

Two Diametrically Opposed Documents

FEBRUARY 1966 was an unusual month, a month of intense struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in China. And it was at this time that two diametrically opposed documents appeared in our Party. One was Peng Chen's "Outline Report" and the other "Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces With Which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching."

The "Outline Report" was carefully worked out in Peking between February 3 and 7 by the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique, with the support of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. This outline is a counter-revolutionary programme opposing Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought; it is a programme opposing the

dictatorship of the proletariat and aiming at a restoration of capitalism; and it is an out-and-out revisionist programme.

The "Forum Summary" was written after repeated consideration by comrades who attended the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces and finalized after being personally examined and revised by Chairman Mao three times. The forum, which was held in Shanghai between February 2 and 20, was convened and presided over by Comrade Chiang Ching who was entrusted with the task by Comrade Lin Piao. The "Summary" contrasts sharply with the "Outline Report"; it is an important document aimed to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and to frustrate the restoration of capitalism; it is a Marxist-Leninist

document that holds high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The two documents are two banners, each representing a distinct class. The "Outline Report" is a black banner representing a wild attack by the bourgeoisie on the proletariat, whereas the "Forum Summary" is a red banner representing the general counter-attack launched by the proletariat on the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

The two documents are orders in different categories issued by two headquarters representing different classes. The "Outline Report" is a counter-revolutionary order from the bourgeois headquarters represented by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. It calls on the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and every ghost and monster to undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution, defend the leadership and positions they have usurped in the political, ideological and cultural fields and wage a life-and-death struggle to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. The "Forum Summary" is a revolutionary order from the proletarian headquarters represented by Chairman Mao. It calls on the proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary masses to undertake the great proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose and overthrow the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and charge forward to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The two documents put forward two diametrically opposed orientations for struggle. The "Outline Report" sticks to the bourgeois world outlook. It directs the spearhead of struggle against the revolutionary Left and the revolutionary masses in a vain attempt to attack the Left, disintegrate the revolutionary rank of the Left and protect the representatives of the bourgeoisie within the Party, the revisionists and the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities." It shows bitter hatred for the proletarian revolutionaries, but profound love for the bourgeois Rightists. The "Forum Summary" upholds the proletarian world outlook. It firmly trusts the masses, relies on them and enthusiastically supports and praises their revolutionary actions, and indignantly directs the spearhead of struggle against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the counter-revolutionary, revisionist line. It greatly heightens the morale of the proletariat and crushes the arrogance of the bourgeoisie.

The appearance of the two documents was by no means fortuitous. They are inevitable products of class struggle, products of the struggle between the proletarian revolutionaries and the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the contradiction between two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the contradiction between two roads, the socialist and capitalist, find concentrated expression in the contradiction between the proletariat and the agents of the bourgeoisie within the Party. This is the principal contradiction during the whole period of the dictator-

ship of the proletariat, and is an antagonistic contradiction. The "Forum Summary" and the "Outline Report" are products of this antagonistic contradiction which has reached a critical point.

Between September and October 1965, Chairman Mao suggested that Wu Han who opposes the Party and socialism should be criticized and repudiated. But the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road refused to carry this out and used every means to counter it. The proletarian revolutionaries in Shanghai resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's instruction. Under the direct guidance of Comrade Chiang Ching, Comrade Yao Wen-yuan wrote "On the New Historical Drama *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*," and the publication of this article began in the ideological sphere the criticism and repudiation of Wu Han and other anti-Party, anti-socialist representatives of the bourgeoisie, thus ushering in the stage of preparing public opinion for the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China.

The Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique, under the connivance of and shielded by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, abused its powers, forbade the Peking press to reprint the article by Comrade Yao Wen-yuan, and withheld articles of criticism and repudiation by the proletarian revolutionary Left. They energetically disseminated such nonsense as "the question of Wu Han should be discussed as an academic question" and "everyone is equal before the truth," and did their utmost to cover up the serious political nature of the struggle. They tried in vain to strangle this revolutionary criticism and repudiation that had just started.

On December 21, 1965, Chairman Mao once again pointed out explicitly that "the crux of 'Hai Jui Dismissed From Office' was the question of dismissal from office. The Emperor Chia Ching (of the Ming Dynasty, 1522-1566) dismissed Hai Jui from office. In 1959 we dismissed Peng Teh-huai from office. And Peng Teh-huai is 'Hai Jui' too." This made it clear that "Hai Jui Dismissed From Office," a story about the feudal official Hai Jui, was used by the reactionary bourgeois scholar-tyrant to attack by innuendo the Communist Party and socialism, to reverse the decision on the case of Peng Teh-huai and other Right opportunists. It also showed the political nature of the criticism and repudiation, namely, that it was a struggle against a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

But the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique did all in their power to prevent Chairman Mao's directive on the crux of *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* from being known. They flagrantly resisted this directive, declaring on various occasions that, regarding the criticism of Wu Han, it was impermissible to deal with the heart of the matter, namely, the dismissal of the Right opportunists at the Lushan Meeting in 1959 and the opposition of Wu Han and others to the Party and socialism. They attacked the Left and shielded the Right, in a vain attempt to turn the rev-

olutionary criticism and repudiation to the Right, and divert it into the orbit of what the bourgeoisie called a "purely academic" discussion. The Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique, backed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, issued the "Outline Report" to the whole Party by usurping the name of the Party Central Committee. At that moment they were beside themselves with joy and went wild.

Precisely at that time, Comrade Chiang Ching convened and presided over the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces, held in Shanghai, a task entrusted to her by Comrade Lin Piao. With the attention and personal guidance of Chairman Mao, the important historic document, the "Forum Summary," was drafted and approved for distribution. This historic document hit hard at the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique and more fully armed the proletarian revolutionaries with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Comrade Lin Piao attaches great importance to this "Forum Summary." In his letter to the members of the Standing Committee of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee on March 22, 1966, Comrade Lin Piao states: **This "is an excellent document. It applies Mao Tse-tung's thought to answer many important questions concerning the cultural revolution in the period of socialism. It is of both extremely great practical and far-reaching historic significance."**

In the letter, Comrade Lin Piao states with emphasis: **"The last 16 years have witnessed sharp class struggle on the front of literature and art and the question of who will win out has not yet been settled. If the proletariat does not occupy the positions in literature and art, the bourgeoisie certainly will. This struggle is inevitable. And it represents an extremely broad and deep socialist revolution in the realm of ideology. If things are not done properly, revisionism will prevail. We must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and unswervingly carry this revolution through to the end."** Thus, using Mao Tse-tung's thought, Comrade Lin Piao scientifically sums up the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in the ideological sphere since the founding of the People's Republic of China. The same red thread runs through the "Forum Summary."

The "Summary" goes right to the heart of the matter when it states that in the socialist stage **"there has been a struggle between the two classes and the two lines on the cultural front, that is, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for leadership on this front."** Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, literary and art circles have been **"under the dictatorship of a black anti-Party and anti-socialist line which is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's thought."** **"So long as we do not seize hold of the field of culture, we will inevitably forfeit many positions in this field to the black line, and this is a serious lesson."** We must **"resolutely carry on a great**

socialist revolution on the cultural front and completely eliminate this black line."

That is to say, during the whole historical stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there exists the struggle between the bourgeoisie's attempts at a comeback and the proletariat's efforts to oppose it. It is either the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie or vice versa. We absolutely cannot tolerate the state of affairs of certain places and departments being under the dictatorship of the black anti-Party and anti-socialist line. **Therefore, the mass movement for the great proletarian cultural revolution had to be launched to completely overthrow the handful of persons in authority, big and small, taking the capitalist road who have wormed their way into the Party and into the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the handful of big and small counter-revolutionary revisionists.**

The "Forum Summary" **points out that long-term, arduous efforts are needed to carry the socialist cultural revolution through to the end. "After we are rid of this black line, still others will appear and the struggle must go on. Therefore, this is an arduous, complex and long-term struggle which will take decades, or even centuries. It is a cardinal issue which has a vital bearing on the future of the Chinese revolution and of the world revolution."**

This is thoroughgoing materialism, thoroughgoing dialectics, and thoroughgoing Marxist theory of class struggle. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is necessary to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution many times, in order to prevent the restoration of capitalism. So long as classes and class contradictions exist, class struggle is inevitable, as is the struggle for the seizure of political power. Who will win in the revolution is a question which can be solved only over a very long historical period. Therefore, we must develop the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, and be prepared to wage arduous, long-term struggles, to struggle for decades, for a full hundred years, or even several hundred years, until the socialist revolution is carried through to the end and the transition from socialist to communist society is completed. If we do not understand the problem in this way, if we believe that after one or several great cultural revolutions there will be peace and tranquillity in the country and thus slacken our militancy and lose our vigilance, we might get on to the path of capitalist restoration, just as the Soviet Union has done. We must not in the least lose our vigilance on this question.

The appearance of the "Forum Summary" and the "Outline Report" and the struggle between them marked the dramatic struggle between the Marxist-Leninist line represented by Chairman Mao and the revisionist line represented by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, in the stage of preparing public opinion for the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country. This struggle heralded the coming

of the storm of the great proletarian cultural revolution as well as the bankruptcy of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

In May 1966, the great Marxist-Leninist document — the May 16, 1966 “Circular” of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China — was drawn up under the personal guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao. This document made a penetrating exposure and criticism of the “Outline Report,” shattering the plots of the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique to strangle the great proletarian cultural revolution and bring about a capitalist restoration, and throwing into confusion the battle array of the counter-revolutionary revisionists headed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. This document set forth the theory, line, principles and policies of the great proletarian cultural revolution and sounded the clarion call for its advance. The document advanced the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat to a completely new stage.

On June 1, 1966, Chairman Mao personally wrote the instruction to broadcast to the whole country the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster, which appeared in Peking University, thus issuing the order to launch an all-round offensive against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Since then, the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution has developed throughout the country on a grand and spectacular scale.

Great victories have been scored in the great proletarian cultural revolution over the past year. Earth-shaking changes have taken place in our country. One after another the handful of Party persons in authority

taking the capitalist road have been exposed and completely discredited and overthrown by the masses. The “Outline Report,” along with its authors, the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique, and their behind-the-scenes boss, China’s Khrushchov, have been reduced to total bankruptcy and have been completely defeated. Those sections of Party, government, financial and cultural power usurped by Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are being regained by the proletariat. Under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung’s thought, proletarian revolutionaries have been maturing and their ranks are swelling to forming a mighty proletarian revolutionary army. Chairman Mao’s brilliant theory on making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat has been confirmed and developed in the magnificent practice of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This marks a new stage in the development of Marxism. This is an inestimable contribution made by Chairman Mao to the Chinese people and to the international proletariat.

The “Forum Summary” has now been made public. With the current tasks of the revolutionary struggle in mind, and along with our study of the great, historic document, the “Circular,” Chairman Mao’s *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art* and other documents and directives concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, let us make a serious study of the “Forum Summary,” hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung’s thought, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

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