

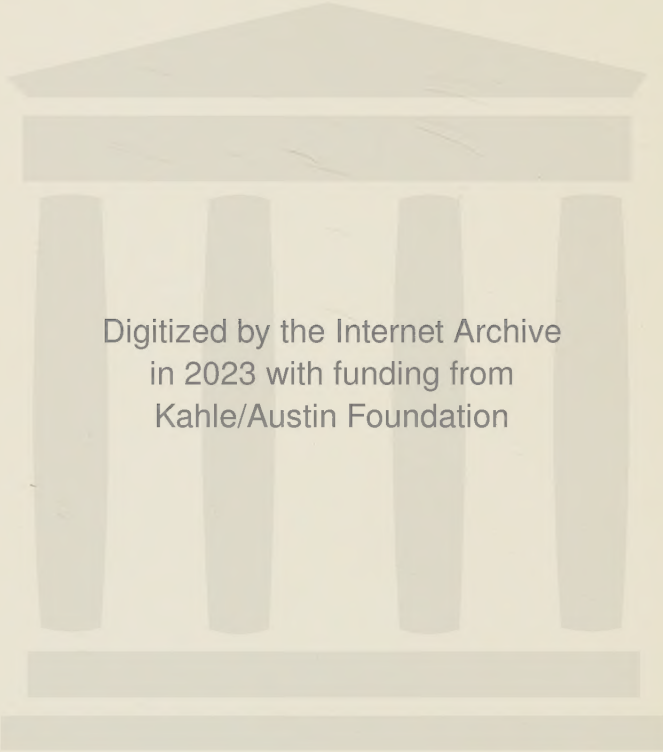
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THE GREAT SOCIALIST CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA

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PEKING



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Printed in the People's Republic of China

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SWEEP AWAY ALL MONSTERS

— Editorial of the *People's Daily* (*Renmin Ribao*) of June 1, 1966 —

An upsurge is occurring in the great proletarian cultural revolution in socialist China whose population accounts for one-quarter of the world's total.

For the last few months, in response to the militant call of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers and vast numbers of revolutionary cadres and intellectuals, all armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, have been sweeping away a horde of monsters that have entrenched themselves in ideological and cultural positions. With the tremendous and impetuous force of a raging storm, they have smashed the shackles imposed on their minds by the exploiting classes for so long in the past, routing the bourgeois "specialists", "scholars", "authorities" and "venerable masters" and sweeping every bit of their prestige into the dust.

Chairman Mao has taught us that class struggle does not cease in China after the socialist transformation of the system of ownership has in the main been completed. He said:

The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between 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 class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has been very acute right through the 16 years since China's liberation. The current great socialist cultural revolution is precisely a continuation and development of this struggle. The struggle is inevitable. The ideology of the proletariat and the ideology of all the exploiting classes are diametrically opposed to each other and cannot coexist in peace. The proletarian revolution is a revolution to abolish all exploiting classes and all systems of exploitation; it is a most thoroughgoing revolution to bring about the gradual elimination of the differences between workers and peasants, between town and country, and between mental and manual labourers. This cannot but meet with the most stubborn resistance from the exploiting classes.

In every revolution the basic question is that of state power. In all branches of the superstructure — ideology, religion, art, law, state power — the central issue is state power. State power means everything. Without it, all will be lost. Therefore, no matter how many problems have to be tackled after the conquest of state power, the proletariat must never forget state power, never forget its orientation and never lose sight of the central issue. Forgetting about state power means forgetting about politics, forgetting about the basic theses of Marxism and switching to economism, anarchism and utopianism and becoming muddle-headed. In the last analysis, the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a struggle for leadership. The exploiting classes have been disarmed and deprived of their authority by the people, but their reactionary ideas remain rooted in their minds. We have overthrown their rule and confiscated their property, but this does not mean that we have rid their minds of reactionary ideas as well. During the thousands of years of their rule over the working people, the exploiting

classes monopolized the culture created by the working people and in turn used it to deceive, fool and benumb the working people in order to consolidate their reactionary state power. For thousands of years, theirs was the dominant ideology which inevitably exerted widespread influence in society. Not reconciled to the overthrow of their reactionary rule, they invariably try to make use of this influence of theirs surviving from the past to shape public opinion in preparation for the political and economic restoration of capitalism. The uninterrupted struggle on the ideological and cultural front in the 16 years from liberation up to the current exposure of the black anti-Party and anti-socialist line of the "Three-Family Villages", big and small, has been a struggle between the forces attempting restoration and the forces opposing restoration.

In order to seize state power, the bourgeoisie during the period of the bourgeois revolution likewise started with ideological preparations by launching the bourgeois cultural revolution. Even the bourgeois revolution, which replaced one exploiting class by another, had to undergo repeated reversals and witness many struggles — revolution, then restoration and then the overthrow of restoration. It took many European countries hundreds of years to complete their bourgeois revolutions from the start of the ideological preparations to the final conquest of state power. Since the proletarian revolution is a revolution aimed at completely ending all systems of exploitation, it is still less permissible to imagine that the exploiting classes will meekly allow the proletariat to deprive them of all their privileges without seeking to restore their rule. The surviving members of these classes who are unreconciled will inevitably, as Lenin put it, throw themselves with a tenfold furious passion into the battle for the recovery of their lost paradise. The fact that the Khrushchov revisionist clique has usurped the leadership of the Party, army and state in the Soviet Union is an extremely serious lesson for the proletariat throughout the world. At

present the representatives of the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois "scholars" and "authorities" in China are dreaming precisely of restoring capitalism. Though their political rule has been toppled, they are still desperately trying to maintain their academic "authority", mould public opinion for a come-back and win over the masses, the youth and the generations yet unborn from us.

The anti-feudal cultural revolution waged by the bourgeoisie ended as soon as it had seized power. The proletarian cultural revolution, however, is a cultural revolution against the ideology of all exploiting classes. This cultural revolution is entirely different in nature from the bourgeois cultural revolution. It is only after the creation of the political, economic and cultural prerequisites following the capture of state power by the proletariat that the broadest road is opened up for the proletarian cultural revolution.

The proletarian cultural revolution is aimed not only at demolishing all the old ideology and culture and all the old customs and habits, which, fostered by the exploiting classes, have poisoned the minds of the people for thousands of years, but also at creating and fostering among the masses an entirely new ideology and culture and entirely new customs and habits—those of the proletariat. This great task of transforming customs and habits is without any precedent in human history. As for all the heritage, customs and habits of the feudal and bourgeois classes, the proletarian world outlook must be used to subject them to thoroughgoing criticism. It takes time to clear away the evil habits of the old society from among the people. Nevertheless, our experience since liberation proves that the transformation of customs and habits can be accelerated if the masses are fully mobilized, the mass line is implemented and the transformation is made into a genuine mass movement.

As the bourgeois cultural revolution served only a small number of people, i.e., the new exploiting class, only a small number of people could participate in it. The proletarian

cultural revolution, however, serves the broad masses of the working people and is in the interests of the working people who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population. It is therefore able to attract and unite the broad masses of the working people to take part in it. The bourgeois individuals who carried out the enlightenment invariably looked down upon the masses, treated them as a mob and considered themselves as the predestined masters of the people. In sharp contrast, proletarian ideological revolutionaries serve the people heart and soul with the object of awakening them, and work for the interests of the broadest masses.

The bourgeoisie, with its base selfishness, is unable to suppress its hatred for the masses. Marx said:

The peculiar nature of the material it [political economy] deals with, summons as foes into the field of battle the most violent, mean and malignant passions of the human breast, the furies of private interest.

This also holds for the bourgeoisie when it has been overthrown.

The scale and momentum of the great proletarian cultural revolution now being carried on in China have no parallel in history, and the tremendous drive and momentum and boundless wisdom of the working people manifested in the movement far exceed the imagination of the lords of the bourgeoisie. Facts have eloquently proved that Mao Tse-tung's thought becomes a moral atom bomb of colossal power once it takes hold of the masses. The current great cultural revolution is immensely advancing the socialist cause of the Chinese people and undoubtedly exerting an incalculable, far-reaching influence upon the present and future of the world.

The stormy cultural revolution now under way in our country has thrown the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries into confusion and panic. At one moment, they indulge in wishful thinking saying that our great cultural revolution has shown that there are hopes of

“a peaceful evolution” on the part of China’s younger generation. A moment later, they become pessimistic, saying that all this has shown that Communist rule remains very stable. Then again, they seem to be fearfully puzzled, saying that it will never be possible to find genuine “China hands” who can promptly pass accurate judgement on what is taking place in China. Dear sirs, your wishful thinking invariably runs counter to the march of history. The triumphant progress of this great and unparalleled cultural revolution of the proletariat is already sounding the death knell not only of the remnant capitalist forces on Chinese soil, but of imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. Your days are numbered.

Illuminated by the great Mao Tse-tung’s thought, let us carry the proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. Its victory will certainly further strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, guarantee the completion of the socialist revolution on all fronts and ensure our successful transition from socialism to triumphant communism!

A GREAT REVOLUTION THAT TOUCHES PEOPLE TO THEIR VERY SOULS

— Editorial of the *People's Daily* of June 2, 1966 —

China today is in a new era of great change after the seizure of political power by the proletariat and is in a new situation in which the socialist revolution becomes deeper every day. It finds itself in the strong current of a great socialist cultural revolution which touches people to their very souls.

The gradual deepening of the socialist revolution and of the socialist education movement inevitably brings the question of the proletarian cultural revolution to the fore. Whether or not you are genuinely in favour of the socialist revolution or whether you are even against the socialist revolution is bound to manifest itself in your attitude towards the proletarian cultural revolution. This is a question that touches people's souls, in other words, their world outlook, a question of whether the proletarian or the bourgeois world outlook dominates people's minds. It is a struggle between the two antagonistic world outlooks.

Like two armies facing each other in battle, the two antagonistic world outlooks, that is, the antagonistic world outlooks of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, are locked in a struggle which invariably results in one vanquishing the other. Either you crush me, or I crush you. Either the East Wind prevails over the West Wind, or the West Wind prevails over the East Wind. There is no middle road.

The Party and Chairman Mao teach us to arm ourselves with the proletarian world outlook to change our subjective

world while changing the objective world. But the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois "scholars and authorities" insist on dragging us into the quagmire of the bourgeois world outlook and subverting socialism. Confronted by our sworn enemies, we must rally under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and wage resolute and relentless struggles against the anti-Party and anti-socialist bourgeois representatives and "scholars and authorities". Only by waging a resolute struggle against them and dissipating the evil bourgeois winds can people free themselves from the influence of bourgeois ideology, traditions and force of habit, pass the great test of socialist revolution and march forward in giant strides along the broad road of socialist revolution.

It is erroneous, contrary to Marxism-Leninism and at variance with dialectics to say that there are no contradictions in socialist society. How can there be no contradictions? There will still be contradictions after 1,000 or 10,000 or even 100 million years. Contradictions will exist in the universe even after the destruction of the earth and the extinction of the sun. All things are in a flux of contradiction, struggle and change. This is the Marxist-Leninist outlook. The essence of Marxism is critical and revolutionary. Its basic spirit is criticism, struggle and revolution. This alone can constantly propel our socialist cause forward. Chairman Mao often quotes the saying, "the tree may prefer calm, but the wind will not subside", to tell us that class struggle is an objective fact and is independent of man's will. The bourgeoisie is daily trying to influence us and corrupt us. The current struggle has been provoked entirely by the representatives of the bourgeoisie. Moreover, they have been preparing and waging it for many years. We cannot avoid it even if we want to. Struggle is life. If you don't struggle against him, he will struggle against you. If you don't hit him, he will hit you. If you don't wipe him out, he will wipe you out. This is a life-and-death class struggle. It is dangerous to lose vigilance in such a struggle.

Chairman Mao says:

. . . while we recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental and social being determines social consciousness, we also—and indeed must—recognize the reaction of mental on material things, of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base.

Bourgeois ideology is still very powerful and exerts an immense influence in our country. The question of who will win out in the ideological sphere, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, has not yet been settled.

We must have a firm grip on ideology and the superstructure, theoretical and academic work, literature and art, etc., so as to consolidate the ideological positions of the proletariat, strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and consolidate the economic base of socialism.

The representatives of the overthrown bourgeoisie are still trying to tighten their grip on ideology and the superstructure, theoretical and academic work, literature and art, etc. On the cultural front, they have worked hard to let emperors and kings, generals and prime ministers, scholars and beauties, foreign idols and dead men dominate the stage and have carried on anti-Party and anti-socialist propaganda with a view to moulding public opinion in preparation for the restoration of capitalism.

We must never regard our struggle against them as mere polemics on paper which do not affect the general situation. It was a number of revisionist literary men of the Petofi Club who acted as the shock brigade in the Hungarian events. The turbulent wind precedes the mountain storm. This is the prelude to the vain attempt of the revisionists at a counter-revolutionary restoration.

Therefore, the current sharp class struggle we are engaged in on the ideological and cultural front is a struggle to shatter all schemes for capitalist restoration ideologically and to dig

out the ideological roots of revisionism, a struggle to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and defend Mao Tse-tung's thought. This struggle must end in victory, and there is no doubt that it can and will end in victory.

We should attach great importance to the role of ideology, of proletarian and socialist ideology, of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. For us Communists, to attach no importance to the role of ideology would be philistine or mechanical materialism. We must arouse the enthusiasm of the people and broaden their horizon about the future by means of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and our great just cause, so that they will unswervingly march ahead! The Chinese people must rid themselves of the influence of all the traditions and forces of habit of thousands of years left over by the exploiting classes and the influence of imperialism. Once freed from all these influences, they will generate a mighty force and play a powerful role. We must enhance our communist consciousness and consciously foster communist ideology. We must not be waverers, we must be thorough-going revolutionaries. We must always hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, sweep away all monsters and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT IS THE TELESCOPE AND MICROSCOPE OF OUR REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE

— Editorial of the *Liberation Army Daily* (*Jiefangjun Bao*)
of June 7, 1966 —

The current great socialist cultural revolution is a great revolution to sweep away all monsters and a great revolution that remoulds the ideology of people and touches their souls. What weapon should be used to sweep away all monsters? What ideology should be applied to arm people's minds and remould their souls? The most powerful ideological weapon, the only one, is the great Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is our political orientation, the highest instruction for our actions; it is our ideological and political telescope and microscope for observing and analysing all things. In this unprecedented great cultural revolution, we should use Mao Tse-tung's thought to observe, analyse and transform everything, and, in a word, put it in command of everything. We should use Mao Tse-tung's thought to storm the enemy's positions and seize victory.

Chairman Mao teaches 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; we must never regard these enemies lightly.

Our struggle against the black anti-Party, anti-socialist line and gangsters is a mighty, life-and-death class struggle. The

enemies without guns are more hidden, cunning, sinister and vicious than the enemies with guns. The representatives of the bourgeoisie and all monsters, including the modern revisionists, often oppose the red flag by hoisting a red flag and oppose Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought when they attack the Party and socialism, because Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought are becoming more popular day by day, our Party and Chairman Mao enjoy an incomparably high prestige and the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is becoming more consolidated. These are the tactics that the revisionists always use in opposing Marxism-Leninism. This is a new characteristic of the class struggle under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The many facts exposed during the great cultural revolution show us more clearly that the anti-Party and anti-socialist elements are all careerists, schemers and hypocrites of the exploiting classes. They indulge in double-dealing. They feign compliance while acting in opposition. They appear to be men but are demons at heart. They speak human language to your face, but talk devil's language behind your back. They are wolves in sheep's clothing and man-eating tigers with smiling faces. They often use the phrases of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought as a cover while greatly publicizing diametrically opposed views behind the word "but" and smuggling in bourgeois and revisionist stuff. Enemies holding a false red banner are ten times more vicious than enemies holding a white banner. Wolves in sheep's clothing are ten times more sinister than ordinary wolves. Tigers with smiling faces are ten times more ferocious than tigers with their fangs bared and their claws sticking out. Sugar-coated bullets are ten times more destructive than real bullets. A fortress is most vulnerable when attacked from within. Enemies who have wormed their way into our ranks are far

more dangerous than enemies operating in the open. We must give this serious attention and be highly vigilant.

In such a very complicated and acute class struggle, how are we to draw a clear-cut line between the enemy and ourselves and maintain a firm stand? How are we to distinguish between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries, genuine revolutionaries and sham revolutionaries, and Marxism-Leninism and revisionism? We must master Mao Tse-tung's thought, the powerful ideological weapon, and use it as a telescope and a microscope to observe all matters. With the invincible Mao Tse-tung's thought, with the scientific world outlook and methodology of dialectical materialism and historical materialism which have been developed by Chairman Mao, and with the sharp weapon of Chairman Mao's theory of classes and class struggle, we have the highest criterion for judging right and wrong. We are able to penetrate deeply into all things and to recognize the whole through observation of the part. We can see the essence behind outward appearance, and clear away the miasma to achieve profound insight into things and thus monsters of all sorts will be unable to hide themselves. We can stand on an eminence, become far-sighted and view the whole situation, the future and the great significance and far-reaching influence of the great socialist cultural revolution. We can advance without the slightest fear and stand in the forefront of the great socialist cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao teaches us, "The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, so does the bourgeoisie." In the sharp clash between the two world outlooks, either you crush me, or I crush you. It will not do to sit on the fence; there is no middle road. The overthrown bourgeoisie, in their plots for restoration and subversion, always give first place to ideology, take hold of ideology and the superstructure. The representatives of the bourgeoisie, by using their position and power, usurped and controlled the leadership of a number of departments, did all they could to spread bourgeois and revisionist poison through the media of

literature, the theatre, films, music, the arts, the press, periodicals, the radio, publications and academic research and schools, etc., in an attempt to corrupt people's minds and perpetrate "peaceful evolution" as ideological preparation and preparation of public opinion for capitalist restoration. If our proletarian ideology does not take over the position, then the bourgeois ideology will have free rein; it will gradually nibble away and chew you up bit by bit. Once proletarian ideology gives way, so will the superstructure and the economic base and this means the restoration of capitalism. Therefore, we must arm our minds with Mao Tse-tung's thought and establish a firm proletarian world outlook. We must use the great Mao Tse-tung's thought to fight and completely destroy the bourgeois ideological and cultural positions.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era. It is living Marxism-Leninism at its highest. It is the powerful, invincible weapon of the Chinese people, and it is also a powerful, invincible weapon of the revolutionary people the world over. Mao Tse-tung's thought has proved to be the invincible truth through the practice of China's democratic revolution, socialist revolution and socialist construction, and through the struggle in the international sphere against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and against Khrushchov revisionism. Chairman Mao has, with the gifts of genius, creatively and comprehensively developed Marxism-Leninism. Basing himself on the fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism, Chairman Mao has summed up the experience of the practice of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution, and the painful lesson of the usurpation of the leadership of the Party and the state of the Soviet Union by the modern revisionist clique, systematically put forward the theory concerning classes, class contradictions and class struggle that exist in socialist society, greatly enriched and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, and put forward a series of wise policies aimed at opposing and preventing revisionism and the restoration of capitalism. All

this ensures that our country will always maintain its revolutionary spirit and never change its colour, and it is of extremely great theoretical and practical significance to the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat. Every sentence by Chairman Mao is the truth, and carries more weight than ten thousand ordinary sentences. As the Chinese people master Mao Tse-tung's thought, China will be prosperous and ever-victorious. Once the world's people master Mao Tse-tung's thought which is living Marxism-Leninism, they are sure to win their emancipation, bury imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries lock, stock and barrel, and realize communism throughout the world step by step.

The most fundamental task in the great socialist cultural revolution in our country is to eliminate thoroughly the old ideology and culture, the old customs and habits which were fostered by all the exploiting classes for thousands of years to poison the minds of the people, and to create and form an entirely new, proletarian ideology and culture, new customs and habits among the masses of the people. This is to creatively study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought in tempestuous class struggle, popularize it and let it become closely integrated with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Once the masses grasp it, Mao Tse-tung's thought will be transformed into a mighty material force. Facts show that those armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are the bravest, wisest, most united, most steadfast in class stand and have the sharpest sight. In this great, stormy cultural revolution, the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers are playing the role of the main force — this is the result of their efforts in creatively studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's thought and arming their ideology with it. This is another eloquent proof of the fact that when the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers master the political telescope and microscope of Mao Tse-tung's thought, they are invincible and ever-triumphant. None of the monsters can escape their sharp sight, no matter what the tricks used or what the clever camouflage employed, "36 stratagems" or "72 meta-

morphoses". Not a single bourgeois stronghold can escape thorough destruction.

The attitude towards Mao Tse-tung's thought, whether to accept it or resist it, to support it or oppose it, to love it warmly or be hostile to it, this is the touchstone to test and the watershed between true revolution and sham revolution, between revolution and counter-revolution, between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. He who wants to make revolution must accept Mao Tse-tung's thought and act in accordance with it. A counter-revolutionary will inevitably disparage, distort, resist, attack and oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought. The "authorities" of the bourgeoisie and all monsters, including the modern revisionists, use every means to slander Mao Tse-tung's thought, and they are extremely hostile to the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's works by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. They wildly attack the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's works by workers, peasants and soldiers as "philistinism", "oversimplification" and "pragmatism". The only explanation is that this flows from their exploiting class instinct. They fear Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionary truth of the proletariat, and particularly the integration of Mao Tse-tung's thought with the worker, peasant and soldier masses. Once the workers, peasants and soldiers master the sharp weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought, all monsters have no ground left to stand on. All their intrigues and plots will be thoroughly exposed, their ugly features will be brought into the broad light of day and their dream to restore capitalism will be utterly shattered.

The class enemy won't fall down if you don't hit him. He still tries to rise to his feet after he has fallen. When one black line is eliminated, another appears. When one gang of representatives of the bourgeoisie has been laid low, a new one takes the stage. We must follow the instructions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and never forget the class struggle, never forget the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat, never forget to give prominence to politics, never forget to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must firmly give prominence to politics. We must creatively study and apply still better Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works, putting stress on the importance of application. We must consider Chairman Mao's works the supreme directive for all our work. We must master Mao Tse-tung's thought and pass it on from generation to generation. This is dictated by the needs of the revolution, the situation, the struggle against the enemy, the preparations to smash aggressive war by U.S. imperialism, of opposing and preventing revisionism, preventing the restoration of capitalism, of building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results and of ensuring the gradual transition from socialism to communism in China. Chairman Mao is the radiant sun lighting our minds. Mao Tse-tung's thought is our lifeline. Those who oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought, no matter when they do so and what kind of "authorities" they are, will be denounced by the entire Party and the whole nation.

WE ARE CRITICS OF THE OLD WORLD

— Editorial of the *People's Daily* of June 8, 1966 —

The rapid and vigorous development of China's great proletarian cultural revolution is shaking the world.

Some people say, "The 700 million Chinese are all critics."

Irrespective of who says this, and whether it makes them happy or unhappy, this saying reflects the fact that China's broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, using as their weapon the thought of Mao Tse-tung, have started to criticize the old world, old things and old thinking on an unprecedented scale.

We criticize the system of exploitation, the exploiting classes, imperialism, modern revisionism, all reactionaries, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists.

We criticize the representatives of the bourgeoisie and bourgeois "scholars and authorities".

We criticize the bourgeois conception of history, bourgeois academic theories, pedagogy, journalism, and theories of art and literature, and all bad plays, films and works of literature and art.

In sum, we criticize the old world, the old ideology and culture, and old customs and habits which imperialism and all exploiting classes use to poison the minds of the working people, we criticize all non-proletarian ideology, all reactionary ideology which is antagonistic to Marxism-Leninism, to Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Why should we criticize all this?

We do this because it is absolutely necessary for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism and communism, and it corresponds to the laws of historical development. Lenin held that after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for a long period its strength surpasses that of the proletariat, and that, particularly in the field of ideology, for a long time it still remains predominant and very stubborn. And it uses this in every way to make ideological preparations and get public opinion ready for the restoration of capitalism. This is fully illustrated by the sharp and protracted struggles on the ideological and cultural front between the two classes and two roads in the 17 years since the liberation of China, and especially by the struggle between the bourgeoisie plotting a restoration and the proletariat opposing a restoration, a struggle which of late has come to the fore.

Chairman Mao told us long ago that everything reactionary is the same: if you don't hit it, it won't fall. This is also like sweeping the floor; as a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust does not vanish of itself. This applies to everything in the world. We want to build the new world so we must destroy the old; we want to create the new ideology and culture of socialism and communism so we must subject the old bourgeois ideology and culture, and the influence they exert, to thoroughgoing criticism and clear them out.

The essence of Marxism-Leninism is critical and revolutionary. Its essentials are to criticize, to wage struggle and make revolution. What we practise is the militant philosophy of dialectical materialism. Struggle is life. As we go forward along the correct path of struggle, our fighting power will grow and we will be better able to advance our great cause.

Chairman Mao has often emphasized that "there is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no moving forward without a holding back". Destruction here means criticism, means revolution. Destruction necessarily calls for reasoning, and reasoning is construction; de-

struction comes first, and in the course of it there is construction. The formation and development of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought have taken place in the incessant struggle to destroy the ideological system of the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao says:

What is correct always develops in the course of struggle with what is wrong. The true, the good and the beautiful always exist in comparison with the false, the evil and the ugly, and grow in struggle with the latter.

Who is to be counted on in making criticism? We must count on the broadest masses of the people, on the workers, peasants and soldiers, the revolutionary cadres and the revolutionary intellectuals. During the revolutionary war, the masses of people used arms to criticize the old world and seize power; since victory, they have been using criticism as their weapon against all the evils left over by imperialism and the landlord and bourgeois classes. Only when all the 700 million people take up Mao Tse-tung's thought, the sharpest of all weapons, to make criticism can there be a clean-up on the broadest scale of the dust left hidden by the bourgeoisie in every corner and a thorough uprooting to the greatest depth of the ideology of the exploiting classes which have been in a monopolistic and dominant position for the past thousands of years. Only when the broadest masses master the proletarian world outlook and criticize the bourgeois world outlook, master Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and criticize revisionist ideas, will there be the guarantee of China's socialist revolution being carried through to the end and of its step-by-step transition from socialism to communism.

The fact that "700 million people are critics" is stupendous, it is an epoch-making event. This in itself shows that the thinking of our 700 million people has been emancipated, that they have risen to full height and that they are no longer slaves of the old culture and old ideas of imperialism and the exploiting classes. It is not at all accidental that our

700 million people have become critics. It is something new that has arisen in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is something new, born of the brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is a new phenomenon, an inevitable product of the integration of Mao Tse-tung's thought with the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. It represents the great awakening of the Chinese people.

The birth and deepening of any great revolutionary movement is inevitably preceded by a gigantic struggle in the ideological field and heralded by a great ideological revolution. In the history of the proletarian revolution, every major polemic has been the prelude to and signal for a revolutionary leap forward. In China, each of the many major polemics in the ideological field in the 17 years since liberation has blazed the trail for the locomotive of revolution. The great cultural revolution now under way, on a scale never known before, necessarily foreshadows a development of the socialist revolution by leaps and bounds and a new big leap forward in China's socialist construction.

Once the people have risen, the enemy falls. In China, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals have risen, and the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois "scholars and authorities" will fall. In the movement of criticism that is developing on an unprecedentedly wide scale in the tremendous cultural revolution, a great new era is now emerging on the horizon, an era in which the whole of the 700 million Chinese people are people of wisdom.

Let us welcome this great new era with open arms.



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