

# Long Live Victory of the Great Cultural Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

— In Celebration of the 18th Anniversary of the Founding  
Of the People's Republic of China

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

**R**IDING on the powerful east wind of the great proletarian cultural revolution, along the bright road of Mao Tse-tung's thought, we triumphantly greet the 18th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

On the eve of this grand festival, the happy news that our great leader Chairman Mao has just made an inspection tour of north, central-south and east China spread throughout the country, giving immense new encouragement to hundreds of millions of revolutionary people.

We warmly welcome the comrades and friends from all parts of the world who have come to join us in our National Day festivities at the high tide of the great cultural revolution.

The 18 years of the People's Republic of China have been 18 years of life-and-death struggle between two antagonistic classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. They have been 18 years of the triumph of the socialist road over the capitalist road, and 18 years of the day-by-day strengthening and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Proceeding in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao, and with the concerted efforts and struggle of the masses of the working people, we have made most brilliant achievements along the socialist road during the past 18 years.

The socialist system has promoted the growth of China's productive forces which have developed by leaps and bounds. Under the guidance of the general line for building socialism formulated by Chairman Mao, there has emerged an all-round big leap forward in industrial and agricultural production and in all fields of construction. In a giant leap, our country has been transformed from a poor, backward and calamity-ridden country into a prosperous, vigorous and fast developing socialist power.

Since liberation, we have repulsed repeated frenzied attacks by the bourgeoisie and won one great victory after another. We won victories in the cam-

paign against the three evils (corruption, waste and bureaucracy) and five evils (bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information for speculation), in the struggle against the Rightists and in opposing Right opportunists inside the Party and in the socialist education movement in the cities and countryside. On the ideological and cultural front, we have criticized and repudiated the bourgeoisie on many occasions.

In the past 18 years, the Chinese people have waged valiant struggles against imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries of various countries. In the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, the Chinese people together with the Korean people inflicted a crushing defeat on U.S. imperialism. We have made internationalist contributions by our support of the people of Vietnam and the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of other countries. Together with the Marxist-Leninists of other countries, we have thoroughly exposed and launched a resolute struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre, thereby promoting the triumphant development of the international communist movement in its new stage.

The history of the past 18 years fully proves that only Mao Tse-tung's thought can save China. Steadfast adherence to the socialist road, to the proletarian revolution and to the dictatorship of the proletariat under the great revolutionary red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought is the militant course we have taken; this is our orientation.

The current unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself is worth recording in letters of gold in the glorious history of the People's Republic of China.

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, China's masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals have stepped on to the political stage of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and, in the short period of a little over one year, have performed world-shaking miracles.

Lenin said: "Revolutions are festivals of the oppressed and the exploited. At no other time are the mass of the people in a position to come forward so actively as creators of a new social order, as at a time of revolution. At such times the people are capable of performing miracles, if judged by the limited, philistine yardstick of gradualist progress." Our country's great proletarian cultural revolution has developed precisely in this way.

Proletarian revolutionaries and the masses of the people throughout the country, mobilized under Chairman Mao's great call to "bombard the headquarters," mounted fierce attacks on the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov. Led by the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, the revolutionary mass movement with the tremendous force of a thunderbolt smashed the bourgeois headquarters, which had made a futile attempt to bring about a counter-revolutionary restoration, and routed the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. The counter-revolutionary revisionist line they pushed has gone totally bankrupt.

The gigantic storm of the great proletarian cultural revolution has shaken hundreds of millions of people to the depths of their souls. The great Marxism-Leninism, the great thought of Mao Tse-tung has been popularized on a scale unparalleled in history. The ideological revolutionization of the entire Chinese people has reached new heights. By studying and applying Chairman Mao's works in a creative way during the course of the struggle, the broad masses have criticized and repudiated the bourgeois world outlook and come to understand the great truth of the necessity for revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the target and methods of the revolution and the way to prevent the restoration of capitalism.

Tens of millions of revolutionary young people and revolutionary Red Guards, who have stormed the enemy positions during the present great revolution, have undergone repeated tempering in the class struggle and made outstanding contributions. Successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat are growing and maturing steadily. The new-born, revolutionary backbone forces of the proletariat are coming forward in great numbers. Numerous revolutionary cadres have stood up to the rigorous tests of the great proletarian cultural revolution, greatly raised their proletarian consciousness, improved their relations with the masses, and are now making new contributions to the cause of socialism.

The great Chinese People's Liberation Army is founded and led personally by our great leader Chairman Mao. Under the direct command of Comrade Lin Piao, it is holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and forging close links with the masses of the people. It has achieved glorious and historic new merits while undergoing the biggest and best tempering in the struggle to defend the country, safeguard and support the great proletarian cultural

revolution and promote the development of industrial and agricultural production. It is worthy of its role as the powerful pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and is the matchless army of the people.

The immense spiritual force generated by the great proletarian cultural revolution has been transformed into a gigantic material force that is propelling forward the development of socialist construction. The explosion of our country's first hydrogen bomb indicates that our science and technology and the build-up of our national defence have reached a new and higher level.

Comrade Lin Piao has pointed out that, as far as the great proletarian cultural revolution is concerned, "the losses are of the smallest while the gains are of the biggest." This is a very good summing up of the situation.

Our country has never before been as united as it is today, the various nationalities of our country have never before enjoyed such unity as they do today, and our national defence has never before been as consolidated as it is today.

This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's theory on the continuation of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a great victory for his proletarian revolutionary line, a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought, a great victory for Chairman Mao's development of Marxism-Leninism.

It is by no means accidental that the great proletarian cultural revolution has taken place in China. It is an inevitable stage in the deeper-going development of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a tremendous achievement arising from the study and summing up of the laws governing class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society, undertaken by Chairman Mao over a long period.

As early as the eve of nationwide victory 18 years ago, Chairman Mao pointed out to the entire Party: "To win this victory will not require much more time and effort, but to consolidate it will." "To win country-wide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li."

Chairman Mao here explained to us an extremely important Marxist-Leninist principle. The proletariat's conquest of political power in no way means the conclusion of the revolution but is the beginning of it. The dictatorship of the proletariat covers a very long historical period. After winning political power, the proletariat still has to wage protracted and repeated struggle in a test of strength with the bourgeoisie and forces of capitalism. Gigantic efforts must be made to push the socialist revolution forward and carry it through to the end.

The law of class struggle in socialist society tells us that the exploiting classes, though they have failed, never for a moment stop dreaming of the recovery of their lost paradise. They still wield considerable influence in the ideological sphere and control quite a

number of positions. The spontaneous capitalist tendencies of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie and the force of habit will not quickly vanish completely just because of collectivization. They can still constantly generate new bourgeois elements. At the same time, international capitalist influence seeks in every way and through every channel to bring about "peaceful evolution" in the socialist countries. Just as Lenin said: **"The dictatorship of the proletariat means a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by their overthrow (even if only in a single country), and whose power lies, not only in the strength of international capital, the strength and durability of their international connections, but also in the force of habit, in the strength of small-scale production. Unfortunately, small-scale production is still widespread in the world, and small-scale production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. All these reasons make the dictatorship of the proletariat necessary, and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, stubborn and desperate life-and-death struggle which calls for tenacity, discipline, and a single and inflexible will."**

Chairman Mao repeatedly teaches us that class struggle does not come to an end after the completion of socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. **"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."** If this is not sufficiently understood, or is not understood at all, the gravest mistakes will be made.

The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road headed by China's Khrushchov are the most stubborn defenders of bourgeois ideology and represent it in the most concentrated form. Using the power they usurped, they did their utmost to campaign for capitalism in a vain attempt to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a bourgeois dictatorship and, by open and underhand methods, bring about the restoration of capitalism. To destroy the ideology of all exploiting classes, we are bound to engage in antagonistic conflicts with this handful of bourgeois representatives. Thus, the overthrow of the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road becomes the main task of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Our struggle with them is a life-and-death struggle to determine which will win out, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era, has summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China

and other countries and in particular studied the serious lesson of the overall restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. He has revealed penetratingly the laws governing class struggle in socialist society, creatively set forth the important theory of the great proletarian cultural revolution and personally initiated and led the gigantic struggle of the first such revolution in mankind's history. By so doing, he has grasped and solved the most important fundamental question, that of carrying on revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He has developed with tremendous creativeness the Marxist-Leninist concept of class struggle in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and greatly developed the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, thereby advancing Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage, the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Startling thunderbolts shake the earth. Once our great leader Chairman Mao's brilliant theory of carrying on the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is integrated with hundreds of millions of revolutionary people, it immediately turns into an unprecedentedly powerful proletarian revolutionary force in this vast land of China. This invincible force has further smashed the counter-revolutionary capitalist forces and accelerated the advance of our history, ushering in a new era in the history of the international communist movement.

The victory we have already won is great. From now on, we must exert further efforts in the struggle to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Our future fighting tasks are as follows:

We should hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, carry out revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation even more extensively and deeply, concentrate our fire on the target, overthrow and completely discredit politically, ideologically and theoretically the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road headed by China's Khrushchov so that all their intrigues and plots for a come-back will be bankrupted for ever.

We should fully arouse the masses, combine revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation with the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in all units, fulfil these tasks successfully, carry out deep-going transformation in all spheres in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and ensure the supremacy of Mao Tse-tung's thought in all fields.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"There is no fundamental clash of interests within the working class. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is no reason whatsoever for the working class to split into two big irreconcilable organizations."**

In addition to this important instruction to the working class, Chairman Mao teaches us: **"The revolutionary Red Guards and revolutionary student organizations should realize the revolutionary great alliance. So long as both sides are revolutionary mass**

organizations, they should realize the revolutionary great alliance in accordance with revolutionary principles."

We should follow Chairman Mao's teachings and develop and consolidate the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and strengthen revolutionary unity on the principled basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

We should consolidate or establish revolutionary committees at the various levels and correctly handle contradictions within the revolutionary ranks, correctly treat the cadres, boldly use the revolutionary cadres and exert our efforts to help and bring up new cadres according to Chairman Mao's principles.

We should launch a vigorous movement of supporting the army and cherishing the people on a still larger scale and carry through this movement persistently and in a penetrating way.

We should further implement the great policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production," persist in carrying out revolution after working-hours, carrying out revolution in one's own locality and practising thrift in the course of carrying out revolution and energetically promote the development of industrial and agricultural production.

While striving to do a still better job of supporting the Left, assisting industry and agriculture, exercising military control and giving military and political training, all commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army should maintain high vigilance, strengthen their combat readiness, consolidate national defence and safeguard the successful advance of the great proletarian cultural revolution. They should be ready at all times to smash the aggression of imperialism headed by the United States and to liberate our territory of Taiwan.

We should rely on the masses, further consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, resolutely suppress all the sabotaging activities of foreign and domestic class enemies, resolutely suppress the various spy activities of U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek special agents, Soviet revisionist special agents and Japanese special agents.

**"The important thing is to be good at learning."** In order to accomplish all these great tasks it is necessary to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works in the course of struggle and to strengthen the work of building up the revolutionary ranks ideologically.

Marx and Engels pointed out in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: "The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas."

The traditional ideas of the exploiting classes are selfishness, whose influence has been deep-rooted for thousands of years. All proletarian revolutionaries and the broad revolutionary masses should consciously take

up the weapon of self-criticism and use Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, to defeat bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas and courageously break away from the "selfishness" in their own minds. Only in this way can our ranks be built up into a mighty proletarian cultural revolutionary army, which has a high level of revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline.

Most of our cadres are good or comparatively good. With regard to the revolutionary cadres who have committed mistakes, we should help them patiently and give them the chance and time to correct their own mistakes according to Chairman Mao's traditional policy of "Learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, curing the sickness to save the patient," so that they can make amends and catch up with the revolutionary ranks of the proletariat.

A mighty new contingent of young cadres has come forward in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution. To educate well this new contingent, continuously instil Mao Tse-tung's thought into its members, enable them always to maintain a firm and correct political orientation and to retain the working people's intrinsic characteristic of hard-working and plain-living, and maintain close ties with the masses — all these are major issues that concern the prospects and future of our motherland.

The leadership given by our great leader Chairman Mao and the proletarian headquarters of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the leadership by Mao Tse-tung's thought, is the most basic guarantee of all our victories. We must vigorously establish the absolute authority of Chairman Mao, of Mao Tse-tung's thought and of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and resolutely uphold the leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao.

We must realize that in the coming year class struggle will still be very acute and complicated and we shall still have to advance in the teeth of great storms and waves of class struggle. The handful of bad persons who attempt to shake, from the Right or the extreme "Left," the proletarian headquarters of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and who secretly sow dissensions and smear people by rumours and slanders, and the counter-revolutionary forces which vainly attempt to reverse the wheel of history, must be exposed and dealt resolute counterblows.

The victory of China's great proletarian cultural revolution has tremendously inspired the oppressed nations and people of the world in their revolutionary struggle, and won the warm praise and support of the revolutionary people of the world. Imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre, and all reactionaries at home and abroad, with their counter-revolutionary nose, sensed from the very beginning that China's great proletarian cultural revolution would be the greatest threat to them. To cover up

the intense fear hidden in the depth of their hearts, they have made desperate efforts to slander and vilify our great proletarian cultural revolution. Nevertheless, all their slanders have vanished one after another like soap bubbles.

Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: **“To be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing,”** and **“It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work.”**

Let the dying flies buzz! We shall keep to our own road even more staunchly.

Hold the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought still higher and fight unswervingly and with redoubled confidence for the complete and thoroughgoing victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live our great socialist motherland!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party!

Long live great Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live Chairman Mao, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman!  
A long, long life to him!

*(October 1, 1967.)*