You must concern yourselves with state affairs and carry the

great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

## MAO TSE-TUNG

## Ushering in the All-Round Victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

The Editorial for New Year's Day 1968 in Renmin Ribao, Hongqi, and Jiefangjun Bao

THE glorious, radiant year of 1968 has arrived.

The east is red, the sun rises. On the threshold of the new year, the hundreds of millions of armymen and civilians throughout the country, with infinitely deep class feeling heartily wish our great teacher Chairman Mao a long, long life!

Guided with genius by our great leader Chairman Mao, the great proletarian cultural revolution, the first of its kind in human history, won decisive victory in 1967. Now, directed by the series of his latest instructions, the great struggle has begun to win all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The great proletarian cultural revolution today is in excellent shape. The unprecedentedly extensive and penetrating revolutionary mass movement is continuing to forge ahead along the course charted by Chairman Mao. The revolutionary campaign of mass criticism is unfolding further on all fronts, and numerous counter-revolutionary crimes of China's Khrushchov and the handful of other top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road have been exposed by the masses of the people. As a result the people are more concretely and clearly seeing the importance of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism.

Revolutionary committees have been and are being established, one after another, at provincial, municipal and autonomous regional levels. Gradually the revolution in education and the struggle-criticism-transformation on different fronts are taking on a new look. The great cultural revolution has given an impetus to the work in all fields. Our successful guided missile and hydrogen bomb tests shook the world. A bumper harvest, unparalleled in history, has been won in agriculture. The whole nation is full of enthusiasm and everywhere there is a vigorous revolutionary atmosphere.

The most important feature in the excellent situation is this: ever since the revolutionary masses became acquainted with the series of latest instructions of our great leader Chairman Mao, there has been an enthusiastic mass movement to earnestly study and resolutely apply these instructions. Spreading like wildfire all over the country, Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes are becoming schools for creatively studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's thought as well as vast battlegrounds for "fighting self-interest, repudiating revisionism." They are effectively raising the ideological consciousness of the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary masses. The revolutionary great alliances and revolutionary "three-in-one" combinations are going ahead at very much greater speed. The revolution is advancing like a turbulent river, fully confirming the scientific prediction made by Chairman Mao during his inspection tour that "given a few more months, the whole situation will become still better."

In the course of the new year, the whole Party, the whole army, the proletarian revolutionaries throughout the country and all the Chinese people should hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and, taking Chairman Mao's latest instructions as the guiding principle, go all out, aim high, advance from strength to strength and achieve all-round ideological, political, economic and organizational victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

This great strategic objective confronts us with the following fighting tasks:

1. To develop the great mass movement of the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's

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thought still more extensively and deeply. As Vice-Chairman Lin Piao says: "Once Mao Tse-tung's thought is grasped by the broad masses, it becomes an inexhaustible source of strength and a spiritual atom bomb of infinite power." The new year will be one in which hundreds of millions of revolutionary people, taking firm hold of Mao Tse-tung's thought, will wrest tremendous new victories.

Leading comrades at all levels and all the revolutionary organizations should pay special attention to education in Mao Tse-tung's thought, vigorously strengthen ideological-political work, and do a really good job in running all types of Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes. In studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's thought creatively, it is necessary first of all to study and apply well his latest series of extremely important instructions concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution. There must be allround implementation of each and every one of them, so that Chairman Mao's brilliant thinking and concrete policies are directly mastered by the masses of the people and translated into the conscious revolutionary action of hundreds of millions of revolutionary people. This is the most fundamental guarantee of all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Matter turns into consciousness and consciousness into matter. The all-round implementation of Chairman Mao's latest instructions means all-round victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

It is necessary to continue to develop the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style of study which Chairman Mao advocates. It is necessary to apply what we learn from Chairman Mao's works and his latest instructions. We should comprehend them penetratingly, carry them out resolutely, constantly examine and sum up in good time how we are studying and applying them. Whoever departs from Chairman Mao's instructions and runs counter to his strategic plan, whoever thinks himself clever and leaves the correct road for the wrong track, will certainly lose his bearings and make mistakes. All the revolutionary organizations should take Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line as the sole guide for their actions. All statements and actions that run counter to Mao Tse-tung's thought, whether from the Right or the extreme "Left," should be resolutely resisted and opposed. Every proletarian revolutionary fighter should become a model in studying, implementing, propagating and defending Chairman Mao's latest instructions.

2. To continue to develop the revolutionary mass criticism in depth, promote and consolidate the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary "three-inone" combination, and penetratingly carry out the struggle-criticism-transformation in each unit and department.

In the course of the new year, we shall further expose the crimes of China's Khrushchov and of the handful of other top capitalist roaders in the Party and their agents, so that their ugly features and con-

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spiratorial activities will be brought out into the light of day and all their dreams for a come-back will be shattered. Using Mao Tse-tung's thought as our weapon, we should relentlessly and in a variety of forms repudiate the revisionist line and eliminate its pernicious influence in every sphere. This revolutionary mass criticism must be carried forward as a longterm activity and be combined with the various other tasks.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The key to forming the revolutionary 'three-in-one' combination, consolidating the revolutionary great alliance and making a success of struggle-criticism-transformation in each unit is the correct attitude in dealing with cadres, and this question must be solved properly. Through the rectification campaign in Yenan, our Party educated the masses of cadres and united the whole Party, thus ensuring the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation. We must carry forward this tradition." In the coming year, the proletarian revolutionaries should strive to help more revolutionary cadres correctly treat the masses and themselves, and step forward courageously in revolution in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is necessary to develop the revolutionary great alliance, achieve unity against the enemy, oppose unprincipled factional disputes and overcome small group mentality and sectarianism. It is necessary to energetically promote the establishment and consolidation of the revolutionary committees at various levels, uphold their revolutionary authority, help perfect and develop them so that they can give powerful leadership to the revolutionary masses in the fight for the all-round victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Wherever a revolutionary committee has been set up, it should lead the masses in struggle-criticismtransformation in their units. It is necessary to transform education. literature and art, transform office work, administrative work and all parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base. Taking Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line as the guide in such transformation, we should break through the resistance of force of habit, continue to rely on the broad masses and boldly arouse them, give energetic support to the revolutionary activists and support the new things which emerge from among the revolutionary masses. This is a great revolutionary movement and the Party leadership should give first place to proletarian politics, take firm hold of both overall planning and experiment at chosen spots to get experience, and combine general calls with concrete guidance, so that the struggle-criticism-transformation progresses smoothly on all fronts.

**3.** To rectify the Party organization and strengthen the Party building.

Chairman Mao recently instructed us: "The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous and vital organization of vanguards which can lead the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in struggle against

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the class enemy." This is our great programme for rectifying the Party and building the Party.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great rectification movement for the Party. In the coming year we should, in combination with the revolutionary mass criticism and the struggle-criticism-transformation in each unit, make a penetrating study of the history of the struggle between the two lines in the Party over the last few decades, make a penetrating study of Chairman Mao's proletarian line for Party building, thoroughly repudiate the revisionist line of Party building pursued by China's Khrushchov, and purify and rectify the Party organization.

A number of outstanding, advanced proletarian elements who have come forward in the great cultural revolution should be admitted into the Party; the renegades, the secret agents and the diehard capitalistroaders should be purged from the Party. The small number of Party members who made serious mistakes should undertake serious self-criticism.

In the storm of this great proletarian cultural revolution, the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party is becoming purer and stronger, imbued with greater vigour and vitality. With Chairman Mao, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era, as the leader and armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Marxism-Leninism of our era, the Chinese Communist Party will certainly accomplish the great historic mission of carrying forward the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Alongside the rectification of the Party organization, the Communist Youth League, the Red Guards and the various revolutionary mass organizations should be rectified ideologically and organizationally. They should heighten their political consciousness and purify their ranks. They should affirm their achievements, overcome their shortcomings, strengthen their proletarian Party spirit and get rid of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois factionalism.

Whether or not one is able to conquer one's factionalism consciously is an important indication of whether or not one is willing to be a genuine proletarian revolutionary in the new situation. The propaganda, cultural, educational and other departments of the Party and state should take the building of the proletarian class ranks as a task of very great importance.

4. To implement still further Chairman Mao's great call "support the army and cherish the people" and greatly strengthen the unity between armymen and civilians. This is an important guarantee for achieving the all-round victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The great Chinese People's Liberation Army is the main pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the great steel wall defending the socialist motherland, the powerful backing of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Their contribution in the great cultural revolution is tremendous. In the new year they will undertake still more tasks of still greater importance. It is necessary for the revolutionary masses to develop still greater faith in and to rely still more on the People's Liberation Army, support it and cherish it, learn from it and help it. They should be vigilant against the sowing of dissension between armymen and the civilians by bad elements.

It is necessary for the masses of commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army to continue carrying out the series of policies and principles advanced by Vice-Chairman Lin Piao which put the stress on building the army politically, including the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, placing proletarian politics in the fore, persisting in the "four firsts" (see notes on p. 13), fostering the "three-eight" working style (see notes), carrying out democracy in the three main fields (see notes), and campaigning to produce "four-good" companies (see notes). They should also undertake penetrating education on the struggle between the two lines, so as to carry the revolutionization and modernization of our army to a still higher level.

They should respond with enthusiasm to Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's militant call: "Hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and go out to win fresh merit in the great proletarian cultural revolutionary movement." They should do a still better job in their work of helping the Left, helping industry and agriculture, exercising military control and giving political and military training, and do a still better job in their work of cherishing the people. They should keep firmly to the stand of the proletariat, have faith in and rely on the broad revolutionary masses, learn from them and earnestly adhere to the principle of "helping the Left but not any particular faction," and conduct thoroughgoing, conscientious and patient ideological-political work.

All commanders and fighters of the army should redouble their vigilance, strengthen their preparations against war, consolidate the national defences and be ready at all times to smash the war provocations of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, defend the great motherland and defend the great proletarian cultural revolution.

5. To grasp revolution and promote production and other work, and promote preparations against war.

The "16-Point Decision," which was drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance, points out: "The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country. Any idea of counterposing the great cultural revolution to the development of production is incorrect." With the impetus given by the great proletarian cultural revolution, the year 1968 will witness still bigger developments in industry and agriculture. The leadership at all levels must put politics in command and, taking the revolutionization of people's thinking as the point of departure, effec-

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tively take hold of production as a task essential to the seizure of all-round victory. The broad revolutionary masses must practise frugality in carrying out the revolution, protect state property, consciously strengthen labour discipline and firmly resist and repudiate the evil influence of counter-revolutionary economism. A great effort must be made to ensure achievements in transport and communications. The teams which lead production at all levels must be made fully effective and strengthened and a strong nucleus of leadership must be formed rapidly in the important departments of production and scientific research to guarantee a still bigger industrial and agricultural development in 1968.

These are the major tasks now confronting us. Arduous struggle and effort are required to fulfil these glorious tasks.

Chairman Mao says: "All reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct desperate struggles." The handful of renegades and secret agents lurking in our ranks, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road who stubbornly refuse to repent, the ghosts and monsters (i.e., landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, and Rightists who are not yet remoulded sufficiently), and the U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists and their lackeys, will never go to their doom without a struggle: they are bound to continue their rumour-mongering, vilification, dissension-sowing and other methods of sabotage and trouble-making. Even in the excellent situation, some dark corners will remain where the dust will not vanish of itself without the help of the broom and continuous effort will have to be made to ensure that class struggle has full vent. We must remain keenly alive to class struggle, rely on the revolutionary vigilance of the masses of the people and energetically strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In order to ensure the triumphant advance of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must fully arouse the masses, completely search out and deal firmly with the handful of class enemies who are working hectically, behind the scenes or in the open, to undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution, sabotage socialist construction and disrupt peace and order in society.

We must clearly understand that the aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution is not only to overthrow the Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, but also to settle the question of people's world outlook, the question of digging revisionism up by the roots. As the revolution advances, it touches people deeper and deeper to the very core of their being, and the conflict between proletarian devotion to the public interest and bourgeois self-interest becomes increasingly marked. We must conscientiously study and apply the "five constantly read articles" (see notes), ruthlessly fight bourgeois self-interest, foster proletarian devotion to the public interest and remould our world outlook in the heat of class struggle, and learn to handle the contradictions among the people correctly, using the

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method of "unity — criticism and self-criticism unity." This is the only way to follow Chairman Mao closely and become genuine "proletarian revolutionaries who are determined to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end."

The brilliant achievements of China's great proletarian cultural revolution are a tremendous inspiration for all revolutionary people throughout the world and a telling blow to U.S. imperialism, Soviet modern revisionism and their lackeys. The East wind of the Chinese people's great victory has completely prevailed over their slanders and vilification against China's great proletarian cultural revolution. These slanders and vilification have been shown up in all their ignominious bankruptcy. Let these overlords shriek in despair! We shall maintain close unity with all Marxist-Leninists and the masses of the revolutionary people of the world, carry the struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction through to the end and continue the great proletarian cultural revolution until final victory. Under the guidance of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people are bound to win great successes in the new year, which will further inspire and arouse the world.

We the masses of workers and peasants, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, young Red Guard fighters, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals — let us hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, develop the proletarian spirit of thoroughgoing revolution, guard against arrogance and rashness, build solid unity, carry on hard struggle ceaselessly and unremittingly, and, rendering new meritorious service to the motherland and the people, usher in the all-round victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!

Long live the all-round victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

## NOTES

The "four-firsts" are: first place must be given to man in handling the relationship between man and weapons; to political work in handling the relationship between political and other work; to ideological work in relation to routine tasks in political work; and, in ideological work, to the living ideas in a person's mind, as distinguished from ideas in books.

The "three-eight" working style means: a firm, correct political orientation; a plain, hard-working style; flexibility in strategy and tactics; and unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness.

**Democracy in the three main fields** means democracy in the political, economic and military fields.

"Four-good" companies are companies which are good in political and ideological work, in the "three-eight" working style, in military training and in arranging their everyday life.

The "five constantly read articles" are: Serve the People, In Memory of Norman Bethune, The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains, On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party and Combat Liberalism.

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