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THE GREAT SOCIALIST CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA

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A NEW STAGE OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN CHINA

— Editorial of the *People's Daily* (*Renmin Ribao*)
of July 17, 1966 —

The great proletarian cultural revolution which is now unfolding has pushed China's socialist revolution to a new stage, an even deeper and broader stage.

The movements in 1952 against three evils [corruption, waste and bureaucracy] and against five evils [bribery of government workers, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing economic information for private speculation] marked the first stage after the founding of the People's Republic of China in the great struggle waged by the proletariat under the leadership of the Party against the bourgeoisie and its representatives within and outside the Party. The characteristic of the

struggle in this stage was the exposure before the broad masses of the true colours of the reactionaries among the bourgeoisie who, in order to enrich themselves, stole state property by every conceivable means and did not hesitate to reduce tens of millions of people to poverty and ruin.

On the basis of the struggles against the three evils and five evils, and on the basis of the realization of agricultural co-operation, the Party carried out comparatively smoothly the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, that is, the transformation of the capitalist ownership of the means of production. This was the second stage of the struggle.

The third stage was the struggle launched by the Party against the bourgeois Rightists in 1957. This struggle smashed the scheme of the bourgeois Rightists to usurp state leadership, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, exercise what they called "ruling in turn", and establish a counter-revolutionary dictatorship.

After the anti-Rightist struggle of 1957, the bourgeois Rightists resorted to more

covert methods, waiting for an opportune moment to go into action again. During the period of China's temporary economic difficulties, they colluded with the Right opportunists in the Party to oppose the Party's general line for building socialism, the big leap forward and the people's commune, and tried to bring about a "great reversal" — the restoration of capitalism in the cities and countryside. The struggle against Right opportunism waged by the Party and the series of policies and measures adopted by the Party in defence of the Party's general line and the socialist system thwarted the attempt of the bourgeois Rightists and their representatives within and outside the Party, and enabled China's national economy, culture and education to make further progress. This was the fourth stage of the struggle.

The fifth stage of the struggle started with the socialist education movement initiated by the Party in 1963 and has continued into the great proletarian cultural revolution which was launched recently at the great call of the Party. This great proletarian cultural revolution has just begun, but it has already shown

its great, profound and far-reaching significance.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, proletarian ideology, proletarian academic work, and proletarian literature and art have entered the cultural field on a broad scale. In the early post-liberation days, we provided work for all the old bourgeois intellectuals except those who openly opposed the revolution. The Party's policy is to let them work for the motherland and, in the course of this, gradually remould their bourgeois world outlook until they accept the world outlook of the proletariat. The bourgeois world outlook, however, is deep-rooted among the intellectuals from the old society. They are linked to the foundation of the old society in a hundred and one ways. For them to accept the world outlook of the proletariat means completely changing every thought in their heads, which is very painful and very difficult.

Before the world outlook of the proletariat takes command in the minds of the old intellectuals, the world outlook and the old ideology and habits of the bourgeoisie that

are still there will continue to function, always tending to manifest themselves stubbornly in political life and in other aspects, and always striving to spread their influence. They always seek to transform the world according to the world outlook of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie.

With the overthrow of the reactionary regime and abolition of ownership by the landlord class and the bourgeoisie, the reactionary elements of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie pin their hope for restoration on the struggle in the ideological field. They try to enslave and bewitch the masses with the old ideology and habits of the exploiting classes in order to restore the landlord class and the bourgeoisie.

In the final analysis, therefore, the struggle between the world outlook of the proletariat and the world outlook of the bourgeoisie is in fact a struggle between the socialist system on the one hand and all systems of exploitation on the other, a struggle for leadership between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a struggle between the efforts to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the

efforts to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

A decade ago, Comrade Mao Tse-tung wisely pointed out:

The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled.

The great proletarian cultural revolution aims precisely at solving, step by step, the question raised by Comrade Mao Tse-tung of who will win out in the ideological field, by relying on the political consciousness of the masses and on the method of the masses educating themselves.

The more victories we win on all fronts of socialism and the more our socialist cause develops and is consolidated, the more prominently the contradictions and conflicts between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the ideological field stand out. That is why we have made the great proletarian cultural revolution an important item on our agenda at this time. This is an objective law. It is impossible to avoid this kind of contradiction and conflict. To win final victory, the proletariat must, at all times, mercilessly counter any challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field.

All things are in the process of contradiction, struggle and change. The essential point of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, is to criticize, to struggle and to make revolution. Struggle is life. If you do not struggle against the opposing forces, they will struggle against you. One ceases to be a Marxist-Leninist if one loses one's revolutionary vigilance and does not wage a resolute struggle against the class enemy and alien class elements.

In the course of this great proletarian cultural revolution, all Communists, all revolutionary cadres, and all those who stand for the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat must raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, make great efforts to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, grasp proletarian ideology still better, develop communist ideas, raise communist consciousness and establish a lofty communist aim. We must not stand still and cease to make progress, but must be good at learning and drawing lessons through struggle. In this way, we shall be able to advance invincibly in this new stage of socialist revolution.

THE SUNLIGHT OF THE PARTY ILLUMINATES THE ROAD OF THE GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION

— Editorial of the *People's Daily* of June 24, 1966 —

Under the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the current great proletarian cultural revolution in our country, a revolution without parallel in history, is advancing step by step to victory.

Chairman Mao has said: "The force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party."

It is only under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party that the Chinese people can be victorious in all their undertakings and struggles.

The victory of the democratic revolution which toppled the "three great moun-

tains”¹ was won under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

All the great achievements in the socialist revolution and socialist construction have been brought about under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

Likewise, only under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party can the great proletarian cultural revolution triumph.

In short, without the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party it is absolutely impossible — a sheer illusion — for our country to become prosperous, rich and strong and establish the great socialist system free from exploitation of man by man.

Our Party has the great and invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung as the ideological basis for the unity of the whole Party and for the revolution, and it has the firm and powerful leadership of its Central Committee with Chairman Mao at the centre.

Our Party is built in accordance with Chairman Mao's ideas on Party building and

¹ Imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. — *Tr.*

his revolutionary style; it is a proletarian revolutionary Party that integrates theory with practice, closely links itself with the masses and has the spirit of self-criticism.

Our Party has developed, grown and been consolidated in the course of struggle against powerful enemies both at home and abroad and against opportunism of all kinds within the Party, and has gone through the severe tests of protracted revolutionary struggles.

Our Party is one that, guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, has passed through countless hardships almost without equal in world history, skilfully steered clear of hidden shoals in fierce tempests and advanced from victory to victory.

Our Party enjoys the greatest prestige, unshakable prestige, among the people. Our Party represents the highest interests of the proletariat and the broad masses of the working people, and its relationship with the masses of the people is, as Chairman Mao says, like that between fish and water.

Therefore, our Party is worthy of being called a great Party, a glorious Party, a correct Party.

Under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, the great majority of our Party organizations at all levels, and of our Party members and cadres are good and loyal to the proletariat, to the cause of communism, and to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. Although some Party members and Party organizations to one degree or another have shown shortcomings and made mistakes, many of them will be able to rectify these through criticism and self-criticism with the help of the Party and the masses and under their education and supervision.

During the period of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, class struggle is still very acute, and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road is extremely sharp and, furthermore, is protracted. The class struggle and the struggle between the two roads in society are inevitably reflected within our Party. To Marxists this is nothing strange but a normal phenomenon conforming to objective laws.

In our Party there is a handful of anti-Party and anti-socialist representatives of