

TEAR ASIDE THE BOURGEOIS MASK OF "LIBERTY, EQUALITY AND FRATERNITY"
(4 June 1966)

There is an upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution in China today. This surging tide is forcefully pounding away at all the decadent ideological and cultural positions held by the bourgeoisie and the feudal survivals. Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the workers, peasants, and soldiers, the revolutionary cadres, and revolutionary intellectuals have let loose a fierce counteroffensive against the black anti-party and anti-socialist line of the capitalist class. This is a serious, acute, and complex political struggle, a struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, between revolution and counter-revolution, between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism; it is a closely locked contest for life or death. In no way is the struggle a trivial matter; it is a matter of prime importance that affects the destiny of our party and state, the future of our party and state; it is a matter of prime importance that affects what our party and state will look like in the future, and also affects the world revolution.

Basing itself on the fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism and the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao Tse-tung has analyzed classes and class struggle in socialist society comprehensively and systematically and has creatively developed Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao teaches us that class contradiction still exists and class struggle does not die out in socialist society after the completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. There is struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie, and between the socialist and capitalist roads throughout the state of socialism. The socialist revolution must be carried through to the end on the political, economic, ideological, and cultural fronts in order to insure the successful building of socialism and prevent the restoration of capitalism. It is precisely Chairman Mao's theory on classes and class struggle in socialist society, on the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and on the need to carry out the socialist revolution not only in the matter of ownership but also in the field of ideology that provide the correct line and guiding principles we must follow in this great socialist cultural revolution.

A handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie who wormed their way into our party deliberately covered up the true class nature of the struggle and twisted this serious political struggle into a "purely academic problem" and an "exchange of different opinions." They hoisted aloft the black bourgeois banner of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" in opposition to the line of the proletarian cultural revolution advances by the party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They ranted along these lines: "Full expression should be given to different opinions including anti-Marxist-Leninist ones," "every one is equal before the truth," "one should not be arbitrary like a scholar-tyrant or overwhelm others by the use of one's

position or powers." They cried that "care" and "prudence" must be exercised in the struggle against the anti-party and antisocialist monsters, that they should not be "held in such a tight grip," and so on.

The vicious motive here was to deceive the masses of the people, muddy the waters, mix up the proletarian and the bourgeois class fronts, and shift the target of the struggle. Their motive was to encourage the bourgeois right and frustrate the proletarian left, and to protect the bourgeois right and attack the proletarian left. Their motive was to bring about bourgeois liberalization and revisionism and reduce proletarian rule to chaos so that they could capture power from the proletariat and restore capitalism when the opportunity came....

Chairman Mao said: "We choose the policy of opening wide, because it is the policy which will help to consolidate our country and develop our culture." He 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." In discussing this question, Chairman Mao specifically pointed out that: "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 superstitious and degenerate things, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstances should they be allowed to spread unchecked."

Our policy of "opening wide" is a firm proletarian class policy and is distinguished by proletarian political criteria. But your so-called "opening wide" encourages the bourgeoisie alone and not the proletariat. It permits only such bourgeois "authorities," "specialists," and "scholars" as yourselves to spread their poison without allowing the worker, peasant, and soldier masses, and the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals to hit back. In a word, under the pretext of "opening wide," you are actually opposing the party and socialism....

Chairman Mao has said: "Freedom and democracy cannot exist in the abstract; they only exist in the concrete. In a society where there is class struggle, when the exploiting classes are free to exploit the working people, the working people will have no freedom from being exploited; when there is democracy for the bourgeoisie, there can be no democracy for the proletariat and other working people." Our socialist system certainly will not allow freedom of speech to counterrevolutionaries.

This freedom is permitted only among the people. You want to oppose the leadership of the party and socialism but we will never give you this freedom. If you were allowed freedom to oppose the party and socialism, the revolution would suffer defeat, the people would suffer disaster, and it would lead the country to destruction....

You spread so much poison, yet the moment we counterattacked you yelled "everyone is equal before the truth." Indeed, you clamped the label "scholar

tyrants" on the proletarian left and maligned our counterattack as "arbitrary," as "overwhelming others by the use of position or power."

Let us ask, what is a "scholar tyrant," and who is a "scholar tyrant?" Does not the proletariat need dictatorship, does it not need to prevail over the bourgeoisie? Is it not necessary for proletarian learning to prevail over and eliminate bourgeois learning? By your actions you have been in fact making a last ditch fight, rejecting criticism, attacking the proletarian left, and giving support to the bourgeois scholar tyrants. Is that, too, equality?

Were you really talking of the truth? No. You embarked on conspiracy under the smokescreen of "truth." You used undermining tactics, utterly stripping truth of its class nature. Don't you know that there is only class truth in class society and no such thing as abstract truth above classes? Each particular plant yields its own particular fruit; each class speaks in its own terms. Different classes hold different views on what is truth and what is falsehood, what constitute fragrant flowers and what poisonous weeds. The "fragrant flowers" you glorify are, to us, simply poisonous weeds which we shall uproot. The "truth" you maintain is exactly the bourgeois falsehood we oppose. Truth is objective. There can be only one truth, and who after all arrives at the truth depends not on subjective boasting but on objective practice. The only criterion of truth is the revolutionary practice of the millions of people. Only the proletariat, which is the most advanced and most revolutionary class, can understand the objective laws of social development and grasp truth.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the summit of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, living Marxism-Leninism at its highest, the powerful ideological weapon in the hands of the proletariat and the revolutionary people all over the world, and the great truth in this great era of ours. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the truth that conforms to the laws of development of socialist society, the laws of development of nature, and the needs of proletarian revolution. In making the thought of Mao Tse-tung our supreme guide and leadership we show that we indeed love the truth, uphold the truth, and adhere to the truth....

For decades the old social democratic parties -- and in the last 10 years or so, the modern revisionists -- have never allowed the proletariat any equality with the bourgeoisie. They entirely deny that the history of mankind for several thousand years has been one of class struggle, and they entirely deny proletarian class struggle against the bourgeoisie, proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie, and the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, they are faithful stooges of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, and, hand in hand with them, they cling to the ideology of bourgeois oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the social system of capitalism while opposing the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and the socialist system of society. They are anti-communist and anti-popular counterrevolutionaries. Their struggle against us in one of life and death in which there is no such thing as equality.

Hence, our struggle against them is inevitably one of life and death, so that our relationship with them can never be that of equality but that in which one class suppresses the other, that is, a relationship in which the proletariat exercises absolute rule or dictatorship over the bourgeoisie; now can it be any other, as, for example, a so-called relationship of equality, a relationship of peaceful coexistence between the exploited and exploiting classes, or a relationship of humanity, justice, and all the other virtues....

"Liberty, equality, and fraternity" is the decadent and reactionary world outlook of the bourgeoisie. Two centuries have passed since this slogan was first raised by the French bourgeoisie in the 18th century. Although it had its anti-feudal progressive aspect at the time when they led the French revolution, it is a hypocritical slogan used by the bourgeoisie to defend its private class interests. The bourgeoisie made use of this slogan during the democratic revolution to deceive the working people, seize state power from the feudal landlord class, and establish bourgeois dictatorship. After their seizure of power, the bourgeoisie continued to use the slogan to lull the working people, to cover up their sanguinary rule and consolidate the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The freedom proclaimed by the bourgeoisie amounts to nothing more than freedom for them to exploit wage labor and plunder colonies, and on the other hand, freedom for the laboring people to be exploited and the people in the colonies to be plundered. The equality proclaimed by the bourgeoisie means nothing more than equality for them to exploit wage labor and equality for the working people to be exploited. The fraternity proclaimed by the bourgeoisie means nothing more than their right to exploit and enslave more and more people who are expected to be grateful to them for it. Marx and Engels once said that the vampire would not loose its hold so long as there was a muscle, a nerve, a drop of blood to be exploited. This is the reactionary essence of the bourgeois slogan of "liberty, equality, and fraternity."....

Our socialist society still rests on class antagonism. Although the landlords and the bourgeoisie have been overthrown, they are not yet completely eliminated. We have confiscated the property of the exploiting classes, but we cannot take away their reactionary ideas. Persons of these classes are still living and they are not reconciled. They inevitably try to stage a comeback. They form a miniscule minority in the whole population, but their power of resistance is of a much greater magnitude. The spontaneity of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie ceaselessly engenders new bourgeois elements. Some unwholesome elements come into the ranks of the workers as these expand. There are also some people in the party and government organs who degenerate. Further, imperialism, modern revisionism, and the reactionaries of all countries are always making efforts, in one way or another, to have a go at us. All this exposes our country to the danger of a restoration of capitalism. We absolutely must not ignore this danger. Just as we must raise our vigilance a hundredfold against the external enemy; so, too, we must not lower our guard against the enemy at home. While paying serious attention to the enemy with guns, we must not lose sight of the enemy without guns. A wolf in sheep's

clothing is more dangerous than an ordinary wolf, and even than a pack of wolves. The enemy holding a red flag is more dangerous than the enemy with a white one. Sugar-coated bullets kill people. Smiling tigers eat people. We must never forget politics just because we have a host of problems to deal with....

Marxism-Leninism is critical and revolutionary in nature. Its basic point is criticism, struggle, and revolution. Toward everything bourgeois and revisionist, we must adopt not reformist but thorough going revolutionary methods. In dealing with the enemy of revolution, we cannot rely on persuasion but on struggle. If you don't struggle against him, he will struggle against you. If you don't hit him, he will hit you. Without destruction, there will be no construction. Destruction means criticism and revolution. Destruction comes first and construction comes in the course of destruction. Messrs bourgeois "authorities" describe us as "men of dynamite" and "clubs." That's right. We want to be proletarian "men of dynamite" so as to blow to bits all the anti-party and anti-socialist gangster villages and inns. We want to be precisely "golden clubs" of the proletariat so as to route all monsters and freaks. We shall smash anyone who tries to oppose the party and socialism, to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat and oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought. No matter what his "authority," no matter how high his post, the whole nation and the whole party will rise to denounce him....