

Never Forget the Class Struggle

Following is a translation of a "Jiefangjun Bao" (Liberation Army Daily) editorial of May 4.—Ed.

THE publication of our editorial *Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thinking; Actively Participate in the Great Socialist Cultural Revolution* (see *Peking Review*, No. 18, 1966) has evoked great response both in and outside of our People's Liberation Army. The broad masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers and revolutionary cadres, showing a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm, have sent in a steady flow of articles and letters; they are actively participating in the struggle and voicing their great indignation against the anti-Party, anti-socialist black line in the cultural field. They understand that the current great polemic on the cultural front is definitely not a question concerning only a few articles, plays and films; nor is it merely an academic debate. It is an extremely sharp class struggle. It is a struggle to defend Mao Tse-tung's thinking, a struggle on a cardinal issue of principle. It is an acute, protracted struggle on the question of "who will win" in the realm of ideology, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie.

We must make great efforts to uphold proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology in academic work, education, journalism, art and literature and other spheres of culture. This is a crucial question affecting the deepening of our country's socialist revolution at the present stage, a question concerning the overall situation, and an issue of prime importance affecting the destiny and future of our Party and state, as well as the world revolution.

None of us revolutionary fighters should take an indifferent attitude in this struggle. In response to the call of the Party, we must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, take an active part in this class struggle and resolutely carry this great socialist cultural revolution through to the very end.

CHAIRMAN Mao Tse-tung teaches us: classes and class struggle continue to exist in socialist society, and the struggle still goes on between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism. The socialist revolution on the economic front (in the ownership of the means of production) by itself is insufficient and cannot be consolidated. There must also be a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. A very long period of time is needed to decide "who will win"

in the struggle between socialism and capitalism in the political and ideological fields. Several decades won't be enough; anywhere from one to several centuries will be required for success.

Chairman Mao's statement has been borne out by the facts. Has there ever been a year, a month or even a day in the more than 16 years since liberation when the class struggle on the cultural front did not exist?

There was, for instance, the criticism of the film *The Life of Wu Hsun* in 1951; the criticism of *Studies on the "Dream of the Red Chamber"* in 1954 and later the criticism of the reactionary ideas of Hu Shih; the criticism of Hu Feng and the struggle against the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique in 1955; the counter-attack against the frenzied onslaught by the bourgeois Rightist forces on the cultural front in 1957; the mushrooming of bourgeois and revisionist poisonous weeds in cinema and drama and in literature since 1959 and our struggle against them; the criticism of Yang Hsien-chen's concept of "two combining into one" in 1964 and the current great polemic which, begun with the criticism of Wu Han's *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, is now being carried to a greater depth, etc. One struggle follows another, each more profound than the previous. After this black line is uprooted, another may appear in the future and a new struggle will have to be waged.

This shows that class struggle is inevitable; it is independent of man's will. The bourgeois nature of the anti-Party, anti-socialist elements is bound to show itself in a hundred and one ways and it is impossible for them to prevent it showing. These people give verbal support to socialism, but in reality they are wedded to capitalism and cling to the corpse of the bourgeoisie. They harbour a hostility towards the dictatorship of the proletariat and have a deep-seated hatred and resentment for the Party and socialism. Whenever it is opportune they will give vent to such feelings and whenever some wind stirs the grass, they will let them loose. After being exposed again and again, criticized and dealt blows by the broad masses, they have turned to more covert, insidious, roundabout and zigzag tactics to continue their attack against the Party and socialism.

The noteworthy thing is that in the present new situation of class struggle, the offensives launched against us by the handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist elements have new characteristics. They are waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag, and donning the

cloak of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking to oppose Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

Taking advantage of the functions and powers given them by the Party and Government, they have put under their absolute control some departments and units, refusing the leadership of the Party and carrying out anti-Party, anti-socialist criminal activities through the instruments in their hands.

These people are mostly so-called "authorities"; and they are rather "well known" in society. Those who don't know the truth still look at them with blind faith. They think that they still possess the capital to have a trial of strength with the proletariat and do their utmost to hold on to the stubborn stronghold of bourgeois ideology. Their anti-Party, anti-socialist activities are not isolated, accidental phenomena. They are in tune with the international anti-China chorus raised by the imperialists, modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries, in conformity with the activities of the overthrown reactionary classes within the country to attempt a restoration, and in co-ordination with the anti-Party activities of the Right opportunist elements within the Party. Their anti-Party, anti-socialist activities are to a certain extent deceptive and are extremely harmful. Our struggle against them is a life-and-death struggle. We must understand this clearly and maintain a high level of vigilance. As for those who have written a number of bad works but who are one with the Party and socialism, their shortcomings and errors can be rectified in the course of practice. There should be a strict differentiation of those comrades from the handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist elements.

LONG before our nationwide victory, Chairman Mao Tse-tung had warned us: "After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us; we must never regard these enemies lightly. If we do not now raise and understand the problem in this way, we shall commit very grave mistakes."

Invariably capitalism is restored either by violent means or by "peaceful evolution" or by a combination of both. U.S. imperialism and the other class enemies at home and abroad not only try to overthrow us by violence, but also attempt to conquer us by "peaceful evolution," by the use of "sugar-coated bullets." In a hundred and one ways, they are spreading reactionary political and ideological viruses and the bourgeois way of life in an attempt to corrupt and demoralize the Communists, the proletariat and the other revolutionary people, hoping that some weak-minded persons in our ranks degenerate into bourgeois elements and that socialism gradually regresses to capitalism. The fact that the Soviet Union, the first great socialist country, which was founded by Lenin and born amid the roar of the guns of the October Revolution, has been going down the road of capitalist restoration through a process of "peaceful evolution" under the control and manipula-

tion of a handful of revisionists who have usurped the leadership of the Party and state, is indeed a tremendous lesson.

CHAIRMAN Mao Tse-tung has taught us: "Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country. These movements are a sure guarantee that Communists will be free from bureaucracy and immune against revisionism and dogmatism, and will for ever remain invincible. They are a reliable guarantee that the proletariat will be able to unite with the broad working masses and realize a democratic dictatorship. If, in the absence of these movements, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and ogres of all kinds were allowed to crawl out, while our cadres were to shut their eyes to all this and in many cases fail even to differentiate between the enemy and ourselves but were to collaborate with the enemy and become corrupted and demoralized, if our cadres were thus dragged into the enemy camp or the enemy were able to sneak into our ranks, and if many of our workers, peasants, and intellectuals were left defenceless against both the soft and the hard tactics of the enemy, then it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour."

We must keep firmly in our minds this teaching of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and never forget the class struggle during the period of socialism; we must never ignore the battle against the enemies without guns.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has taught us: "Any given culture (as an ideological form) is a reflection of the politics and economics of a given society, and the former in turn has a tremendous influence and effect upon the latter" and "a cultural revolution is the ideological reflection of the political and economic revolution and is in their service." Again, he said: "... while we recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental and social being determines social consciousness, we also — and indeed must — recognize the reaction of mental on material things, of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base."

In the 16 years since liberation, the economic base of socialism and the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat have been established in China and are growing stronger with each passing day. The socialist revolution on the economic and political fronts is crowned with great victory. However, the political viewpoint and ideology of the overthrown bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes still have immense influence. They not only impede the development of the economic base of socialism but also try to use bourgeois

and revisionist culture to advocate the restoration of capitalism and pave the way for it.

The question of "who will win" in the ideological sphere is far from settled. We must pay great attention to the reaction of the superstructure on the economic base and to the class struggle in the ideological sphere. The victory of the socialist revolution on the economic and political fronts cannot be consolidated without the victory of the socialist revolution in the ideological sphere.

We must never think that the frenzied attack launched against us by this handful of revisionist and bourgeois elements is merely a "scholar's rebellion" which will amount to nothing big. We must never regard our struggle against them as only "paper polemics" that has no effect on the overall situation. In fact, every counter-revolutionary restoration starts in the realm of the mind—including ideology, the superstructure, theoretical and academic work, literature and art—so as to win over public opinion. This was the way Khrushchov revisionism usurped the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party. Likewise, in Hungary in 1956, it was a number of revisionist and bourgeois writers, artists and intellectuals who organized the Petofi Club and acted as the shock force in the counter-revolutionary riots. The present furious attacks against the Party and against socialism by a handful of revisionist and bourgeois elements in our country constitute their vain attempt to realize their dream of restoring capitalism. If we are not vigilant against these enemies without guns, do not counter-attack resolutely, give bourgeois ideas free rein and allow their plots to be carried out, we will face the danger that the foundations of our socialism will be undermined and our country will change its colour.

THE Chinese People's Liberation Army is an army of workers and peasants created and led by the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung; it is the mainstay of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defender of the cause of socialism. We must keep close watch on the enemies with guns and be always ready to defeat armed attacks by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys; at the same time we must be highly vigilant against the enemies without guns and resolutely crush the bourgeoisie's criminal plots against the Party and against socialism. The cadres and men of our P.L.A. should not only be brave soldiers charging against enemy fire on the battlefield but they should also be staunch proletarian fighters against "sugar-coated bullets" on the political and ideological fronts. We must follow Chairman Mao's instructions, fully recognize the protracted, tortuous and complex nature of class struggle in the period of socialism and never forget class struggle. We must arm our minds with Mao Tse-tung's thinking and observe, analyse and deal with everything from the viewpoint of class struggle and with the method of class analysis. We must criticize erroneous things, uproot poisonous weeds and strike down ogres of all kinds whenever we see them; we must never allow them to run wild and incite and create trouble.

Comrade Lin Piao's directive on putting politics first is precisely based upon Chairman Mao's theory on the existence of classes and class struggle in socialist society. Politics is the struggle of class against class. To put politics first means that we must put proletarian politics first, take Mao Tse-tung's thinking as the guide and class struggle as the key link, and wage the struggle to foster proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology. Our armed forces do not live in a vacuum. Through various channels, class struggles in society will inevitably be reflected in our armed forces and in the mind of each of us. We must never underestimate the influence on us of the class struggle in the ideological sphere. Good works of literature and art and good articles can help raise our political consciousness and heighten our fighting will. But bad films, plays, novels and articles, if we do not examine them, boycott them and repudiate them, will poison and gradually change our minds, and lead us on to the wrong track. Historical experience proves that any enemy, however ferocious and whatever his tricks, is not to be feared. What is fearful is that we ourselves may lack vigilance, and let our minds be disarmed. The present great socialist cultural revolution is a most vivid, most practical education in class struggle and is also a test for every cadre and man in the P.L.A. politically and ideologically. Every comrade must closely follow and pay careful attention to the present development of the great cultural revolution with a high sense of political responsibility and great revolutionary fervor, and actively join this great struggle to get himself tempered, educated, remoulded and make himself more politically conscious through the process.

Mao Tse-tung's era is the era in which workers, peasants and soldiers master Marxist-Leninist theory. They are demonstrating their role as the main force in this great socialist cultural revolution. Although the "scholars," "specialists" and "professors" who oppose the Party and socialism don all sorts of cloaks, make grand gestures and deliberately turn simple things into mysteries, they can neither daunt us nor mislead us. We have the invincible weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and ardent hearts loyal to the Party, to socialism and to Mao Tse-tung's thinking. Truth is with us. The cadres and men of our P.L.A. have a firm and clear-cut political stand, their political awareness is sharp and their eyes are clear-sighted. They can distinguish between the enemy and ourselves and between right and wrong. Provided we make efforts to study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively, arm ourselves with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, dare to despise the so-called "authority" of the revisionist and bourgeois elements and dispel blind faith in them, we will certainly be able to see the true features of these ogres and monsters and expose them to the light of day. Let us hold ever higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, resolutely shatter the anti-Party, anti-socialist black line of the bourgeoisie and of revisionism, and carry the great socialist cultural revolution through to the end!