



**THE GREAT
SOCIALIST
CULTURAL
REVOLUTION
IN CHINA**

(6)

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING

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A NEW STAGE OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN CHINA

— Editorial of the *People's Daily (Renmin Ribao)* of July 17, 1966 —

The great proletarian cultural revolution which is now unfolding has pushed China's socialist revolution to a new stage, an even deeper and broader stage.

The movements in 1952 against three evils [corruption, waste and bureaucracy] and against five evils [bribery of government workers, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing economic information for private speculation] marked the first stage after the founding of the People's Republic of China in the great struggle waged by the proletariat under the leadership of the Party against the bourgeoisie and its representatives within and outside the Party. The characteristic of the struggle in this stage was the exposure before the broad masses of the true colours of the reactionaries among the bourgeoisie who, in order to enrich themselves, stole state property by every conceivable means and did not hesitate to reduce tens of millions of people to poverty and ruin.

On the basis of the struggles against the three evils and five evils, and on the basis of the realization of agricultural co-operation, the Party carried out comparatively smoothly the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, that is, the transformation of the capitalist ownership of the means of production. This was the second stage of the struggle.

The third stage was the struggle launched by the Party against the bourgeois Rightists in 1957. This struggle smashed

the scheme of the bourgeois Rightists to usurp state leadership, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, exercise what they called "ruling in turn", and establish a counter-revolutionary dictatorship.

After the anti-Rightist struggle of 1957, the bourgeois Rightists resorted to more covert methods, waiting for an opportune moment to go into action again. During the period of China's temporary economic difficulties, they colluded with the Right opportunists in the Party to oppose the Party's general line for building socialism, the big leap forward and the people's commune, and tried to bring about a "great reversal" — the restoration of capitalism in the cities and countryside. The struggle against Right opportunism waged by the Party and the series of policies and measures adopted by the Party in defence of the Party's general line and the socialist system thwarted the attempt of the bourgeois Rightists and their representatives within and outside the Party, and enabled China's national economy, culture and education to make further progress. This was the fourth stage of the struggle.

The fifth stage of the struggle started with the socialist education movement initiated by the Party in 1963 and has continued into the great proletarian cultural revolution which was launched recently at the great call of the Party. This great proletarian cultural revolution has just begun, but it has already shown its great, profound and far-reaching significance.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, proletarian ideology, proletarian academic work, and proletarian literature and art have entered the cultural field on a broad scale. In the early post-liberation days, we provided work for all the old bourgeois intellectuals except those who openly opposed the revolution. The Party's policy is to let them work for the motherland and, in the course of this, gradually remould their bourgeois world outlook until they accept the world outlook of the proletariat. The bourgeois world out-

look, however, is deep-rooted among the intellectuals from the old society. They are linked to the foundation of the old society in a hundred and one ways. For them to accept the world outlook of the proletariat means completely changing every thought in their heads, which is very painful and very difficult.

Before the world outlook of the proletariat takes command in the minds of the old intellectuals, the world outlook and the old ideology and habits of the bourgeoisie that are still there will continue to function, always tending to manifest themselves stubbornly in political life and in other aspects, and always striving to spread their influence. They always seek to transform the world according to the world outlook of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie.

With the overthrow of the reactionary regime and abolition of ownership by the landlord class and the bourgeoisie, the reactionary elements of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie pin their hope for restoration on the struggle in the ideological field. They try to enslave and bewitch the masses with the old ideology and habits of the exploiting classes in order to restore the landlord class and the bourgeoisie.

In the final analysis, therefore, the struggle between the world outlook of the proletariat and the world outlook of the bourgeoisie is in fact a struggle between the socialist system on the one hand and all systems of exploitation on the other, a struggle for leadership between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a struggle between the efforts to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the efforts to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

A decade ago, Comrade Mao Tse-tung wisely pointed out:

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.

The great proletarian cultural revolution aims precisely at solving, step by step, the question raised by Comrade Mao Tse-tung of who will win out in the ideological field, by relying on the political consciousness of the masses and on the method of the masses educating themselves.

The more victories we win on all fronts of socialism and the more our socialist cause develops and is consolidated, the more prominently the contradictions and conflicts between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the ideological field stand out. That is why we have made the great proletarian cultural revolution an important item on our agenda at this time. This is an objective law. It is impossible to avoid this kind of contradiction and conflict. To win final victory, the proletariat must, at all times, mercilessly counter any challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field.

All things are in the process of contradiction, struggle and change. The essential point of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, is to criticize, to struggle and to make revolution. Struggle is life. If you do not struggle against the opposing forces, they will struggle against you. One ceases to be a Marxist-Leninist if one loses one's revolutionary vigilance and does not wage a resolute struggle against the class enemy and alien class elements.

In the course of this great proletarian cultural revolution, all Communists, all revolutionary cadres, and all those who stand for the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat must raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, make great efforts to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, grasp proletarian ideology still better, develop communist ideas, raise communist consciousness and establish a lofty communist aim. We must

not stand still and cease to make progress, but must be good at learning and drawing lessons through struggle. In this way, we shall be able to advance invincibly in this new stage of socialist revolution.

THE SUNLIGHT OF THE PARTY ILLUMINATES THE ROAD OF THE GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION

— Editorial of the *People's Daily* of June 24, 1966 —

Under the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the current great proletarian cultural revolution in our country, a revolution without parallel in history, is advancing step by step to victory.

Chairman Mao has said: "The force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party."

It is only under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party that the Chinese people can be victorious in all their undertakings and struggles.

The victory of the democratic revolution which toppled the "three great mountains"¹ was won under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

All the great achievements in the socialist revolution and socialist construction have been brought about under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

Likewise, only under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party can the great proletarian cultural revolution triumph.

In short, without the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party it is absolutely impossible — a sheer illusion — for our country to become prosperous, rich and strong and establish the great socialist system free from exploitation of man by man.

¹Imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. — *Tr.*

Our Party has the great and invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung as the ideological basis for the unity of the whole Party and for the revolution, and it has the firm and powerful leadership of its Central Committee with Chairman Mao at the centre.

Our Party is built in accordance with Chairman Mao's ideas on Party building and his revolutionary style; it is a proletarian revolutionary Party that integrates theory with practice, closely links itself with the masses and has the spirit of self-criticism.

Our Party has developed, grown and been consolidated in the course of struggle against powerful enemies both at home and abroad and against opportunism of all kinds within the Party, and has gone through the severe tests of protracted revolutionary struggles.

Our Party is one that, guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, has passed through countless hardships almost without equal in world history, skilfully steered clear of hidden shoals in fierce tempests and advanced from victory to victory.

Our Party enjoys the greatest prestige, unshakable prestige, among the people. Our Party represents the highest interests of the proletariat and the broad masses of the working people, and its relationship with the masses of the people is, as Chairman Mao says, like that between fish and water.

Therefore, our Party is worthy of being called a great Party, a glorious Party, a correct Party.

Under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, the great majority of our Party organizations at all levels, and of our Party members and cadres are good and loyal to the proletariat, to the cause of communism, and to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. Although some Party members and Party organizations to one degree or another have shown shortcomings and made mistakes, many of them will be able to rectify these through criticism and self-criticism with the help of the Party and the masses and under their education and supervision.

During the period of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, class struggle is still very acute, and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road is extremely sharp and, furthermore, is protracted. The class struggle and the struggle between the two roads in society are inevitably reflected within our Party. To Marxists this is nothing strange but a normal phenomenon conforming to objective laws.

In our Party there is a handful of anti-Party and anti-socialist representatives of the bourgeoisie. They are class enemies who have sneaked into our ranks or degenerated elements who have been pulled over to the side of the enemy. They usurped leadership in a number of units and departments. Such things have happened in the past, they have been found to exist now and they may occur again in the future. The fact that the Party can arouse the masses to uncover them, dismiss such people from office, strip them of their power and resolutely remove them from our ranks testifies to the strong militancy, the unity and the solidarity of our Party.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a revolution against the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes. As Chairman Mao has said, this is a great revolution that touches the people to their very souls. This great cultural revolution is a sharp class struggle not only in society; within the Party, it is bound to encounter resistance from those who have not joined the Party ideologically but cling stubbornly to bourgeois ideas.

For every member of society, one's attitude towards the great cultural revolution is a touchstone to show whether one supports the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system.

Every Party organization and every Party member will be tested in this great cultural revolution.

The leadership of the Chinese Communist Party armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought is the fundamental guarantee for victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Only with the correct leadership of the Party can the great cultural revolution take the correct direction, the revolutionary people see and think clearly and the movement develop in a healthy way.

Correct leadership by the Party means being good at following the mass line of "from the masses and to the masses", being good at consulting the masses, listening attentively to their opinions, distinguishing right from wrong and dealing with different things in different ways.

Correct leadership by the Party means relying on the resolute proletarian revolutionaries, expanding the ranks of the Left, winning over the greatest majority, isolating and dividing the minority and dealing blows with concentrated force against the diehard anti-Party and anti-socialist counter-revolutionary elements, who account for only a few per cent.

Correct leadership by the Party means constantly raising the proletarian political consciousness of the masses, adopting for the great majority the policy of unity-criticism-unity¹ and, through the movement, in the end uniting over 95 per cent of the people, including those Party members and non-Party people who have committed mistakes but are willing to correct them and admit the error of their ways.

All good Party members, good functionaries and good Party organizations should courageously take part in this revolution, arm themselves further with Mao Tse-tung's thought and give good leadership to the mass movement of this cultural revolution. They should stand in the van of the movement and among the masses and not be afraid of them or dampen their enthusiasm.

As for some of the leading functionaries in our Party organizations at all levels, so long as they are not anti-Party and anti-socialist, they should come to the battlefield without

¹ This means to start off with a desire for unity and resolve contradictions through criticism or struggle so as to achieve a new unity on a new basis. — *Tr.*

any mental burdens. They should be courageous in self-examination of their shortcomings and mistakes, and openmindedly accept criticism from the masses. They should not become disgruntled and disheartened just because the masses post a few big-character posters and voice some criticisms.

Our Party and the masses of the people are proud of the guidance of the great Mao Tse-tung's thought and are proud of the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung's theory of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the period of socialism is a new development of Marxism-Leninism. It is a revolutionary truth of the proletariat, a truth that has been tested and confirmed again and again. It is the irrefutable science of revolution of the proletariat. This science of proletarian revolution has been developed in the course of the practice of our socialist revolution and socialist construction. It has been developed in the struggle waged by our Party and the Marxist-Leninists of other countries against imperialism and modern revisionism. It has been developed through the serious and painful lesson provided by the Khrushchov clique of the Soviet Union which usurped Party, army and government leadership in that country and led it away from the socialist system and on to the road to the restoration of capitalism.

The class struggle in China's great proletarian cultural revolution and the multitude of facts brought to light in this class struggle have added fresh proof of the correctness of Chairman Mao's theory of classes, class contradictions and class struggle during the period of socialism.

It is in accordance with this theory of Chairman Mao's which reflects the objective laws that we should conduct the struggle in this great cultural revolution and transform people's inner, subjective world and the objective world, so that we can carry out our socialist revolution and socialist construction better and make it possible for our country to achieve the future transition from socialism to communism.

The road of our great proletarian cultural revolution is illuminated by the sunlight of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party.

We shall be invincible provided we resolutely act in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought and the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao, strengthen the Party's correct leadership of the movement and link the leadership of the Party closely with the masses.

In the end all monsters cannot escape being revealed in their true colours by the sunlight of Mao Tse-tung's thought and of the Party. Under this sunlight, under the watchful eyes of millions of awakened masses, no monsters can possibly succeed in their attempts to gain anything by trickery, to reverse right and wrong, to fish in troubled waters, and to create confusion in people's minds. Still more impossible is it for them to slip through and to escape their destined failure.

TRUST THE MASSES, RELY ON THE MASSES

— Editorial of *Red Flag* (Hongqi), No. 9, 1966 —

A mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution is now arising throughout the country. In response to the call of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the revolutionary masses in their tens of millions, with the force of a thunderbolt, have launched a sharp struggle against the anti-Party and anti-socialist representatives of the bourgeoisie. The monsters have been engulfed in the great ocean of the broad masses and been dealt extremely heavy blows.

To carry out this great proletarian cultural revolution by arousing the broad masses and employing the method of mass movement is a great creative act.

A fundamental feature of this great proletarian cultural revolution is this — hundreds of millions of people have risen up and are criticizing the old world.

Chairman Mao tells us: "The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them."

This is a universal truth. It is true of the revolutionary war, it is true of the whole proletarian cause, and, without question, it is also true of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Without a mass movement, there can be no proletarian revolution. Likewise, without a mass movement, there can be no great proletarian cultural revolution.

In the past, our Party relied on the broad masses of the people to wage the revolutionary wars that overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It

was precisely the organized, broad masses of the people led by Chairman Mao who overthrew the old China under the rule of the Kuomintang reactionaries and founded New China under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Today, in carrying out this great proletarian cultural revolution which touches the people to their very souls, our Party must also rely on the broad masses of the people. Whether the gun or the pen is used as the weapon in criticizing the old world, it is necessary to rely on the masses.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is the revolutionary cause of the masses. Throughout its whole course it is necessary to rely on the masses and boldly arouse them. Only by a mass mobilization, an energetic mass movement, the use of big-character posters and a full airing of views and great debates will the great proletarian cultural revolution be able to develop in breadth and depth, will it be able to expose and strike down monsters of all kinds, to really settle the question of who will win in the ideological field — the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, and victoriously fulfil its tasks.

History has proved that the revolutionary masses are the grave-diggers of the reactionary state machine and the reactionary social system. And history will certainly prove the revolutionary masses to be the grave-diggers of all exploiting-class ideology.

An immense enthusiasm for the cultural revolution is to be found among the broad masses of the people. In recent years, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals and, especially, the broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, have achieved great successes in their creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. They have grasped Mao Tse-tung's thought and made good use of his works in class struggle, in the struggle for production and in scientific experiment. In the current great proletarian cultural revolution, too, they are making good use of Chairman Mao's works. They are the true wall of bronze that protects the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are the main force

for destroying the ideological and cultural positions in which the representatives of the bourgeoisie have entrenched themselves. To underestimate this would lead to gross error.

The great proletarian cultural revolutionary movement which has been sweeping ahead magnificently over the past few months has proved:

That the broad masses of the people who have grasped Mao Tse-tung's thought are extremely able when it comes to detecting monsters and seeing through them;

That the broad masses of the people who have grasped Mao Tse-tung's thought fight most effectively against the monsters and deal them most accurate and heavy blows;

That the broad masses of the people who have grasped Mao Tse-tung's thought are most skilled in waging struggles and most skilled in thoroughly repudiating the representatives of the bourgeoisie by citing facts and reasoning things out.

The great proletarian cultural revolutionary movement which has been sweeping ahead magnificently over the past few months has proved:

That the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, is the fundamental guarantee for victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Correct Party leadership means to be skilful at following the mass line and to take the bold arousing of the masses as the fundamental basis of the movement from beginning to end. The inexhaustible strength of our Party stems from its confidence in and reliance on the masses. Confidence in, reliance on and the bold arousing of the masses, and the energetic development of the mass movement, constitute an extremely important policy of our Party in carrying out the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Whether one trusts and relies on the masses and dares to arouse them boldly marks the dividing line between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook and fundamentally differentiates a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party from all revisionist parties. Our Party is strong because it

trusts and relies on the masses and dares to arouse them boldly. Only by marching at the head of the mass movement and arousing the masses fearlessly can the function of leadership be exercised in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Fear of the masses and the mass movement goes against the principle of Party leadership which Chairman Mao has constantly taught us and makes leadership completely out of the question.

Chairman Mao has taught us that, in the great proletarian cultural revolution, it is essential to organize and expand the ranks of the proletarian Left and to rely on them to arouse, unite with and educate the masses.

A resolute proletarian revolutionary Left exists in every part of the country. The overwhelming majority of the members of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Youth League are trustworthy and reliable. Under the correct leadership of the Party, they form the nucleus of the proletarian revolutionary Left.

Those of the proletarian revolutionary Left are the most faithful in following the teachings of the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They are the bravest and the most resolute people in the revolution. They are the most capable of uniting with the majority, and they are able to serve as models in the struggle. They are the vanguard in this great proletarian cultural revolution.

Our Party must rely on the resolute Left in all areas and all departments. It must not be trammelled by erroneous conventions about rank, working experience and age, but must organize the resolute Left as the backbone of the movement and boldly arouse them to play the role of vanguard in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Only by relying on the resolute Left and by arousing the masses boldly will it be possible truly to implement the instructions of Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee and distinguish genuine revolutionaries from sham ones, and revolutionaries from counter-revolutionaries. Only

in this way will it be possible to lead the great proletarian cultural revolution and enable it to develop in a healthy way.

According to Chairman Mao's teachings, it is a fundamental principle of the Party's method of leadership that the leadership should be combined with the masses. This principle must also be persistently adhered to in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The mass line is the fundamental line of the Party in all work. The masses of the people are the source of strength in all of our revolutionary work. By relying on the masses of the people, we can overcome all difficulties, triumph over all enemies, and do all our work well. Once divorced from the masses, we shall become like water without a source, a tree without roots, and we shall accomplish nothing. Chairman Mao has said:

Every comrade must be helped to understand that as long as we rely on the people, believe firmly in the inexhaustible creative power of the masses and hence trust and identify ourselves with them, we can surmount any difficulty, and no enemy can crush us while we can crush any enemy.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, trust the masses, rely on them, boldly arouse them and be at one with them, so as to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

FROM THE MASSES, TO THE MASSES

— Editorial of the *People's Daily* of July 21, 1966 —

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "In all the practical work of our Party, all correct leadership is necessarily 'from the masses, to the masses'." This also holds good for the work of the proletarian cultural revolution.

Wherever a unit has done its work well in the movement of the cultural revolution, it is because the leaders there, acting on the teachings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, have marched in the van of the movement, boldly aroused the masses, boldly encouraged them to put up big-character posters, air their opinions without reservation and hold great debates, and led them into the battle to sweep away all the ghosts and monsters.

Such good leaders have been able to serve first as the pupils of the masses before they serve as their teachers.

They have been able to listen, observe, and think a good deal and pay a good deal of attention to the views of the masses.

They have dared to "draw fire" on themselves by calling for exposure and criticism of their shortcomings and mistakes in their work.

They welcomed the big-character posters put up by the masses that expose and criticize them, and thus showed a fine communist style.

In this way, they have won the confidence of the masses, and, in their work, gained the initiative, the right to speak out and the right to lead; therefore they are able to guide the movement successfully.

But some other people occupying leading posts in their units have not been acting like this, but rather like the proverbial

Lord Sheh who claimed to be fond of dragons but in fact was mortally afraid of them. They have talked about the mass line but they took fright as soon as the masses were really roused. They are afraid of many things, fearing that they themselves will be caught in the revolutionary flames lit by the masses and that the masses will seize on their shortcomings and mistakes. In fact, so long as comrades who have committed ordinary mistakes dare to take their shortcomings and mistakes seriously, are sincere and earnest in their self-criticism, modestly accept the criticism of the masses, and show by deeds their determination and willingness to correct their mistakes, the masses will understand and excuse them and will welcome them doing so.

Then there are a handful of other people who have adopted the attitude of bureaucratic overlords towards the masses and placed themselves above the masses. They utterly refused to listen to the opinions of the masses. When the masses put out a few big-character posters criticizing them, they could not bear it. They even sought various pretexts to suppress the mass movement and retaliate against the masses in revenge. Acting in this way, they cannot lead the cultural revolution and cannot muddle on any longer. In consequence, the masses will discard them.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "All our cadres, whatever their rank, are servants of the people, and whatever we do is to serve the people."

It is absolutely impermissible for Communist Party members to take the attitude of bourgeois overlords towards the masses. The great proletarian cultural revolution is precisely a revolution against bourgeois overlords. If a Communist does not learn modestly from the masses but adopts the attitude of a bureaucrat towards them, in what sense is he a Communist? This is absolutely contrary to the Communist Party style of work, it is the Kuomintang style of work.

Back in Yen-an Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that it was necessary to distinguish between the Communist Party's style

of work and that of the Kuomintang. Our Communist Party style is to have close links with the masses, learn from them and wholeheartedly serve the people, and, just as we wash our faces or sweep the floor every day, to undertake constant self-criticism of our own shortcomings and mistakes. The Kuomintang style is to divorce oneself from the masses, lord it over them and bully them.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said that Communist Party members absolutely cannot retain the Kuomintang style of work and preserve the dust of bureaucratism and warlordism.

The overwhelming majority of the Communist Party members are able to draw the distinction between the Communist Party style of work and the Kuomintang style of work. However, some are able to do so only at certain times and not at others, or only on some questions and not on others. It is a most dangerous thing for a Communist Party member to be unable to see the line that divides the Communist Party style from that of the Kuomintang, for he will find himself standing on the wrong side of the line and in opposition to the revolutionary mass movement.

The road of revolution is never straight and smooth; it always has twists and turns and ups and downs. It is inevitable that certain shortcomings and mistakes and twists and turns should appear in the course of the movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution—a revolution that touches people to their very souls, an extremely sharp, complex and deep-going class struggle. What matters is that we should spare no efforts to do a still better job in leading the movement, ensure the movement to develop in a still healthier way, and strive to make fewer mistakes and have fewer twists.

Can the movement be led in a better way? Certainly it can. This calls for the thorough implementation of the Party's mass line put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the persistent carrying out of the line of boldly mobilizing the masses.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is developing with such speed and force that many people find themselves insufficiently prepared mentally. Every Communist Party member must be tested in this great revolution, in the flame of the mass struggles. They must prove by their actions that they are the faithful servants of the masses, and that they really take Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings as the supreme guide in all their actions.

BE A PUPIL OF THE MASSES BEFORE YOU BECOME A TEACHER OF THE MASSES

— Editorial of the *People's Daily* of July 29, 1966 —

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "It is my wish to go on being a pupil, learning from the masses, together with all other Party comrades." This attitude of our great leader Chairman Mao of learning modestly from the masses is an example to all of us Communist Party members.

All those whose work is to provide leadership for the proletarian cultural revolutionary movement must look up to the masses as their teachers, seek their advice and be their pupils. All those who act accordingly will find the situation clear, their determination strong, their method correct, and the masses more fully aroused and the movement more soundly developed.

Failure to be first of all a pupil of the masses and setting oneself up as an "imperial envoy", noisily spouting opinions, subjectively setting the keynote and deciding on taboos "the moment he alights from the official carriage", will only bind the masses hand and foot and be harmful to their enthusiasm.

Failure to be first of all a pupil of the masses and shutting oneself up in a small room, issuing orders right and left, will only blur one's sight and make it impossible to tell right from wrong, to distinguish between the enemy and ourselves, and to take a firm hold of vital questions.

Anyone who acts like this cannot correctly lead the movement and instead will hinder it. Therefore, every member of the Communist Party must follow Comrade Mao Tse-tung's

teaching, "shedding the ugly mantle of pretentiousness and becoming a willing pupil".

To be a pupil of the masses, one must be full of revolutionary zeal, direct one's eyes downwards and respectfully seek their advice. We must do as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has often said: We should never pretend to know what we don't know, and we should "not feel ashamed to ask and learn from people below". One must be first of all a pupil of the masses before one becomes a teacher of the masses. Whether one is able to do this is not just a matter of an ordinary method of work but is a question of basic class stand and basic attitude, a question of the world outlook of a revolutionary.

In the course of this great cultural revolutionary movement, we must first and foremost learn from Comrade Mao Tse-tung's mass standpoint. There are many comrades who recognize the masses of the people as the makers of history in words, but forget about it and do not acknowledge it when it comes to practical work. To grasp Comrade Mao Tse-tung's idea on this point involves a complete change in one's own thinking. This in itself represents a great revolution in the mind.

To be a pupil of the masses and to learn modestly from the masses means not just listening to the views of some people; it means listening to views from all quarters and of all sorts. It means listening to the views of the majority and those of the minority as well.

To be a pupil of the masses and to learn modestly from the masses means not just listening to views that agree with yours; it means also listening to those views that oppose yours. Generally speaking, it is easy to hear assenting views and rather difficult to hear dissenting views. But it is usually essential to hear contrary views in order to form a balanced judgment of a situation.

To learn from the masses, one needs not only to listen and look around more but also to think and exercise the mind more. In other words, we must take Mao Tse-tung's thought

as the guide to analyse the diversified data and views provided by the masses, discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside, and reconstruct, sort out and improve on such data and views in order to discover problems and come to grips with the essence of things. In doing so, we can concentrate the hitherto scattered views of the masses and turn them into well-thought-out, systematic and correct views of the leadership before taking them back to the masses for translation into action.

We must realize that the practice of the masses provides the only basis on which our Party formulates its policies and the only criterion by which such policies can be assessed. Divorce ourselves from the masses and we can achieve nothing.

New problems constantly arise and new things constantly emerge during the great proletarian cultural revolution. Only if the Party organizations and the leadership at all levels become pupils of the masses from first to last can they at all times stand in the forefront of the mass movement and lead it forward in the direction pointed out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

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