the masses, his words flowed in a spate of vows, such as "I'll mend my ways" and "I'll never reverse the verdict." But, once he resumed work and was in power, he threw off his disguise and, with hatred grown tenfold and frenzy increased a hundredfold, brought all his experience in counter-revolutionary political struggle into play, cooking up a programme, preparing public opinion and mounting an organized and planned attack on the Party, with the spearhead directed at our great leader Chairman Mao.

"Take the three directives as the key link"—this was Deng Xiaoping's political programme for reversing correct verdicts and restoring capitalism. Preaching the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive-forces, this revisionist programme opposes taking class struggle as the key link and denies the Party's basic line and the necessity for the Great Cultural Revolution. Deng Xiaoping attempted to make it the "general programme for all work" for a long time to come and to impose it on the whole Party and the people throughout the country in order to pave the way for an all-round restoration of capitalism.

"Seize ideological positions"—this was a move Deng Xiaoping took to prepare public opinion for his scheme to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism. After he came to power, especially during last July, August and September and afterwards, political rumours were afloat and strange tales passed around here, there and everywhere in society. All these rumours and strange tales originated with Deng Xiaoping and were fabricated by Teng's rumour-mongering company. Deng Xiaoping and his followers feverishly created counter-revolutionary public opinions by various base means to hoodwink the people and create splits. In doing this, they spearheaded

their attack at the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and raised a hue and cry to clear the way for Deng Xiaoping to usurp the Party leadership and seize state power.

“The first and foremost thing is to grasp leading bodies”—this was the organizational measure Deng Xiaoping adopted, in his attempt to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism. He opposed the setting up of “three-in-one” revolutionary leading bodies, attacked and pushed aside the old, middle-aged and young cadres who upheld Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, mustered unrepentant capitalist-roaders and put them in important positions, and knocked together “restorationist legions” in his attempt to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism. He did his utmost to keep in the Party renegades and special agents, who had been identified as such during the Great Cultural Revolution, so that they could stage a comeback sometime in the future.

“Carry out all-round rectification”—this was the plan of action Deng Xiaoping mapped out for his scheme to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism. The moment he issued the order for “rectification,” the sinister wind to reverse correct verdicts sprang up. Through “rectification” he aimed at making a clean sweep of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line and policies, the achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution and the superiority of the socialist system. The so-called rectification was in essence an attack on the proletariat by the bourgeoisie and an attempt at capitalist restoration.

All these acts by Deng Xiaoping were a continuation and development of the reactionary “February Outline Report,” which Chairman Mao had already criticized in the Circular. Deng Xiaoping’s “taking the three directives as the key link” is a carbon copy of the revisionist line which the Circular describes as “completely denying that the several thousand years of human history are a history of class struggle,” “completely denying the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.” The Circular exposes Peng Chen for deliberately spreading rumours to divert people from the target of the struggle and scathingly denounces his “rectification campaign” as one aimed at attacking the proletarian Left and shielding the bourgeois Rightists. Deng Xiaoping went still further. His line is a continuation of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao. If this line were followed, not only would the achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution be nullified but those of the Chinese revolution as a whole would also go by the board. The

capitalist road taken by Deng Xiaoping would lead back to the semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China and reduce China to an appendage of imperialism and social-imperialism. As Chairman Mao pointed out in the Circular when he criticized the representatives of the bourgeoisie: “They are faithful lackeys of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists. Together with the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, they cling to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system, and they oppose Marxist-Leninist ideology and the socialist system”; “their struggle against us is one of life and death, and there is no question of equality. Therefore, our struggle against them, too, can be nothing but a life-and-death struggle.”

The tremendous historic merits of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao lie in the fact that the scheme of the bourgeoisie inside the Party to restore capitalism was smashed resolutely and in good time, its counter-revolutionary revisionist line was criticized and that portion of the Party and state leadership it had usurped was seized back, thereby ensuring that our country continues to advance along Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line. The Great Cultural Revolution’s merits also lie in solving, in both theory and practice, the cardinal question in the contemporary international communist movement, namely, how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. Hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals have come to realize ever more deeply that the Great Cultural Revolution “is absolutely necessary and most timely.” They warmly hail: “The Great Cultural Revolution is excellent!” Only unrepentant capitalist-roaders like Deng Xiaoping harbour bitter hatred for it. Bent on settling old scores and reversing the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution, he offended the great majority of people. They do not agree with him nor will they allow him to carry on. “Reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people.” The will of the people, the Party and the Party members is for continuing the revolution and against restoration and retrogression. It is precisely for this reason that the great struggle personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts has won the wholehearted support of the entire Party, the whole army and the people throughout the country. The struggle has the full approval of the people and is to their great satisfaction. Those who attempted to reverse correct verdicts and settle old scores were extremely isolated and were soon brought to defeat.

We have won great victories, but the struggle has not come to an end.

The struggle to criticize Deng Xiaoping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line must be carried on in depth. We must never slacken our fighting will. The handful of class enemies will not be reconciled to their defeat. Drawing lessons from their failure, they are studying tactics and methods of how to deal with us. The revolutionary people must be soberly aware of this.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Lenin spoke of building a bourgeois state without capitalists to safeguard bourgeois right. We ourselves have built just such a state, not much different from the old society: there are ranks and grades, eight grades of wages, distribution according to work, and exchange of equal values." As long as these conditions still exist, as long as classes, class contradictions and class struggle exist and as long as the influences of the bourgeoisie and international imperialism and revisionism exist, the historical phenomenon that "the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road" will remain for a long time to come. On the first anniversary of the Circular, Chairman Mao gave us this admonition: "The present Great Cultural Revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future." During the current struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, Chairman Mao has again pointed out: "After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of the high officials." "Will there be need for revolution a hundred years from now? Will there still be need for revolution a thousand years from now? There is always need for revolution. There are always sections of the people who feel themselves oppressed; junior officials, students, workers, peasants and soldiers don't like bigshots oppressing them. That's why they want revolution. Will contradictions no longer be seen ten thousand years from now? Why not? They will still be seen." Therefore, we must prepare ourselves ideologically for a protracted struggle against the capitalist-roaders and for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao said at the beginning of this year: "Without struggle, there is no progress." "Can 800 million people manage without struggle?!" The ten years of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, was a decade in which we advanced through struggle and brought tremendous changes to our country. Studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in the course of struggle, hundreds of millions of people have greatly raised their conscious-

ness in combating and preventing revisionism and continuing the revolution. Chairman Mao's Proletarian revolutionary line has found its way even deeper into the hearts of the people. By getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh, our Party has grown in strength and become more vigorous than ever. Our army has grown stronger, after going through new tests and making fresh contributions to the people in "supporting industry, supporting agriculture, supporting the broad masses of the Left, exercising military control, and giving political and military training." The militia has contributed to the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship through participation in the struggle to defend the motherland and in class struggle in society. The "three-in-one" combination of the old, middle-aged and young has been adopted in the leading bodies at all levels, and millions upon millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause are steeling themselves and maturing in the course of struggle in accordance with this five requirements put forward by Chairman Mao. The socialist revolution in education, literature and art, medical and health work, science and technology has advanced in giant strides in the course of the acute struggle between the two lines. Vast numbers of educated youth have gone eagerly to settle in the countryside, and cadres at all levels have persevered in taking the May 7 road. The mass movements to learn from Tachai in agriculture and to learn from Taching in industry have surged ahead. Agriculture, industry and the entire national economy are thriving. Our great motherland is a flourishing scene of prosperity. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has further released the energies of the people in their hundreds of millions. The tremendous impact of this revolution, which is just beginning to show itself, will make itself felt with greater force with the deepening of the revolution.

We must continue our triumphant advance and carry forward the excellent situation. The broad masses of Party members, cadres and other people must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's important instructions concerning the Great Cultural Revolution and the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt, study the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, get a clear understanding of the questions of where the bourgeoisie is to be found and enforcing all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and persist in combating and preventing revisionism and continuing the revolution. We must acquire a profound understanding of the brilliant victories and tremendous significance of the Great Cultural Revolution, wholeheartedly support the socialist new things, and consolidate and develop the achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution. We must deepen

the criticism of Deng Xiaoping, beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts and deal resolute blows at all counter-revolutionary disruptive activities. We must unite over 95 per cent of the cadres and of the masses under the general objective of criticizing Deng Xiaoping, and continue to do a good job in the revolution in the superstructure and the economic base. We must “grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war” and continuously advance socialist construction in all fields.

The proletariat is full of revolutionary optimism. We have faith in dialectics. We firmly believe that “the supersession of the old by the new is a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe.” (Mao Zedong: On Contradiction.) However many twists and turns there are on the road of revolution and however many ups and downs it encounters, the truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is irresistible and the masses of the people who account for over 95 per cent of the population invariably want revolution. Revolution will inevitably triumph over reaction and the newborn over the decadent—this is a law of history. It is just over a century since the founding of Marxism, and the old world has been shattered to pieces. Today, capitalism and revisionism are declining like “a setting sun in the west wind.” The clowns who go against the tide of history may have their own way for a time but will eventually be swept on to the garbage heap of history by the people. As Marx and Engels stated, “Its [the bourgeoisie’s] fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.” (Manifesto of the Communist Party.) While commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Circular, we are full of revolutionary pride as we look back on the course of struggle of the Great Cultural Revolution, view the excellent situation in which “orioles sing, swallows dart,” and look forward to the bright future when “the world is being turned upside down.” Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, we are determined to persevere in taking class struggle as the key link and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line is invincible, and our advance cannot be stopped!

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution will shine forever!

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ETERNAL GLORY TO CHAIRMAN MAO ZEDONG!

In thousands of years of relentless struggle to transition from the realm of necessity to that of freedom, humanity gave rise to the working class, and it, with its inexhaustible and growing strength, produced Marxism-Leninism synthesized in Marx and Engels, in Lenin and Stalin. Thus, since the emergence of Marxism, the working class, oppressed peoples, and all of humanity have a goal and a hope: to build the new society, the communist society towards which they march “with fervent and active faith.”

In the era of imperialism or monopolistic, parasitic, and dying capitalism, a time when the working class, through the strength of its armed hands, conquers power, and when the growing and furious waves of national liberation sweep away imperialist oppression, the Chinese revolution unfolds, teaching and astounding the world. In this historical crucible, the international working class materialized in Chairman Mao Zedong, who in 1921 founded the Communist Party of China, the organized vanguard that led the victorious new democratic revolution culminating in the founding of the People’s Republic of China. The party that today, through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, advances the Socialist Revolution and strengthens the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This is how Mao Zedong Thought emerged. In this way, Marxism-Leninism found the path to guide and incorporate oppressed peoples into the unstoppable stream of world revolution. In this way, Marxism-Leninism found the path to continuously develop the Socialist Revolution and march towards its inevitable future goal, the communist society.

In this grand framework of class struggle in your great homeland and in the world, the fight against the revisionism that exists, unmasked as Soviet social-imperialism, is the main source of conflict today. It has been developed in all its fields, elevating it to its current status of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Thus, Marxism, in the flames of class struggle and the actions of the great proletarian leaders, evolved into Marxism-Leninism, and this in turn into Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Consequently, today, to be a Marxist is to adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Chairman Mao Zedong has died! His great heart has stopped beating, his pulse has ceased, and his life has faded away. A deep, dense, and heavy sorrow falls upon the working class and the oppressed peoples of the Earth, and the

red flags are flown at half-mast in universal mourning. The great teacher of the international proletariat has ceased to exist, and his unfathomable absence is felt worldwide. It is the great absence left by Marx; it is the great absence left by Lenin. Yet, just as yesterday and today, the working class and the masses, turning their sorrow into strength, will continue toward their radiant goal, always waving the invincible banners of Marx, Lenin, and Mao Zedong through the storm.

The Organizations Adhered to Mariátegui at this hour of sorrow express their deepest condolences to the Chinese people, the Chinese working class, and the great, glorious, and correct Communist Party of China for the passing of Chairman Mao Zedong, a great teacher of the international working class, the oppressed peoples of the world, and the global revolution, whose thoughts enlighten the world and will always illuminate it.

ETERNAL GLORY TO CHAIRMAN MAO ZEDONG!

September 18, 1976. Coordinating Committee of the Organizations Adhered to Mariátegui. Lima.