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This serial publication contains translations of articles from the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No. 5, 1967. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Letter from the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party .....	1
On the Revolutionary "Three-Way Alliance" .....	4
Patriotism or National Betrayal? .....	10
The Bourgeois Reactionary Line on the Question of Cadres Must be Criticized and Repudiated .....	33
Go All Out to Mobilize the Masses, Smash the Scheme for Counterrevolutionary Restoration .....	36
How We Supported Proletarian Revolutionaries .....	41
Bravely Advance in the Teeth of Class Struggle .....	49
Tachai Marches on Under the Brilliance of Mao Tse-Tung's Thought .....	56
Resolutely Carry Out Chairman Mao's Cadres Policy .....	63
Put Revolution in the First Place .....	70

**LETTER FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE  
COMMUNIST PARTY**

**- To Revolutionary Workers and Staff and Revolutionary  
Cadres In Industrial and Mining Enterprises Throughout  
the Country -**

[Following is a translation of the text of a letter in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 5, 30 March 1967, pages 3-4.]

**Comrade Workers and Staff!**

**Comrade Revolutionary Cadres in Factories and Mines!**

The working class is the leading force in our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee call on you to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the very end; and hope that in this great proletarian cultural revolution and in this new situation, you will exert even greater efforts to go all out, aim high and at the present stage become the most outstanding models for the working masses of the whole country in taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production.

We hope that you will become models in firmly carrying out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and in criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line.

We hope that you will become models in firmly carrying out the Decision of the Party's Central Committee Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

We hope that you will become models in the struggle against the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road.

We hope that you will become models in bringing about the great revolutionary alliance and in opposing the "small group" mentality, anarchism, the tendency to grab the limelight, economism and selfishness.

You should strengthen labour discipline, firmly uphold democratic centralism and establish good order in socialist production and the great cultural revolution.

You should, in accordance with the regulations laid down by the Party's Central Committee, firmly uphold the eight-hour work day and carry on the cultural revolution during the time outside the eight hours of work. During working hours it is impermissible to absent oneself without good cause from one's production or work post. A struggle should be waged against any unhealthy tendency towards absenteeism or a perfunctory attitude to work.

In the cultural revolution, you should, in accordance with the regulations laid down by the Party's Central Committee, promote the revolutionization of your own thinking, carry on production according to the principle of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results, guarantee the quality of products and strive for high quality. A struggle should be waged against any unhealthy tendency to disregard the quality of output or waste state funds and materials.

All workers and staff in factories and mines must, in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, study experience in getting "better troops and simpler administration." It is necessary to greatly reduce the number of personnel detached from production and raise work efficiency. Attention must be paid to practising economy in carrying out revolution. Generally speaking, staff members of workers' organizations should not be detached from production.

All workers and staff in factories and mines must, in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, heighten their great sense of responsibility as masters of the country and protect state property effectively. Anyone destroying state property should be severely punished according to the law.

The Party's Central Committee calls on all revolutionary cadres working in factories and mines to take the lead in doing all work well and do their best to fulfill and overfulfill state plans for production and construction.

The Party's Central Committee believes that in all factories and mines the great majority of cadres are good or comparatively good. Comrades who have committed mistakes should make a serious self-criticism; they should, in the course of the great cultural revolution, make a diligent study of Chairman Mao's works, try hard to be good pupils of

the masses, remould themselves in the course of their work and make amends by good deeds for their mistakes. As long as cadres who have made mistakes act in this way, the worker masses should show understanding and support them in their work. The attitude to be taken in criticizing them must be that which Chairman Mao has always instructed us to follow -- "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient."

Landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, who have sneaked into factories and mines, should never be allowed to be unruly in word or deed, to sabotage production, undermine unity among workers and staff, or create or incite factional disputes. They should be handled differently according to their political stand, attitude to work and concrete conditions in the factories and mines.

The Party's Central Committee has decided that the People's Liberation Army should make great efforts to help civilians and support the work of industrial production. You should cooperate well with the comrades from the People's Liberation Army.

We suggest that all workers and staff in factories and mines should, in their spare time, seriously discuss this letter sent to them by the Central Committee.

Unite under the guidance of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Fight valiantly to win a bumper harvest both in the great proletarian cultural revolution and in industrial production!

(This letter should be read and posted up in all factories, mines and capital construction units.)

The Central Committee of the  
Chinese Communist Party

March 18, 1967

CSO: 3530-D

## ON THE REVOLUTIONARY "THREE-WAY ALLIANCE"

[Following is a translation of an editorial in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 5, 30 March 1967, pages 5-8.]

Chairman Mao has said: "In the places and units wherein the seizure of power should be carried out, the principle of forming revolutionary three-way alliances should be carried out so that provisional organs of power which are revolutionary, representative, and endowed with proletarian authority may be established. These provisional organs of power may properly be named revolutionary committees." This is the political and organizational guarantee for the victory of the proletarian revolutionaries in their struggles to seize power. Proletarian revolutionaries should correctly understand and carry out this principle.

The provisional organ of power of the revolutionary three-way alliance should be formed by leaders of revolutionary mass organizations which can truly represent the great masses of the people, representatives of local People's Liberation Army units, and revolutionary leading cadres. None of the three should be excluded. It is wrong to overlook or underestimate the role to be played by any of them.

As a result of the spectacular mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the past more than six months, the masses have been fully aroused. A large number of new persons representing the revolutionary masses have emerged. The great revolutionary masses are the foundation for the proletarian revolutionaries in seizing power from the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road, and they are the foundation for the provisional organs of power of the revolutionary three-way alliance. The true proletarian revolutionaries and the new persons representing the revolutionary masses have made immortal contributions to the great proletarian cultural revolution. They represent the new emerging forces nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thought and the general orientation of the revolution.

The struggle to seize power from the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road is a mass movement working from

lower to higher levels under the direction of the CCP Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. In the provisional organs of power of revolutionary three-way alliance the role of the leaders of revolutionary mass organizations should be brought into full play. Great attention should be paid to the views of these leaders. They must not be taken as second-fiddle players because they represent the great revolutionary masses.

The practice of denying or disparaging the role played by them is as good as repudiating the revolutionary masses and the great proletarian cultural revolution. If these leaders are excluded or taken as second-fiddle players it will be impossible to establish provisional organs of power which are revolutionary, representative, and endowed with proletarian authority or revolutionary three-way alliances.

In all great revolutionary mass movements it is generally impossible to avoid certain shortcomings and mistakes. The important thing is to see clearly the essence and mainstream of the affair and the general orientation of the revolution.

The shortcomings and mistakes committed by the leaders of the revolutionary mass organizations which can truly represent the great revolutionary masses are like 1 sore finger among 10, or a mere problem in the course of progress. As proletarian revolutionaries we should realize the correctness of their general course of action and their many good points: we should humbly learn from them. With regard to their shortcomings and mistakes, we should try to help them warmly, painstakingly, and tactfully.

We should also see that many revolutionary mass organizations have creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's works, realized their erroneous tendencies, and proposed the adoption of certain ways and means to correct such tendencies. This reflects some precious revolutionary consciousness and creativeness. In the course of seizing power from the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road, the revolutionary masses themselves have come forward with the proposal to seize power from the egoism in their minds.

In the final analysis one's attitude toward participation in the provisional organs of power of the three-way alliance by the leaders of the revolutionary mass organizations which truly represent the great revolutionary masses reflects one's attitude toward the masses and the mass movement. This is also a very important yardstick to judge whether he is able to adhere to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

We should bear in mind at all times Chairman Mao's admonition: "The masses are the true heroes. The masses of the people are endowed with boundless creativeness. The people, and the people alone, are



the motive power which makes world history." Any organization or individual who is divorced from the great revolutionary masses will most certainly be unable to carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

The spectacular mass movement for the great proletarian cultural revolution in the past more than six months has put the forces of our cadres to a severe test. The handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road has been unmasked. But in the meantime it is proven that the great majority of our cadres are good or fairly good. It is entirely wrong to hold that all cadres should be repudiated and brought down.

It should be pointed out that the masses are not to blame for this. The policy of indiscriminately repudiating and bringing down all cadres was proposed by the few persons who advanced the bourgeois reactionary line. This was precisely what they did. The comrades whose minds were poisoned by this view have unwittingly committed the same mistake to a certain extent.

There are large numbers of revolutionary cadres in all localities, departments, enterprises, and operational units. The same is true even in the areas and departments controlled by the persons in authority taking the capitalist road, except that the revolutionary cadres there were subjected to long-term repression. We should realize this point by all means.

The role to be played by the revolutionary cadres in the provisional organs of power of three-way alliance should be taken into full account. They should, and may, be able to play the role as the core or backbone of such organs if they are united as one with the masses and follow the mass line in their work.

With regard to the cadres who committed mistakes: if they would only review and correct their mistakes, draw a clear line between themselves, on the one hand, and the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois reactionary line, on the other, and truly stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, then they should be welcomed and given suitable positions according to the principle of not treating discriminately those who join the revolution earlier and those who do so later. Many of them should even be permitted to join the provisional organs of power.

However, we should by no means forcibly include in the provisional organs of power of three-way alliance those who persist in their mistakes and fail to draw a clear line between themselves, on the one hand, and the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois reactionary line, on the other,

thereby imposing them forcibly on the masses. Otherwise there will be no use in forming a three-way alliance, and no use in seizing power from the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road. On the other hand there will be new seesaw battles, and the overthrown persons in authority taking the capitalist road may regain power.

We should exercise great vigilance against those who try to distort the policy of three-way alliance by practicing eclecticism and compromise and combining two into one on the pretext of forming the three-way alliance. They may even try their utmost to include into the alliance the party people in authority taking the capitalist road. In so doing they aim at fishing in troubled waters, usurping the fruit of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and restoring the counterrevolutionaries to power. All revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres should resolutely boycott, oppose, and smash this scheme of the enemy.

The great PLA is the true pillar of support of the proletariat. Chairman Mao calls on the PLA to actively support the great masses of the leftists. This call is one of great strategic significance. Experiences show that the participation of representatives of local PLA units in the provisional organs of power of the three-way alliance has played a very important role in the success of the seizure of power. With the participation of PLA cadres in the provisional organs of power of the three-way alliance and with the support of the PLA, the local leftists have become more powerful. The class enemies fear most the PLA and the participation of PLA cadres in the revolutionary three-way alliances. They have tried their utmost to spread rumors and fabricate facts in a vain attempt to sow discord between the revolutionary masses and the PLA and to instigate the duped masses to point their spearhead of struggle against the PLA. We should fully unmask and resolutely smash this scheme of the enemy.

The PLA is the only and extraordinary revolutionized proletarian army in the world. Chairman Mao said: The sole purpose of this army is to stand firmly with the Chinese people and to serve them wholeheartedly. Precisely because of this, all revolutionary mass organizations and revolutionary masses trust and rely on the PLA and warmly support the participation of local PLA unit representatives in the provisional organ of power based on the revolutionary three-way alliance.

From top to bottom, any unit that must seize power should have the participation of PLA or militia representatives in the formation of a three-way alliance. No matter what, the factories, rural areas, finance and trade agencies, cultural and educational departments, colleges, middle and primary schools, party and government institutions, and civic organizations must all do likewise.

Units above the county level must dispatch military representatives, and units below the commune level must send militia representatives. This is excellent. If military representation is insufficient, this situation may prevail temporarily and a decision will be made in the future.

The attitude taken toward the PLA is one toward the proletarian dictatorship and is an important sign of distinguishing if one is a genuine revolutionary leftist. In some localities, because the situation in the class struggle is especially complex, it is possible that some local comrades may temporarily commit mistakes in their support work. When such problems arise, the genuine revolutionary left must adopt with good intent appropriate means to explain the situation to the responsible military comrades and make suggestions, and they must never adopt an open antagonistic attitude nor direct the spearhead of struggle against the PLA. Otherwise serious mistakes would be committed, causing incidents in which the "loved ones feel bitter and the enemy feels happy" and of which the class enemy may take advantage.

The PLA has made major contributions to supporting the power-seizure struggle of proletarian revolutionaries. All commanders and fighters must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, closely rely on the broad revolutionary masses, humbly learn from the revolutionary masses, first become students of the masses then become teachers of the masses, be good at discussing problems with the masses, and conduct penetrating and detailed investigations and study. In so doing, they will be able to very effectively support the power-seizure struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries and create closer relations between the army and civilians, and the army itself can undergo new tempering and make improvements.

The provisional organ of power based on the revolutionary three-way alliance must be revolutionary and have representation and possess proletarian authority. Such a provisional organ of power must resolutely implement the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, firmly oppose the bourgeois reactionary line, and not be one of "combining two into one" and of compromises. Only in this way can it have representation and can it represent the broad revolutionary masses and the broad masses of revolutionary cadres. Only in this way, can it have proletarian authority, can it carry out strong, effective centralized leadership under the broadest democratic foundation, can it enforce strong, effective dictatorship over the class enemy and smash all sorts of counterrevolutionary plots for staging a comeback by the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist and the monsters and freaks in society.

A major question now faces the people in the country: that is, should we carry through to the end the great proletarian cultural

revolution or leave it unfinished? All revolutionary comrades must maintain a clear mind and never become muddleheaded. "With power to spare, we must pursue the tottering foe and not ape Hsiang Yu, the conqueror seeking idle fame." At present, we must especially keep in mind this teaching of Chairman Mao.

CSO: 3530-D

## PATRIOTISM OR NATIONAL BETRAYAL?

- On the Reactionary Film  
"Inside Story of the Ching Court"

[Following is a translation of an article by Ch'i Pen-Yu in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 5, 30 March 1967, pages 9-23.]

"At no time since it was shown all over the country has the film 'Inside Story of the Ching Court' - described as patriotic though in fact a film of national betrayal - yet been criticized and repudiated."

- Chairman Mao Tse-tung: "Letter on the Question of Studies on 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'"

When that new day dawned over the east of the world in October, 1949, the China that had been weighed down by calamities rose to its feet like a giant.

Guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Chinese people, after countless bitter struggles, finally threw off the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and liberated the whole country.

The storm of the great people's revolution was washing away the filth from the land of China. But the reactionary ruling classes, unreconciled to their doom, continued to mount frenzied, large-scale counter-attacks in every field. The class struggle was very acute. On the cultural and ideological fronts it was especially complicated, and the reactionary films, plays, operas, songs, books and journals that flooded the world of culture were important propaganda weapons in the big counter-attacks carried out by the reactionary ruling classes against the revolutionary people. One of the most prominent examples was the reactionary film "Inside Story of the Ching Court," which in 1950 was still being widely shown in Peking, Shanghai and other cities.

What should be the attitude of the victorious Chinese people in face of these large-scale counter-attacks by reactionary culture? Should they carry out a proletarian cultural revolution, or compromise or surrender to the reactionary culture rampant in society? Every revolutionary comrade faced a new choice and test.

Around this reactionary film, the proletarian revolutionaries headed by Chairman Mao waged a serious struggle against a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. It was the first important struggle on the cultural and ideological fronts in liberated China.

Chairman Mao sternly pointed out: The "Inside Story of the Ching Court" is a film of national betrayal and should be criticized and repudiated. He also said: Somebody called it patriotic; I consider it national betrayal, national betrayal through and through. But the counter-revolutionary revisionists Lu Ting-yi and Chou Yang and a certain Hu, a standing vice-director of the Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee at that time, and others, as well as the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who was supporting them from behind, stubbornly clung to their bourgeois reactionary stand and openly opposed Chairman Mao's directive. They asserted that this reactionary film was "patriotic" and refused to criticize and repudiate it.

Comrade Chiang Ching, then a member of a committee for guiding the work of the cinema under the Ministry of Culture, upheld the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao and at a number of meetings proposed that the film "Inside Story of Ching Court" should be firmly criticized and repudiated. However, Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang, Hu and others vigorously opposed this proposal and did their best to advertise the "patriotic progressiveness" of this reactionary film. When Comrade Chiang Ching wanted to act according to Chairman Mao's directive, they threw at her the reactionary talk of their boss behind the scenes, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, and said: "Comrade so and so holds that it is a patriotic film." Firmly upholding the truth, Comrade Chiang Ching stood her ground and in no uncertain terms refuting their reactionary and ludicrous statements insisted that the film should be criticized and repudiated. They had to give way, but perfunctorily appointed an historian of reactionary views to write a short fake criticism which was really aimed at shielding the film. They considered even such an article "too sharp," and held up publication, thus smothering a major struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the cultural and ideological fronts.

In 1951, Chairman Mao personally led the struggle on the cultural and ideological fronts to criticize the reactionary film "The Life of Wu Hsun."\*

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\*"The Life of Wu Hsun" was a most pernicious counterrevolutionary film which fervently praised the landlord class and its lackeys, frenziedly advocated the most shameless slavishness and capitulationism, and maliciously slandered the peasants' revolutionary struggles. Wu Hsun (1838-1896) was a landlord's toady whom the film turned into a "great man" willing to sacrifice himself to provide poor peasant children with a chance to study. - Tr.

In 1954, he initiated another major nationwide struggle, namely, the criticism of Yu Ping-po's "Studies on 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'"\* and the reactionary ideas of Hu Shih. On October 16 of the same year, Chairman Mao wrote a letter to the comrades in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and other comrades concerned, sternly criticizing certain "important people" in the Party who suppressed attacks by new-born forces against the bourgeoisie and were its willing captives. In his letter, Chairman Mao again raised the question of the reactionary film "Inside Story of the Ching Court." Referring to the article written by two young men criticizing "Studies on 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'" Chairman Mao pointed out:

This is the first serious attack in thirty years and more on the erroneous views of the so-called authoritative writer in the field of the studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber." The authors are two Youth League members. First they wrote to the Wenyi Bao (Literary Gazette), to ask whether it was all right to criticize Yu Ping-po, but they received no reply. Ignored by the Wenyi Bao, they wrote to teachers at their alma mater - Shantung University - and got their support. Their article refuting "A Short Study of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'" was carried in the university journal Wenshizhe (Literature, History and Philosophy). Then the problem came back again to Peking. Some people wanted this article to be reprinted in the Renmin Ribao, to arouse discussion and criticism. This was not done because certain people opposed it, giving various reasons (mainly that it was "an article written by unimportant people" and "the Party paper is not a platform for free debates"). As a compromise, the article was allowed to be reprinted in the Wenyi Bao. Later, the "Literary Legacy" page of the Guangming Ribao carried an article by the two young men refuting Yu Ping-po's book, "Studies on 'The Dream of the Red Chamber.'" It seems likely that the struggle is about to start against the bourgeois idealism of the school of Hu Shih which has been poisoning young people in the field of classical literature for the last thirty years and more. This struggle has been sparked by two "unimportant people," while the "important people," usually taking no notice of it or even obstructing it, advocate a united front on idealism with bourgeois writers and make themselves willing captives of the bourgeoisie. It was almost the same when the films "Inside Story of the Ching Court" and "The Life of Wu Hsun" were shown. At no time since it was shown all over the country has the film "Inside Story of the Ching Court" - described as patriotic though in fact a film of national betrayal - yet been criticized and repudiated. "The Life of Wu Hsun" has been criticized, but the lessons have not yet been drawn; now comes the

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\*"Studies on 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'" is a book which evaluated this classical novel from the bourgeois idealist point of view and used bourgeois methods of textual research. - Tr.

bizarre situation when Yu Ping-po's idealism is tolerated and vigorous critical essays by some "unimportant people" are obstructed. This warrants our attention.

Yet class struggle is independent of man's will. Even after Chairman Mao put the question forward so sharply, the handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists headed by Lu Ting-yi and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supported them from behind, still continued to cling to the bourgeois reactionary stand and stubbornly opposed Chairman Mao's instructions. Twelve years have elapsed since 1954, but the "Inside Story of the Ching Court," which is a reactionary, out-and-out traitorous film, remains uncriticized.

The unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution has once again brought this question up.

Debts have to be paid sooner or later. In the present movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution, this reactionary and completely traitorous film, which has remained uncriticized since the liberation, must be subjected to thorough criticism and repudiation by the revolutionary masses. The handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists who opposed Chairman Mao's directive and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supported them from behind, must also be thoroughly criticized and repudiated by the revolutionary masses during this movement. Accounts must be settled with them in full for their crimes of flagrantly opposing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and of recklessly opposing the Party and Mao Tse-tung's thought. The revolutionary masses must overthrow this handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists, remove the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road from his position and make him stand aside.

The reactionary film "Inside Story of the Ching Court" is a film with a so-called historical theme. It deals with the Reform Movement of 1898 and the struggle of the Yi Ho Tuan Movement in the last years of the Ching Dynasty. It openly takes the stand of imperialism, feudalism and the reactionary bourgeoisie, freely distorts historical facts and prettifies imperialism, feudalism and bourgeois reformism. While eulogizing the royalists, it slanders the revolutionary mass movement and the heroic struggle of the people against imperialism and feudalism and advocates national capitulation and class capitulation.

This reactionary film was made by the Yunghua Film Company, a reactionary film studio whose first film was "The Soul of a Nation." This conjured up the phantom soul of Wen Tien-hsiang to revive the soul of the dying Chiang Kai-shek regime. The "Inside Story of the Ching Court" was its second production. The scenario writer Yao Ke is a reactionary scribbler who holds stubbornly to the counterrevolutionary stand. He once edited the reactionary monthly Tien Hsia, opposed the Chinese revolution and actively served British-American imperialism and the comprador-bourgeoisie. Later



he went over to the Kuomintang reactionaries and wrote a series of vulgar, reactionary plays. He was a small running-dog of the reactionary ruling classes. On the eve of China's liberation, he escaped to Hongkong. There is nothing strange in a reactionary anti-Communist, anti-popular, literary man writing such a reactionary scenario as "Inside Story of the Ching Court." But it is indeed strange that the director and certain vice-directors of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party who donned the cloak of "Communists" and "proletarian revolutionaries," and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supported them from behind, should show such favour to this extremely reactionary, thoroughly traitorous film, extol it as "patriotic," and actively serve as spokesmen for imperialism, feudalism and the reactionary bourgeoisie. Doesn't this call for deep thought?!

On the question of the attitude to be adopted towards this reactionary, thoroughly traitorous film, what are the major differences in principle between the proletarian revolutionaries headed by Chairman Mao on the one hand and the handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supported them from behind, on the other hand? To sum up briefly, there are three differences: namely, what should be one's attitude towards imperialist aggression; towards the Yi Ho Tuan revolutionary mass movement; and towards bourgeois reformism?

#### What Should Be One's Attitude Towards Imperialist Aggression?

The contradiction between imperialism and the Chinese people is a principal contradiction in modern Chinese society. Imperialism is the first and most ferocious enemy of the Chinese people. What attitude should one take towards imperialist aggression is a question of first importance for the revolution.

The reactionary film "Inside Story of the Ching Court," praised as "patriotic" by a handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supported them from behind, is, on the question of imperialist aggression, a perfect reflection of an utterly shameful and servile attitude of fear and worship of imperialism and pro-imperialism.

It reveals a mortal fear of the imperialist aggression committed by the so-called "eight-power allied expedition" organized by Britain, the United States, Germany, Russia, Japan, France, Italy and Austria. It assiduously spreads fear of imperialism, crying that "since the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, China has suffered financial losses, her armed forces are poorly equipped and weak, ... and she is far inferior to the enemy in strength," that "it must not start hostilities with any foreign country." Hsu Ching-cheng, a high-ranking mandarin, is so scared of imperialism that he wails aloud.

Chairman Mao teaches us that before the wild beasts of imperialism revolutionary people must not show the slightest timidity. But in the eyes of the scenarist and those who praised the film, there is no alternative but to surrender helplessly to imperialist aggression -- all this is naked national capitulation, the philosophy of traitors.

Moreover, the film painstakingly advocates worship of imperialism and pro-imperialism; it goes all out to spread illusions about imperialism and openly peddles the theory of national betrayal. Through the mouth of the emperor's concubine Chen Fei,\* an agent of imperialism in the film, the scenarist openly welcomes the imperialist aggression against China. Chen Fei puts it bluntly: "The foreign powers will certainly not blame Your Majesty"; "I am sure that the foreign powers will not harm Your Majesty, but on the contrary will help Your Majesty restore the throne and regenerate the imperial regime." Sun Chia-nai, a high-ranking mandarin, also asserts: "The envoys of both the Eastern and Western Powers are sympathetic towards Your Majesty." A comparison of this with the counterrevolutionary propaganda of the imperialists who committed aggression against China at the time, shows clearly that the film advocates just what the imperialists advocated. To deceive its people, tsarist Russia, for example, alleged that it was "not fighting against China," "but merely putting down a riot, suppressing rebels and helping China's legitimate government to restore order." In "The War In China," his first article on China written as early as 1900, Lenin mercilessly refuted such counterrevolutionary arguments put forward by the aggressors.

What in fact is that "patriotism" in "Inside Story of the Ching Court" so extolled by a handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supported them from behind? The "patriotism" they praised turns out to be the so-called "patriotism" of the Emperor Kuang Hsu and his ilk who did not hesitate to rely on imperialism to restore and consolidate their rule over the people, as is described in the film. After the Chinese people had overthrown the reactionary rule of imperialism and feudalism, they still continued to urge the people to learn the "patriotism" of becoming traitors in order to restore and consolidate the exploiting classes' rule over the people. Such is their vicious intention!

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The specific content of patriotism is determined by historical conditions. There is the 'patriotism' of the Japanese aggressors and of Hitler, and there is our patriotism. Communists must resolutely oppose the 'patriotism' of the Japanese aggressors and of Hitler."<sup>1</sup> Likewise, we must resolutely oppose the so-called "patriotism" (namely, an out-and-out theory of national betrayal) advocated by a handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

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\*Chen Fei (1876-1900), concubine of Emperor Kuang Hsu.

The traitorous argument about welcoming imperialism to help China "regenerate the imperial regime" advocated by the film is of the same stock as the gangster logic of U.S. imperialism. Singing the same tune as those imperialists did when they carried out aggression against China, ex-U.S. Secretary of State Acheson in his 1949 "White Paper" talked at length about U.S. "concern" for China and described aggression as "friendship." In "Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle," "Friendship or Aggression?" and other articles, Chairman Mao had already sternly rebutted such counter-revolutionary gangster logic. He pointed out that it is "the logic of the U.S. mandarins" to describe aggression as "friendship." Yet a handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supported them from behind, yielded to imperialist pressure and were mortally afraid of imperialism. They vainly hoped to arrange a compromise with imperialism, and get "understanding" and "help" from it. They were deeply dissatisfied with Chairman Mao's great call "cast away illusions, prepare for struggle." That they energetically boosted this reactionary, out-and-out traitorous film "Inside Story of the Ching Court" was in fact an open opposition to Chairman Mao's criticism and repudiation of Acheson's "White Paper." This was an unbridled attack on Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Obviously, the reason why this reactionary film company and reactionary scribbler made such a film on the eve of China's liberation, a film that advocates imperialist "help" in "regenerating the imperial regime," was that they wanted to use their film to arouse public opinion for their own reactionary purposes and openly advocate reliance on U.S. imperialism to suppress the revolutionary movement of the Chinese people, a stratagem they proposed to the Kuomintang reactionaries who were on their last legs. The film entirely takes the stand of imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. It represents an attempt to help prop up the toppling reactionary regime to meet the needs of the U.S. imperialist aggression against China and to serve U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists who paid lip-service to "opposing imperialism," and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supported them from behind, eulogized such a reactionary, out-and-out traitorous film and called it "patriotic." Doesn't this expose their true features as sham anti-imperialists and genuine capitulationists? What country do they love? What they love is a country belonging to the imperialists, a country belonging to the landlords and the bourgeoisie, but not our great motherland under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The "patriotism" they eulogize is nothing but a theory of national betrayal which all the revolutionary people of our country want to trample underfoot.

One thing in particular needs to be pointed out. It is by no means accidental that the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road should have praised a reactionary, out-and-out traitorous film as "patriotic." As early as the first days of the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, he was frightened when faced with aggression by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. Despairing of the future of the Chinese revolution, he actively

promoted within the Party a line of national capitulation and class capitulation in what he described as a "new stage of peace and democracy." Chairman Mao called on us to cast away illusions, to give the enemy tit for tat and fight for every inch of land, whereas this person energetically spread illusions about peace with U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and impudently wrote articles in newspapers in which he expressed gratitude for U.S. imperialist "help" to China and begged for "peace" from U.S. imperialism in an attempt to benumb the fighting will of the people. He even deceived the people by saying that "the main form of struggle in the Chinese revolution has become peaceful and parliamentary. It is legal mass struggle and parliamentary struggle," "there should be a change in the whole of the Party's work," and "all political issues should be settled peacefully." Chairman Mao said that as our enemies were sharpening their swords, we must sharpen ours too. Yet this person wanted the people to hand over the weapons in their hands. Energetically advertising the theory of national betrayal, he took the enemy as his father and wanted to be a willing servant of U.S. imperialism. He said: "Since the U.S. is bound to find compradors in China, we, too, may act as its compradors, red compradors!" Compradors are compradors. They are running dogs of the imperialists. What's this about "red compradors"? It is a pure lie. With such a mean and shameless slave mentality, long ago eager to be imperialist compradors, they found the reactionary, out-and-out traitorous film "Inside Story of the Ching Court" extremely well suited to their taste. This was because the theory advocated by Chen Fei, the imperialist agent in the film, that imperialism might help China "regenerate the imperial regime" exactly reflected their traitorous mentality of eagerly wanting to become compradors of imperialism!

"Hearts which have a common beat are linked." This is a line of verse the Emperor Kuang Hsu reads out in the film while looking dejectedly at a lake. This is an apt description of the fact that the handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road shared the feelings of Kuang Hsu, his concubine and their ilk. On the question of serving as imperialist agents, the handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supported them from behind echoed the views of the landlords and the bourgeoisie of over 60 years ago. This is the ideological and class root of their praise for the "patriotism" of this reactionary, out-and-out traitorous film.

#### What Should Be One's Attitude Towards The Yi Ho Tuan Revolutionary Mass Movement?

Chairman Mao says: "In the final analysis, the innumerable truths of Marxism may be expressed in one sentence: 'rebellion is justified.'"<sup>2</sup> What should be one's attitude towards the revolutionary movement of all-out rebellion against imperialism and feudalism launched by the revolutionary masses of the Yi Ho Tuan? Should one support it or oppose it? Should one praise it or hate it? This is a touchstone distinguishing genuine revolutionaries from fake, revolutionaries from counterrevolutionaries.

The Yi Ho Tuan movement which shook our vast land was a great anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary mass movement in modern Chinese history. It was a great movement typifying the initiative of the Chinese people in history. At that time, the Yi Ho Tuan carried on revolutionary activities everywhere, in town and countryside, throughout most of the northern part of China. They set up more than 800 meeting placés in the city of Peking itself, the political centre where the enemy exercised the tightest rule. Youths who had joined the Yi Ho Tuan drilled regularly every day under the palace walls behind Ching Shan.

At a crucial moment when our country was in process of being partitioned amongst the imperialists, the Yi Ho Tuan heroes stepped forth bravely, raised aloft the great revolutionary banner of patriotic struggle against imperialism and carried on a heroic struggle against the imperialist robbers and their lackeys. They splashed the street corners with slogans of every description which gave expression to the firm resolve of the Chinese people to fight the imperialists:

"Restore to us our land and rights! We'll fight our way  
Through seas of fire and over mountains of knives!  
What does it matter if the Emperor has surrendered?  
We'll not rest till the last foreign invader is dead."

They held the imperialists in contempt; they strictly banned imported goods. The street bearing the name "Legation Street" they renamed "Block the Aliens Street" and the Yu Ho Bridge: "Stop the Aliens Bridge." Demonstrating in the streets, the Yi Ho Tuan heroes often shouted the slogan "Kill the foreign devils!" in unison with the inhabitants, making the imperialists shudder. Some foreigners were so frightened that they put themselves into coffins and hired professional mourners to carry them out of the city.

In June, 1900, Yi Ho Tuan revolutionary activities reached a climax. Day and night, in groups of 30, 40 or 50, the Yi Ho Tuan detachments from Peking's outlying districts marched on the city. Scores arrived each day. The guards at the city gates stood at attention to salute them and shouted to the crowds to make way. Long columns of the revolutionary people in red turbans, red sashes, and shoes trimmed in red, armed with swords and spears, marched with great dignity in grand parades through the streets of Peking city. And the blacksmiths outside Chienmen worked through the night before their blazing furnaces making swords and spears for the Yi Ho Tuan.

Faced with the frenzied repression of the imperialist aggressor forces, the revolutionary masses of the Yi Ho Tuan pitted their primitive swords and spears heroically against the invaders armed with modern rifles and guns. They demonstrated the Chinese people's militant, revolutionary spirit of fearlessness. In the famous battle at the railway town of Langfang to halt the enemy's advance on Peking, the Yi Ho Tuan "blockaded in the

train and heavily challenged with spears" an allied force of more than 1,500 men led by British Admiral Seymour. The enemy suffered casualties amounting to nearly 50 per cent of his strength, and beat a panicky retreat to Tientsin. Later Seymour recalled his fright that had the "Boxers" been armed with Western weapons, the allied force he led would have been annihilated. In the battle to defend Tientsin, the Yi Ho Tuan fought the aggressors' army hand-to-hand. At the railway station, in one engagement alone they killed or wounded more than 500 men of an opposing Russian aggressor force of 2,000. The imperialists were forced to admit that there had not been anything like the way the Chinese fought the Western soldiers in the bitter battle of Tientsin which went on tenaciously for over a month. In the battle at Yangchun, the American imperialist aggressor army was mercilessly trounced by the Yi Ho Tuan fighters. From then on, the imperialist aggressor armies shuddered at the very bugle note of the Yi Ho Tuan. They wailed: "Those long brass trumpets that can make one's blood curdle horribly...."

Young people formed a most active and lively force during the Yi Ho Tuan movement. They performed immortal deeds in this great revolutionary movement. The "Hung Teng Chao" (Red Lanterns) that shook China and the world was an organization of young women from many places in northern China. They formed themselves into a well-disciplined force, did military exercises and defended their homeland. They were dressed in red, wore red caps, carried red lanterns and red spears. They fought at the front and ferreted out spies in the rear. Playing an active part in the Yi Ho Tuan ranks and resolutely opposing imperialism and its lackeys, they displayed the heroic, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary spirit of China's young women.

"The Hung Teng Chao (Red Lanterns), and the Yi Ho Tuan are like real brothers and sisters. They are united as one, and as one they fight the foreign officials." This ditty expressed the resolute determination of the Hung Teng Chao to fight the imperialists.

Tales of the heroic deeds of the Hung Teng Chao have circulated widely among the masses of the people ever since. One saying was: "Those Hung Teng girls stare death fearlessly in the face when they charge the enemy positions. Their only worry is that they may lag behind in the fighting." Another comment was: "Since the reigns of Taokuang and Hsienfeng all the battles at sea and on the land in coastal China against the alien invaders ended in defeat" but "now these girls are giving the foreigners such a trouncing that their victories have struck terror into the hearts of those foreign countries, and stirred the spirits of the Chinese people."

The heroic struggle of the Yi Ho Tuan is the glory and pride of the Chinese people and one of the foundation stones of the great victory of the Chinese people fifty years later. It gave the aggressors a taste of the iron fists of the Chinese people and smashed the imperialists' pipe dream of "partitioning" China. Waldersee, commander of the invading imperialist army, reported to the German Kaiser: Your Majesty may entertain the idea

of partitioning China, but let it not be forgotten ... there is still immense vitality in them. The Chinese have not lost all their bellicosity, which may be seen in the recent "Boxer Movement." Whether Europe or America or Japan, he said, no country is intellectually or militarily equipped for the job of ruling over this one-quarter of mankind. It is therefore an ill-advised policy to try dismemberment.

Real Marxists have always enthusiastically praised revolutionary mass movements of such a tremendous scale. In his great works, Chairman Mao highly appraises the Yi Ho Tuan movement and extols its heroic deeds again and again. He regards the Yi Ho Tuan movement as an important stage in the development of China's bourgeois democratic revolution. Chairman Mao has pointed out: The Yi Ho Tuan war was a just war against the oppressors. Like other revolutionary wars of the Chinese people in the last hundred years, it "testifies to the Chinese people's indomitable spirit in fighting imperialism and its lackeys."<sup>3</sup> It shows that "we Chinese have the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of our blood, the determination to recover our lost territory by our own efforts, and the ability to stand on our own feet in the family of nations."<sup>4</sup> "Thanks to the Chinese people's unrelenting and heroic struggle during the last hundred years, imperialism has not been able to subjugate China, nor will it ever be able to do so."<sup>5</sup>

But the reactionary and thoroughly traitorous film "Inside Story of the Ching Court," praised by a handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road supporting them from behind, expresses a deep-rooted class hatred for the anti-imperialist revolutionary mass movement of the Yi Ho Tuan, and does its best to defame and slander it. The film portrays the revolutionary action of the Yi Ho Tuan against imperialism as a sort of barbarous turmoil. It tries its utmost to smear the Yi Ho Tuan, maliciously attacking it as "mad" "mobs" who "committed murder and arson," and as "ignorant people" who engaged in "witchcraft."

These malicious slanders uttered against the Yi Ho Tuan by the film and those who praised it are completely in tune with the views of the imperialists. At that time Dean Acheson, a chieftain of U.S. imperialism, cursed the Yi Ho Tuan movement in his "White Paper" and "the anti-foreign disturbances in China" and "the Boxer Rebellion." The hired intellectuals of U.S. imperialism in China were also unbridled in their attacks against the Yi Ho Tuan movement as an "offspring of ignorant superstition and hysterics of the mob," as a "perpetrator of senseless acts" and as "Boxers" who committed murder and arson.

Was it the Yi Ho Tuan organized by the Chinese people that went to the imperialist countries in Europe and America and to Japan to stage rebellion and "commit murder and arson"? Or was it the imperialist countries that came to invade China, this land of ours, to oppress and exploit the Chinese people and so aroused the masses of the Chinese people to resist imperialism and its lackeys and corrupt officials in China? This is a major question of right and wrong which must be debated and cleared up.

The real bandits who massacred people and committed arson were none other than the imperialists and their lackeys. According to the admissions of Alfred Von Walderssee, head of the invading imperialist troops, these troops, after occupying Peking, burnt, massacred, plundered, raped, destroyed cultural treasures and committed all manner of crimes. Following their occupation of Peking, the imperialist troops were granted special permission to loot openly for three days. This was followed by robbery on an individual basis. They plundered everywhere, from the imperial court and mansions of the princes to the homes of ordinary people. "The windows facing the lakeside were widely opened; court officials were alarmed to see a line of camels coming." The historical relics stored in the Summer Palace, a treasure-house of the feudal emperors, were carried away by the aggressors to Tientsin by camels, and this took many a month. Many relics preserved for centuries in China, including the Yun Lo Encyclopedia, were burnt or stolen by the imperialists. Walderssee also confessed that there were many cases of rape, brutality, wilful murder and senseless arson in the course of plunder. As for the massacre and suppression of the Yi Ho Tuan by the imperialists' lackeys, it was even more brutal and callous.

With deep indignation, Lenin condemned the crimes of massacre and arson committed by the imperialist aggressors. He wrote:

"The European governments (the Russian Government among the very first) have already started to partition China.... They began to rob China as ghouls rob corpses, and when the seeming corpse attempted to resist, they flung themselves upon it like savage beasts, burning down whole villages, shooting, bayoneting and drowning in the Amur River [Heilungkiang River] unarmed inhabitants, their wives, and their children. And all these Christian exploits are accompanied by howls against the Chinese barbarians who dared to raise their hands against the civilized Europeans." But the film and those who praised it have turned things upside down and assisted the evil doers, portraying the imperialist aggressors who committed murder, arson, robbery and rape as envoys of civilization while slandering as "barbarous rioters" the heroic and indomitable Yi Ho Tuan who resolutely resisted imperialist aggression. This is the genuine philosophy of quislings and traitors.

The patriotic, anti-imperialist struggle of the Yi Ho Tuan was closely linked with the anti-feudal struggle. The battle cries of the Yi Ho Tuan were: "Kill the foreigners and wipe out corrupt officials." A ditty of the time runs as follows: "Slay the foreigners and kill the beastly mandarins; great hopes will shine before the common people when the foreigners and mandarins are gone." "First kill the foreign devils and then beat up the corrupt officials." Such were their simple and forthright anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutionary slogans. They deeply hated the feudal ruling class. In 1900 when the Yi Ho Tuan controlled Peking, most of the offices of the mandarins of the Ching Dynasty in the capital and the mansions of princes, dukes and aristocrats were watched over by members of the Yi Ho Tuan. The Yi Ho Tuan on many occasions caught officials who were



notorious for their crimes, especially those subservient to imperialism, and forced them to kowtow and repent at the altar set up by the Yi Ho Tuan. Those who had committed the most heinous crimes were put to death.

Yet the film slanders the Yi Ho Tuan as a tool of the feudal rulers. The film portrayed Chao Shu-chiao, a high-ranking mandarin of the Ching Dynasty, as one who had said: "The Empress Tzu Hsi [the Empress Dowager] is begged to issue an order to organize the Yi Ho Tuan into an imperial army." The empress gladly accepted this suggestion. In this way the Yi Ho Tuan was made out to be partisans of the Empress Tzu Hsi. This is an utterly vicious slander.

For a short period the rulers of the Ching Dynasty adopted the policy of deceiving and softening up the Yi Ho Tuan. For a time this policy had some effect and some members of the Yi Ho Tuan were misled into an erroneous understanding of the rulers of the Ching Dynasty. Some detachments of the Yi Ho Tuan put forward the slogan "Support the Ching Dynasty and wipe out the foreigners." This reflects, on the one hand, the complicated nature of the class contradictions at that time and, on the other hand, the fact that people's understanding of imperialism and its lackeys at that time remained at the stage of perceptual knowledge.

Chairman Mao has taught us that man's knowledge develops from the lower to the higher stage and from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge. "Similarly with the Chinese people's knowledge of imperialism. The first stage was one of superficial, perceptual knowledge, as shown in the indiscriminate anti-foreign struggles of the movement of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, the Yi Ho Tuan movement, and so on. It was only in the second stage that the Chinese people reached the stage of rational knowledge, saw the internal and external contradictions of imperialism and saw the essential truth that imperialism had allied itself with China's comprador and feudal classes to oppress and exploit the great masses of the Chinese people. This knowledge began about the time of the May 4th Movement of 1919."<sup>7</sup> Therefore it is absolutely impermissible to slander the Yi Ho Tuan movement as a tool of the feudal rulers only because it failed to see clearly the nature of imperialism and feudalism. As stated above, along with their anti-imperialist activities, the Yi Ho Tuan never for a moment ceased their activities against the Ching Dynasty. Even after the appearance of the slogan "Support the Ching Dynasty and wipe out the foreigners," Chu Hung-teng [Red Lantern Chu], leader of the Yi Ho Tuan, worked out a plan for an attack on Peking and persevered in the anti-feudal struggle.

It was solely to meet the needs of imperialism and the feudal landlord class that the reactionary film "The Inside Story of the Ching Court" so unscrupulously slandered and attacked the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle of the Yi Ho Tuan movement. Their slanders and attacks against the revolutionary masses of the Yi Ho Tuan movement reflect the bitter hatred of the class enemy for the new-democratic revolutionary movement led by our Party. The handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists and the top Party

person in authority taking the capitalist road who was supporting them from behind were singing the same tune as imperialism and feudalism when they applauded this reactionary, thoroughly traitorous film which opposes the Chinese revolution and insults the revolutionary masses. When they did this they were simply serving as mouthpieces for the counterrevolutionary propaganda of imperialism and feudalism. This has completely exposed their counterrevolutionary class stand which is that of the landlords and bourgeoisie.

The fact that the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road so bitterly hates the revolutionary mass movements in history helps us to understand better why, in the current great proletarian cultural revolution, he put forward, in collaboration with another top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, a bourgeois reactionary line in a vain attempt to extinguish the revolutionary flames set alight by Chairman Mao himself, why he confused right and wrong and turned things upside down, organized converging attacks against revolutionaries, suppressed the masses and carried out a white terror, and why he tried in a hundred and one ways to boost the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and crush the spirit of the proletariat.

#### What Should Be One's Attitude Towards Bourgeois Reformism?

One's attitude towards bourgeois reformism is, in reality, a question of one's attitude towards the socialist road and the capitalist road.

With regard to this fundamental question which concerns the future of the Chinese revolution, differences of principle have long existed between the proletarian revolutionaries headed by Chairman Mao and the Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. These differences of principle became even more acute after China was liberated. The question of what attitude should one take towards the reactionary film the "Inside Story of the Ching Court" was a point at which these differences came to a head. This was the first fight at close quarters in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road on the cultural and ideological fronts. In this fight, in their evaluations of the film, the proletarian revolutionaries headed by Chairman Mao, on the one hand, and the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, on the other, gave completely different answers to the question of which direction should China take.

A handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, who was supporting them from behind, did their best to boost this reactionary film which opposes revolution and sings the praises of reformism. They aimed to get help from the dead souls of bourgeois reformism and using the latter's names, robes and slogans to spread capitalism in China.

The Reform Movement of 1898 which the film glorifies was a reformist movement of the Chinese bourgeoisie. This movement was launched by certain members of the feudal ruling class and a number of bourgeois reformers who were starting to break away from the feudal ruling class. They launched this movement under the threat of a revolutionary storm and the disaster of national subjugation and in the interests of the landlords and the bourgeoisie. This was an attempt to lead China on to the road of capitalism through reformist modernization and constitutional reform from above.

Under the historical conditions of the time, the 1898 Reform Movement was, to some extent, a blow against the ideological domination of the feudal ruling class and it played a certain enlightening role in the process of ideological emancipation. We have always taken note of this point. However, such recognition means making a critical assessment of historical personages and incidents from the viewpoint of historical materialism. It does not in any way mean an unprincipled glorifying of the 1898 Reform Movement and its representative participants. The representative persons of the 1898 Reform Movement were themselves rulers who exploited and oppressed the working people. Their reformist goal did not and could never serve the interests of the people's revolution; they aimed at consolidating their rule and exploiting the people even more effectively. What they wanted to change was not the essence but only some minor aspects of the old order. The illusion they cherished was simply the gradual transformation by devious means of the landlord economy into a semi-landlord and semi-capitalist economy (actually a semi-feudal and semi-colonial economy). This was an attempt to head off the people's revolutionary movement and suppress the revolution in unapparent ways. Even at that time, therefore, reformism could never be the way out for the Chinese people.

At the end of the 19th century, there already existed two roads of social reform in China: One was the bourgeois reformist road which meant the attempt to get to capitalism by means of constitutional reform and modernization from above. In the historical conditions of China at that time, this could not be other than a false, impassable and reactionary road because China lacked the historical conditions for reformist modernization such as existed in Western Europe and Japan. China was then being gradually reduced to a semi-feudal and semi-colonial state under imperialist aggression. Yet Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao, leaders of the Chinese bourgeois reformists, placed their hopes for constitutional reform and modernization precisely on imperialism. They cherished the illusion that they could go over completely to the side of imperialism and rely on its strength to realize their aims of constitutional reform and modernization. The result of that could only be to bring a wolf into the house and accelerate the process of reducing China to a semi-colonial, semi-feudal state, in which the development of capitalism in China would be absolutely out of the question. The other road of social reform was for the broad masses to rise up and make revolution by armed struggle. Both the Taiping Revolution and the Yi Ho Tuan movement took this road. These revolutions did not achieve final victory because they lacked proletarian leadership. However, they

dealt heavy blows at imperialism and feudalism and promoted China's historical advance.

"I raise my sword to laugh at the sky." A most tragic and moving episode of the 1898 Reform Movement was the death of Tan Szu-tung, a courageous and enlightening thinker. His death announced the premature end of this movement and the bankruptcy of the bourgeois reformist road. Half a century later, however, the reactionary film "Inside Story of the Ching Court" again advocated bourgeois reformism, which had long ago gone bankrupt. This film does its utmost to spread the nonsensical idea that "if China is to become rich and strong, there must be constitutional reform and modernization!" Through the mouth of the Emperor Kuang Hsu, the film gives high praise to constitutional reform and modernization, extravagantly lauding reformism in such words as "Meiji reforms," "the imperial decree on constitutional reform," and "if China continues to reform in this way, in less than 30 years it will become the richest and most powerful state in the world!" This is a crazy call for a bourgeois republic, for Western bourgeois civilization and for the bourgeois reformist road, which will never be tolerated by the revolutionary people!

The film lauds to the skies the representative persons of bourgeois reformism, the Emperor Kuang Hsu in particular. It says that the emperor "wearied his brain and suffered much vexation" ... "in the interests of the state and the people," and pictures him as saying "as long as the affairs of state are going well ... personal health is of little account."

Especially vicious is the way that the film, while singing the praises of emperors, kings, ministers and generals and prettifying bourgeois reformism, tries by every means to smear the working people and vilify the masses as a "mob." Towards the end of the film, the scenarist, through distorted and slanderous images of peasants and village women, extravagantly glorifies the Emperor Kuang Hsu, praising him as a "good emperor," "helping us, the people" and saying that "we all think of His Majesty!" The villagers "offer" eggs and other refreshments to the Emperor Kuang Hsu. On his departure, the film shows "the people kneeling along the roadside to see him off." The film gives currency to the slander that "the masses are most obedient and most easily satisfied." Are the masses of people really such easy-going, obedient, base and ugly mobs? It is absolutely impermissible to smear the working people! Chairman Mao teaches us: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."<sup>8</sup> That the handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, who supports them from behind, have done so much to sing the praises of this reactionary film which glorifies emperors and kings, ministers and generals, smears the working people and preaches bourgeois reformism only serves to expose their true colours of all-out opposition to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The Chinese people won revolutionary victory through protracted armed struggle under the leadership of Chairman Mao, and on the eve of the

founding of the People's Republic of China, Chairman Mao himself summed up the revolutionary struggles of the past one hundred years, criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reformist road and proclaiming that "Western bourgeois civilization, bourgeois democracy and the plan for a bourgeois republic have all gone bankrupt in the eyes of the Chinese people." What angers people especially is the fact that after all this the handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road should have described this reactionary, out-and-out traitorous film, which sings the praises of bourgeois reformism and advocates the capitalist road, as a "patriotic" film and put it on show in a big way in every part of China without criticism and repudiation. If this can be tolerated, what cannot be tolerated?

In his article, "On The People's Democratic Dictatorship," Chairman Mao states: "From the time of China's defeat in the Opium War of 1840, Chinese progressives went through untold hardships in their quest for truth from the Western countries." Chinese who then sought progress maintained that "only modernization could save China, only learning from foreign countries could modernize China." "The Japanese had been successful in learning from the West, and the Chinese also wished to learn from the Japanese." But, "imperialist aggression shattered the fond dreams of the Chinese about learning from the West. It was very odd -- why were the teachers always committing aggression against their pupil? The Chinese learned a good deal from the West, but they could not make it work and were never able to realize their ideals." "The salvos of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism." "Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese people, after driving out Japanese imperialism, waged the People's War of Liberation for three years and have basically won victory." "Bourgeois democracy has given way to people's democracy under the leadership of the working class and the bourgeois republic to the people's republic. This has made it possible to achieve socialism and communism through the people's republic, to abolish classes and enter a world of Great Harmony. Kang Yu-wei wrote Ta Tung Shu, or the Book of Great Harmony, but he did not and could not find the way to achieve Great Harmony. There are bourgeois republics in foreign lands, but China cannot have a bourgeois republic because she is a country suffering under imperialist oppression. The only way is through a people's republic led by the working class."<sup>9</sup>

A handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road disregarded the historical facts as well as the warnings given by Chairman Mao. They continued to use the reactionary and out-and-out traitorous film, "Inside Story of the Ching Court" to prettify Western bourgeois civilization, prettify bourgeois democracy, prettify the bourgeois republic, and advocate bourgeois reformism and the capitalist road. This amounts to flagrantly opposing Mao Tse-tung's thought and vainly attempting a restoration of capitalism in China. They put all their efforts into extolling the reactionary film, "Inside Story of the Ching Court," precisely because this film, which opposes revolution and eulogizes reform, serves to beat the gongs and clear the way for them to

stage a capitalist restoration. What they did was in effect to use people of former times to sing the praises of capitalism and the road of bourgeois reformism, to use this film to mislead the masses and prettify bourgeois reformism, their ultimate purpose being to overthrow the people's regime, undermine our dictatorship of the proletariat, and place the fruits of the victory of the revolution in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

The serious struggle that developed around the reactionary film, "Inside Story of the Ching Court," is by no means merely a question of one film, but a struggle between the two classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, a struggle between Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought on the one hand, and bourgeois reformist and revisionist ideas on the other, a struggle between an attempt at capitalist restoration and the efforts of the proletariat opposed to capitalist restoration. In the final analysis, it is a struggle to determine who will win, capitalism or socialism.

Under the leadership of their great leader Chairman Mao, the Chinese people fought hard, bloody battles, advanced wave upon wave, and finally carried the struggle against imperialism and feudalism to victory. With the whole country liberated, where should liberated China go? To whom should the fruits of victory belong? Which class was entitled to pick the peaches that had grown, watered by the blood and lives of thousands upon thousands of revolutionary martyrs? Such major questions were the focus of the struggle waged between various classes in Chinese society not only at that time; they remain so even today.

The bourgeoisie wanted to snatch the fruits of victory from out of the hands of the people. They wanted to pick the peaches. They wanted China, just liberated, to take the capitalist road. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was the one to pick the peaches on behalf of the bourgeoisie.

Since liberation, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has gone on dreaming night and day of capitalist restoration, obstinately clinging to his bourgeois world outlook, zealously yearning for bourgeois reformism, and trying his utmost to stop the Chinese revolution halfway, thus giving a big boost to capitalism.

Chairman Mao has said that the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, marked the basic completion of the stage of new-democratic revolution and the beginning of the stage of socialist revolution. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, however, harped on a contrary tune, painstakingly preached "consolidation of the new-democratic order," and campaigned for the development of capitalism in China.

Before and after the showing throughout the country of the reactionary film, "Inside Story of the Ching Court," he campaigned everywhere, making many sinister speeches, issuing many sinister directives, energetically praising the so-called "progress" and "glory" of the capitalist system, and

spreading the absurd idea that "exploitation is no crime," "to rebel is not justified." Marx said: "Capital comes [into the world] dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt."<sup>10</sup> But, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road had this to say: "In China, there is not too much capitalism, but too little"; "It is necessary to develop capitalist exploitation for such exploitation is progressive"; "Instead of being an evil, capitalist exploitation today is a contribution." He loudly stated that "the working people do not oppose exploitation, but welcome it"; and that "the more the capitalists, the more the exploitation, the more satisfaction we will have." He even shamelessly told a number of capitalists that "the agony of the workers is unemployment. What they fear is that no one will exploit them. Therefore, they feel it better to be exploited than not"; "The workers want you to exploit them. If you do not exploit them, they will be miserable"; "The capitalists are also serving the people"; "If you are able to exploit more, you will be benefitting both the state and the people"; "The more you exploit, the greater will be your merit and glory"; "Exploitation by the capitalists has its merits in history and such merits are immortal." He energetically spread the idea that "exploitation is legal," saying: "It is legal to make profit, however great it may be. It is also legal to indulge in beautiful clothes, rouge and powder and wining and dining." Talking like a clown, he addressed capitalists: "Messrs. capitalists! I beg you to exploit me! If you exploit me, I shall be able to feed myself and my wife and children will be able to live. If you do not exploit me, that will be terrible."

When the workers did not accept his stinking reactionary theories, he slandered them as "lacking political understanding and having a low level of political consciousness." Speaking like an accomplice of the capitalists, he maliciously threatened the workers: "If the workers are unruly, it is legal (for the capitalists) to struggle against (them)."

At the same time, he also vigorously advocated the development of capitalist economy in the rural areas, clamouring for "long-term protection of the rich-peasant economy," advancing the "four freedoms" (freedom of usury, of hiring labour, land sale and private enterprise). He advocated vigorous efforts to foster the type of peasant "who owns three horses, a plough and a cart" so as to develop the rich-peasant economy. He talked such nonsense as: "At present exploitation saves people and it is dogmatic to forbid exploitation. Now there must be exploitation and it should be welcomed. If the refugees from south of the Great Wall who go to northeast China are exploited by the rich peasants there, these refugees will be very grateful for such exploitation"; "Hiring hands is not exploitation; it increases the wealth of society." He also proposed that there should be "no limitation" on hiring hands to till the land. "It is legal to hire hands to till the land; this benefits the masses too." He claimed that "those who exploit can also be socialists" and that "there is nothing to be afraid of, should there be ten thousand rich-peasant Party members in northeast China." He tried to get the capitalist economy to swiftly flood the rural areas.

In singing the praises of the man-eating capitalist system of exploitation, not even the hired scholars of the bourgeoisie and the motley crew of apologists for old and modern revisionism could catch up with this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

Each plant yields its own particular fruit; each class speaks in its own terms. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road thinks and loves capitalism and talks capitalism too. The cannibal philosophy that he peddles serves entirely to develop capitalism and safeguard the bloody system of exploitation of man by man. His voice is the voice of vampires and parasites. This thoroughly exposes his filthy, ugly bourgeois soul.

In trying to justify himself, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road said that his case was one of "a veteran revolutionary meeting new problems."

What a "veteran revolutionary meeting new problems"!

Could there be a "veteran revolutionary" so frantically carrying out activities to restore capitalism?

Could there be a "veteran revolutionary" who would so wildly oppose our great leader Chairman Mao and the great thought of Mao Tse-tung?

If he really is a "veteran revolutionary," then let him explain:

Why is it that, on the eve of the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, you preached so vigorously the philosophy of survival, a capitulationist philosophy, a traitor's philosophy, and directed some people to make confessions and surrender to the Kuomintang and betray the Communist Party, openly publish "anti-Communist statements" and vow "firmly to oppose communism"?

Why is it that, after the victory of the War of Resistance, you advanced the capitulationist line of "a new stage of peace and democracy"?

Why is it that, after liberation, you did your utmost to oppose the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, oppose agricultural co-operation and slash the number of agricultural co-operatives?

Why is it that, after the completion of the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, agriculture and handicrafts, you painstakingly propagated the dying out of class struggle and actively advocated class collaboration and the liquidation of class struggle?

Why is it that, during the three difficult years, you echoed the ghosts and monsters at home and abroad in viciously attacking the three red banners [the Party's general line for building socialism, the great leap



forward and the people's communes<sup>7</sup>, while advocating the revisionist line of "the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, the fixing of output quotas based on the household" and "the liquidation of struggle in our relations with imperialism, the reactionaries and modern revisionism, and reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggle of other peoples"?

Why is it that you republished in 1962 that poisonous weed, that deceitful book on self-cultivation of Communists which does not advocate revolution, class struggle, the seizure of political power and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which opposes Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, preaches a decadent bourgeois world outlook and the reactionary philosophy of bourgeois idealism?

Why is it that in the socialist education movement you put forward and pushed through the opportunist line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence to sabotage the socialist education movement?

Why is it that in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution you have colluded with another top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in putting forward and carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line?

There is only one answer: You are not at all a "veteran revolutionary"! You are a sham revolutionary, a counterrevolutionary. You are a Khrushchov lying right beside us!

During the past 17 years, a handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists, with the support of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, have launched a frenzied, all-round attack on the proletariat, spreading a great deal of poison in the fields of politics, economy, culture and education.

In this great proletarian cultural revolution, we must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, organize a mighty cultural army of the proletarian revolution, thoroughly smash the frenzied attacks by this handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, dig out the main root of revisionism in our country, overthrow careerists and conspirators like Khrushchov, prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state and guard against the restoration of capitalism, so as to guarantee that our country will never change its colour!

"With power and to spare we must pursue the tottering foe." This great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao himself is aimed precisely at mobilizing the hundreds of millions of people to pursue relentlessly the handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road

who supports them from behind, to recapture all the citadels they usurped and ensure that Mao Tse-tung's thought occupy all positions. It is precisely as Comrade Lin Biao said in speaking about this great proletarian cultural revolution: "It is a big campaign; it is a general attack on the ideas of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes." We must respond to the great call of Chairman Mao to hold high the revolutionary banner of criticism and repudiation, plunge bravely into the struggle, thoroughly criticize, repudiate and eliminate in all fields the noxious influences of the bourgeois reactionary line represented by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, we must vigorously destroy the old ideas of the exploiting classes and establish the complete ascendancy of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The road of struggle is tortuous and its development is uneven. There is resistance along the road of advance. We must overcome all difficulties, break down all resistance and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end; we must not give up halfway.

Unfurl the red banner of the great and invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung all over China; may it shine for ever in splendour!

Long live the victory of the movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution led personally by our respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao!

( Hung-ghai No. 5, 1967)

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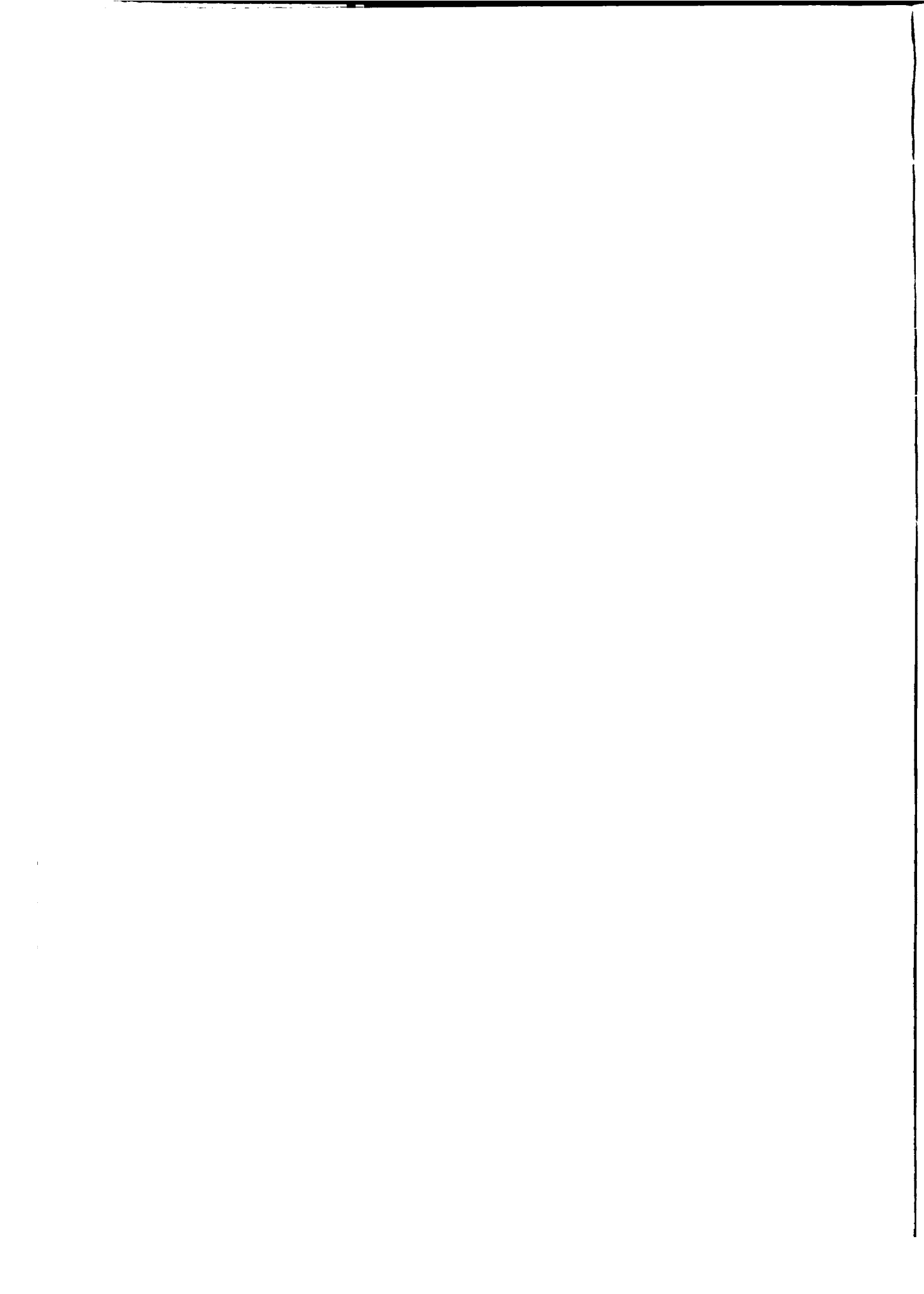
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**THE BOURGEOIS REACTIONARY LINE ON THE QUESTION OF  
CADRES MUST BE CRITICIZED AND REPUDIATED**

[Following is a translation of an article by a Hung-ch'i commentator in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 5, 30 March 1967, pages 24-25.]

"Hit hard at many in order to protect a handful" is a component part of the bourgeois reactionary line. Many facts have proved this. Tsinghua University under the control of a certain person who put forward the bourgeois reactionary line is a typical example. The investigation made by members of this journal's staff on how the work team sent to Tsinghua University dealt with the question of cadres is most illuminating in this respect.

Taking a reactionary bourgeois stand, those few persons who have put forward the bourgeois reactionary line have racked their brains to protect the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and quell the vigorous mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution. They sent out large numbers of work teams and directed them to hit hard at the revolutionary masses and label them "counterrevolutionaries" and, at the same time, hit hard at the masses of cadres and label large numbers of good or comparatively good cadres members of a "sinister gang." All this runs counter to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and aims at leading the great proletarian cultural revolution astray and bringing it on to the bourgeois road.

Very great successes have already been achieved in mass criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line. It is especially necessary now to emphasize criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres, and criticism and repudiation of "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful" which is a component part of the bourgeois reactionary line.

Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on the question of cadres is diametrically opposed to the bourgeois reactionary line. The struggle between the two lines on the question of cadres began a long time ago.

The few persons, who put forward the bourgeois reactionary line in the great proletarian cultural revolution, had earlier carried out a line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence and "hit hard at many in order to protect a handful" in the socialist education movement. Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas (the 23-article document) which was drawn up under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao, was a criticism and a repudiation of those few persons. This document pointed out that the majority of the cadres are good or comparatively good and unity of more than 95 per cent of the cadres should gradually be achieved. Towards cadres who have committed mistakes, the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, curing the sickness to save the patient" should be applied. The emphasis is on attacking a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance, also embodies this spirit.

However, the persons who put forward the bourgeois reactionary line always act to the contrary. They stubbornly cling to the reactionary bourgeois standpoint. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, they intensified their efforts to carry out the bourgeois reactionary line by attacking the broad masses of the people and the broad masses of cadres in order to protect a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

What the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, big and small, are most afraid of are the revolutionary masses and the revolutionary cadres, and particularly the integration of the revolutionary cadres with the revolutionary masses. The few persons who put forward the bourgeois reactionary line incite the masses to struggle against the cadres on the one hand, and on the other, incite the cadres to suppress the masses. This is an attempt to kill two birds with one stone, that is, to suppress the revolutionary masses and at the same time suppress the revolutionary cadres. They try to prevent the cadres from stepping forward to make revolution and to set cadres and masses sharply against each other. Therefore, in the course of bringing about the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, it is necessary to thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line in relation to the cadre question.

At the present time, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road are attempting to put the blame for "indiscriminately overthrowing" the cadres on the young revolutionary fighters, on the proletarian revolutionaries, and on the headquarters of the proletariat. They pretend to show concern for the cadres, pull to their side some people who do not know the truth, and sow discord between the cadres and the young revolutionary fighters, and between the cadres and the headquarters of the proletariat. They vainly attempt to undermine the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, exclude the genuine

revolutionary cadres and wreck the proletarian revolutionaries' struggle to seize power. They even put on a disguise and try in every way to worm their way into the leading bodies of the "three-in-one" combination, so as to bring about a counter-revolutionary restoration of capitalism. This is a big conspiracy and must be thoroughly exposed. The broad masses of the people and the broad masses of cadres must increase their vigilance and never allow themselves to be taken in by it.

Many of the cadres who were persecuted and attacked by the bourgeois reactionary line are good cadres or comparatively good. These comrades must bravely step forward to firmly support the revolutionary masses, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, concentrate on exposing and striking at the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and plunge without reservation into this fiery struggle. Only in this way can they become one with the revolutionary masses and contribute their share to the struggle to seize power, and at the same time remould themselves in the struggle. You must never be fooled again by a certain book on the self-cultivation of Communists. This book is deceitful talk, divorced from the living class struggle, from the revolution and from the political struggle; it never talks about the question of political power as the fundamental question of revolution and never talks of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It propagates an idealist theory of self-cultivation and in a devious way promotes bourgeois individualism and slavishness, and opposes Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. The more one cultivates oneself in terms of this book, the more revisionist one becomes and the farther one degenerates into revisionism. This book must be thoroughly criticized and repudiated and its pernicious influence liquidated. Criticism and repudiation of this book is an important component of criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line.

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GO ALL OUT TO MOBILIZE THE MASSES, SMASH THE SCHEME FOR  
COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY RESTORATION

[Following is a translation of an article by Wang Hsiao-yu (3769/2400/4416) in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 5, 30 March 1967, pp 31-33.]

Chairman Mao taught us: "Concern yourselves with state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end."

After succeeding in seizing power, the proletarian revolutionaries in Shantung are faced with a new, important test: whether they are able to raise high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, unswervingly carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

The great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, our great leader, is a unique and great creation. It aims ultimately at completely uprooting capitalism and revisionism in China, and at solving the contradictions between the two classes of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the two roads of socialism and capitalism. The struggle to seize power has been a pitched battle between the proletarian revolutionaries and the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The victory of the proletarian revolutionaries in this struggle to seize power has dealt a telling blow to the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road. But this does not necessarily mean the end of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads, and the two lines. This is because the handful of party people in authority taking the

capitalist road are still alive and have not yet given up hope. They are bound to collude with the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, rightists, and monsters and freaks in society who persist in their reactionary stand to carry out a life and death struggle against us in new forms, in a vain attempt to regain their lost power. If, by reason of their victory in the struggle to seize power, the proletarian revolutionaries should become so intoxicated and benumbed as to underestimate the seriousness of this situation, they would be committing a tremendous political mistake and be in danger of losing their political power.

After the victory in the struggle to seize power, the great proletarian cultural revolution has taken on a new look in Shantung. The torrent of revolution has roared forward along the course pointed out by Chairman Mao. The situation is very good and is becoming better and better.

At this juncture, however, the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road who have just been overthrown by us and who are not reconciled to their defeat, having somewhat recovered from their big shock, are forming an alliance with reactionary forces of all descriptions to start a counter-revolutionary countercurrent for regaining power.

Their counterrevolutionary operations for regaining power are characterized by their efforts to undermine the revolutionary "three-way alliances" and to punish the proletarian revolutionaries.

After the great proletarian cultural revolution entered the new stage of the power struggle, Chairman Mao issued the great call for us to form revolutionary "three-way alliances." These alliances will guarantee the victory of the struggle to seize power and the consolidation of such power.

To consolidate and strengthen the revolutionary "three-way alliances" following their victory in the struggle to seize power, the Shantung proletarian revolutionaries have resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's cadre policy, urging more and more leading cadres to step forward and join the revolution.

At this time, with the erroneous idea that the situation had changed, the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road held that their opportunity had arrived; they eagerly jumped up to earnestly distort the correct principles of the "three-way alliance" in a vain attempt to kill the revolutionary soul of this alliance and turn it into a "two-combined-into-one" hodgepodge. They tried their best to sow

discord between the revolutionary mass organizations, revolutionary leading cadres, and the People's Liberation Army, to use their influence to play up compromise and eclecticism, and to direct their followers to infiltrate the power organizations of the revolutionary "three-way alliances." Some of them even openly clamored for a reversal of the decisions on their cases and a reinstatement of their status. This is the most insidious and heinous boring-into-the-heart tactic adopted by the class enemies under the new conditions; it aims at regaining their lost power of leadership and at enabling them to regain their positions so as to again exercise their counterrevolutionary bourgeois dictatorship over the proletarian revolutionaries.

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, one's attitude toward the revolutionary masses and revolutionary mass organizations is a matter of importance, such as determining whether one is absolutely right or absolutely wrong. This is so before the seizure of power as well as after it.

After succeeding in the power struggle, to properly carry out the struggle, criticism, and transformation and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, the revolutionary mass organizations in Shantung immediately embarked on a rectification campaign centering on the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, to sum up their struggle experience, reorient their ideology and style of work, and increase their fighting power. It is excellent that they have such precious revolutionary self-consciousness and creative spirit.

But the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road and some persons with ulterior motives have seized their opportunity to make big issues. They have carried out counteroffensives against the proletarian revolutionaries and measures aiming to reverse their cases. In addition, they have undertaken to distort facts, fabricate rumors, befriend one group of people, punish another group of people, and instigate the masses to struggle against themselves. They have tried their best to smear the revolutionary pathbreakers, condemning some for coming from impure families, others for having improper motives in joining the rebellion, and still others for harboring individual ambition. Taking advantage of their past influence, they have pulled strings behind the scenes to actively revive the royalist organizations.

Some have even gone so far as to openly threaten revolutionary mass organizations which had criticized and struggled against them in the past with these remarks: "You made a mistake in your course and line in struggling against me in the

past. Now is the time that I should settle accounts with you. I cannot wait until after the autumn harvest, I want to settle the account now, on a cash basis," and so forth.

In short, they are always waiting to see which way the cat jumps and seeking opportunities to carry out class reprisal against the proletarian revolutionaries, in a vain attempt to bring down the revolutionary mass organizations, repress the spectacular revolutionary mass movement personally initiated by our great leader Chairman Mao, and halt the great proletarian cultural revolution midway.

Chairman Mao teaches us: The imperialists and domestic reactionaries will certainly not take their defeat lying down, and they will struggle to the last ditch. After there is peace and order throughout the country, they will still engage in sabotage and create disturbances in various ways and will try every day and every minute to stage a comeback in China. This is inevitable and beyond all doubt, and under no circumstances should we relax our vigilance.

The emergence of the current counterrevolutionary adverse current for staging a comeback is not strange. This is decided by the objective law of class struggle and will not be changed by the will of man. What is important is that we, the proletarian revolutionaries, must maintain a clear political head from beginning to the end and remember Chairman Mao's teaching: "Like all reactionaries, the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road will never agree to lay down their butcher knives nor to become Buddhas. We must not have any unrealistic illusion about them, must timely see through all their intrigues and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against them.

To smash this adverse current for staging a counterrevolutionary comeback, the Shantung proletarian revolutionaries took up rectification and struggle simultaneously under the leadership of the provincial revolutionary committee, and fully mobilized the revolutionary spirit of the broad masses of people. Chairman Mao has always taught us to trust the masses, rely on them, respect their creative spirit, let them educate and emancipate themselves in the course of struggle, and let them rise by themselves to join the revolution.

The revolutionary masses have the firmest position, the clearest distinction between love and hatred, and the best ability to grasp the general orientation of the struggle. They have the sharpest eyesight, can observe most clearly the motives of the class enemies, and are most capable of seeing through the intrigues of the class enemies. Facts have shown that as

long as we resolutely carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao to fully mobilize the broad masses of revolutionary people, the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road and attempting vainly to stage a counterrevolutionary comeback will be exposed in broad daylight without a hiding place.

Policies and strategies are the life of the party. To smash this counterrevolutionary adverse current for regaining power, the proletarian revolutionaries of Shantung Province conducted a broad and penetrating investigation and study under the leadership of the provincial revolutionary committee. With this as a basis, they made a strict distinction between the two types of contradictions of a different nature. They made a sharp distinction between the handful of party people in authority who are taking the capitalist road and scheming for a counterrevolutionary comeback and those masses who were deceived. They also strictly distinguished the handful of party people in authority who are taking the capitalist road and taking advantage of the confusion to stage counterattacks and reprisals from those leading cadres who really stepped forward to join the revolution. They grasp tightly the general orientation of the struggle and resolutely aim the spearhead of the struggle at the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the lifeline of the proletarian revolutionaries. The proletarian revolutionaries of Shantung Province, relying on the great and invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, have won a great victory in the struggle to seize power. We are also sure of our ability in following Chairman Mao's teaching to unite with the broad masses of revolutionary people, thoroughly smash the adverse current for a counterrevolutionary comeback, do still better in the revolutionary "three-way alliance," do still better in the rectification campaign within the revolutionary organizations, destroy self-interest and foster the collective spirit, intensify the revolutionization of thought, successfully complete the mission of struggle-criticism-transformation, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

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## HOW WE SUPPORTED PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARIES

[Following is a translation of an article by Nanking PLA members Liang Chi-ch'ing (2733/6549/0615), Tu Fang-p'ing (2629/2455/1627), and Wu Ta-sheng (0702/1129/0524) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 5, 30 March 1967, pp 39-43.]

Our great leader, Chairman Mao, made a decision on the broadcasting of China's first big-character poster of Marxism-Leninism and personally ignited the raging flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionary teachers and students of Nanking University ferreted out counterrevolutionary revisionist element Kuang Ya-ming. A favorable revolutionary situation prevailed in the whole university.

Under these conditions, we, as members of the PLA and members of a workteam led by a responsible comrade of the provincial CCP committee and organized by the provincial CCP committee, participated in the great proletarian cultural revolution at Nanking University.

The second day after we entered the university, differences in principle existed within the workteam. The differences became greater and greater, and the struggle became sharper and sharper, following the development of the movement. When we realized that this was a struggle between the two lines, we consciously and firmly sided with the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, openly and resolutely supported the proletarian revolutionaries, fought with them shoulder to shoulder, and won victories in the struggle.

1--In late June last year the revolutionary teachers and students of Nanking University had broken away from the

restriction established by the provincial CCP committee to bind the mass movement, put up a number of revolutionary big-character posters, and exposed the crimes of a number of counterrevolutionary revisionists in the university's party committee. The handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road in the university's party committee and in the provincial CCP committee who incited a number of duped students to encircle and attack the revolutionary big-character posters and made use of the instruments of dictatorship to try to frame these revolutionary comrades, brand them as "counterrevolutionaries" and "evil elements," and so on.

Chairman Mao said: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution. To insure that we will definitely achieve success in our revolution and will not lead the masses astray, we must pay attention to uniting with our real friends in order to attack the real enemies." Many of the revolutionary students of Nanking University come from families of workers and poor and lower middle peasants. They dare to think, to speak, to break through, and to make revolution. The big-character posters they put up were presenting facts and reasoning things out. They were compatible with Mao Tse-tung's thought. These people were innocent. How could we treat them as our enemies? Due to our strong proletarian feelings, we liked them from the bottom of our hearts, sympathized with them, and supported their revolutionary movement. We resisted and opposed the schemes of the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road in framing the revolutionary comrades.

Under the threat of the white terror of the bourgeois reactionary line, these young revolutionary fighters thought of Chairman Mao day and night. They had boundless faith in the Chinese PLA personally created by Chairman Mao and directly led by Comrade Lin Piao.

They found us and we supported them and encouraged their revolutionary spirit. We said to them: "You have the courage and write your big-character posters well. You must persistently carry on in writing posters which are of a high standard."

While the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students were rising to expose the questions within the university's party committee, the provincial CCP committee put forward the policy of "starting the operation from the lower and middle levels" in a vain attempt to divert the main orientation of the struggle and direct the spearhead at the broad masses of cadres and people. We disagreed on such action and waged a struggle in various forms.



When the chief responsible comrade of the workteam announced that "the university's party committee is correct," many students came to ask us: "Can we criticize the university's party committee?" We firmly answered: "It must be criticized. Those incompatible with Mao Tse-tung's thought must be exposed and criticized."

Our revolutionary action had evoked animosity from the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road. They time and again exerted pressure on us, clamoring: "Some people are waving the PLA banner to oppose the provincial CCP committee," "opposing the provincial CCP committee means opposing the party," "heads will fall if a wrong step is taken," and so on.

We are revolutionary soldiers. Acting upon Chairman Mao's instructions is our bounden duty. We shall firmly carry out those instructions compatible with Mao Tse-tung's thought and firmly oppose those incompatible with Mao Tse-tung's thought. Under great pressure from the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road, our faith in support of proletarian revolutionaries never wavered.

2--The publication of the decision made by the CCP Central Committee on the great proletarian cultural revolution sounded the death knell of the bourgeois reactionary line. The proletarian revolutionaries of Nanking University were filled with joy. They fiercely attacked the erroneous line carried out by the workteam and began by criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line in Nanking.

The proletarian revolutionaries are very sharp in analyzing problems. While criticizing the errors of the workteam, they discovered that the real root was in the provincial CCP committee. They fiercely launched an attack and were determined to take off the lid of the class struggle in the provincial CCP committee.

The proletarian revolutionaries had full confidence in us, hoping that we would rise to rebel against the bourgeois reactionary line. At that time our position was difficult and our feelings were mixed. On the one hand, all the words of the revolutionary students and teachers sounded reasonable. The workteam did commit mistakes of orientation and line. We must give full support to the revolutionary students and teachers.

On the other hand, the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road stubbornly held fast to the bourgeois reactionary line, used the cudgel of so-called "discipline" to exert pressure on us, and formulated the policy of

"keeping the different inside, uniting with each other when dealing with outsiders, reporting to the higher level while keeping mum at the lower level, subordinating oneself to the organization, and reserving opinions." They had also asked us many times to "unify calibers" with them. Under such conditions, what should we do?

Chairman Mao taught us: "A communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life." He also said: The people's army "has come together and they fight not for the private interests of a few individuals or a narrow clique, but for the interests of the broad masses and of the whole nation. The sole purpose of this army is to stand firmly with the Chinese people and to serve them wholeheartedly."

We are communists and members of the glorious Chinese PLA. We must never place fear above all and forget to pay attention to state affairs. We must never observe "discipline" of revisionism, and maintain an erroneous leadership. We have spent half of our lives in following Chairman Mao to make revolution. We must maintain proletarian integrity as long as we live. We must firmly wage irreconcilable struggle against anything incompatible with Mao Tse-tung's thought. Heads may fall and blood may flow, but we must never give up Mao Tse-tung's thought.

We were determined to take the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and to thoroughly rebel against the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road and against the bourgeois reactionary line. Thus we stepped forth and supported the proletarian revolutionaries with a clearcut stand.

In line with Chairman Mao's teaching that "you must place politics in the fore, identify yourselves with the masses, and join the masses to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution still better," we shared the same breath and destiny with the revolutionary masses, and fought and won victories together.

We exposed the crimes committed during the great proletarian cultural revolution by the handful of persons in authority within the provincial CCP committee taking the capitalist road. Our exposure of their crimes further strengthened the confidence of proletarian revolutionaries in waging struggle. Henceforth the proletarian revolutionaries had profound faith in us, and we had established deep, militant friendship with them.

The young revolutionary fighters educated and helped us. The young revolutionary fighters are newborn forces, nurtured by the thought of Mao Tse-tung. They put into practice the main orientation of the revolution. We fully realized that to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution well, it is necessary to follow Mao Tse-tung's thought and the young revolutionary fighters.

Chairman Mao said: Those who represent the exploiting classes usually, when in a predicament, resort to the tactics of attack as a means of defense, so that they can stay alive today and even flourish tomorrow. They throw rumors in your face which they have conjured up out of thin air, or they pick on a few superficialities as a means of countering the essence of a matter, or they sing the praises of one group of people to attack another, or they seize on an incident as an opportunity for "making a breakthrough at some point" and putting us in a difficult position. In short, they are always considering what tactics to use against us and "spying out the land" in order to employ their tactics successfully.

Things were just like that. Due to our open support to the proletarian revolutionaries, the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road regarded as a thorn in the thigh, they would never be happy until they removed it.

They tried every possible way to fabricate lies, and to slander and attack us in order to shape up counterrevolutionary public opinion, shift the main orientation of the struggle, and direct the spearhead at the revolutionaries persisting in the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao and at the great PLA of China.

They incited these royalist organizations to encircle and attack us and conduct struggles against us. Not even the comrades in charge of surgical operations in the hospitals were spared. They viciously slandered us as "the scum of the PLA" and "the renegades of the Communist Party," and even went about collecting materials on us in preparation for holding a 100,000-strong rally to label us as "antiparty elements."

At that time, the situation could be described as "the dark clouds gathered over the city heralding its destruction." Though beset by their brutal encirclements and attacks, we were determined to defend the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao at all costs and to resolutely follow Chairman Mao in carrying out the revolution. It is our belief that there is only one existing truth, and that truth is none other than Mao Tse-tung's thought. We believe that no matter

how strong the resistance or how fierce the attack, they are only temporary, and victory surely will belong to Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Then many revolutionaries visited the hospital to comfort us and encourage us to fight resolutely. We told the revolutionary fighters that that was the nature of class struggle, and that class struggle necessarily entails sacrifices. We were -- and are -- prepared to make sacrifices, and even if sacrifices are made they are worth it.

It was sheer nonsense for some of those persons with ulterior motives to have told us threateningly: "You people instigated one section of the masses to struggle against another section of the masses." It is clear that our action was right because we openly sided with the proletarian revolutionaries while hoping that the hoodwinked people would return to side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao to take up concerted action to defend this line. Those people who really instigated struggle among the masses are those people who stubbornly persist in the bourgeois reactionary line, who support the conservatives, and who persecute the revolutionaries.

Some of those people with good will advised us not to support only one side and exclude the other, but to unite the forces of the two sides together. Will this do? No. All things must be viewed according to the principle of one dividing into two. In the acute struggle between the two classes -- the proletariat and the bourgeoisie -- and between the two lines, you either lean to the side of the revolutionaries or the conservatives, either lean to the side of the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. It is impossible not to lean to either side and remain neutral. Neutrality is false and hypocritical.

Disregarding the threats of those people with ulterior motives and the advice of those with good intentions, we will resolutely hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and unswervingly support the proletarian revolutionaries. The more thoroughly we expose the enemy and the more resolutely we struggle against the enemy, the stronger is our support to the proletarian revolutionaries.

3--In the proletarian cultural revolution, the proletarian revolutionaries are brave and resolute in their struggle and are highly enthusiastic about being in the forefront. Invariably, their general orientation is correct. In the revolutionary movement of such a big scale, our shortcomings and mistakes are hardly avoidable.

Some people with ulterior motives, without recognizing the essence and the mainstream of the struggle -- as the proletarian revolutionaries do -- seizing on their shortcomings and mistakes which cropped up in the course of their progress, freely inflated and exaggerated these shortcomings and mistakes, and struck at the proletarian revolutionaries by creating public opinion, against them in a vain attempt to achieve their criminal aim of sabotaging the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Under such circumstances, we bravely stepped forward and firmly refuted and repudiated their slanders and attacks.

At the same time, we have given support and assistance to the proletarian revolutionaries by various means such as putting forward a suggestion or a way of solving problems.

Of all the support to be given to the proletarian revolutionaries, the most important is to support them with Mao Tse-tung's thought. While engaged in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works ourselves, we also rendered help to the proletarian revolutionaries in the application of Chairman Mao's works in order to make them mature politically more quickly.

We laid stress in helping the proletarian revolutionaries to resolve the following questions:

A -- We helped them find out the main contradiction, grasp the general orientation of the struggle, and direct the spearhead at the handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. We made a proposal to the proletarian revolutionaries to make Nanking University the target for "breaking through," since the university was the stubborn stronghold of some people in the Kiangsu Provincial CCP Committee for pushing their bourgeois reactionary line and was the "experimental field" of the handful of persons in the provincial CCP committee in authority taking the capitalist road, for the raging flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

By taking firm hold of this target for "breaking through," the handful of party persons in the provincial CCP committee in authority taking the capitalist road were severely hit.

B -- We helped the proletarian revolutionaries grasp the tactics employed in the struggle by laying stress on uniting the great majority. Chairman Mao said: "In carrying out a revolution, it is necessary to adopt the tactics of expanding the progressive forces, winning over the intermediate forces,

and opposing the forces of the diehards -- these are three links that cannot be separated."

In the light of Chairman Mao's teachings, we repeatedly reminded the proletarian revolutionaries that they should go to the forefront of the struggle but must not alienate themselves from the masses, that they should correctly treat those hoodwinked people among the conservative organizations, regard them as their class brothers, should not treat them discriminately or exclude them, should warmly help them, patiently educate them, and assist them to make a clean break with the bourgeois reactionary line and return to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

In dealing with the ringleaders who had close connections with the handful of persons in the provincial CCP committee in authority taking the capitalist road, and with the ringleaders of the conservative organizations persisting in the bourgeois reactionary line, the proletarian revolutionaries should arouse the masses to fully expose, criticize, and repudiate them. Only thus can the morale of the proletariat be boosted, the arrogance of the bourgeoisie be deflated, and the ranks of the left be incessantly expanded and strengthened.

C -- We helped them strengthen propaganda work, widely propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought and the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and fully expose crimes of the bourgeois reactionary line. Every time a revolutionary action was taken, prime importance was given to propaganda work in order to help the broad masses of people see the truth and strive to get more people to take part in exposing, criticizing, and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line.

D -- Correct handling of contradictions among the proletarian revolutionaries. Through a rectification campaign and on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the proletarian revolutionaries were able to overcome their differences, strengthen their unity, and coordinate their actions in a common struggle against the enemy.

In the vigorous great proletarian cultural revolution, we have forged a militant friendship of sharing weal and woe with proletarian revolutionaries. We are determined to fight together with them forever, learn from one another, hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and fight for the complete victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

(Comrade Liang Chi-ching is the deputy political commissar of the Kiangsu Province Military District of the PLA; Comrade Tu Fang-ping and Wu Ta-sheng are responsible leaders of a certain unit of the Nanking command of the PLA.)

## BRAVELY ADVANCE IN THE TEETH OF CLASS STRUGGLE

[Following is a translation of an article by Lin Chieh (2651/2638) in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 5, 30 March 1967, pp 44-47.]

The great proletarian cultural revolution is surging ahead like a roaring, swift current that sweeps across thousands of miles. It can be rightly claimed that China's great proletarian cultural revolution, judging from its extensive scale and great power, the broad masses it has mobilized, and its profundity, is unparalleled in history.

Chairman Mao has said: "Among all the things in the world, the people are the most valuable of all."

One of the great achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution is that it has brought forth large numbers of young revolutionary pathbreakers. Nurtured by the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, every one of them is full of vitality. They are good at planning, courageous, and capable of accomplishing the tasks they set themselves. Thus, they have rendered meritorious service to the great proletarian cultural revolution.

They are the first to answer the great call issued by Chairman Mao. Raising aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, they have launched fierce attacks on the handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, while relentlessly exposing the actual crimes perpetrated by the bourgeois reactionary line and resolutely implementing the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. They have founded the powerful and vital revolutionary mass organization of Red Guards, fought courageously with dauntless revolutionary spirit wiped out the monsters and freaks, destroyed

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the four olds, and made a clean sweep of the filthy sludge left behind by the old society.

After the "January revolution" in Shanghai the young Red Guard fighters, acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, have united the proletarian revolutionaries and formed a revolutionary "three-way alliance," courageously seized power from the handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and pushed the great proletarian cultural revolution to a new stage. In the course of the struggle to seize power and when they proposed to seize power from the handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, they advance the most significant slogan to themselves to simultaneously seize power from the ideas of "self-interest" that were in their minds and the important proposal that the proletarian revolutionaries wage the rectification campaign while carrying on the fight . . .

At every stage in the course of the movement they invariably took the lead and fearlessly advanced before the masses along the road pointed out by Chairman Mao. Their general orientation has been correct all the way.

The "Decision of the CCP Central Committee concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution," which was formulated under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao, points out: "Large numbers of revolutionary young people, previously unknown, have become courageous and daring pathbreakers. They are vigorous in action and intelligent. Through the media of big-character posters and great debates they argue things out, expose and criticize thoroughly, and launch resolute attacks on the open and hidden representatives of the bourgeoisie. In such a great revolutionary movement it is hardly avoidable that they should show shortcomings of one kind or another, but their main revolutionary orientation has been correct from the beginning."

The actual practice of revolution over the past six months has fully testified to the correctness of this conclusion.

To insure that our party and country will not change color it is necessary to cultivate large numbers of reliable successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution. This is a strategic task of great significance.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is the best school for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and for the training of large numbers of successors to the communist cause. It is only through the storm of revolution that one may be able to really understand the meaning of class

struggle and proletarian dictatorship, learn how to analyze the class relations in the complicated struggle among the political forces of different groups, distinguish between enemies and friends and between enemies and ourselves, and learn how to grasp the general orientation of struggle and the strategy and tactics of the struggle.

It is only by undergoing the class struggle that one will be able to break with "self" and establish complete devotion to the "public" and temper himself into a revolutionary fighter with a high degree of communist morality. In a word, it is only through the stormy class struggle that one can really learn the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Lenin said: "What can be learned by the large numbers of people within a week during the revolutionary period is much more than what they learned in one year of their ordinary and aimless lives." This is true of the young fighters, who have tremendous political instinct. Pounded by one storm of the class struggle after another, they are urged to immediately master the real skill of class struggle.

All of us have the same feeling: Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, the changes are indeed tremendous! Within a brief period of time the masses have seen and heard of so many major events which they never saw and heard of before and personally experienced countless earth-shaking struggles worthy of praise and sympathy. Many things that no one dared to think of, speak of, or accomplish have emerged and have been accomplished "unexpectedly." Young people previously regarded as "children who know nothing," are now furnishing their ideas through articles to discuss major affairs of state; other young people, previously unknown, are becoming leading figures in charge of the revolutionary movement in factories, rural areas, colleges, middle schools, and government organs through several months of tempering. Large numbers of communist successors loyal to Mao Tse-tung's thought and the proletarian revolutionary cause have emerged like bamboo shoots after a spring rain, and matured and become stronger.

In the process of growth it is impossible for the young Red Guard fighters not to commit shortcomings or certain mistakes. Some of them may even commit comparatively serious mistakes. This is because first they are young and inexperienced and second they are under, to various degrees, the influence of various nonproletarian ideas. But to wage a struggle against mistakes and shortcomings is the necessary prerequisite through which the young revolutionary fighters may be able to temper themselves to become stronger and more intelligent.

The attitude of each different class toward the growth of young revolutionary pathbreakers is drastically different. With profound hatred for our young Red Guard fighters, the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road and the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists who are pursuing the reactionary stand have adopted all possible means to take advantage of young Red Guards' shortcomings to launch vicious attacks on them. As soon as certain mistakes made by young Red Guards are discovered they take great pleasure in magnifying such mistakes in an attempt to deal them a fatal blow.

Someone ruthlessly denounced the young Red Guard fighters by saying: "In the past you vilified me for committing mistakes in orientation!" The general orientation in the attack by revolutionary pathbreakers has always been correct and the spearhead of struggle has all along been aimed at a handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road. In such a great mass movement it is absolutely understandable that people on our own side may be overcriticized from time to time. If the criticized one is a revolutionary comrade he should treat the young revolutionary fighters in the spirit of "blame not the speaker, but be warned by his words," and sincerely accept the young revolutionary fighters' criticism and assistance to himself.

Those who take advantage of the young revolutionary fighters' shortcomings to vilify and launch counterattacks on them and to reverse the previous correct decisions are not revolutionary comrades but enemies of the revolution. This also serves as vivid proof that the attack launched by the young revolutionary fighters is absolutely correct.

Some comrades who are deceived by the influence of the bourgeois reactionary line have also followed the class enemies in expressing fallacious views. These comrades should realize and correct their errors immediately, stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionaries, and support the young revolutionary fighters.

"You have supported the wrong persons!" -- this is a remark made by some people in viciously attacking the proletarian headquarters which supported the revolutionary pathbreakers.

Young revolutionary fighters are a newborn force. The proletarian revolutionaries, who always keep close watch on new things and give them the most resolute support, should enthusiastically lead them to march forward, praise the birth of such a new force, support their struggle, pave the road for their advance, and rejoice at their victories. To support the revolutionary pathbreakers means to support their general orientation

in revolution; to support the general orientation in revolution means to support the revolution.

With reasons which cannot bear the light of the day, some persons have grasped certain shortcomings and mistakes of the young revolutionary fighters and directed the spearhead at the proletarian headquarters which supported the young revolutionary fighters. Such action should absolutely not be tolerated!

A diligent gardener always expeditiously discovers and protects the new sprouts. The struggle for life itself leads to the selection of the sprouts with great vitality. With the resolute support of proletarian revolutionaries in cultivating the young revolutionaries emerging from the movement, the most resolute revolutionaries will be selected through the process of the class struggle.

We want to solemnly warn those who viciously attacked the young revolutionary fighters: To deny the young revolutionary pathbreakers is to deny the great proletarian cultural revolution; to attack the young revolutionary fighters is to attack the great proletarian cultural revolution. The newborn force cannot be defeated. Your arbitrary activities will only speed your own destruction.

At the time when the class enemies kept a firm hold on certain shortcomings and mistakes of the young revolutionary fighters to magnify and vilify such shortcomings and mistakes, some persons under the influence of the bourgeois world outlook became very foolish and always felt that the mistakes of young revolutionary fighters were numerous. These persons have adopted the wrong stand and method in looking at this question.

In handling a question, the main and side issues, the essence and phenomenon must be seen clearly. Speaking of the young revolutionary fighters, their shortcomings and mistakes are the side issue; compared with their merits, their shortcomings and mistakes are only 1 out of 10 fingers. Criticizing those who committed errors of the right opportunist line in realizing the agricultural cooperativization, Chairman Mao pointed out in 1955: "They do not look at the essential or main aspects but emphasize the nonessential or minor ones. It should be pointed out that these nonessential or minor aspects must not be overlooked and must be dealt with one by one. But they should not be taken as the essential or main aspects or we will lose our bearings." We must firmly bear this instruction in mind.

The great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and guided by Chairman Mao himself, is a great revolutionary movement

to consolidate proletarian dictatorship, prevent capitalist restoration, and prevent our country from changing its color, and is also a primary event that affects the fate of our country and the world revolutionary movement. In this great movement the young revolutionary fighters have acted as undaunted pathbreakers and performed great exploits under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. They infinitely love Chairman Mao, have tremendous faith in Mao Tse-tung's thought, and possess profound hatred for the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road. This is the essence and main aspect of the young revolutionary pathbreakers.

With regard to their revolutionary spirit, one must first of all cast away the mantle of pretentiousness and study it in the spirit of humility. One will commit a very grave mistake if one fails to see the essence and main aspects of young revolutionary fighters but takes firm hold of their certain shortcomings and mistakes, or even denies their general orientation in revolution.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat come forward in mass struggles and are tempered in the great storms of revolution." We should, with the utmost enthusiasm and effort, be concerned with and encourage the revolutionary youths of the coming generation in their growth and select and bring up the successors of the revolutionary cause in the heat of the mass struggle.

The utmost hostility and the vicious attack against these revolutionary youths by the handful of people in power in the party and taking the capitalist road can only further strengthen them. The attacks and abuses of the enemy have not only helped the revolutionary youths to learn the art of defeating the enemy, but also to elevate their political consciousness and divorce their own ideas and work style from those of the exploiting class. From their bitter struggle they have come to realize deeply that all nonproletarian ideas can only benefit the enemy, not the revolutionary cause.

For the sake of victory in the revolutionary cause and in defeating the enemy it is necessary for them to study Mao Tse-tung's thought and wipe away anything unclean from their minds. Recently these revolutionary youths raised the slogan of overthrowing "self-interest" and consciously carried out rectification. This clearly shows that, under the brilliant illumination of Mao Tse-tung's thought, these young revolutionary pathbreakers have come to know fairly well the reason for this.

Marx has taught the working class: "You probably cannot avoid undergoing civil wars and international conflicts for

another 15, 20, or 50 years in order to change not only the existing conditions but also yourselves so that you will have the ability to exercise political control." This saying applies even more correctly to the revolutionary youths. During the period of transition from capitalism to communism, the struggle between socialism and capitalism, and between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for the seizure of power, can never be ended. The proletarian revolutionary youths must undergo tempering in a long class struggle before they can become staunch proletarian revolutionaries.

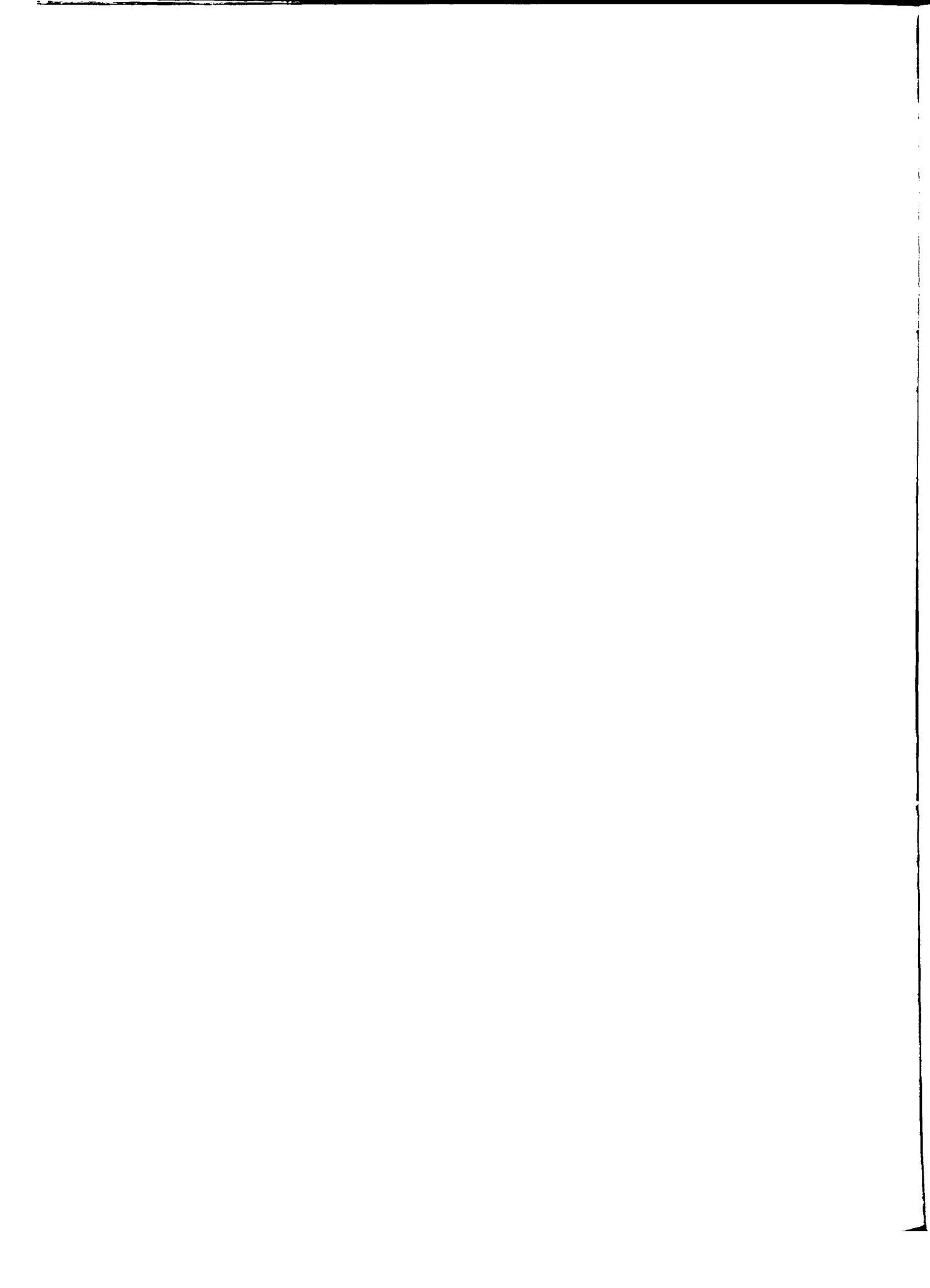
Chairman Mao has told us: "You should be concerned with state affairs and carry the proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!" The situation in the proletarian cultural revolution is getting better all the time. However, the proletarian revolutionaries must maintain a clear political consciousness. The enemy "will never lay down their butcher knives, and they will never become Buddhas."

At present an adverse current of counterrevolutionary restoration has appeared. The handful of party people in power taking the capitalist road, in collusion with the ghosts and monsters in society, are directing the spearhead at the revolutionary youths in their counterattack. Some royalist organizations, after a spell of inactivity, have arisen and are itching for action. They have shouted: Our past "protection" was justified! We all know that they were only protecting a handful of persons in power in the party taking the capitalist road.

The young Red Guards must further step up the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, conscientiously carry out rectification, strengthen their revolutionary spirit, scientific approach, and sense of organization and discipline, maintain their revolutionary vitality, and further develop the proletarian revolutionary spirit of daring to think, to speak, to act, to break through, and to struggle, in order to repulse the new counterattack of the handful of people in power in the party taking the capitalist road, grasp the general orientation of the revolution, and march forward regardless of any attack or reverses.

Let the revolutionary pathbreakers of the younger generation, under the illumination of Mao Tse-tung's thought, bravely advance in the teeth of class struggle!

CSO: 3530-D





TACHAI MARCHES ON UNDER THE BRILLIANCE OF  
MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT

[Following is a translation of an article by Ch'en Yung-kuei (7115/3057/6311), Party Branch Secretary, the Tachai Production Brigade, in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 5, 30 March 1967, pp 48-51.]

Under the brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, our Tachai red flag appears in storms against heaven, earth, and class enemies and marches on in struggle.

Every success or achievement has been scored through hard struggle under the close teaching of Chairman Mao. Only with Mao Tse-tung's thought can we achieve victory in struggle and can we have today's Tachai.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has ushered our Tachai into a brand new stage of revolution and construction. The poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai, together with the proletarian revolutionaries in various localities, have seized power from a handful of persons in power taking the capitalist road within the provincial, district, and county CCP committees, thus holding firmly in our own hands the destiny of the proletarian dictatorship, socialist economy, and the great proletarian cultural revolution.

A handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in the Shansi Provincial CCP Committee, the Chinchung Special District CCP Committee, and the Hsiyang County CCP Committee were extremely hostile to Tachai, which has been persistent in following the socialist road. They were in collusion to oppose Tachai by various methods in a vain attempt to fell the red flag personally planted by our great leader Chairman Mao and to achieve their criminal aim of opposing Mao Tse-tung's thought and to restore capitalism. We Tachai people have conducted a long-term struggle. This has been a struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, and between adherence to Mao Tse-tung's thought and opposition to it.

As early as 1961 they employed every means to oppose and discredit Tachai by spreading rumors and saying that Tachai's achievements were not true. They also sent people to Tachai to check the land, output, and conditions of fulfilling the state procurement tasks with the intention of blackening the Tachai red flag.

In 1964, taking advantage of the socialist education movement in the countryside, they sent out personnel and workteams in a vain attempt to bring down Tachai. As soon as the workteam entered the village they directed the brunt of struggle toward the revolutionary cadres at the basic level and the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants. They obstinately carried out a line which looked like "left," but was actually right.

When the movement began they considered the unity of our party branch and of the poor and lower-middle peasants as an abnormal phenomenon. They said they had never seen such a phenomenon before and that there must be problems. Their bourgeois reactionary stand betrayed them. They could not understand that poor and lower-middle peasants armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are united and will not be divided no matter what force is used. They called meetings and forums in a period of more than two months, compelling the poor and lower-middle peasants to attack the cadres and to expose the "inside stories" of the party branch. Resolutely resisted by our party branch and the poor and lower-middle peasants, they gained nothing.

They were at their wits' end. They tried to make trouble under the excuse that Tachai was different from some production brigades. Right! Our Tachai has been different from those brigades controlled by the persons in authority taking the capitalist road. The natural conditions of Tachai are not favorable. In 10 years we suffered calamities during nine. However, we never asked the state for anything. We only want Mao Tse-tung's thought. With Mao Tse-tung's thought, we have everything.

We have resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's policy of self-reliance. We have worked hard to improve natural conditions. We have turned the barren, hilly area which used to be poor and barren into a new, prosperous socialist countryside with our hands.

In carrying out production, striving for good harvests, and increasing our food supply, our purpose is to support national construction and world revolution, but not to accumulate more and distribute more, thinking of only ourselves rather than the collective and state. We firmly remember Chairman Mao's teaching: "The people who have triumphed in their own revolution should help those still struggling for liberation. This is our internationalist duty."

We give prominence to politics, grasp political and ideological work, and set up a business control system favorable for fostering the collective

spirit among the commune members and giving full play to their enthusiasm. In Tachai we always choose the heavy work and treat the collective as our common concern. Our production has been greatly increased, but our members still firmly adhere to Chairman Mao's "principle of practicing strict economy and combating waste," that is, the policy of "building up our country through diligence and frugality." We pass our days in frugality, carry on production in defiance of hardship, and practice economy in making revolution.

Why should they try to go against us because of this? After all, they want to convert us into their kind and make us take the capitalist road. This is wishful thinking.

The people of Tachai, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, have clear minds and sharp vision. With our "tough-bone spirit" and our firm stand, we can persist in taking the socialist road despite any evil winds.

When they failed in their attack, they came forward to seize our power -- our party, Young Communist League, and militia power. They tried to deceive the masses and had the audacity to say that under the red flag of Tachai there were maggots; unless these maggots were dug out the red flag could not be raised any higher. In fact they themselves are the vermin nibbling at the red flag of Tachai.

They kicked out the Tachai party branch committee, which commanded the deep respect of the masses, and gave important posts to some landlords and rich peasants. They tried to win over some commune members and set up a special production group as a countermeasure against the poor and lower-middle peasants. They persecuted the poor and lower-middle peasants and labeled anyone opposing them "active counterrevolutionary," or "degenerate element" in their exercise of bourgeois dictatorship.

They made a mess of production work. Before I went to Peking I had made arrangements for 20 days' production work, which they failed to complete in 80 days. A newly built dike was washed away by a mere spring shower, thus nullifying the fruit of our labor for a whole winter. It even damaged the land reclaimed before the building of the dike. This handful of people did nothing but damage to Tachai.

Chairman Mao understands us best and is most concerned over us. During the most crucial moment of the struggle he received me in Peking and gave important instructions on the work of Tachai. Premier Chou also made the great call in the National People's Congress for the nation to learn from Tachai in agriculture. This gave us the biggest inspiration and the biggest support, and indicated his great concern for us.

We must straighten up and struggle resolutely. We must finally drive away the workteam that tries to haul down our red flag. The central authority has sent us a new workteam which firmly adheres to the "23 points"

personally formulated by our great leader Chairman Mao and carries out the "four clean-up" movement with our party branch and the poor and lower-middle peasants. Everything was tidied up in only 30 days. In all political, ideological, organizational, and economic matters we follow the instructions of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee; we take only the road indicated to us by Chairman Mao; we hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

However, the class enemies are not reconciled to their defeat. As Chairman Mao has taught us: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again...till their doom; that is the logical of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic." After the former workteam was driven away they secretly dispatched people to Tachai to fabricate material and spread rumors to the effect that Tachai was cheating on the land areas, and was reporting false production figures. Their purpose was to deceive the central authority. However, fire cannot be wrapped up with paper. After a survey lasting 50 to 60 days by some 70 persons from the production brigades, it was found that far from overreporting we had even underreported a few mou of land. Though actual weighing we had not overreported a single tael of grain. These ironclad facts once again smashed their criminal conspiracy.

Besides overt and covert attacks they also resorted to establishing sham advanced units to oppose the great call set forth by Chairman Mao for agriculture to emulate Tachai. They nurtured young plants of revisionism and made production brigades furiously active in implementing capitalism as models in a vain attempt to lead the people's communes onto the wrong road.

They dealt viciously with the revolutionary cadres of Hsiyang County at the same time they were going all out against Tachai. Those comrades who resolutely struggled against their criminal activities of opposing the three red flags and Tachai were all labeled members of the "antiparty clique." My exposure and opposition to their criminal activities incurred their vitriolic hatred and made them fear me greatly. They also wanted to set me up as a member of the "antiparty clique."

The great proletarian cultural revolution ignited the fires of attack against the handful of party powerholders taking the capitalist road. The time had arrived for a decisive battle against them. Standing firmly on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, I, together with the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres, exposed their antiparty crimes and rebelled against them.

Encouraged by the violent storm of the "January revolution" the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai, the PLA, revolutionary cadres, and revolutionary mass organizations of Hsiyang County seized power from the few party powerholders of the county CCP committee and people's council who were taking the capitalist road, carrying out thorough exposure and liquidation of their antiparty-crimes.

The great proletarian cultural revolution entered a new stage in Siyang County after the power seizure. To meet the requirements of the new situation and for resolutely implementing Chairman Mao's policy on grasping revolution and stimulating production, an all-out effort was made to grasp the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's work to stimulate ideological revolutionization.

Ideological revolution is the use of the thought of Mao Tse-tung to arm the broad masses, enabling each commune members to use it to direct his own action.

What did Tachai rely on in the past to repulse the attacks of the class enemy and block gust after gust of the black wind opposing Tachai? What did we rely on to conquer the sudden natural calamities, to overcome difficulties and transform nature? Is it because Tachai men are endowed with superintelligence or supertalents? No, definitely not. We relied on Mao Tse-tung's thought and the ideological revolutionization in man. The high-yield Tachai fields exist because of the revolutionary Tachai people. Only with transformation in man can there be transformation in the fields, in production, and in the villages. People armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung have an inexhaustible store of strength and wisdom. They are invincible in the class struggle and can crush any enemy without being crushed by him. In the production struggle they can sweep away all difficulties to change nature and create miracles on earth.

At present a new upsurge in creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, the destruction of "self," and the establishment of the "collective" to stimulate ideological revolutionization in shaping up. Regarding those landlords, rich peasants, reactionaries, bad elements, and rightists who stubbornly persist in supporting the reactionary stand, they are forbidden to speak or act irresponsibly. Even moreso, they are prohibited from using the pretext of the great cultural revolution to carry out counterattacks and reversals of previous decisions and class revenge.

The poor and lower-middle peasants are the masters of the rural communes and the main force in the great cultural revolution of the rural areas and agricultural production. We shall stand in the foremost ranks of the struggle to protect our revolution and production from the interference and sabotage of the class enemy.

The proletarian revolutionaries are most concerned about production and like best to labor. They have the clearest understanding of the great significance of Chairman Mao's policy on grasping revolution and stimulating production," and are also the most resolute implementers. Not only do we actively participate in the great proletarian cultural revolution to be the trailblazers of revolution, but we also apply the enthusiasm and zeal evoked by the struggle to production.

Tachai undertook an urgent program of farmland capital construction after last year's autumn harvest. Undaunted by cold or hardships, everyone was on the line working every day. Seven big ditches washed away by last summer's floods were repaired after a winter of hard struggle, with new stone embankments and thicker earth fillings. At the same time, a wild ravine was cleared, 12 new stone embankments were built, and cultivated acreage was expanded.

Huge quantities of fertilizer was also collected and other preparatory farming work was also done. The fruits of the winter's labor were greater and better than any other year in the past. This created reliable conditions for achieving bumper harvests this year.

At present the busy season for spring farming has begun. The spring farming will affect this whole year's harvests in agricultural production, affect the principle of preparedness against war, preparedness against natural calamities and everything for the people, affect the triumphant development of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and affect the most important matter of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is really too important. It is not only a production task but also a political task. Whether production should be carried out well is a matter of class struggle and a struggle between the two lines. The letter to us poor and lower-middle peasants and rural cadres from Chairman Mao and the CCP Central Committee at this crucial moment is a great concern shown us and an instruction from the highest level. We poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres obey Chairman Mao's words most, and have warmly responded and resolutely supported the great call of Chairman Mao and the CCP Central Committee. The proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary cadres at all levels in Hsiyang County held in Tachai an oath-taking rally to "grasp revolution and stimulate production" and to develop an upsurge in spring farming. This rally is a great inspiration and encouragement to Tachai and is a stimulating force for the revolution and production in Hsiyang County.

We, the people of Tachai, are striving to score new achievements with still greater revolutionary enthusiasm in reply to the solicitude of Chairman Mao and the CCP Central Committee and the great encouragement given by us by people throughout the country. We have mobilized all the forces that can be mobilized to plunge into spring farming. A vigorous spring farming upsurge is taking shape in Tachai. We also have adopted new measures this year in transforming nature. We have pumped water into Tachai from a water reservoir seven miles away, and to the mountain slopes, turning 400 mou of dry farmlands which depend on rainfall for irrigation into well-irrigated farmlands which do not rely on rainfall. Double cropping has been carried out this year as compared with single cropping last year.

The PLA not only supports us in making revolution but also backs us enthusiastically in carrying out production and construction. The commanders

and fighters have given us great help in building the project for pumping water to the mountainous area.

Under the guidance of the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, we people at Tachai are forging ahead in the torrent of the great proletarian cultural revolution. We realize that there will be difficulties of all kinds, counterattacks by our class enemies, and attacks by natural calamities on our road forward but, with the help of the great invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, we fear nothing and we shall be able to overcome whatever difficulties we encounter. Tachai will forever advance forward under the illumination of the bright thought of Mao Tse-tung.

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## RESOLUTELY CARRY OUT CHAIRMAN MAO'S CADRES POLICY

[Following is a translation of an article by Red Rebels of Ilan hsien, Heilungkiang Province in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 5, 30 March 1967, pp 52-56.]

Hung-ch'i Editor's Note: The experience of the Red rebels of Ilan hsien, Heilungkiang province, is of universal significance and worth learning by proletarian revolutionaries in other places.

The experience of Ilan hsien shows that the implementation of Chairman Mao's cadres policy is a process of struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line and against the handful of those Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

Those who laid down the bourgeois reactionary line aim to protect the small handful heading down the capitalist road by branding the revolutionary masses as "counter-revolutionaries", on the one hand, and on the other, by resorting to the tactics of overthrowing all cadres who want to rise and rebel against and who dare to expose those in authority heading down the capitalist road. In order to carry out Chairman Mao's cadres policy correctly, it is imperative to expose and criticize the bourgeois reactionary line thoroughly and to liberate the vast number of cadres who are being suppressed by it.

We want to give resolute support to the revolutionary leading cadres in rising and giving a lead to the revolution. But the small handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road have viciously instigated those among the masses who have not got a clear picture of the true situation, to attack the revolutionary leading cadres who dared to be the first to come forward. We must completely smash this scheme of theirs. This is of vital importance in arousing the vast number of cadres to rebel.

In an attempt to sabotage the revolution, those Party people heading down the capitalist road make their collaborators sneak into the revolutionary "three-way alliance" organ of power disguised as a "revolutionary". We must heighten our vigilance against this scheme of theirs. -

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In the struggle to seize power, we Red rebels of Ilan hsien firmly carried out Chairman Mao's cadres policy and gradually brought into being a revolutionary "three-way alliance". On March 7, we took over power from the handful of people in the Ilan hsien Party committee who were taking the capitalist road, and declared the formation of the hsien's revolutionary committee.

In order to win over and unite with the great majority of the cadres so as to bring about a revolutionary "three-way alliance", we studied and applied Chairman Mao's works in a creative way through our struggle and waged a tit-for-tat fight against the handful of Party people who were in authority and taking the capitalist road.

I

As soon as the movement started, that handful of people manoeuvred behind the scenes to set up in the hsien Party committee and people's council such organizations as the "Sea of Fire Regiment" and the "Joint Headquarters of Revolutionary Rebels" to act as their tools in countering the revolutionary organization, the "Red Guards Headquarters". To suppress the revolution, they brandished four cudgels [by declaring that people belonging to the following categories were] not allowed to rebel: undisciplined "trouble-makers", those from families of the exploiting classes, those who had committed errors, and those who held any official position.

The prowess of Mao Tse-tung's thought is limitless. Nor can big sticks daunt the revolutionary spirit of the cadres. Comrade Liu Ping-heng, vice-county chief, was the first to step forward. He openly supported the Red rebels and exposed the crimes of the small handful of people within the hsien Party committee who were heading for the capitalist road. Influenced by Comrade Liu's action, many other revolutionary cadres were ready to rebel. At this juncture, the "small handful" panicked. They pulled strings and caused Comrade Liu to be purged at meetings, in an attempt to force him to submit and close this gap. At the same time, they made treacherous plans and laid down many taboos for cadres from the deputy section chiefs above in the hsien organ. Over 190 such middle-level cadres were indiscriminately ordered to step aside in a vain attempt to isolate the revolutionaries and sabotage the great cultural revolution.

With Mao Tse-tung's thought we were able to see through the enemy's plot. We held that under the guidance of Chairman Mao and the Party center, the majority of cadres were good or comparatively good. The tactic of

looking at all those in authority as bad and must be pulled down is a product of the bourgeois reactionary line.

They ordered all middle-level cadres to step aside. We answer this tit-for-tat, and publicized to them Mao Tse-tung's thought and the Party's guidelines and policies. On February 24 we called a meeting of these middle-level cadres and organized them to study the relevant documents and declared null and void all the taboos on revolution, asked the revolutionary cadres to step out before the masses. Those who had made errors were asked "to get rid of the baggage", to expose the enemy's crimes and return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. After the conduct of a series of work, these cadres were basically aroused.

In order to win over and unite with the majority of cadres and to isolate as much as possible the small handful of people who are in authority and taking the capitalist road within the Party, we waged, by fully arousing the masses, a face-to-face struggle against the handful of hsien Party committee people who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. Through this struggle, the broad masses of cadres who had been duped regained their awareness, and they exposed and condemned the crimes of the hsien Party committee people. By real action true to the thought of Mao Tse-tung, they completely smashed the sinister plot of the enemy to sabotage the great proletarian cultural revolution.

## II

At a time when most of the revolutionary leading cadres do not dare step forward and break out from the suppression of the bourgeois reactionary line, to set before them an example of daring to struggle and make revolution is a very important thing in helping to smash the schemes of those heading down the capitalist road.

On January 25 the conservatives and rightists, collected together by the small handful of hsien Party committee people taking the capitalist road, staged a sham seizure of power. At once we considered the question of whether we could work with someone among the leading cadres who genuinely supported the revolutionaries, so as to shatter the sham seizure of power by the class enemy. We made an analysis of all the leading cadres and finally decided on Comrade Liu Ping-heng. He had been isolated and attacked by those taking the capitalist road. During the cultural revolution movement he had been in close touch with and supported the revolutionaries and after many talks we had held with him, we were convinced that he was a good cadre. He resolutely pledged his support to our revolutionary action, saying, "I will not fail to do justice to Chairman Mao's teachings and to the assistance given me by all comrades.

On January 29, seeing that the revolutionaries were ever more gaining in strength and their own end was imminent, the "small handful" taking the capitalist road instigated the peasant masses who had not got a true picture

of the situation, to come to the county town in an attempt to drive away those comrades who had come from Harbin to support us, and to wreck our organization, the Red Guards Headquarters. At this critical moment of class struggle, Comrade Liu Ping-heng stepped out boldly in support of the Red rebels at a mass rally and exposed the heinous crimes of those hsien Party committee people taking the capitalist road. This revolutionary act of Comrade Liu's smashed the scheme of the class enemy and encouraged those cadres who were themselves about to start rebellion. The class enemy hated Comrade Liu bitterly. On the same day, someone was sent for him in an attempt to force him to give up his idea of supporting the revolutionaries. But, he was not at all cowed, saying, "Those from the Red Guards Headquarters are the revolutionaries and I resolutely support them." The class enemy bullied him and insisted that he present a "self-criticism" but he declared firmly, "I was right. What I did was an act of revolution." Embittered, the class enemy restricted his rightful personal freedom. Comrade Liu still was not cowed. He wrote this declaration on his "Quotations from Mao Tse-tung": "On January 29, 1967, in order to safeguard Chairman Mao and the thought of Mao Tse-tung, I would not hesitate to go up a mountain of knives and jump into a sea of fire; I want to do it actively and directly. The hell with the class enemy's tricks, hard or soft!"

When the Red Flag published its editorial ["On the Proletarian Revolutionaries' Struggle to Seize Power"] in its third issue this year, Comrade Liu Ping-heng was greatly encouraged by the voices of Chairman Mao and the Party. At this time, the class enemy again incited a group of peasants who were not clear about the situation, to attack him. But Comrade Liu took the opportunity to reveal the underhand dealings of the enemy to his peasant brothers who had been deceived. The enemy accused him of "spitting venom", interrupting his speech three times. Learning the truth the peasants reacted by shouting one after another, "Why? Why don't you let him speak? What have you got to hide?" The result was the class enemy lifted a rock only to crush his own toes.

The revolutionaries gave Comrade Liu Ping-heng active support for his revolutionary action. When the enemy stepped up its persecution and his physical safety was threatened, we took measures to protect him. The comradeship between us was strengthened in the life and death struggle.

This revolutionary act of Comrade Liu's gave lead to the broad masses of cadres of Ilan hsien. He talked about his personal experience with many cadres who had made errors and encouraged them to rebel. One after another, the revolutionary cadres paid him visits to establish ties and were aroused to step out and join the masses in revolution.

### III

In dealing with those cadres who had made serious errors we firmly adhered to Chairman Mao's principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, curing the sickness to save the patient."

What kind of a cadre was Na Hsing-ya, member of the hsien Party standing committee and head of Ilan hsien?

Chairman Mao has warned us, "We must not confine our judgement of a cadre to a short period or a single incident in his life, but should consider his life and work as a whole. This is the principal method of judging cadres."

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, we made an overall, historical analysis of the case of Comrade Na Hsing-ya. He had carried out the bourgeois reactionary line in the proletarian cultural revolution. He did not usually apply well the principle of bringing politics to the fore and his fighting spirit was weak. He had committed, when he was in Poli hsien, serious errors both ideologically and in his style of work. Nevertheless, judging his life and work as a whole he was basically a good cadre. For three years starting in 1962 he stayed at the selected point of Yungsing production brigade of Santaowang commune, which was known for its backwardness, and he succeeded in changing it. The errors he had made in Poli hsien were things dating back some five years and had already been dealt with by the Party organization. Though they were serious he could not be considered as an anti-Party and anti-socialist element. In the latter part of December last year, in a debate we held with the conservatives he stepped out to support us. On the basis of this analysis we made contacts with him so as to get to know him better and we helped him.

While we kept in touch he revealed to us, "I have assumed leadership work longer than Comrade Liu Ping-heng and also committed more errors than he. If I should stand up and join the revolutionaries to make revolution, would they trust me?" He indicated to him thus: "We red rebels deal with cadres with errors according to Chairman Mao's principle 'learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, curing the sickness to save the patient'. If a cadre makes serious self-criticism and thoroughly rectifies his errors, we will warmly welcome him." Our discussions with him on several occasions had greatly encouraged Na Hsing-ya.

When the rightists and conservatives attacked Comrade Liu Ping-heng and even beat him up, Comrade Na Hsing-ya made public his letter to Chairman Mao in which he expressed his support for Comrade Liu Ping-heng and exposed the crimes of the handful of the hsien Party committee people taking the capitalist road. The principal figures in the "Sea of Fire Regiment" were extremely bitter about it. They said, "Na Hsing-ya is extremely bad. New accounts and old accounts must be squared up and we must beat him up without relent!" They branded him as one who was "in authority and taking the capitalist road." They first restricted his freedom of movement, then attacked him and detained him. After we came to his rescue, he stood with us closer than ever.

When Red Flag published its editorial "Cadres Must be Treated Correctly" in its 4th issue this year, Comrade Na Hsing-ya was greatly inspired. Tears gushed from his eyes when he read, "Our aim in exposing errors and criticizing shortcomings, like that of a doctor curing a sickness, is solely

to save the patient and not to doctor him to death." He said, "At every critical time in the revolution, Chairman Mao has always indicated the direction that we have to follow. He shows great care and concern for us cadres who have made errors; he advises us what to do and what not to. Chairman Mao, I'll never let you down! I will stand firmly on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line, wage a struggle against the counter-revolutionary revisionists through to the end, consider myself as one unit of the revolutionary force and also as an object or target of revolution so as to transform myself in the course of struggle."

After Na Hsing-ya stepped out before the masses, he made public a lot of material exposing the small handful of hsien Party committee people taking the capitalist road. When he was asked by the revolutionaries to give a lead in production and in general work he played a fine role. Said he, "My coming forward is due to the lessons I have learned from the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the help given me by the revolutionary comrades. I'll stand firm on the side of the revolutionaries and follow Chairman Mao in revolution for ever."

Chairman Mao has taught us: "When in a predicament, those who represent the exploiting classes usually resort to the tactic of attack as a means of defence, to preserve themselves today so as to grow tomorrow." "They are always considering what tactics to use against us and 'spy out the land', in order to employ their tactics successfully. Sometimes they 'play possum', waiting for the chance to 'counter-attack'. They have long experience in class struggle and are skillful in all forms of struggle--legal and illegal. We, of a revolutionary party, must familiarize ourselves with their tactics, make a study of them in order to defeat them.

In the struggle to win over and unite with the great majority of the cadres, we must study this teaching of Chairman Mao's repeatedly and with great care.

It is wrong to suspect, exclude, and overthrow all the cadres indiscriminately. It is contrary to Mao Tse-tung's thought. On the other hand, it is also wrong to affirm all, join with all and practice "combining two into one". This is also contrary to Mao Tse-tung's thought. We have to analyze concretely those cadres who step out before the masses and judge whether or not they are truly making revolution.

There was on the hsien Party committee a deputy department chief who was "active" in his speeches at several cadres' meetings. Did he really want to step out before the masses to make revolution? We made an overall analysis of him. He had taken part in the various plots schemed by the small handful of hsien Party committee people taking the capitalist road. In his speeches, he did not expose any of the plots but, instead, deceived us, saying, "I am just a deputy department chief. I am neither a member of the hsien Party committee, nor a popular one among those in authority and taking the capitalist road. I know nothing about what they do. Besides, they would

never tell me anything about what they plan to do." Facts show that this man was a dual character. We subjected him to criticism on the basis of what the masses had exposed.

In a nutshell, in implementing Chairman Mao's cadres policy, while we try to win over and unite with the majority of cadres, we must wage a firm struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line, against the small handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, before we can truly unite with the majority of the cadres and better realize the "triple alliance" in revolution, and carry through to the end the great proletarian cultural revolution.

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## PUT REVOLUTION IN THE FIRST PLACE

[Following is a translation of a short commentary in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 5, 30 March 1967, pp 57-58.]

At the moment, some people, pretending to show their concern about production, state that production techniques and production management in communications and transport, as well as industrial and mining enterprises are complex. This is a pretext under which to oppose the seizure of power by the proletarian revolutionaries from the small handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. The revolutionary workers and staff members of the Harbin Railway Bureau and many other factories and mines have, by their own action, vehemently rebuffed such a preposterous statement.

Who is most concerned about socialist production? Can it be the small handful of people in authority and taking the capitalist road? No. It is they who try to sabotage socialist production. Only the proletarian revolutionaries know best how to lay hold on revolution and promote production and feel most concerned about socialist production.

Who can manage socialist production well? Can it be those in authority and taking the capitalist road who pose as the so-called "experts" and "people who know business"? No, absolutely not. They are the "experts" who practice counter-revolutionary revisionism. Their "business" is for capitalist production. This idolatry must be removed. In fact, it is not they, but the revolutionary workers, revolutionary technical personnel and revolutionary cadres, who truly know the production techniques and production management in communications and transport as well as in industrial and mining enterprises.

Seizure of power must be carried out in industrial and mining enterprises and communications and transport units where leadership has been grabbed by the small handful of people within the Party who are in authority

31

and taking the capitalist road. To oust them, to build a revolutionary "triple alliance" leadership represented by the revolutionary mass organizations, the People's Liberation Army and revolutionary cadres, and to place the power of leadership over production in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries -- such is the way to arouse the activism of all, to improve the situation of production rapidly, and to make rapid development of production.

The decision of the Party center concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution points out, "The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great motive force for the development of socialist production." This universal truth has been proved by many facts.

All comrades who support the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, in handling the question of relationship between revolution and production, must put revolution in the first place, let revolution lead production and command production. This is the way to implement the principle "laying hold on revolution, promoting production" laid down by Chairman Mao. It would be wrong to set revolution and production in apposition. Nor is it correct to parallel revolution with production. Comrades who have committed such errors should correct them.

All revolutionary workers and staff members should follow the example set by the Red rebels of the Harbin Railway Bureau. They must be both revolutionary vanguards and production models, shoulder the two heavy burdens of revolution and production, stick firmly to their production posts, raise their labor efficiency, fulfill and over-fulfill the nation's production plans.

Let us tell you bourgeois lords: If you vainly attempt to suppress revolution, oppose seizure of power, work for restoration, sabotage production, you will get nowhere.

What history will tell is:

The small handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road will be overthrown,  
The proletarian cultural revolution will win a great victory, and  
The socialist production will take a big leap forward.

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