

Completely Smash the Bourgeois Headquarters

— Commemorating the First Anniversary of the 11th Plenary Session
Of the Party's Eighth Central Committee

THE situation in the great proletarian cultural revolution is becoming better and better. The worker, peasant and soldier masses and the heroic young Red Guard fighters, with bitter hatred for the class enemy, are waging an all-round struggle against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and are criticizing and repudiating them in a big way. There is a fresh revolutionary upsurge to completely smash the bourgeois headquarters. It is in this fresh revolutionary upsurge that the people of the whole country, in a militant frame of mind, are celebrating the first anniversary of the 11th Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee.

The greatest historic accomplishments of the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee were: establishing still more firmly the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought; confirming as the deputy supreme commander of the whole Party Comrade Lin Biao, who has consistently held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line most faithfully, resolutely and thoroughly; and further consolidating the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, and defeating the bourgeois headquarters headed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. The documents of the plenary session drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance systematically laid down and advanced the theory, line, principles, method and policy for making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; they pointed out to the people of the whole country the road to victory in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism, and in advancing from socialism to communism. This session was of great historic significance, deciding the fate of our Party and state and that of the international communist movement.

The 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party was convened at a crucial juncture in the sharp struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the proletarian headquarters and the bourgeois headquarters. It was convened when the great proletarian cultural revolution

was facing the danger of being strangled by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. At that grave moment, our great leader Chairman Mao wrote his big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters." He said:

"China's first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster and Commentator's article on it in *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) [for full text of both see *Peking Review*, No. 37, 1966. — *Tr.*] 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?"

This big-character poster is a most brilliant revolutionary document. It provided the guiding thought for the session and laid down the general principles for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

"Bombard the Headquarters" blasted the lid off the struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line and between the proletarian headquarters and the bourgeois headquarters which had existed in the Party over a long period. It made the entire Party and people understand more clearly the main object and task of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The bourgeois headquarters is composed of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road with China's Khrushchov as its chieftain. They are the main target of the great proletarian cul-

tural revolution, and the main task of this revolution is to overthrow them completely.

The big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters" penetratingly exposed the reactionary nature of the bourgeois headquarters, which, adopting the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, enforced a bourgeois dictatorship. Chairman Mao in his big-character poster exposed the fact that some leading personnel from the central down to the local levels "acted in a diametrically opposite way." That means in a way opposed to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and the leading personnel from the central down to the local levels mentioned here are the handful of people headed by China's Khrushchov making up the bourgeois headquarters. The big-character poster laid bare the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist features of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and called on the whole Party to be "wide awake." It was a great call to battle to the whole Party and the people of the whole country to completely smash the bourgeois headquarters.

Throughout the entire historical period of socialism there always exists a struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. The struggle between the proletarian headquarters and the bourgeois headquarters is the most concentrated expression of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. It is of the greatest importance to destroy completely this hidden headquarters of the bourgeoisie in order to prevent our Party and country from changing colour.

Under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, especially after the fight against the Rightists in 1957, the capitalists are none of them in a position to take command though they have always been dreaming of a capitalist restoration. Only the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are in a position to take command and attempt to restore capitalism on behalf of the bourgeoisie. They are the agents of the bourgeoisie in the leading organs of the Party and the state. It is a matter of course that there should appear in the Party the struggle between the two headquarters; it is an inevitable reflection of classes, class contradiction and class struggle in society.

The bourgeoisie still has considerable influence in society, but as the saying goes "a bird without a head cannot fly and a snake without a head cannot crawl." Its head is the bourgeois headquarters hidden within the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This bourgeois headquarters is the principal and most dangerous enemy of the proletariat.

The historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat teaches us that unless the bourgeois head-

quarters hidden in the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat is crushed, the whole Party and state will inevitably change colour. The fundamental reason for the capitalist restoration which has occurred in the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and some other socialist countries is that the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in those countries have usurped the leadership of the Party and the state. This is the gravest lesson in the international communist movement.

Chairman Mao has pointed out that the main target of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the bourgeois headquarters hidden within the apparatus of this dictatorship. It is against this section within the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat that we are making revolution. Taking our Party and state as a whole, the bourgeois headquarters is not in a dominant position, but unless it is overthrown it is impossible to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. This theory has been formulated by summing up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat internationally and in China.

In the course of the protracted struggle against the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, Chairman Mao saw through his vicious ambitions and concluded that he was the chief hidden danger to our Party and the chief scourge in it. Over recent years, Chairman Mao has time and again warned the entire Party of the danger of a capitalist restoration in our country, a danger which mainly comes from the bourgeois headquarters headed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

The document *Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas*, referred to as the 23-article document, worked out under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao in January 1965, put it clearly for the first time: "The main target of the present movement is those persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road." China's Khrushchov is the one in the highest position among the persons mentioned here.

During the Working Conference of the Party's Central Committee held in September 1965, Chairman Mao raised the following question at an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee: "What are you going to do if revisionism appears in the Central Committee? This is highly likely. This is the greatest danger." In saying that revisionism might appear in the Central Committee, Chairman Mao was referring to the bourgeois headquarters headed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

On May 16, 1966, the *Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party*, drawn up under the personal leadership of Chairman Mao, went further to point out that there are "persons like Khrushchov . . . who are still nestling beside us." A

person like Khrushchov mentioned here is the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

By August 1966, when the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party was held, the counter-revolutionary revisionist features of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road had already been fully exposed and the bourgeois headquarters headed by him had put on quite a performance. The time was ripe to bombard the bourgeois headquarters. With vision and great boldness, Chairman Mao decided upon firm and decisive measures, wrote the big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters," and resolved to mobilize the masses to smash the bourgeois headquarters.

Smashing the bourgeois headquarters, according to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, is not done by dismissing people from office from above, nor by taking purely organizational steps but by boldly mobilizing the masses, and letting the broad masses struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution—the 16-point decision—adopted at the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, is a great revolutionary programme drawn up under the personal leadership of Chairman Mao. The 16-point decision aims the spearhead of the struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The basic spirit that runs through the 16-point decision is that of trusting the masses, relying on them and boldly mobilizing them to open powerful fire at the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and to wage a true and thorough socialist revolution from below.

The masses armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are the real heroes. In the great proletarian cultural revolution it is only possible to thoroughly smash the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov, to capture the reactionary strongholds where they have entrenched themselves in some areas, departments and units and seize back the power that they have usurped by boldly mobilizing hundreds of millions of revolutionary masses, by utilizing the methods of extensive democracy, of full and frank expression of views and opinions, of putting up big-character posters and of carrying out great debates under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to expose, criticize and repudiate the crimes of the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road in opposing the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

"Bombard the Headquarters" and the 16-point decision have inspired and armed millions of revolutionary people, and have aroused their initiative. The raging flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution have begun to burn ever more strongly. Hundreds of millions of revolutionary people have been stirred, and the heavy atmosphere of "ten thousand horses standing mute"

resulting from suppression by the bourgeois reactionary line has been cleared away. Throughout the country, there has arisen the situation of "ten thousand guns bombarding" the bourgeois headquarters.

Revolution is the locomotive of history. In the past year, earth-shaking changes have been taking place in China with its population of 700 million people.

Through a year of big struggles, the proletariat has fought a great battle and won a great victory. The counter-revolutionary features of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road have been exposed before the broad revolutionary masses. A handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists have been exposed and the reactionary strongholds where they entrenched themselves have been taken. The dictatorship of the proletariat has been further consolidated. The counter-revolutionary front of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has collapsed all along the line. In their struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line, those proletarian revolutionaries who have been oppressed and persecuted have grown from small to big, from weak to strong and from dispersed to concentrated. They have become steeled into a mighty revolutionary army. Tempered in the storms of the class struggle in the past year, a great number of new talented people loyal to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line have come forth. A young generation of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause is rapidly growing up.

These are the great achievements of the 11th Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee and of the 16-point decision. They show the great power of "Bombard the Headquarters" and are a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

However, the struggle between the two headquarters and the two lines has not ended. The central task placed before proletarian revolutionaries is to completely repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road politically, ideologically and theoretically and thoroughly smash the bourgeois headquarters. This is a great historic task. In order to accomplish this task, we must strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, reinforce and improve the instruments of this dictatorship and firmly support and defend the proletarian revolutionaries.

We must understand that only by thoroughly overthrowing the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road politically, ideologically and theoretically and by completely smashing the bourgeois headquarters can we guarantee that our Party and state will not change colour, and that the great proletarian cultural revolution will be carried through to the end. Only in the course of the struggle to accomplish this task can we achieve and consolidate the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination. And only so is it possible to carry on well the tasks of struggle-criticism-trans-

formation in one's own department, and succeed in the struggle to seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and really do a good job in wielding power for the proletariat. If we forget this central task it means that we have forgotten Chairman Mao's teaching: **"You must concern yourselves with state affairs"** and forgotten the great proletarian cultural revolution and the socialist road, and we are in danger of losing our bearings and going astray.

Revolutionary dialectics is irresistible. The bourgeois headquarters will be smashed. The great pro-

letarian cultural revolution will win complete and all-round victory.

Comrades of the proletarian revolutionaries, young revolutionary fighters! As we commemorate the first anniversary of the 11th Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee and the big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters," let us hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and strive to perform new deeds in completely smashing the bourgeois headquarters!

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