

It is necessary to regard the study of Mao Tsetung Thought as the most fundamental task in building the party ideologically and in conducting ideological and political education among the masses, and to persistently carry this out.

We must give full play to the role of the contingents of activists in theoretical study and the role of the political evening schools. We must run study classes well and pay attention to summing up and popularizing the advanced experience of the masses in study. We must bring into full play the revolutionary style of study that integrates theory with practice.

The leading cadres at all levels must impose strict demands on themselves and take the lead in studying and applying [Mao Tsetung Thought] and in conducting criticism. They must strive to raise their Marxist level and political awareness, improve their art of leadership and heighten their consciousness in defending and implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

China is the homeland of Mao Tsetung Thought. "ONCE THE CORRECT IDEAS CHARACTERISTIC OF THE ADVANCED CLASS ARE GRASPED BY THE MASSES, THESE IDEAS TURN INTO A MATERIAL FORCE WHICH CHANGES SOCIETY AND CHANGES THE WORLD." We must pass on Mao Tsetung Thought from one generation to another, insure that our nation will never change its political color, and strive to make a still greater contribution to humanity.

#### RED FLAG CALLS FOR CONTINUING MASS CRITICISM

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[Text of an article by the mass criticism groups of Peking and Tsinghua universities: "Take Firm Hold of the Weapon of Revolutionary Mass Criticism and Continue To Fight"-- published in RED FLAG No 10, 1976, and reprinted in 30 September PEOPLE'S DAILY]

[Text] Chairman Mao Tsetung, our most esteemed and beloved great leader and teacher and the greatest Marxist of the contemporary era, has passed away. No words can express the deep sorrow we feel and our profound memory of him. Chairman Mao will live forever in our hearts and radiant Mao Tsetung Thought will light up the road of advance for the proletariat and revolutionary people for generations to come.

We must respond to the call of the party Central Committee, turn our grief into strength and carry out Chairman Mao's behests. Taking class struggle as the key link and adhering to the party's basic line, we must take firm hold of the weapon of revolutionary mass criticism, continue to fight and carry the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

Paying consistent attention to revolutionary mass criticism, Chairman Mao incisively pointed out: "One of our current important tasks on the ideological front is to develop criticism of revisionism." He also called on workers, peasants, merchants, students, intellectuals, soldiers and personnel of party and government organizations to criticize the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao's teachings have pointed out the direction for us to take in carrying out the socialist revolution on the ideological and political front.

In the 27 years since the founding of the PRC, Chairman Mao not only repeatedly taught us to grasp class struggle in the ideological sphere but personally initiated and led revolutionary mass criticism on a continuous basis. In 1951, shortly after the founding of new China, Chairman Mao initiated and led the criticism of the reactionary film "The Life of Wu Hsun."

The criticism of bourgeois idealism in studying "The Dream of the Red Chamber" and Hu Shih's reactionary thinking in 1954, the criticism of the counterrevolutionary Hu Feng clique in 1955, the criticism of the bourgeois rightists in 1957, and the criticism of Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois idealism and metaphysics and of the literary and art departments under his control after 1962 were all great undertakings by Chairman Mao in criticizing the bourgeoisie and revisionism in the ideological sphere. Through this series of major struggles, we dealt powerful blows at the bourgeoisie which had attacked in the ideological sphere, strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat and promoted the development of socialist revolution and construction.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao was a great political revolution by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, a great revolution in the realm of the superstructure. Preceding from criticizing "Hai Jui Dismissed From Office" and the representatives of the bourgeoisie, Chairman Mao directed the spearhead at Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters, thus raising the curtain on this great political revolution. Chairman Mao called on the whole party, the whole army and the people of the whole country to hold high the great banner of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, to criticize the bourgeois reactionary stand of the antiparty and antisocialist "academic authorities," to criticize bourgeois reactionary ideas in the academic, education, journalistic, literary and art, and publication fields, and to criticize the representatives of the bourgeoisie who had sneaked into the party. This movement for revolutionary mass criticism was unprecedented in both scale and scope in the history of our country.

Under Chairman Mao's leadership, hundreds of millions of people participated in the great practice of combating and preventing revisionism and charged forward on the big battlefield of revolutionary mass criticism by using the pen as the weapon. Like violent waves, revolutionary big-character posters and criticism meetings swept away the filth left by the old society and left no place for class enemies to hide. Thus we completely smashed the scheme of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao, Teng Hsiao-ping and other bourgeois elements in the party to usurp leadership and to restore capitalism, and criticized their counter-revolutionary revisionist line and its major ideological source, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius.

Chairman Mao kept revolutionary mass criticism going throughout the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. As a result, criticism of the ideology of the bourgeoisie and of all other exploiting classes and criticism of the revisionist line became an extensive, in-depth and persistent mass movement, which has provided the basic guarantee for our party and our state in continuing their triumphant advance along the Marxist-Leninist line.

When the Khrushchev-Brezhnev renegade clique turned the CPSU founded by Lenin into a revisionist and fascist party and the international communist movement was at a critical stage in which "chill waves sweep through steep skies," Chairman Mao, with the great boldness and vision of a proletarian revolutionary, initiated the great struggle to criticize modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core, thus greatly boosting the morale of the international proletariat and revolutionary people and deflating the arrogance of the modern revisionists.

This great struggle initiated by Chairman Mao has pointed out the direction for the people of China and the world to persevere in the proletarian revolution and to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat, has strengthened the unity of the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations the world over, has promoted the vigorous development of the revolutionary cause of the world proletariat and of the cause of the people of all countries, especially of the Third World countries, against imperialism and hegemonism, and has pushed the history of mankind forward.

Restudying and reviewing the brilliant teachings and great practice of Chairman Mao in persistently criticizing the bourgeoisie and revisionism particularly warms our hearts and greatly inspires and encourages us. By so doing, we have achieved a clearer understanding that revolutionary mass criticism is an important weapon for the proletariat to triumph over the bourgeoisie and for Marxism to triumph over revisionism. Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie in the party also resorts to the tactics of counterrevolutionary armed coup and counterrevolutionary disturbance, but it attempts to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and to restore capitalism mainly by waving red flags to oppose the red flag and changing the Marxist-Leninist line of the party. To start a counterrevolutionary coup and counterrevolutionary disturbance, the bourgeoisie in the party also has to prepare counterrevolutionary public opinion for it. As Chairman Mao noted: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counterrevolutionary class."

We must carry out revolutionary mass criticism in order to clearly recognize the features of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-ping and other sham Marxists like them, to expose the revisionist line they push and to smash their counterrevolutionary public opinion including their counterrevolutionary rumors. Therefore, the weapon of criticism is of particular importance. In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao called on us to bombard Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters. By "bombarding," he meant carrying out revolutionary mass criticism--using the machinegun and mortar of Marxism to fire at the capitalist roaders. Lenin pointed out: "The more deeply the old soil is plowed up by the revolution, the more difficult it will be to restore the old order." The role of revolutionary mass criticism precisely lies in its continuing to plow up the old soil of capitalism so that it becomes increasingly difficult for the bourgeoisie in the party to succeed in its plot to restore the old order.

To build a new world, the proletariat must criticize the old world. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Shouting at the top of our voices is an invariable part of establishing a new social system, that is, we propagate the superiority of of the new system and criticize the backwardness of the old system." The socialist revolution has brought about great social changes in both the economy and the superstructure. New things have emerged one after another. However, all decadent ideologies and unsuitable parts of the superstructure seriously obstruct the consolidation and development of the new social system. The bourgeoisie in the party tries in every way to slander, attack and strangle new socialist things. It is precisely such obstructions that must be swept away through revolutionary mass criticism. We must shout at the top of our voices for the growth of new socialist things.

Since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, new socialist things which have sprung up like bamboo shoots after a spring rain have effectively restricted bourgeois rights. Thus, such new socialist things contain communist elements. They are a result of the criticism of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and Teng Hsiao-ping and have developed in the fierce struggle against the capitalist roaders. Practice proves that revolutionary mass criticism is an indispensable weapon for us in destroying the old capitalist system and old things and in upholding the new socialist system and new things.

Marxism has developed in the course of the struggle to criticize opportunism and revisionism. We should link our study of Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's works with our criticism of the bourgeoisie and revisionism. Chairman Mao pointed out: "There can be no differentiation without contrast." Only through revolutionary mass criticism can we distinguish between Marxism and revisionism, between socialism and capitalism, between materialism and idealism and between dialectics and metaphysics so as to raise our consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and to increase our ability to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism. We must understand the dialectical view that "there is no construction without destruction." If we separate our study of Marxism from revolutionary mass criticism, we would not be able to really grasp the essence of Marxism.

Through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought has been unprecedentedly popularized in our country; hundreds of millions of people have greatly raised their awareness of the ideological and political line. Is this not precisely a great achievement we have secured in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching "unfold criticism of revisionism"?

At present, we should continue to deepen criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping and to beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. This is a major struggle to criticize the bourgeoisie in the party. After resuming work, Teng Hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the party, did his utmost to push a revisionist line and opposed revolutionary mass criticism. He did not allow people to criticize the theory of productive forces and bourgeois rights. He went all-out to sabotage the mass movements to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius and to criticize the novel "Water Margin." He even maliciously labeled as "not attending to their proper business" the revolutionary activities of the masses in studying Marxism and criticizing revisionism since the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In saying so, he attempted to eliminate all such activities.

The fact that Teng Hsiao-ping is so hostile to revolutionary mass criticism and fears it so much shows in a negative way that revolutionary mass criticism has hit the bourgeoisie in the party where it hurts most. In accordance with the principles laid down by Chairman Mao and in connection with the reality of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines on all fronts, we should grasp the crux of the revisionist ideological and political line and continue to criticize the three big poisonous weeds--"On the General Program," "An Outline Report" and the "Regulations for Industry" dished out on Teng Hsiao-ping's instructions. We must carry through to the end the struggle to penetratingly criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and to beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. Internationally, we should persevere in criticizing modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core and carry the great struggle against revisionism through to the end.

Revolutionary mass criticism, with criticism of the bourgeoisie and revisionism as its main content, is not a short fight which lasts only a few rounds; it is a broad-scale and long-term strategic task by the masses. The ideological influence of the bourgeoisie and revisionism has pervaded all fronts and all fields in society. To enforce all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including the various spheres of culture, the proletariat must carry out in-depth revolutionary mass criticism on all fronts and in all fields. Numerous facts since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution prove that in those fields and departments and on those fronts where revolutionary mass criticism has been carried out well, the influence of the revisionist line and the traditional ideas of the exploiting classes are resisted and criticized, the correct ideological and political line is followed, both revolution and production are undertaken vigorously and continuous progress is made.

Under Chairman Mao's leadership, the struggle to criticize the bourgeoisie and revisionism had been carried out in a wide scope and on an extended frontline for a long time. Only by continuing to do so can we use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to occupy all such fields as philosophy, history, education, literature, art and law and sweep away the garbage of the bourgeoisie and revisionism from all corners.

Workers and poor and lower-middle peasants always want to make revolution and forge ahead. They will never stop. The revolutionary struggle waged by the masses of people constitutes a gigantic motive force in the development of history. Workers, peasants and soldiers are the main force in criticizing the bourgeoisie and revisionism. To boldly arouse the masses in developing revolutionary mass criticism conforms with Chairman Mao's thinking.

In line with Chairman Mao's teaching, "line and viewpoint must be talked over constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to talk them over with only a few people, they must be made known to all the revolutionary masses," we must arouse the masses even more extensively and bring into full play the role of workers, peasants and soldiers as the main force. The vigorous participation by hundreds of millions of people in the revolutionary mass criticism has created a tremendous force that shocks the bourgeoisie within the party and all class enemies.

In the historical period of socialism there are still classes and class struggle. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road. This is a historic phenomenon which will last for a long time. Teng Hsiao-ping has collapsed, but the struggle has not yet ended. To criticize an erroneous line by fighting a few battles is not enough. Looking far ahead, Chairman Mao pointed out: There will be a need for revolution a hundred years from now. There will be a need for revolution a thousand years from now. Contradictions will remain existent even after 10,000 years. There is no progress without struggle. We must always keep in mind this teaching of Chairman Mao, foster the thinking of waging a protracted struggle, and regard each victory as the starting point of a new struggle. We must never relax our fighting spirit, and we must persist in criticizing the bourgeoisie and revisionism.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is invincible. The cause of communism to which Chairman Mao dedicated his whole life will forever maintain its splendid youth. We must carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao, and work hard and tenaciously in the great struggle of criticizing the old world and building the new world. We must pass on the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought from one generation to another, and carry the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao through to the end.