

CARRY THE GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION TO THE END

[Following is a translation of an editorial, originally entitled "Pursue Remnant Foes with Courage Still Left to Us," in the Chinese-language newspaper Ping-t'uan Chan-pao, Peiping, No. 4, 16 December 1966, p 1.]

The great proletarian cultural revolution, which is unprecedented in history, is raging throughout our extended territory and shaking the whole world!

"In the twinkling of an eye a difficult road has turned into a level one, and we laughingly talk about our handicaps, which have turned out to be floating clouds." As we look back on the movement of the past several months, we see how one high tide has followed another and how we have had one reverse after another, each being the presursor to a high tide. What has been unfurled before our eyes in the last six months has been nothing less than a magnificent revolutionary epic.

"You should be concerned with the great events of the country and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution to the end!" This extremely significant remark of Chairman Mao has illuminated the hearts of the revolutionary people, stirred up the violent struggle between the two lines, and started the ferocious war against the capitalist reactionary line. Not so long ago this bourgeois reactionary line was full of pride and complacency, but it is now subjected to ubiquitous attack. The flames of war are spreading all over the country, and the situation is turning rapidly in our favor.

"We should pursue the remnant foes with the courage still left to us, and we must not merely seek to be conquering heroes in name." Like all revolutionary struggles, the criticism of the capitalist reactionary line must be resolutely car-

ried to the end. To talk peace will not do. To mediate will not do. To compromise will not do. The only way open is to make a hot pursuit and attack fiercely when advantage can be taken of the victory.

At present the bourgeois reactionary line has not yet been subjected to its thorough criticism, but some reactionary elements are still brutally and even more frantically pushing the bourgeois reactionary line. A handful of those in authority in the party taking the bourgeois reactionary line continue to provoke the struggle of the masses against the masses, engage in military struggle, destroy the great proletarian democracy, and even incite some people to make frantic attacks on the headquarters of the proletariat, which is the backbone of the revolutionary masses, and to ridicule and strike at the Sub-Committee on the cultural revolution of the Central Committee. These have been the counterattacks made by the bourgeois reactionary line.

We must resolutely beat back these new counterattacks!

Articles which are "leftist" in form and rightist in fact, leveling criticisms at "couplets," the slogan "Long live the class line of the proletariat," and the slogan "Stand up, those who are naturally red!"--these articles and the tide of social thinking represented by them have been defended by some people, who stand forward with righteous faces and just voices, saying that "those articles cannot be put to death with a single strike," that "those articles cannot be subjected to the same criticism as the addresses of T'an Li-fu (6223 4539 1133)," that "those articles have also played a salutary role once," that "you must not be too right," etc., etc. What impressive words, what a compromising spirit, from almost religious men! In fact they have sadly confused the truth, muddled up things, and sought purely to right the wrongs of the bourgeois reactionary line!

We say that what we criticize is the bourgeois reactionary line, opportunist thinking. The sharper and the more thorough our criticism, the less rightist we can be. The criterion for determining who is right and who is not lies in whether the masses are mobilized. When the reactionary line, which is "leftist" in form but right in fact, is shattered by our criticism and when the masses are mobilized, we are surely left, and not right!

When our criticism is "leftist", of course we cannot be rightist, but we must be opposed to the right. The problem now is that the tide of opportunist thinking in middle schools, which is "leftist" in form but rightist in fact, has not had a

thorough purge, some of the masses still being under the oppression of the multifarious T'ien, who is right and not left! If we have a firm grip on the struggle between the two lines, thoroughly criticize the bourgeois reactionary line, unite and mobilize the broad masses, our orientation cannot be wrong. The principle we should follow is that "not only should we clarify the ideological problem, but fulfill the objective of untangling our comrades."

The struggle between the two lines in the great proletarian cultural revolution is an acute and complicated class struggle based on an objective law, which does not change with the subjective will of the people. In fact this struggle has never ceased and runs through the whole cultural revolution, each step in the criticisms and transformations, and the entire historical period of socialism.

Chairman Mao has warned us: "The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, as the bourgeoisie seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook." As the two world outlooks and the two lines are diametrically opposed in their struggle, it is one or the other that will prevail and that will win. How imperative it is to pursue the bourgeois reactionary line while we are winning and smash it to smithereens! If not, we should turn back halfway and let the reactionary line revive. Fence-sitting is impossible, and there is no middle of the road!

Today, when we have just begun to criticize the reactionary line, which is spreading its poison far and wide and having a strong influence, there are already people who warn us, "Do not incline too far toward the right." This is no mere accident. The bourgeois reactionary line has many tricks up its sleeve. When one formula fails, it can adopt another. When one team of representatives fails, another is ready to take over. With one trick after another, it can deceive the masses and oppress them, and resist and boycott the revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

As long as we cannot overthrow the reactionary line and make it smell on the ideological front, the changing devices of the bourgeois reactionary line will continue to take their effect. For this reason our revolutionary comrades must not relax their fighting spirit.

We must increase our vigilance, to meet the new counter-attacks of the bourgeois reactionary line and give it a hard blow. There are evidences now that this is quite possible, and that a big storm is forming and gathering momentum.

We true Red Guards must stand firm at the side of Chairman Mao. We must vow to defend till death the revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and pursue and annihilate the bourgeois reactionary line, to the very end, to its very roots!

At the same time that we are criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line and transforming its world outlook, we should do our very best to study the three old productions and apply them, and energetically embark on the revolutionization of our thinking. This is our orientation, our attitude, and our standpoint.

Seeing that we are criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line, some people think that we are pointing the spearhead of our struggle toward them, and they make the loud outcry, "You are trying to take revenge!" "You are engaging in a large-scale mass struggle against the masses." Our answer is, "No. Comrades, we are criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line implemented by you, your mistaken thinking. If we engaged in a mass struggle against the masses, would we not repeat your mistake?"

Chairman Mao has taught us thus: "All that we do is for the service of the people. What is there that is no good which we cannot bear to throw away?" We ask those comrades who have and who are still committing mistakes, "What is there that is no good which you cannot bear to throw away?" What is the use of pretending that the back of a tiger cannot be touched? You are doomed to failure, if you insist on the mistaken line and on the policy of deviating from the people and oppressing them.

Only by uniting all the revolutionary masses and thoroughly criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line can the revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao be implemented, full confidence be placed in the masses, and the masses be mobilized and relied on to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution to the end.

Only by overthrowing slavism, reconcilistionism, and eclecticism and exalting the full revolutionary spirit of "pursuing the remnant foes with the courage in us" and "beating down the under-dog" can there be the thorough criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line.

It is a very good thing for revolutionary faculties and students and Red Guards to engage in the struggle of the two lines. It is a rare opportunity for them to train themselves and bring the revolution into reality. As we follow our most

esteemed and beloved leader, Chairman Mao, in swimming in the tempestuous sea of the class struggle, with one huge wave dashing here and one smashing surge swirling there, now and again, the big storm gives us a more thorough training and expedite our growth. During the last six months we have learned the following:

The great cultural revolution is a huge classroom.

Chairman Mao is giving personal lectures to us.

What we learn is about the important affairs of state.

On what do we rely in our criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line? We rely on Mao Tse-tung's thinking. We rely on the arming of the broad masses with the ever-victorious thinking of Mao Tse-tung.

The "three old productions" turned out by Chairman Mao for us contain theories regarding classes and the class struggle, regarding the correct disposition of the people's internal contradictions, and they provide us with the highest standards for distinguishing between right and wrong and between ourselves and our foes. The theories of dialectical materialism and historical materialism developed by Chairman Mao are telescopes and microscopes for our observation of all things. With the ever-victorious thinking of Mao Tse-tung, we can see through phenomena and ascertain essence clearly, scatter the clouds, and gain unobstructed sight. With the ever-victorious thinking of Mao Tse-tung, we can have within our grip the objective laws on the development of things, we can stand up high and see far ahead, we can view the total situation and the future, we can grasp the deep significance and far-reaching influence of this great cultural revolution. With the ever-victorious thinking of Mao Tse-tung, we can press forward bravely and without fear and stand in the forefront of the criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line.

"We should pursue the remnant foes with the courage still left to us, and we must not seek to be conquering heroes in name only."

Revolutionary comrades, let us unite under the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and thoroughly criticize the bourgeois reactionary line! Let us fight with a view to winning new victories!

"We are all the more pleased that after crossing the snowy Min Mountains, our army will show a broad smile." As we forecast the future, we see that a mass struggle of skyrocket-