



Chairman Mao, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman, and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Biao.

## What Has China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Achieved?

**U**NPRECEDENTED in world history, the proletarian cultural revolution begun and led by our great leader Chairman Mao is a revolution which vitally affects the destiny of China and the entire world. In a year and a half of stirring struggle, it has steadily won the hearts of revolutionary people everywhere.

What have its major achievements been so far? How will it develop this year? These are questions with which our readers are deeply concerned.

### Destroy the Bourgeois Headquarters!

This great revolution was begun to overthrow the handful of Party persons in authority taking the

capitalist road, to destroy bourgeois thinking and establish the ascendancy of Mao Tse-tung's thought, to remould man's world outlook and dig up the roots of revisionism, and finally to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system.

The main task of the proletarian cultural revolution is to expose, criticize, repudiate and clean out the agents of the bourgeoisie who wormed their way into the apparatus of the proletarian dictatorship, to completely destroy the bourgeois headquarters hidden within the Party. This headquarters has already been thoroughly battered by the proletarian revolutionary masses. The counter-revolutionary front of China's Khrushchov has collapsed and their

dream of restoring capitalism in China has been smashed.

In the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the great historic document issued at the beginning of the cultural revolution, Chairman Mao warned: "Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained



Chairman Mao writes his dazibao; "Bombard the Headquarters". (Oil painting)

together, they had usurped a part of the leadership and controlled to a very great extent the ideological sphere. They had placed their own agents in some departments and areas. Pretending to be enthusiastically working for the dictatorship of the proletariat, they actually practised dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and worked actively to restore capitalism.

Had this extremely harmful bourgeois headquarters not been exposed and thoroughly destroyed, China would inevitably have followed the Soviet Union's path and it would not have taken long for a counter-revolutionary capitalist restoration to occur on a national scale and the whole of China would change its colour.

Our great helmsman Chairman Mao saw the conspiracy clearly and sharply, and stopped the sinister counter-revolutionary hand in time. When the movement of the masses reached a high tide last January, he called on all proletarian revolutionaries to join forces and take the power from the capitalist-roaders back into their own hands. Today, revolutionary

committees or groups to prepare for revolutionary committees have been formed in many provinces, municipalities and departments; leadership is firmly in the hands of the proletariat.

Having won decisive victory, the cultural revolution has entered a new stage. Closely following Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, revolutionary people throughout the country who held different views have united in order to make a deeper and more thorough political, ideological and theoretical criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois headquarters of China's Khrushchov, and thus dig up the roots of revisionism more completely.

In August 1966, during this world-shaking revolution, the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party further established the absolute authority of our great leader Chairman Mao, of Mao Tse-tung's thought and of his proletarian revolutionary line. Comrade Lin Piao, Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms who has consistently defended, practised and promoted Mao Tse-tung's

thought, was made the deputy supreme commander of the Party. This step further consolidated the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao.

#### A Revolution that Touches the Soul

The fundamental aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to deeply revolutionize man's ideology, to dig up the roots of revisionism in the most thorough way, and to consolidate and develop socialism—and this is why we say that it is a revolution that shakes people to the depths of their souls.

To achieve this aim it is necessary to wipe out the old exploiting-class ideology, culture, customs and habits that have been poisoning people for thousands of years, and to create and foster a completely new proletarian ideology and culture, new customs and habits. This is a process of vigorously establishing the supremacy of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The torrent of the proletarian cultural revolution is sweeping away the filth and scum left over from the old society. The people's

enemies, the parasites and vampires of the exploiting classes hiding in dark corners, have been dragged out into broad daylight. In their homes were found old land deeds and property papers, certificates revealing their reactionary connections, even arms and ammunition, all kept in the futile hope of the old regime's return. There has been a cleaning up of all the bad operas, plays and films which opposed the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought and glorified the reactionary morals and ideas of the feudal and bourgeois classes. Reactionary, decadent and demoralizing books and periodicals, music and art have also been swept away. Quantities of new music, dance and theatrical productions radiant with Mao Tse-tung's thought have appeared. Workers, peasants and soldiers are now the masters of Chinese literature and art.

The cultural revolution, in the past year and a half, has produced an unprecedented upsurge in the mass movement to creatively study and apply the writings of Chairman Mao. The number of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*

The publication of the Communiqué of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party brought great joy to the revolutionary masses of the capital. They streamed to the Central Committee to show their support and to answer Chairman Mao's call to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.



as our successors, Khrushchov-type persons, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter."

In response to this call, China's 700 million workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres—the main force of the cultural revolution—rose to battle their class enemies. Using Mao Tse-tung's thought, their most powerful weapon, and fully applying mass democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat—full airing of views, *dazibao* (big-character posters) and big debates—the masses dug out and exposed the

Khrushchov-type persons, big and small.

This bourgeois headquarters was critically dangerous to China's dictatorship of the proletariat. It was made up of a handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road who had sneaked into high-level leading organizations of the Party. They included China's Khrushchov and another top capitalist-roader; the Khrushchov-type careerist and counter-revolutionary double-dealer Tao Chu; and a handful of counter-revolutionaries such as Peng Teh-huai, Peng Chen, Lo Jui-ching, Lu Ting-yi and Yang Shang-kun. Working



Proletarian revolutionaries of Shanghai rally to express their joy at the support Chairman Mao and the Central Committee gave their seizure of power from the capitalist-roaders in the "January Revolution" in 1967.

published in five months of the cultural revolution was over twice the total figure published in the previous 15 years. Hundreds of millions of pamphlets of Chairman Mao's writings and *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* have been issued, and the supply is still far from satisfying the demands of the masses.

In every corner of China today, the first thing people do in the morning is study Chairman Mao's works. Selected quotations from Chairman Mao are read aloud at the beginning of every meeting as a guide for the discussion. Almost everyone in China carries with him a copy of the little red-covered *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. Never in the 18 years since the founding of new China has Mao Tse-tung's thought been so universally and deeply absorbed.

No mass movement in history has been so broad and deep-going as the great proletarian cultural revolution. Everyone, whether in the capital or the border regions, is concerning himself with the

affairs of state. Where families used to chat and gossip, today discussions and debates over questions of the cultural revolution go on. Father and son, brother and sister, husband and wife, even school children and white-haired grandparents debate hotly. And the highest standard for distinguishing between right and wrong in these debates is Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The people's understanding and application of Mao Tse-tung's thinking is reaching a new high, especially in the revolutionary mass criticism that is taking place throughout China. Active participation in criticism meetings and the writing of *dazibao* is giving China's millions of people a more profound understanding of what Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is and what the bourgeois reactionary line is; what the socialist road is and what the capitalist road is; what Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought is and what revisionism is. Today the Chinese people are much more

able to recognize and resist revisionism. China is now building a solid mass base for opposing and preventing revisionism.

In the process of using Mao Tse-tung's thought to change the objective world, the revolutionary masses are also using this sharpest of ideological weapons to make revolution in the depths of their own souls. They work hard to liberate themselves from the influence of "self"—for several thousand years the ideology of the exploiting classes—trying to become people absolutely dedicated to the public good. Communist fighters singlemindedly devoted to the public interest have come to the fore in great numbers—people such as Tsai Yung-hsiang who gave his life to save some Red Guards, and Nien Ssu-wang who was seriously injured preventing a passenger train wreck.

#### Training and Steeling Cadres

An extremely important and necessary achievement of the cultural revolution is the training and



A People's Liberation Army man on guard at the newly-established Heilungkiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee. Pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the P.L.A. firmly supports the proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to seize power.

steeling of staunch successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Millions of Red Guards and other young people took the lead in storming positions held by the class enemy. They have undergone constant tempering in the class struggle and made outstanding contributions. These newborn revolutionaries, future backbone-force of the proletariat, are emerging in huge numbers. Following Chairman Mao's teaching that **"to rebel is justified"**, they have dared to think, speak, act, break through and make revolution, making the most courageous assaults on the handful of capitalist-roaders and their bourgeois reactionary line which opposes and suppresses the masses. They most resolutely defend Mao Tse-tung's thought and his proletarian revolutionary line which believes in the masses, relies on the masses and fully mobilizes the masses. They are the firmest fighters in the battle to eliminate the old ideology, culture, customs and habits and foster the new ideology, culture, customs and

habits. They are the shock force in revolutionary mass criticism, the most courageous in struggling against the "self" in their own minds.

The storm and stress of class struggle has enabled China's young people to develop a much deeper proletarian class consciousness, to learn many valuable lessons which they could not have learned in the classroom, to accumulate a rich experience in struggle and to more firmly grasp Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. Many fine young revolutionaries have been elected to the newborn revolutionary committees where they exercise proletarian political power together with seasoned and tempered veteran revolutionaries. The dream of the imperialists and modern revisionists that the younger generation would bring about a "peaceful evolution" back to capitalism in China has gone up in smoke.

The cultural revolution has also tempered the cadres of the older

generation. In the severe test of this fierce class struggle, the majority of the cadres have been proven good or comparatively good. Many revolutionary cadres have consistently followed Chairman Mao's great strategic plan and won new merits for the people in the struggle to destroy the bourgeois headquarters within the Party. The majority of them have come out of the revolutionary storm cleansed of the political dust that had gathered on them, more steeled and tempered, and with closer and better relations with the masses. After the handful of incorrigible capitalist-roaders have finally been overthrown and weeded out, the ranks of the cadres will be purer, stronger and more vigorous.

#### Splendid Victories

Chairman Mao teaches that **"Revolution is to liberate the forces of production. Revolution is to push the development of the forces of production."** Our 1967 achievements on the economic front again proved this true. In all but a few localities, bumper grain and industrial crop harvests were again reaped. Many crops topped the highest figures in history. By firmly taking hold of revolution, proletarian revolutionaries and the masses of revolutionary workers in industry accelerated production. On the heels of the successful guided missile nuclear weapon test in 1966, China last year exploded her first hydrogen bomb, clear proof of a new high in the development of our industry, science and technology.

Steadily supporting Chairman Mao and his proletarian revolutionary line during the cultural revolution, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has won new and historic merit in the struggle to defend the motherland, safeguard and support the great proletarian cultural revolution, and promote industrial and agricultural production. Men and women of the armed forces have undergone the broadest and best tempering, further revolutionized their ideology, and are continuing to perfect their combat capacity. In the struggle against the handful of capitalist-roaders,

the P.L.A. worked shoulder to shoulder with the local proletarian revolutionaries, continuing to weld the armed forces and the people into a "bastion of iron". The countless shining deeds of the P.L.A. underscore the fact that a people's army armed with the thinking of Mao Tse-tung is the main pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Because the P.L.A. is China's "Great Wall", no imperialist, revisionist or reactionary dares to launch aggression against her; our great proletarian cultural revolution can go on without outside interference.

The class struggle during the cultural revolution has never ceased to be extremely intense and complicated. The handful of enemies now heavily encircled by the masses of the people are far from reconciled to defeat. In a last-ditch fight, they have attempted to shatter the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao with attacks from both the Right and the extreme "Left". Applying the thinking of Mao Tse-tung, the revolutionary masses have exposed and smashed these sabotaging activities too.

Of course, no revolution of such unprecedented scope, in which millions of people take part, is without a price. Nevertheless, as Vice-Chairman Lin Biao pointed out, "In this unprecedented great revolution, our losses are of the smallest while our gains are of the biggest."

#### Great Leader and Helmsman

Why is a country with such a huge population as China, in a sharp and complex class struggle at home and abroad, able to practise such a wide proletarian mass democracy and launch such an unprecedented proletarian cultural revolution? Why has it been able to win such magnificent victories? Fundamentally, this is due to the wise leadership of Chairman Mao, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time, to his high prestige among the people, his invincible thinking which has been absorbed and used by the people, and to the indomitable strength of his proletarian revolutionary line. Chairman Mao's theory, line, principles, methods and policies for continuing revolution under the dictator-

ship of the proletariat are the guide for this proletarian cultural revolution, running through it like a red thread, commanding all that is happening in it.

At every crucial moment, Chairman Mao has made the correct strategic decisions, given wise and timely instructions, and thereby propelled the cultural revolution to new victories and a higher stage.

He opened the cultural revolution with his insistence that criticism be made of a so-called historical play, *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, written in 1961. In reality, the essential aim of this play was to help prepare public opinion for restoring to office counter-revolutionary revisionists who had been dismissed several years before, thereby restoring capitalism. Chairman Mao personally guided the drawing up of the great historic document of the cultural revolution, the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. He gave the decision to publish the country's first Marxist-Leninist *dazibao*, put up in Peking University, thus lighting the fire of the cultural revolution throughout the country. He presided over the Party's Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee and wrote his own *dazibao* of immense historic significance, "Bombard the Headquarters", which called for attack on the bourgeois counter-revolutionary conspiracy. He guided the formulation of the Sixteen Points, the programmatic document for the cultural revolution. With the deepest warmth he supported the high rebel spirit of the newborn Red Guards and eight times reviewed active participants in the cultural revolution, a total of 12 million.

With the magnificent spirit and farsightedness of a true proletarian revolutionary, Chairman Mao supported the struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power from the Party capitalist-roaders in authority, a struggle which first began in Shanghai last January. He gave the militant command to the People's Liberation Army to "support the broad masses of the Left" and entrusted them with the honoured tasks of supporting the Left, helping indus-

trial and agricultural production, exercising military control and giving political and military training to students and faculty. This pushed the movement to a new high.

When thinking harmful to the revolution — such as factionalism, anarchism and "small-group" mentality — appeared in the revolutionary mass organizations, Chairman Mao gave important instructions: "We must be good at guiding the petty-bourgeois thinking in our ranks onto the path of proletarian thinking." After the handful of top Party capitalist-roaders were ferreted out, Chairman Mao drew up a strategic plan of deep and far-reaching significance. It called for launching revolutionary mass criticism, achieving revolutionary great alliances and revolutionary three-in-one combinations, and carrying out the struggle-criticism-transformation campaign\* in every unit.

Last autumn when decisive victory had been achieved in the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao inspected areas of north, central-south and east China and issued another series of extremely important instructions for carrying the revolution through to final victory: Fight self and repudiate revisionism, promote more vigorously revolutionary great alliances and the revolutionary three-in-one combinations, and organize study classes. This most scientific, most comprehensive and most thorough summing up of the cultural revolution provides the most powerful ideological weapon there is and it guarantees victory to the revolution. These instructions are new historic Marxist-Leninist documents. Proletarian revolutionaries, Red Guards and revolutionary cadres responded instantly. Classes to study Mao Tse-tung's thought were organized in factories, schools, government organizations and people's com-

\*This is the campaign to struggle against and overthrow those Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.



A People's Liberation Army man sent to support the Left at the Anshan Iron and Steel Works studies with revolutionary workers Chairman Mao's latest instruction to "Fight self and repudiate revisionism" and pledge to be pathbreakers in the campaign.

munes. "Fight self, repudiate revisionism" is the guideline of these classes, and the invincible thinking of Mao Tse-tung is the weapon used to fight both the "self" in the mind and the handful of capitalist-roaders headed by China's Khrushchov. This is what will ensure final victory in this great proletarian cultural revolution.

#### New Stage of Marxism

In the world's first socialist country, the Soviet Union, usurpation of Party and state leadership from the proletariat by the Khrushchov revisionist clique has led to rapid capitalist restoration through "peaceful evolution", without a single shot being fired! This is the biggest lesson to learn in the world history of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

That a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat could have crumbled from within raises a series of new questions. Do classes, class contradictions and class struggle continue to exist after the dictatorship of the proletariat is established? Do all class struggles under the dictatorship of

the proletariat still centre around the question of the struggle for political power? Do we still have to make revolution? Against whom must we make revolution? How should we carry out the revolution? These are crucial new problems which the international communist movement needs to solve. Earlier great Marxist-Leninists either were not faced with them, died before they could solve them, or failed to solve them.

It is our great leader Chairman Mao who has summed up the world's historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and given full attention to the historical lesson the Soviet Union provides. In a large number of writings and instructions, and especially in the practice of the great proletarian cultural revolution, he has correctly and wisely solved these vital problems. With their solution, Marxism-Leninism has entered a completely new stage in its development. Marxism came into being over a century ago. By the early years of the 20th century, it had developed to the stage of Leninism. In the present era, it has developed to the stage of Mao

Tse-tung's thought — the third great milestone in the history of Marxism.

The victory of China's great proletarian cultural revolution is a tremendous inspiration to the oppressed nations and peoples of the world in their revolutionary struggles. It has won the warm praise and support of revolutionary peoples everywhere. Imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre and all reactionaries are mortally afraid of China's cultural revolution. To cover up their intense fear, they continue desperately to slander and vilify the cultural revolution. Nevertheless, their slanders and abuses have all failed.

The 700 million Chinese people move into the year 1968 determined and confident of still greater victories. Their great proletarian cultural revolution concerns the destiny of mankind. Marching along the course charted by our great helmsman Chairman Mao, undeterred by difficulties, they will carry it through to the end.