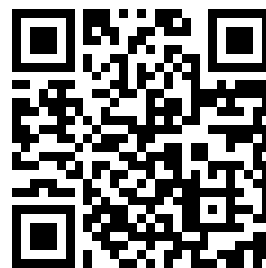

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TRANSLATIONS ON COMMUNIST CHINA: POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

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A LETTER FROM COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG TO COMRADE LIN PIAO

[Following is a translation of a letter by Mao Tse-tung, in the Chinese-language newspaper, Chiao-yu Ko-ming (Education Revolution), Peking, No. 5, 10 May 67, p. 1. This source is published by the Chiao-yu Ko-ming Editorial Board of the Peking Municipal Education Revolutionary Liaison Committee and by the Capital Education Revolutionary Liaison Center.]

(Reply to the report of the Rear Services General Headquarters of the Military Committee "Concerning Advancing the Carrying Out of Subsidiary Agricultural Production by the Troops.")

Comrade Lin Piao:

I have received the Rear Services report you sent on 6 May, and I think this plan is very good. Is it possible to send copies of this report to the various military districts, and to ask people there to gather together the cadres on the army and divisional levels to discuss this together and report their opinions to the Military Committee? Then the Central Committee could be informed as to what agreement had been reached, and then appropriate directives could be issued to the whole army. Please deliberate and come to a decision on this. Under conditions in which world war has not broken out, the army should be a great school, and even under the conditions of a third world war, it is also possible for it to become such a great school. Apart from fighting, there are also various tasks that may be done. During the eight years of World War Two, in every anti-Japanese base, did we not operate in this way? In this great school, one studies politics, military affairs, and culture. One can also do work in subsidiary agricultural production. It is also possible to run small or medium factories, and to produce a number of items the army needs itself, as well as products which may be bartered for other state products. It is also possible to work among the masses, and to participate in spreading the Four Purifications Movement in factories and farm communities. When the Four Purifications are completed, there is other appropriate work to be done with the masses, causing the army and the people to become one. Also, at appropriate times, the army must participate in the

struggle of the Cultural Revolution, criticizing the capitalist class. In this way, the classifications of army and students, army and peasants, army and workers, and army and people can be unified. But one must act appropriately, and there must be order in doing things. A military unit can only unite with one or two categories -- among peasants, workers, and people -- and cannot unite with all at the same time. In this way, the role played by several tens of millions of soldiers is a very great one.

In the same fashion, workers are in a similar situation. Having industrial work as their main task, they must also study military affairs, politics, and culture. They must also carry on the Four Purifications, and participate in criticism of the capitalist class. In places with suitable conditions, they will also do work in subsidiary agricultural production, as is the way in the Ta-ch'ing oilfields.

Peasants have agriculture as their main task (including forestry, animal husbandry, subsidiary work, and fishing), and also must study military affairs, politics, and culture. Under suitable conditions, they also must manage small factories, on a collective basis, and must criticize the capitalist class.

Students are in a similar situation, having study as their main task, but they must also study other things -- not only learning, but also industrial work, agriculture, and military affairs. They must also criticize the capitalist class. The academic curriculum must be abridged. There must be a revolution in education, and the phenomenon of control of our schools by capitalist class intellectuals cannot continue.

Those in commerce and those in the professions, and those working in governmental or Party organs, in all cases where there are suitable conditions, should also act in this way.

What I have spoken of above is not something brand new. It was discovered and created many years ago, and many people have already been acting in this way. It is just that it is still not widespread. As for the troops, they are already acting in this way, but they now just must develop this more.

Mao Tse-tung
7 May 66.

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LIU SHAO-CH'I AND EXPERIMENTAL ELEMENTARY SCHOOL NUMBER TWO

[Following is a translation of an article by a reported in the Chinese-language newspaper Chiao-yu Ko-ming (Education Revolution), Peking, No. 5, 10 May 67, page 4. This source is published by the Chiao-yu Ko-ming Editorial Board of the Peking Municipal Education Revolutionary Liaison Committee and by the Capital Education Revolutionary Liaison Center. The article is based on a wall poster which was put up in Peking Experimental Elementary School No. 2.]

Peking Experimental Elementary School No. 2 is one of the schools controlled by Liu Shao-ch'i, the leading member of the group following the capitalist road in power in the Party. Liu Shao-ch'i has extended his sinister hand into Experimental Elementary School No. 2, wanting to turn it into a seedbed for raising revisionist heirs, an "imperial school" for the carefully nurtured "prominent offspring" of people of his sort, as a means to realize his fond dream of restoring capitalism.

The "Glorious History" of the School

How was it that Liu Shao-ch'i was so aware of Experimental Elementary School No. 2? In the past, his "empress," the stinking hag, Wang Kuang-mei (3769 0342 5019), graduated from this school.

Before the liberation, this school was exclusively for young ladies and gentlemen of the capitalist class. The stinking young ladies and gentlemen of a big capitalist family, Wang Kuang-mei and her brothers and sisters, six in all, were graduates of this school. In those times, the "golden girl" Wang Kuang-mei would ride around the school grounds each day on a red bicycle, showing off and flaunting herself. Sometimes she would be brought to school and taken home in a small car, to display the importance of this putrid young lady.

When Wang Kuang-mei became "empress," the history of this school, which was a criminal one of exclusively serving the capitalist class before

the liberation, became a "glorious" one. Whenever foreign guests would come to visit Experimental Elementary School No. 2, those who received them would never fail to say that "the wife of Chairman Liu, Wang Kuang-mei, was educated in our school." In this way they tried to build up the prestige of the school.

Whose School Was This?

Wang Kuang-mei never forgot this "alma mater," which had exclusively served the capitalist class before the liberation. Liu Shao-ch'i and Wang Kuang-mei agreed in their putrid tastes, and they used all their energy to turn Experimental Elementary School No. 2 back into a school for the education of young ladies and gentlemen of the capitalist class. First of all, they enrolled their own five children in the school, wishing to make it into a school for the nobility, for their carefully reared "princes" and "princesses."

Each year, several thousand children tried to enter the school, taking the entrance examination, but very few were accepted. The school used "intelligence" and "intellectual development" as criteria for admission, and devoted a great deal of energy to preventing the children of workers and peasants from entering the school. In 1964, for instance, there was only one worker's child among the students, and the rest were the children of high level cadres, democratic personalities, high level intellectuals, and cadres in general. Liu Shao-ch'i's five children basically had no need to take the entrance examination, and were pushed right into the school. In addition to this, children of counter-revolutionary revisionist elements like Yang Shang-k'un (2799 1424 2492), Lin Feng (2651 2800), Po I-po (3302 0001 3134) and Chiang Nan-hsiang (5592 0589 5046) were admitted without any effort on their part.

The kindergarten of this school followed a rule that children under four were not admitted, and the children of workers and peasants were not admitted if they were even one day under four years of age. But Liu Shao-ch'i's youngest daughter, Liu Hsiao-hsiao (0491 1420 1420), when she was still only somewhat over three, was admitted contrary to the rules. Furthermore, Liu Shao-ch'i and his stinking hag of a wife, Wang Kuang-mei, even sent a special nurse as a companion for the little girl on the way to and from school. When she was in the school, she attended classes, and when she was outside it she had the nurse for company. This state of affairs went on for half a year.

Liu Shao-ch'i also had the school carry out a special educational program for the children of people of his sort. The children of high cadres were put together in several special classes, and were given special teachers, supposedly especially experienced and outstanding, to instruct them, and carefully nurture these revisionist seedlings.

In order to improve the course of education for these "prominent children," Liu Shao-ch'i gave Experimental Elementary School No. 2 special

privileges. The faculty of the school could be made up of people chosen according to the wishes of the school itself, rather than people assigned by higher authorities. The school's revisionist experiments could be reported on directly to Liu Jen (0491 0088), a member of the sinister gang. The school could get its cooking oil directly through Liu Jen himself. The staff of the school could be several times larger than the staffs of most elementary schools -- and so on.

In the last analysis, to whom did this school belong? Under the control of Liu Shao-ch'i, it became a "school for the imperial family," serving the needs of Liu Shao-ch'i, the foremost member of the handful of people in power in the Party who are following the capitalist road.

Buying the Teachers Off With Little Favors

"Being humble in a small way brings big dividends" -- that is the putrid capitalist philosophy of Liu Shao-ch'i. In order to get the teachers to work hard in their education of his revisionist youngsters, Liu Shao-ch'i invited them to come to his home for dinner, and often sent gifts, using small favors and kindnesses to buy them off.

At a time when our country was in difficult straits, Liu Shao-ch'i dispensed "charity," inviting the head of the school, and those teachers who were instructing his children, to come to his home for dinner. Liu Shao-ch'i brought them to the house in a car, and joined them at the dinner table. After dinner, they had peanuts and candy, and then the teachers were taken to see the children's rooms. Then Liu turned on a tape recorder, so that they could hear a recording of the children talking, laughing and singing. It is said that this tape recorder was exclusively for Liu's use as an amusement, and this goes to show just how boring and idle his life was at this time. Liu announced to them in a dull-witted fashion that "some people do not want to become teachers, but would rather do stonework or tend animals. A teacher is a person who serves human beings. He is an engineer of the soul." One can see just how grotesque Liu's capitalistic thought is! Then Liu entertained them with a movie from Hong Kong.

Each time Liu Shao-ch'i returned from a visit abroad, he would always bring back a batch of presents, and would never fail to give some of them to Experimental Elementary School No. 2, in order to display the "regards of Chairman Liu." These gifts were all ornamental things which advertized the capitalist way of life. Among them were a Christmas tree and other small toys, a wreath made of jasmine blossoms, a sort of vase constructed out of buttons, a purse, a figured handkerchief, and the like. He wished to use these stinking gifts to corrupt the young children.

Liu Shao-ch'i often used small favors and kindnesses in this way to buy off the teachers, in order to cause the school to move toward the point of turning into a "school for the imperial family."

Wang Kuang-mei and the Buns

Once, during the three-year period when the country was in bad straits, Liu Shao-ch'i and Wang Kuang-mei learned from their children that the filled buns at school were small, and that there was not very much vegetable filling or oil in them. They had their children bring some of the buns home, and they weighed them. They indeed did not weigh enough. Wang Kuang-mei roared that "these big brutes have the nerve to inflict rationing on us!" She took the matter in hand herself, and charged into the school in a rage, cursing like a trooper. "The teachers are cheating the students! After a week of living at school, the children came home to eat on Saturday night, and ate all the food on the table. When we got them another whole dinner then, they ate that up too! This outburst scared those in charge of the school, and they humbly apologized, and devoted more attention to the care of the "imperial children," the "prominent children." The incident ended there.

Destructive Plotting

Under Liu Shao-ch'i's control, the school acted for many years in accord with a fundamentally revisionist line from start to finish, and came up with a summary of its "experience." Liu was quite pleased with this "experience," and often told people about it. Just when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was starting, at the beginning of 1966, Liu directed the school to make up a summary of its over-all "experience" in experimental work, and wanted the manuscript of it by the end of May. He had the wild idea of using it to oppose Chairman Mao's educational line at a conference on educational work to be held in October. In June, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution swept over the whole country, and this plot of Liu's did not work out.

An article by a critic on the Red Flag staff and one by Comrade Ch'i Pen-yu (2058 2609 4416) in Red Flag, have called for a general campaign of attack on Liu Shao-ch'i. At present, the revolutionary teachers and students of Experimental Elementary School No. 2, using Mao Tse-tung's thought as their weapon, are carrying on a great rebellion against Liu Shao-ch'i, and against the handful of people in the Party who are holding power and following the capitalist road in the school. They are completely destroying the revisionist educational line of Liu Shao-ch'i, and are fighting to turn Experimental Elementary School No. 2 into a school which uses Mao Tse-tung's thought.

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CRITICIZE CH'EN I'S REACTIONARY POLICY OF "ATTACKING A
GREAT MANY AND PROTECTING A SMALL HANDFUL"

[Following is a translation of an article by the "Revolutionary Rebel Committee of the Foreign Affairs and Political Depts. of the CCP Central Committee, in the Chinese-language newspaper Wai-shih Hung-ch'i (Foreign Affairs Red Flag), Peking, No. 1, 8 May 67, p. 2. This source is published by the Foreign Affairs Systems "Bombard Ch'en I and Liberate Foreign Affairs" Liaison Committee.]

"Attacking a great many and protecting a small handful" is an important, integral part of the capitalist reactionary line. Among the Foreign Affairs people, the basic source of active execution of this reactionary policy has been Ch'en I. Ch'en I has acted in harmony with Liu and Teng, and has cruelly repressed the revolutionary movement. On the one hand, he has accused the revolutionary masses of a number of crimes, using such labels as "ox demons and snake spirits", "counter-revolutionaries," "anti-Party people," "self-seekers," "dangerous people," and the like. On the other hand, he has exerted himself in an effort to protect a handful of people in the Party who have power and are following the capitalist road, as well as some leading cadres who have committed grave errors, in order to set up conditions for the restoration of capitalism in Foreign Affairs.

In carrying out this reactionary policy of "attacking a great many and protecting a small handful" in Foreign Affairs, there have been several special characteristics, as follows:

1. From the very beginning, on all levels, the protection of those in power following the capitalist road and those leading cadres who have committed grave mistakes was provided.

2. As soon as work teams came into the organization and school, they immediately united with those holding power, working together to repress the revolutionary masses (the Language Committee excepted), and to protect those in power in the Party who followed the capitalist road and leading cadres who have committed grave mistakes.

3. A point was made of attacking the revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres, but at the same time, several evil people were also attacked, so that it was not clear who was bad and who was good, and a state of confusion was created.

4. The masses were misled. Some were attracted, others were attacked. Contradictions were purposely created, and mutual opposition was created among the masses.

As soon as the Great Cultural Revolution began, each unit in Foreign Affairs, under the management of Ch'en I and in accord with the directives of Liu and Teng, was sent a large work team. These teams were important tools in Ch'en I's plan of "attacking a great many and protecting a small handful." As soon as they arrived, they teamed up with the Party Committees and Party organizations in each unit (the Language Committee excepted). The work teams protected the Party committees and organizations, and these in turn supported the work teams, so that they all mutually benefited one another, and were closely joined together, associated together in the task of repressing the revolutionary masses. Ch'en I scurried about very actively, spending the first half of a night getting his orders from Teng and Liu, and spending the second half arranging things for the people in power in Foreign Affairs, following Liu and Teng very closely in his actions.

Already, in June of last year, Ch'en I made important arrangements for his policy of "attacking a great many and protecting a small handful." At the beginning of June, at a meeting of a conference of those holding power in various units in Foreign Affairs to investigate the question of the "movement," Ch'en I said that "Leading cadres must show determination, must not be afraid, and must stick to their posts." At a meeting on 4 June, he further said that "Good comrades must not let down the barriers." If the "ox demons and snake spirits" try to get them, they must mobilize the staffs of the various units and drive out all the "ox demons and snake spirits," and create a condition of Great Revolution. On 25 June, he also gave clear instructions that it was permissible to capture those among the masses who were "ox demons and snake spirits."

Every work team, unit, and school repressed the revolutionary masses, and protected those people in the Party holding power who were following the capitalist road and leading cadres who had committed grave errors. All this was done according to the edicts of Ch'en I, and Ch'en I was the ringleader in the reactionary policy of "attacking a great many and protecting a small handful."

Under Ch'en I's direction, according to our tentative calculations at the time, there were close to two thousand revolutionary comrades in Foreign Affairs who were attacked, persecuted, and surrounded by hostility. If one were to add the students who were treated in this way as well, the figure would be even larger. Many units carried on large-scale activities such as "getting rid of bad ways," "opposing the counter-current," "clearing away

obstacles," "catching fish," "flaying bamboo shoots layer by layer," "cleaning out the periphery," and so on. Using these and countless other schemes, they turned the revolutionary masses into "counter-revolutionaries," turned right and wrong upside down, and confused black and white. At that time, the posters put up by the work teams and the Party committees and organizations needed only to label people as "anti-Party" or "counter-revolutionary" and it was enough. Under the direction of Ch'en I, many "counter-revolutionaries" were seized in Foreign Affairs, and the Great Cultural Revolution was fiercely repressed.

In issue No. 5 of Red Flag, an article by a critic on the staff of the magazine pointed out that the various people who advocate the capitalist line "on the one hand attack the broad revolutionary masses, and turn the revolutionary masses into 'counter-revolutionaries,' and on the other hand turn the good and relatively good cadres into a 'sinister gang'. All of this is in opposition to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Mao Tse-tung. All of this is intended to lead the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution off on byways, and divert it into a capitalist track." The object of attacking a great many is to protect a small handful. Ch'en I and Liao Ch'eng-chih (1675 2110 1807), as long ago as last June, had already begun to protect a small handful of so-called "good comrades." These people were Li Ch'ang (2621 2490), Fang Fang (2455 2455), Li X X (2621), Nan Han-ch'en (0589 3352 1368), Lo X (5012), and some assistant department heads in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about whom there were serious questions. Let us now take a look at what kind of people these "good comrades" whom they protected are.

Li Ch'ang, the assistant chief of the Foreign Language Committee and secretary of the Party organization, was a henchman of the counter-revolutionary revisionist element P'eng Chen (1756 4176), has continually opposed Mao Tse-tung's thought, has long protected his big-landlord family, and is one of those in the Party who holds power and is following the capitalist road. Last June, the revolutionary masses of the Foreign Language Committee demanded that he be suspended from his post and re-evaluate himself, but Ch'en I and Liao Ch'eng-chih determinedly protected Li Ch'ang. Around last 10 June, at a meeting of a small number of people, Ch'en I said "Li Ch'ang is an alternate member of the CCP Central Committee, is an old "12.9" cadre, and has done a lot of work. He just recently joined the Foreign Language Committee, and has displayed great zeal. There are not many big problems about him, and I want to protect him." Later he said that "the Central Committee agrees that he should be protected."

Fang Fang is assistant chief of the Overseas Chinese Committee, and a Party Committee secretary. He has been in contact with foreign powers, and is one of those in the Party who hold power and are following the capitalist road. Ch'en I also wanted to protect a man of this type. He said that "Fang Fang is an old comrade, and has endured a succession of "movements." At this point, Liao Ch'eng-chih interrupted, and said that he feared that if Fang were not protected, he would not endure this time. Ch'en continued: "this time he will get his fingers burned, but must not be incinerated. I wish to protect

him." After this, at a meeting presided over by Ch'en, Fang Fang said, with strong gratitude, that "If it were not for the work teams, I would already have fallen some time ago." This statement reveals the function of the work teams, and also reveals the relationship between the work teams and those in the Party who hold power who are following the capitalist road.

Li X X, assistant chief of External Affairs and formerly ambassador to XX, is a man who has been consistently and gravely not outstanding. Premier Chou En-lai once said of him that "At the pivotal moment, he hesitates." He has opposed Mao Tse-tung's thought, and has publicly differed with Vice Commander Lin Piao, and has advocated the abolition of political organs. He is a noted antique collector and expert on calligraphy, and once sold three old pictures to the Palace (collection), and received two thousand yuan for them! In the past, he has often frequented the Glorious Treasure Shop and was a good friend of Tong T'o (6772 2148). During the Great Cultural Revolution, he has consistently opposed it in a negative fashion, has plotted against the revolutionary masses, and has devised secret schemes of attack, and has played off one group against another and been two-faced. When the revolutionary comrades of External Affairs and Foreign Policy (1120 2398 -- Wai cheng) seized Li's antiques and calligraphy examples, together with pornographic Hong Kong pictorial magazines and some phonograph records, Ch'en I immediately came out in behalf of Li. He said that "Li X X is an old comrade, and has merit. It is not fair for you to treat him this way! He has undergone full rectification in past movements." He dampened the ardor of the revolutionary masses, and nothing was done about Li's case. Even now, Ch'en I still has Li directing the Great Cultural Revolution in three units of Foreign Affairs. Can this kind of a man direct and lead the Great Cultural Revolution well? More strange yet is the fact that Ch'en I has requested the rebel faction to help build up respect for, and trust in, Li. Ch'en I once said that Li represented him. If Li were seized, he said, it would be equivalent to seizing Ch'en himself. Is it not clear why Ch'en has continually protected Li?

Nan Han-ch'en, the chairman of the Trade Promotion Association, was a favorite of the traitor Po I-po (3302 0001 3134). During the movement, fearing the consequences of his crimes, he committed suicide, cutting himself off from the people. But, when the Great Cultural Revolution began, Ch'en I protected Nan, saying that "In the past, Nan Han-ch'en worked for the United Front, and has many old affiliations. He is something of a democratic personage, and he is now an old man. In the course of the movement he will reform to the extent that he can."

Lo X X, head of the Foreign Language Bureau, is secretary of the Party organization. He really is a member of the group of people in the Party holding power who are following the capitalist road. At the beginning of the movement, when the masses raised questions about Lo, Ch'en I immediately came forward and took control. He said that "Lo X X worked in White [enemy] territory for many years, has a bookish air about him, and has no experience in mass movements. The Foreign Languages Bureau is successful in its work, and has published 75% of the anti-revisionist material. Lo is a good old fellow and must be protected."

Liu Hsin-ch'uan (0491 2450 2938) is the Vice Foreign Minister, as well as the one in charge of the Political Department of the Foreign Ministry. He is a malicious person who represses the revolutionary masses, and is an effective henchman in the execution of Ch'en I's reactionary capitalist line. When the Great Cultural Revolution began, it was he who came to the Foreign Language School and carried out such activities as "getting rid of obstacles," and "catching fish" on a large scale. He labeled the young revolutionaries as "counter-revolutionaries," and "swimming fish." He deceived the Premier, and concealed subversive materials, but was suspended from his job so that he might examine himself. After this happened, Ch'en I directed that "Liu Hsin-ch'uan may still look at Central Committee documents." When students of the Foreign Language School were carrying on criticism of Liu Hsin-ch'uan, Ch'en I said that "you Foreign Language School students are treating Liu Hsin-ch'uan as a counter-revolutionary revisionist element, but I disagree strongly! Liu Hsin-ch'uan was in a work team for over fifty days, and what crime has he committed? I have already spoken with Comrade Yeh Chien-ying (5509 0494 5391). Liu Hsin-ch'uan is in bad repute, and will not continue his work. He is to be ordered to go back into the Army, where he will assume duties on the level of those of a vice minister." On the occasion last year when we held a big meeting, and let it be known that we did not want the work teams to attend, Ch'en I found that Liu Hsin-chuan had not yet left. He was very angry, and said "if those people are holding a meeting, why didn't they get my consent? Why has Liu Hsin-chuan not been given a ticket? Even if I don't go to the meeting, I will get a ticket to Liu Hsin-ch'uan!"

Chang Yen (1728 1750) is an anti-Party element, a careerist, a toady, and a big political crook. His case is a typical one, nationwide. When this man's real character was exposed, Ch'en I again spoke on his behalf. At Foreign Language Academy No. 2, on 4 August of last year, he said that Chang Yen had good grounds for "cleaning out evil spirit" there. On 21 September, speaking to all the staff of External Affairs and Foreign Policy, he also said that "Chang Yen was very able in east China, so that he was shifted to the Central Committee. I ask everyone to view Chang Yen, not in the light of one event or one occasion, but in the context of his full history of thirty years." He said that Chang still had work to do in the future, and so on.

To sum it up, Ch'en I wants to protect all the "old revolutionaries," all the old staff, all the old diplomats, all who have professional ability, regardless of their political coloration, and this is not a proleterian approach at all.

Ch'en I greatly fears that the comrades under him may revolt. As soon as he hears that a revolt is brewing somewhere, or that someone wants to start a revolt, he makes a great effort to quench it.

After his self-examination on 24 January, Ch'en I's standpoint did not change at all, and still adopted a policy of protecting those in power. Wang P'ing (3769 1456) and Fang I (2455 3015) are both guilty of grave mistakes. Wang P'ing is Ch'en I's henchman in Foreign Affairs, putting forward

Ch'en's reactionary capitalist line, and his mistakes are very grave. To date, he has not yet made a self-criticism. Ch'en I frequently protects them. He dampens the spirits of the revolutionary masses as before, and grasps anything he can use in articles attacking them, in the way of weak points. As far back as shortly after the Eleventh Plenary Central Committee Conference, he said angrily in a big meeting: "These student kids are going all out to drag old Ch'en down. Old Ch'en is going all out to drag down these student kids."

The root of the whole matter of "attacking a great many and protecting a small handful" in Foreign Affairs is Ch'en I. Ch'en I is behind all the efforts to restore capitalism in Foreign Affairs. While the question of Ch'en I is not resolved, Foreign Affairs cannot be liberated; while the question of Ch'en I is not resolved, the poison spread in Foreign Affairs by Liu and Teng cannot be eliminated; while the question of Ch'en I remains unresolved, there is no way to carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end in Foreign Affairs.

We of the Revolutionary Rebel Committee of the Foreign Affairs and Political Departments of the CCP Central Committee, all of us fighters, are determined to unite with the rebels in Foreign Affairs, to bombard Ch'en I repeatedly and fiercely, to liberate Foreign Affairs thoroughly, and to carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end in Foreign Affairs.

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CSO: 3577-D

CH'EN I IS THE CRIMINAL RINGLEADER OF THE REPRESSION OF
THE GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

- CH'EN I AS VIEWED BY THE MOVEMENT IN
PEKING FOREIGN LANGUAGE ACADEMY NO. TWO -

[Following is a translation of a statement issued by the "Criticize Ch'en Military Corps" of the Red Guard, Peking Foreign Language Academy, Red Representative Council, in the Chinese-language newspaper, Wai-shih Hung-ch'i (Foreign Affairs Red Flag), Peking, No. 1, 8 May 67, p. 3. This newspaper is published by the Foreign Affairs Systems "Bombard Ch'en I and Liberate Foreign Affairs" Liaison Committee.]

Since the time the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started, Ch'en I has continuously followed Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the leading people in power in the Party who are following the capitalist road, and has persistently held a reactionary capitalist viewpoint. He has wildly opposed the proletarian line represented by Chairman Mao, and has resisted this historically unprecedented Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

At the beginning of June, Chairman Mao himself decided to publicize the poster made by Nieh Yuan-tze (5119 0337 2737) and seven other comrades, as well as the article by a critic on the staff of the "People's Daily," but Ch'en I was quite against this, speaking rashly about "letting all the Party's secrets out." He also brought out the slogan that "there are differences between the inside and the outside," repressed the revolution, repressed democracy, and intended to lead the movement into the revisionist channel of Liu and Teng, and to render the movement lifeless as soon as it started in any unit in Foreign Affairs.

In our Academy, Chang T'ien-szu (1728 1131 1835) and Ch'u Liang-ch'ao (4234 5328 6389) faithfully carried out the Liu-Teng line in Foreign Affairs, as applied by Ch'en I, fancying themselves as the "red line" below the "red line," representing and attacking the revolutionary rebel masses, and committing atrocious crimes.

The flames of revolution grow ever brighter, and the last days of the small handful holding power in the Party and following the capitalist road are at hand. At this time, again in accord with the wishes of Liu Shao-ch'i, Ch'en I is busily sending out "fire brigades," on a large scale, to each unit in Foreign Affairs, who are frantically putting out the raging fires of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Foreign Affairs Systems.

As soon as the three-anti element, the toady Chang Yen (1728 1750) entered our Academy, he immediately put forward the policy of reactionary cadres of "attacking a great number and protecting a small handful." Under the pretext of "cleaning out bad spirit," he attacked the revolutionary rebels, carrying on a white terror which lasted for twenty-one days. Truly this was a case of "a black cloud pressing against the wall, with the wall about to fall." The criminal leader supporting the crimes of the counter-revolutionary element Chang Yen was Ch'en I! As Ch'en I himself admitted: "I sent the work teams, I stirred up the counter-current, I wanted to protect the work teams." "I wanted to protect Chang Yen."

Everything the work teams of Chang Yen did in our Academy was under the supervision of Ch'en I. Ch'en I often gave orders to the toady Chang Yen. At the time when the white terror in our Academy was most severe, Ch'en I said to Chang Yen: "Now Party leadership is assured and actualized in Foreign Language Academy No. 2." "I suspect that the comrades in the Central Committee connected with the expulsion of work teams are counter-revolutionary." "In every circumstance, no matter how, the work teams must be supported." In our Academy, under the protection, direction and maintenance of Ch'en I, the work teams committed all the counter-revolutionary crimes they could, and their crimes are well known throughout the country. In this manner, the mass movement of the Great Cultural Revolution was also nipped in the bud.

In the middle of July, Comrades Ch'en Po-ta (7115 0130 6671) and K'ang Sheng (1660 3932) themselves inspected and investigated the crimes of Chang Yen's work teams, and at this time the flames of revolution were rekindled in our Academy, and the mass of revolutionary rebels flocked to denounce the crimes of the work teams. At this time, not only did Ch'en I not rehabilitate the revolutionary masses, but he ordered the work teams to continue to maintain and preserve files on those of the revolutionary masses who had been oppressed, in order to prepare for a "spring cleaning" at a later time.

At this crucial time, our most loved and respected great leader Chairman Mao returned to Peking. Chairman Mao once again lifted away the mists of confusion and clearly pointed out the direction of progress for us. Toward the end of July, Chairman Mao sent his close comrade in arms, whom we love and respect, Premier Chou, to our Academy. Premier Chou became deeply familiar with the masses, and carried forward a detailed investigation. He saw what was wrong at once, pointing out that Chang Yen had led the movement in our Academy in the wrong direction, and directed us to

criticize the incorrect line of Chang Yen's work teams thoroughly, to liquidate all traces of Chang Yen's influence, and then to enter into struggle, criticism and reform. Premier Chou's directive greatly raised the morale of the rebels, and greatly damaged the prestige of the conservatives. The revolutionaries raised high the great revolutionary banner of criticism, verbal and written assaults were made, and a move to liquidate Chang Yen's work teams was stirred up, through Chairman Chou's directive.

In these good circumstances, Ch'en I, Chang Yen's backer, was quite afraid that the flames of revolution might burn him. Consequently, last 8 August, he came to our academy, and made a long and rotten report, in the name of "fairness," and spread his evil influence all around. In this report, he gave strong support to China's Khrushchev, Liu Shao-ch'i, and said that Liu was his "teacher." He expounded the soul-imprisoning self-serving reactionary philosophy of "enduring shame and unfairness" for good ends, which Liu's sinister "Cultivation" tries to impose on people. He tried to damage the revolutionary rebel spirit of the broad revolutionary group of teachers and students, in order to give spirit to the shattered and disrupted conservative group. In the course of this report, in order to find a "basis" for his absurd remarks, he even publicly defamed and slandered the most red sun in our hearts, Chairman Mao. Is this to be endured?

Last 5 August, we called a general meeting to criticize the work teams, but were hindered by cronies of Chang Yen's from the work teams, and by the conservatives. At this time, Ch'en I sent another of his henchmen, Wang P'ing (3769 1456), to our Academy. He tried to create conciliation and confuse issues, acting so that the struggle between two lines would be avoided, and "points of agreement" might be found. He wanted the rebels to discard their principles and "unite" with the conservatives, causing this 8 August revolutionary meeting to be abortive. This is another proof of Ch'en I's crimes.

What made people even angrier was that Ch'en I tried to play off both sides against each other. In front of us, he pretended to support our previous struggle against Chang Yen, but behind our backs, he told the so-called "Red is East Red Guards" that he had not said this, intending to stir the conservatives up to attack the rebels.

Since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, in every speech and report he has made, Ch'en I has never failed to support the conservatives and repress the rebels. Even up to the end of last year, when he was with Ho Lung (6320 7893), Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien (1776 0686 0467) and Yeh Liu-ying (5509 0491 5391) on the workers' exercise field, he made a speech to rally support for the false struggle campaign carried on by the conservatives to evade criticism of the reactionary capitalist line, and he made excuses and accusations on behalf of the Liu-Teng line. At this time he was jeered and made fun of by a couple of scamps in our Academy who dared to do imitations of him in his villainy, provoking great arrogance on his part.

At the national celebration on 1 October, Comrade Lin Piao made a speech at the T'ien An Men, and this, together with the editorial in issue No. 13 of Red Flag, called for a general attack against the reactionary capitalist line. But Ch'en I, this "political inspector," remained unenlightened, and continued to support the work team members and the small group of conservatives in our Academy who maintained a reactionary capitalist line, and increased pressure on the Red Guard and other revolutionary groups in Foreign Language Academy No. 2.

On 24 January, Ch'en I issued a very bad self-criticism, in order to deceive the Central Committee and the revolutionary masses, took over the leadership of the Great Cultural Revolution in Foreign Affairs, and began to bring about a restoration of capitalism in Foreign Affairs.

The ink was not dry on his self-criticism when he put back in their jobs and positions very questionable people, as well as Party people in power following the capitalist road, in several academies in Foreign Systems. He carried out reactionary, backward-looking measures against the revolutionaries, and opposed at will the great course of the revolutionaries. He intimidated the revolutionaries, saying: "Do not be too rash. If you are too rash, the outcome will not be good." He also vindictively said: "In the past you put up a lot of posters about me. Now it's my turn to speak." Ch'en I is very nervy, and he planned to increase the pressure on proletarian headquarters when he said that his 24 January self-criticism was "forced out of him" and so on. In a word, Ch'en I stubbornly depends on the sinister headquarters of Liu and Teng for protection, and plans to bring back the old days in his rash way, and is trying to rally his forces again, and bring about a total, counter-revolutionary restoration of capitalism in Foreign Affairs. It is necessary to criticize Ch'en I, this henchman of Liu and Teng, thoroughly, and only after that can we carry the Great Cultural Revolution in Foreign Affairs through to the end.

If Ch'en I does not give in, then we will certainly overthrow him!

7326
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FIGHT ALONGSIDE CHINA'S PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARIES

[Following is a translation of an article by Han Ch'uan (transliteration of a foreign name) in the Chinese-language newspaper, Wai-shih Hung-ch'i (Foreign Affairs Red Flag), Peking, No. 1, 8 May 67, p. 4. This source is published by the Foreign Affairs Systems "Bombard Ch'en I and Liberate Foreign Affairs" Liaison Committee.]

A Short Biography of Comrade Han Ch'un: Comrade Han Ch'un is an American, forty-six years old as of this year. In 1948, she came to Yen-an, the sacred revolutionary ground. Later, after her departure from Yen-an, she worked continuously on a state farm in Shensi. At the end of April, 1966, she transferred to Peking, taking charge of English translation work, on the Foreign Language Committee's Special Manuscript and Picture Company staff.

Comrade Han Ch'un greatly loves the great leader, Chairman Mao, protects the policies of our Party, and actively participates in the Great Cultural Revolution. At the start of the movement, together with three other foreign specialists, she made up a revolutionary wall poster for the Specialists' Bureau, and received the support of the Central Committee in this. She is currently in the Mao Tse-tung's Thought-Bethune-Yenan Revolutionary Rebel Regiment, and is a Ching-kang Mountains Fighter in the Foreign Language Committee.

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The people of the world have already given up on the Soviet Union. The proletarian class and the revolutionary people of the whole world are looking to China. Should China change its political coloration, the world revolution would be retarded for I don't know how many years, and would suffer reverses, while capitalism would be able to make a comeback. A change

in the political coloration of a socialist country, and the seizure of power by the capitalist class, are not brought about by violence, but stem from internal division, and the usurpation of leading power by the leaders of revisionism. Over many years, Chairman Mao made a continuous study of this question, and made a general summary of his experience. Chairman Mao has boundless faith in the masses, and believes in the ability of the masses of the people to liberate themselves, so that Chairman Mao fears neither heaven nor earth, and he has initiated this historically unprecedented Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

For many years, in the course of revolutionary struggle, China's revolutionary people have actively studied and actively used Mao Tse-tung's thought, have used Mao Tse-tung's thought as their highest standard, and have used Mao Tse-tung's thought in considering all things. The Red Guard revolutionists and the broad revolutionary masses have seized the greatest power holder in the Party following the capitalist road, China's Khrushchev, Khrushchev number two. Catching this rat is more important than doing anything about Khrushchev number one, because he still had not gotten the power of leadership in the Party before he was seized. This is a new experience in history for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and a new development in Marxism-Leninism, and opens the road toward communism for the world revolution.

The sinister book Cultivation is being sold all over the world, and foreigners may still believe that it is Mao Tse-tung's thought, because it comes out of China -- this is very bad. During the past several months, the Sayings of Mao Tse-tung has been distributed all over the world, and the revolutionary people of the whole world are rushing to buy this book. The people of the world hold the Sayings of Mao Tse-tung in one hand and Cultivation in the other. They may compare the two, and clearly see where the poison lies in Cultivation. The sinister Cultivation thus becomes teaching material showing how not to act, and this is a case of a bad thing becoming a good thing.

I bought a copy of this sinister book Cultivation nineteen years ago, but I never read it, so that I do not think I was very much harmed by it. Recently, I read it in order to make a criticism of it, and was surprised to find that it contained the same kind of poison I had been given in America for twenty years. I was raised by the capitalist class to follow in its footsteps, and I received a Dewey-style "progressive" capitalist education. At school they said to us that "you are special people, and in future the important affairs of the world will all be on your shoulders. You should temper yourselves well, and cultivate yourselves to become 'great people,' to become some type of 'specialist,' like a scientist, a musician, a political scientist -- or train yourselves to become leaders."

They also often told us that we should study the "great men" of history. They used "humanism" to educate us, and wanted to make us good people who were "pure" and "transcending class." For a few thousand years, Catholicism has been using "humanism" to cheat and mislead people, and to protect

its own ruling position. The capitalist class rashly says that "history is made by great men," and that "among the great men of history there are good and bad people, and you must take the good ones as your models." The "good people" were "good people" of the ruling class and exploiting class, like those rotten emperors in the "Secret History of the Pure Palace." In the view of the capitalist class, the masses of the people are all "clods," all uncivilized, all benighted, and they used this sort of reactionary theory to educate us.

The education I received was the pragmatist education of the capitalist class. It involved putting things into practice, and participating in labor, but its object was completely devoted to the forging and rearing of the individual, and this was purely the desire to climb up high manifested in capitalist individualism.

This sinister book, Cultivation, tries to use "theory combined with reality" to prove it is "Marxist-Leninist." We must not be deceived by this. The capitalist class also speaks of "theory combined with reality". In educating its heirs, the capitalist class also wants to use reality as a forge. They use "practice" in order to teach how to exploit the people more. The concept of "theory combined with reality" of this sinister Cultivation is for the purpose of fostering social-climbing individualism.

What this sinister book Cultivation deals with is the world-view of capitalist idealism. It wants people to "cultivate" themselves well, and in future become "great men." Is this not just the same as the capitalist educational methods discussed above?

Right at the beginning of the sinister Cultivation, "Liu Marx" gives himself away, presenting himself as a sort of wonderful specialist, and goes on to speak of studying the great men of history. Yet he says something about "not wanting to be a great man." Is this not a contradiction? Ultimately, his intent becomes clear. The idea is that if you "cultivate" yourself well, the masses will make you a great man. This is what is called "being humble in small ways, and gaining big dividends," fully revealed.

Chairman Mao teaches us that: "The people, and only the people, are the moving force which creates world history." "The masses are the real heroes." Chairman Mao's words are in total opposition to the capitalistic world-view of man exploiting man set forth by the sinister Cultivation.

The criterion for distinguishing the capitalist world-view from the proletarian world-view is the question of whether thought comes first or matter comes first. In the sinister Cultivation, thought comes first. The process is theory-practice-theory, and the object of practice is to raise theory to a higher level, in becoming a "great man." This is in mutual opposition to the theory of knowledge of dialectical materialism. Marxist-Leninists give practice first place, since they want to reconstruct the world, and want revolution, and this is a process of practice-theory-practice. Marxist-Leninists use theory for only one purpose -- to reconstruct the world.

The greatest poison in this book is slavism. It says that anyone who "obeys the Party" can move up, and that "the benefit of the Party is above all else," and that "organizational outlook is above all." This is complete rot. Chairman Mao has said that: "Every comrade should understand that all the words and deeds of people in the Communist Party must accord with the greatest benefit of the broadest masses of the people, and must have the protection of the broadest masses as their highest standard." The sinister Cultivation has "obeying the party" as its revolution-negating standard. Chairman Mao has also said: "See if he is willing or unwilling to, or does or does not, unite with the great masses of workers and peasants." This is the standard of whether one is revolutionary or not.

We definitely must criticize the sinister Cultivation deeply, utterly, and completely!

The capitalist class, in order to attain its object of controlling and exploiting the people of this country, deceives the people, negates struggle between classes, and says that the prime contradictions in the world are those between countries and between peoples. It plans to use capitalist democracy to attack proletarian internationalism. In like manner, Liu and Teng use this method in their reactionary capitalist line, to destroy the great unity of the proletarian class.

Chairman Mao has said: "People of the whole world unite, and defeat American aggressors and their running dogs!" But the reactionary line of Liu and Teng ever more greatly divides foreigners working in China from the revolutionary Chinese people. This is completely opposed to Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is major evidence of the criminal actions of Liu and Teng.

We must bring Mao Tse-tung's thought to all the people of the world, and also think of every way possible to cause foreign workers in China to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought, to cause them to become flames spreading Mao's thought, carrying it to the whole world. But the leading handful of people holding power in the Party who follow the capitalist road happen to oppose this. They are terribly afraid of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and they not only want to separate foreigners from the Chinese, but also to separate them from the three great revolutionary movements, and from Mao Tse-tung's thought -- and they think of all ways to poison them with revisionism.

We, several foreign comrades working in China, sent a wall poster to the Foreign Specialists' Bureau in order to denounce the revisionist line in the Bureau. Concerning this wall poster, Chairman Mao made the following statement on 8 September 1966:

"I agree with this poster. The foreign revolutionary specialists and their children must be completely the same as, not different from, the Chinese. Please discuss this, on a totally free basis, and act uniformly. Please let me know the results."

It was not until 28 January 1967 that Ch'en I announced this statement of Chairman Mao to foreign comrades working in China. When he read it aloud, his voice was very low, as if he was not interested in the statement.

On the same day, just after he had read Chairman Mao's statement, Ch'en I differed with Chairman Mao's directives in a speech of his own. He said that "we cannot make decisions and approve actions on the basis of the demands of specialists from one country, or from several countries. This is an improper procedure." Ch'en I opposed a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism, putting nationality and race first, and class struggle second. We want to ask Ch'en I: When we denounced the revisionist line which has been carried through in the Foreign Specialists' Bureau for many years, was this after all a question of one country opposed to another country, or was this a struggle in which the proletarian class exposed the capitalist class?

Ch'en I also said: "When we consider one part of the specialists, we find that they are already Chinese nationals, or the equivalent, and have long resided in China. In this respect they are completely the same as the Chinese people. But another group of specialists still wish to return to their own countries in the future to carry work forward in them, and these can only be regarded as living in China with emigrant status. Therefore there are distinctions that must be made in this matter." Comrade Bethune lived in China for only two years after he arrived here. Did he reside here with the status of an emigrant, or with that of a revolutionary? As for being completely the same as the Chinese comrades, in the case of Ch'en I's using "length of residence" as a standard, is this action in accord with Chairman Mao's directive?

Let us raise high the great proletarian revolutionary banner of criticism, thoroughly criticize the sinister Cultivation and smash the sinister headquarters of Liu and Teng. We vow to unite with China's proletarian revolutionaries, to fight in unity with them, and to win in unity with them. Carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end! Carry the world revolution through to the end!

(this article was slightly revised
by this newspaper)

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CUT OFF THE SINISTER HAND EXTENDED INTO MIDDLE SCHOOL
NO. 22 BY THE OLD MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE

[Following is a translation of an article signed by the "Education Revolution Group of Peking Middle School No. 22," in the Chinese-language newspaper Chiao-yu Feng-pao (Education Wind and Storm), Peking, No. 1 (Inaugural Issue), 4 May 67, p. 4. This source is published by the Education Revolutionary Group of the Capital Middle School Red Guard Congress.]

For the past seventeen years, a sharp struggle has continuously existed between two classes and two lines. The leading people in the Party holding power and following the capitalist line, in order to arrive at their ugly goal of restoring capitalism, set up a revisionist educational line, and dared to oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line. Under the direction and with the support of Liu Shao-ch'i, Chang Wen-sung (1728 2429 2646) of the Education Department of the old Municipal Committee sent his henchman Chang (1728) X X into Middle School No. 22, extending his sinister hand therein.

Between April and May of 1961, Chang Wen-sung's henchman Chang X X came and settled down in Middle School No. 22. He made an "investigation" of our school, and came up with the four "self's" as a guide to be followed -- self-selection of content, self-determination of hours, self-choice of association, and self-awareness and self-volition. The four "self's" basically destroy proletarian politics, oppose the study of Mao Tse-tung's thought, damage the active spirit of the broad masses in their study of Chairman Mao's works, and stick in capitalist politics, in order to arrive at their criminal goal of hostilely opposing Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In language teaching, they set up an over-all revisionist program. For instance: "One cannot turn a language class into a political class," in opposition to using a language class to carry forward political education. Under the pretext of opposing lengthy teaching materials, they oppose the presence of Chairman Mao's writings and political teaching materials,

and this certainly deprives a language class of its proletarian political content. And this program became a leading element in the thought of Chang Wen-sung, in his article "Some Opinions Concerning Work in Municipal Middle and Primary Schools," which spread its poison over the whole country.

They energetically advocated that people become all-around people, rather than specialists, and advocated true materials and study by practice, and turned Middle School No. 22 into a place covered by a black fog. Chang X X of our school, in an article published in "Front Line," proposed that the young teachers, just like primary school students taking a model, should learn from the older teachers. The "Peking Daily," as well as the radio, carried reports of the situation of professional improvement in Middle School No. 22. People had a big meeting to honor the teachers so that the counter-revolutionary elements could celebrate the birthday of Liu (0491) X X. They turned a socialist school into a feudal academy.

In this way, through Chang X X, Chang Wen-sung's sinister hand had a steady, tight grasp on Middle School No. 22.

At present, this sinister hand has been seized by our broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students, and by the revolutionary Red Guard. We will cut off the sinister hand Chang Wen-sung has extended into our school, and we will completely smash the revisionist educational line carried through by the Education Department of the old Municipal Committee. Let the thought of the great Mao Tse-tung occupy the camp of education, and let Middle School No. 22 turn into a great revolutionary school, educating red heirs to the future!

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THOROUGHLY SMASH THE "TEN YEAR SYSTEM EXPERIMENT"

[Following is a translation of an article signed by the "East Wind of Peking Middle School No. 25, in the Chinese-language newspaper Chiao-yu Feng-pao (Education Wind and Storm), Peking, No. 1 (inaugural Issue), 4 May 67, p. 4. This source is published by the Education Revolutionary Group of the Capital Middle School Red Guard Congress.]

Before the liberation, Peking Middle School No. 25 was an "old educational glory," and today it has a history going back over one hundred years. In this sort of school, closely dominated by imperialism and feudalism, its capitalist educational thought and system, and even its feudal educational thought and system, were not completely eliminated after liberation, and capitalist reactionary "authority" still holds the power in the school.

Over ten years ago, because of its success in promoting a revisionist educational line, it was acclaimed as a "Red Flag School" by the old Municipal Committee, and caught the eye of the revisionist element Lu Ting-i (7120 1353 0001), who turned it into an experimental ground for the restoration of capitalism, and set the Soviet ten-year-system educational line in motion.

Our class was one of the experimental revisionist ten-year-system classes, and it really misled youth and spread thick poison. The special features of this experimental ground were: lots of books, lots of subjects, lots of preparation, lots of lectures, lots of study, lots of recitation and memorization. Little was taught about class struggle, there was little study of Mao Tse-tung's thought, there was little contact with the workers and peasants, little labor, and little recreation, physical training, or rest. This sort of experimental ground was overwhelming for the students, who could only consume books and memorize dogmas. Liu (0491), Teng (6772) and Lu (7120) also had their agents in the school use the sinister "Cultivation" to poison us, and we became the "tools" of a branch of the revisionist faction. They used aspirations to enter high school and college, ambitious individualism, to lure us off onto the branch road of putting academic

education and grades first. This was completely opposed to Chairman Mao's teaching that: "He who achieves development in moral education, academic education, physical training, and other various areas, becomes one with socialist consciousness, a cultured worker."

When we look at this shocking state of affairs, and think about this educational system piled high with crimes, this educational line, how can we keep from being totally indignant?

Is this endurable or not?

Today, revolutionary youth armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, heroic Red Guards, want to brandish the strong staff of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and smash the "old educational glory", smash the "ten year experimental system," smash the revisionist educational line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lu Ting-i, and establish Chairman Mao's educational line solidly. We want to transform our school into a proletarian educational camp gleaming with the brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

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PERMIT NO DEVIATION IN THE DIRECTION OF THE STRUGGLE

[Following is a translation of the lead editorial in the Chinese-language newspaper, Ching-Kang Shan (Ching-Kang Mountains), Peking, 13 April 1967. This newspaper is published by the Ching-Kang Shan Editorial Department of the Ch'inghua University Congress of Red Guards.]

The publication of "Patriotism or Sellout-ism?" by Ch'i Pen-yu (STC 2058/2609/4416) and the articles in Red Flag -- the essay by "Critic", and the report by "Investigator" -- are political events of the greatest historical significance in our country's cultural revolutionary movement.

These three articles seasonably, profoundly, and correctly indicated the direction of the present movement, which is: thoroughly criticize the bourgeois reactionary line in the question of cadres, thoroughly liquidate the flowing poison of Mr. Liu's How to be a Good Communist, thoroughly criticize the counterrevolutionary revisionist line carried out by Liu Shao-ch'i (0491/1421/1142) for the past seventeen years; overthrow, smash, and utterly destroy the counterrevolutionary clique led by Liu Shao-ch'i.

We certainly intend to maintain a firm grasp of the direction of this struggle; no one shall be permitted to turn his back on this great direction.

However, a current of reactionary opportunist thought is now flowing in Ch'ing Hua University. This current of thought attacks the banner of criticizing How to be a Good Communist, responds to the needs of the class enemies, and assumes the appearance of the extreme left to loyally serve the counterrevolutionary revisionist clique of Liu Shao-ch'i's counterrevolutionary restoration by energetically trying to shift the direction of the struggle.

One side says that the slogan "Giving prominence to politics will result in the revolutionization of people's thinking," is just repeating How to be a Good Communist. This is unadulterated rubbish! "Giving prominence to politics will result in the revolutionization of people's thinking" is a basic question which must be solved in this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This slogan accords with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's Thought. Not to recognize this point is to not recognize the great significance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and is to hang back from history!

Another side says, "The K'uai (5566) faction must be entirely denied!" This opinion is shamelessly created to help the restoration of Capitalism! Whoever denies the K'uai faction is denying the large group of revolutionary little generals represented by Comrade K'uai Ta-fu (5566/1129/1381) and is denying the great victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. This cannot be tolerated!

At present, there is a completely dangerous tendency to lean to the "left" among the troops of the revolution. Some comrades are not actively and deeply taking part in the criticism of Liu Shao-ch'i's counterrevolutionary revisionist line, not deeply criticizing the great poisonous weed How to be a Good Communist; rather they do not look at the whole picture, do not care about the principal direction of the struggle, are always trying to alarm people, stirring up violent explosions to muddle the thinking of the revolutionary troops. Even worse, some seize upon trivial questions to point spears at the proletarian headquarters, not seriously considering the complete picture, not letting lesser principles follow greater principles, but proceeding on the basis of a single idea. This behavior can only hurt one's friends and please one's enemies, and can only cause irreparable damage to the revolutionary cause. If this continues to develop, they will end up on the other side.

Some comrades will not stick their necks out and expose the errors of those who carry out these activities to change the main direction of the struggle, but take an academic attitude, neither listening nor questioning, and allow developments to occur unchecked. This is their greatest mistake, and must be firmly corrected.

The great question is where to point the spearhead. All revolutionary comrades must firmly grasp the main direction of the struggle at all times and not permit any means or method to change the main direction of the struggle. We must raise high the great banner of criticism based on Mao Tse-tung's Thought, criticize to the end the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i, thoroughly criticize the black How to be a Good Communist which rebels against the Party and government to restore Capitalism, and fight to achieve the final victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

7130

CSO: 3577-D

WE ARE IRRECONCILABLE ENEMIES OF THE LIU-TENG LINE

[Following is a translation of an article signed by the eleven member group of the 902 company of the Cultural Revolution, in the Chinese-language newspaper Ching-Kang Shan (Ching-Kang Mountains), Peking, 13 April 1967, p. 3. This newspaper is published by the Ching-Kang Shan Editorial Department of the Ch'inghua University Congress of Red Guards.]

"The tiger sits, the dragon curls up, the present vanquishes the past; although the heavens fall and the earth is overturned we will not deviate from our path."

While the whole country has arisen in a high tide to surround and destroy the number one person in power in the party who takes the capitalist road, the number one reactionary pickpocket and bourgeois element at Ch'inghua University, Wang Kuang-mei (3769/0342/5019) has also been exposed. How satisfying! Let us give ten thousand cheers in commemoration of this great victory! The day of settling all accounts with Wang Kuang-mei has finally come!

Since 1 June, when Chairman Mao himself expressed his approval of the first Marxist-Leninist wall newspaper to the entire country, igniting the fierce fire of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the revolutionaries of our school have dragged out the counterrevolutionary revisionist Chiang Nan-hsiang (5592/0589/5046)! But whoever thinks this was achieved without bitter tears is a counterrevolutionary fireman, for the work teams sent out by the Party's number one follower of the capitalist road, Liu Shao-ch'i himself, did not let us struggle against Chiang Nan-hsiang and the small handful of those in power in the Party who follow the capitalist road, but denounced our revolutionary activities as "Just like the Kuomintang." If this may be endured, what may not?

"The basic question of the revolution is the question of political power." Formerly, power lay in the hands of the school's Party committee, but we have battled with them and taken them over. Now power is in the hands of the work teams, and each of us revolutionary leftists should consider if this power truly represents us. If it represents us then we will support it, if it does not represent us then we must again seize power. Because of this, Wang Kuang-mei, serving the dictates of her lord, came into Ch'inghua on 19 June and identified K'uai Ta-fu (5566/1129/1981) as a "false leftist," and at the first meeting on 21 June collected black data about Comrade K'uai Ta-fu. On 22 June, Wang Kuang-mei came up with a plan to allow her to attend our company's discussion meeting. She sent her assistant to our company to find out about K'uai Ta-fu and take detailed notes of our speeches and the condition of our movement, to prepare the first ant-K'uai materials. But even the slyest fox cannot escape the little revolutionary generals armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. We saw through their plot at once, picked up the trail, followed up the clues, and surprised the culprits. The work teams were caught unawares and terrified.

Early on the morning of the twenty-third we pasted up a revolutionary wall newspaper to set off the whole school: "Comrade Yen Lin (5509/2651), what is this!" This wall newspaper, its banners bright, really pointed the spear at Wang Kuang-mei and rebelled well! Ch'inghua University boiled over with indignation against the oppression of the work teams, ready to seize Wang Kuang-mei on sight! Wang Kuang-mei saw us as a nail in her eye, a thorn in her flesh. At the meeting on 24 June she directed her running dogs Liu T'ao (0491/3447), Ho F'eng-fei (6320/7/20/7378), and others to interfere, to use the tools of dictatorship temporarily in their control to label K'uai Ta-fu "counterrevolutionary!" They cried, "The work teams represent Mao Tse-tung's Thought! To seize power from the work teams is to seize power from the Party!" Recklessly thinking to strangle the spirit of revolutionary rebellion in the cradle!

But they miscalculated! The meeting on 24 June was a victory meeting! We had received a mass of letters containing phrases such as "We resolutely support you!" "We resolve to fight shoulder-to-shoulder with you!" "Hope you will resolutely carry on the struggle!" After the meeting, a great many revolutionary comrades enthusiastically rushed up to shake our hands and congratulate us on the success of the meeting; revolutionary wall newspapers blossomed all over Ch'inghua University. The flames of revolution at Ch'inghua University burned hotter and brighter; chaos reigned within the university! When the work teams, who were fetters suppressing the revolution, saw this, they wanted to smash it.

Then, the top people in the party following the capitalist road, Liu Shao-ch'i, and Wang Kuang-mei -- these executioners assumed the title of the Central Committee and maliciously attacked the little revolutionary generals: thus began the cruel dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

On the morning of 27 June the work teams proclaimed their dictatorship over us. The eleven fellow-students of our company were scattered, segregated into four groups, stripped of all political power and deprived of all physical freedom. They even expelled the members of K'uai Ta-fu's organization. They did not allow us to write letters, make phone calls, talk among ourselves, or take part in organizational activities. The work teams seized our diaries and cut off our mail. The servant of reaction, Wang Kuang-mei, stripped us of the power to participate in the First of July celebration of the birth of the Party and stripped us of power to attend the demonstration opposing America and supporting Viet-nam! This truly was ten thousand cuts from a thousand knives!

The political persecution encountered by K'uai Ta-fu and Meng Chia-cau (1322/1367/7467) was still worse! Even when eating, washing, or relieving themselves they were guarded. The lights in the dormitory were not turned out at night, and guards noted every movement K'uai and Meng made in their sleep; they could not even roll over in peace. During daylight, Comrade K'uai Ta-fu was surrounded, his hands were bound, the work teams ordered a bunch of fingerprints and took black photographs, pasted wall newspapers on K'uai Ta-fu's quilt and at the head of his bed, abused, slandered, and attempted to force a confession from him; there was nothing they did not do. When Comrade K'uai Ta-fu wanted to appeal to the Central Committee, Wang Kuang-mei not only did not permit it, she replied to his resistance by cutting off his food, and during the 52 hours when he was not fed continuously perpetrated unspeakable atrocities upon Comrade K'uai Ta-fu, and announced that Comrade K'uai Ta-fu was dead! A criminal devil and bringer of calamity is Wang Kuang-mei, her crimes deserve ten thousand deaths!

During our persecution, Comrade Pao Ch'ang-k'ang's (7637/7022/1660) liver ailment flared up again; he could only eat two ounces of rice a day and his condition grew progressively worse! But the work team controlled by Wang Kuang-mei insanely refused him medical attention, and cruelly taunted him saying, "You weren't sick when you opposed the work teams, so if you're sick now it's only to try and escape the struggle!"

This was only the beginning. Wang Kuang-mei mobilized all the school's mass media to attack the revolutionaries led by Comrade K'uai Ta-fu, and at mass meetings twice struggled

against him, once during the time when he was being starved. One medium-sized and innumerable small struggle meetings were held during this period.

All this caused a serious weakening of our spirit. Wang Kuang-mei placed the hats of "counterrevolutionary gang," "monsters and demons just released from their cage," "rabid, individualistic conspirators," etc. upon our heads and threatened to expose our backers.

We rebelled against Chiang Nan-hsiang, the work teams, and Wang Kuang-mei; this is what the work team referred to as our "criminal attitude!" We knew for certain: revolution is no crime! Rebellion is justified! This opposition to us is unwarranted! On the afternoon of 25 June the eleven members of our group sat in the dormitory and read aloud together from the quotations from Chairman Mao, loudly sang Chairman Mao's poems, and pasted two sheets with a slogan inscribed in gigantic characters on each side of the dormitory doorway: "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory;" taking up our pens in place of swords and knives we were perfectly willing to be the revolutionary minority! The great majority of us fellow-students were born to families of workers. In the old society our parents were treated like beasts of burden by the landlords and capitalists, only rescued from this sea of fire by Chairman Mao, the great deliverer of all the Chinese people! We have boundless love and boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao! With our red hearts always turning toward Chairman Mao we deeply understand: "The basic question of revolution is the question of political power." We must strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat by leaving not a single one of the small handful of those in power within the Party who follow the capitalist road unexposed. Not even death will close our eyes.

As resolute revolutionary leftists, tempered by counter-revolutionary attacks, we draw inexhaustible strength and courage from the four precious volumes of Chairman Mao. When the work team refused to let us take part in the demonstration opposing America and supporting Viet-Nam we thought of a way to join the demonstrators from another department. The prison could not hold us, we found all kinds of ways to go out and read the wall newspapers, to go outside and have secret conversations. We encouraged each other and secretly exchanged revolutionary experiences. We daily exercised our weakened bodies, steeling ourselves, to prepare to struggle desperately against the American devils! We bought many pictures of Chairman Mao and pasted them to the heads of our beds.

Comrade K'uai Ta-fu was an even more prominent representative. From beginning to end he carried on the struggle against the work team directed by Wang Kuang-mei, always defiant, never submitting, displaying a fearless revolutionary spirit. At the mass meeting on 27 June at which the whole school struggled against him, Comrade K'uai Ta-fu firmly declared, "I cannot stand against this coercive policy. Nevertheless, I say again, your efforts will not stop me! You want me to confess to being a counterrevolutionary -- this I shall never do! Even as I mount the scaffold I shall still proclaim I am a revolutionary, resolutely and completely revolutionary!" "To protect Chairman Mao, to protect Mao Tse-tung's Thought, to protect the dictatorship of the proletariat, to protect the Socialist system, I, like Tung Ts'un-jui (5515/1317/3843) and Huang Chi-kuang (7806/4949/0542) am prepared to give up my life at any time." During his confinement Comrade K'uai Ta-fu recited again and again from Quotations from Chairman Mao, "When the sky fills with black clouds we should point out that this is only a temporary phenomenon; the darkness soon will pass and light will shine before us." "People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed." Armed with his pen he fiercely opened fire on the bourgeois reactionary line, illuminating Mao Tse-tung's Thought in brilliant wall newspapers he attacked the work teams and irritated Wang Kuang-mei and the number one person in the Party who follows the capitalist road, Liu Shao-ch'i.

During the struggle the Cultural Revolution group of the Central Committee resolutely supported our revolutionary activities. In his debate with the number one person in the Party who follows the capitalist road Comrade K'ang Sheng (1660/3932) pointed out that refusal to allow people to turn to the Central Committee with their grievances is illegal at the very least. The number one person in the Party who follows the capitalist road, Liu Shao-ch'i, with the guilty conscience of a thief, could only send a special car, and on 15 July took Comrade K'uai Ta-fu to the Central Committee Cultural Revolution Group Reception Station. But he went in terror of the little revolutionary generals and sent a member of the work team and two fellow students to escort Comrade K'uai Ta-fu. Ch'inghua University remained in the grip of white terror.

But black clouds cannot hide the sun forever, and the sound of spring thunder was heard on the plains -- on 18 July our most beloved great leader, Chairman Mao, returned to the City of Peking, Chairman Mao returned! On 21 July, Comrades Ch'en Po-ta (7115/0130/6671) and K'ang Sheng of the Cultural Revolution group of the Central Committee sent Comrades

Wang Li (3269/0500) and Kuan Feng (7070/6912) to Ch'ing-hua to meet with Comrade K'uai Ta-fu. Chairman Mao's brilliance illuminated our hearts, and the personal attention of the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee gave Comrade K'uai Ta-fu and each of us an incomparable increase in strength. Holding back tears of joy we vowed to Chairman Mao: We will always be loyal to you! We will follow you up mountains of knives, through seas of fire, unto our very deaths to make a revolutionary generation!

Chairman Mao returned to Peking, the work teams were disbanded, and the number one person in the Party who follows the capitalist road, Liu Shao-ch'i, was terrified.

The support given Comrade K'uai Ta-fu by the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee was a great blow to Wang Kuang-mei!

However, the enemy will not perish of himself. The top persons in the Party who follow the capitalist road, Liu Shao-ch'i, Wang Kuang-mei -- this small handful of reactionaries will not die without a struggle. They will not leave the stage of history by themselves. When the work teams were disbanded they were still plotting new maneuvers.

On 23 July Wang Kuang-mei said to the 17-man group of the 902 Cultural Revolution Company, "Do not admit that Kuan Feng met with K'uai Ta-fu. If K'uai Ta-fu is like that I shall not meet with him!" Then she said wildly, "It is accepted that K'uai Ta-fu is a 'false leftist.'" Wang Kuang-mei could not repress her abiding hatred of Chairman Mao and the Central Committee's Cultural Revolution and publicly attacked Comrade Kuan Feng, saying wildly, "Kuan Feng is a writer who has never seen a 'false leftist.' His knowledge is all very well, but last time it should have been better. Kuan Feng came for a meeting without informing us; very well, we won't question him. Were we to question him we would appear unreasonable." Wang Kuang-mei, you dare to attack the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee and those responsible for our revolutionary faction; we therefore utterly reject you!

Wang Kuang-mei led some groups and drove others. She firmly tied the 17-man group to her apron strings. One the evening of 28 July Wang Kuang-mei, through private secretary X, reported to the 17-man group, saying, "Euck up, get ready to be a minority! We have already inspired Liu Tao and Ho P'eng-fei, so do not fear being a minority." After the work teams were disbanded Wang Kuang-mei established a "three temporary," held an "August Ninth" meeting to exchange revolutionary experiences, plotted to continue peddling the selfish goods of

the number one person in the Party who follows the capitalist road; this is insane and a waste of time.

"Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again... till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic." Neither can the leader in power in the Party who follows the capitalist road and Wang Kuang-mei go against this logic. "Fight, fail, fight again, fail again... till their victory;" that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. We revolutionaries, with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Mao the reddest red sun in our hearts, and the unswerving leadership of the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee directing our advance, we are not afraid of anything. "The Golden Monkey swings his massive cudgel, for ten thousand miles around heaven is still." Any Chinese Krushchevs, any Wang Kuang-meis; We will completely smash you into the ground!

Mao Tse-tung's Thought illumines all subjects; the spirits of the revolutionary little generals rise like the wind; the trumpet sounds the call to bury the bourgeois reactionary line.

We, the revolutionary little generals of the Ching Kang Shan Brigade of Ch'inghua University take up the iron broom of Mao Tse-tung's thought to sweep away all pests and destroy our enemies! Under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought let us fight on to the final victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

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COMPLETELY SMASH THE FETTERS OF SLAVERY
- Criticize Liu Shao-ch'i's How to be a Good Communist -

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language newspaper, Ching-Kang Shan (Ching-Kang Mountains), Peking, 13 April 1967, p. 1. This newspaper is published by the Ching-Kang Shan Editorial Department of the Ch'inghua University Congress of Red Guards.]

"Arise! Cold and hungry slaves, Arise! All oppressed people of the world." How many proletarian soldiers of the revolution have been aroused by the stirring, heroic strains of the "Internationale" to rid themselves of the chains of slavery and run swiftly down the broad road of liberation!

"The principles of Marxism are many, but they may be summed up in one sentence: 'To rebel is justified.'" How many cultural revolutionaries have been encouraged by the voice of our great teacher, Chairman Mao, to make a bold attack on the old world!

Marxism-Leninism, the basic material of Mao Tse-tung's Thought, is critical and revolutionary. Its basic points are criticism, struggle, and revolution. One sentence: "To revolt is no crime, to rebel is justified."

However, the great poisonous weed How to be a Good Communist, which is anti-party, anti-socialist, anti-Mao Tse-tung's Thought, written by the number one person in the Chinese party who follows the Capitalist road, Liu Shao-ch'i, not only peddles a reactionary philosophy of slavery, but energetically proclaims the reactionary principle that oppression is justified, cruelty is justified, and rebellion is not justified. For a long time this flowing poison has sought to subjugate and stifle the spirit of revolutionary rebellion

within and without the country, until this crime cries out to heaven. Today we will take up the ten-ton cudgel of Mao Tse-tung's Thought to smash Mr. Liu's black How to be a Good Communist to dust, smash the spiritual bonds of slavery to dust, and let the great banner of the proletarian revolutionaries be raised in the East Wind where it will wave forever.

I. The Reactionary Political Goal of Slavery Peddled by How to be a Good Communist.

Why does the proletariat revolt? Why does the proletariat rebel? Our most beloved great leader, Chairman Mao, has given us the answer to these crucial questions: "All revolutionary struggles are for the purpose of seizing and consolidating political power. The death-struggles of the counterrevolutionaries against the power of the revolution are also for the single purpose of maintaining political power."

The basic question of the revolution is the question of political power. When one has political power, one has everything; when political power is lost, all is lost. Political power is the center; political power is the direction; political power is the foundation of our revolution. After the proletariat seizes power, no matter what other myriads of affairs come up, political power must never be forgotten, the dictatorship of the proletariat must never be forgotten. He who forgets political power forgets the great affairs of state, forgets the basic viewpoint of Marxism. He becomes a man without a soul, a monstrous ignoramus, a blundering dolt.

A true revolutionary leftist should think to seize power, should look to seize power, and should act to seize power. He should seize power for the proletariat, hold power for the proletariat, and use power for the proletariat.

1. How Liu Shao-ch'i Prepared to Usurp the Party and the Country in the Field of Thought.

All oppressors, in order to maintain their position of complete control and suppress the resistance of the masses, always employ the two hands of counterrevolution: cruel armed oppression and the carrying out of enslaving education to strangle the people's revolutionary spirit. Their followers are even more cunning and dangerous. Comrade Stalin, at the eighth congress of the CPSU, pithily pointed out, "The many clever tricks of bourgeois education in the end only cause the workers to disbelieve in their own strength, to disbelieve in their latent energy, and allow their oppressors to lead them to the slaughter."

In feudal society the workers suffered severe political, religious, and racial oppression. The rulers also used the doctrines of fatalism, inherited aristocracy, the old examination system, etc. to benumb the masses, so that the workers would accept calamity calmly, and be content with their lot, to protect the "long reign and lasting peace" of the feudal rulers. In capitalist society the capitalists peddle the lie that "cruelty is justified" while at the same time carrying out cruel persecutions. While using aircraft and cannon to carry out bloody slaughters of the peoples of colonial and semi-colonial territories, they also send large numbers of "teachers" and "philanthropists" there to carry out enslaving education.

Liu Shao-ch'i, the number one person in power in the party who follows the capitalist road, the old-established counterrevolutionary revisionist, has inherited the mantle of all past and present oppressors. In How to be a Good Communist he peddles a philosophy of slavery. How to be a Good Communist is Liu Shao-ch'i's spiritual opium to poison and muddle the revolutionary masses; it entirely ignores the actual class struggle, ignores the revolution, and ignores the political struggle to go talk about "self-cultivation." He wants communists to forget about the needs of the country, forget about the class struggle, forget about the dictatorship of the proletariat, forget about the central question of the revolution -- the question of political power, and behave like sincere and devout disciples, shut up in their chambers "self-cultivating," until we communists have been "cultivated" into witless, cowardly "gentlemen," fearing every little thing and without a thought in our heads; until we have become political nobodies without a trace of revolutionary spirit; until we have been led down the revisionist road of Liu Shao-ch'i and turned into "willing tools" of the capitalist restoration. He has high hopes that the time will soon be ripe for a complete restoration of capitalism, and he hopes that the masses will run along submissively after him, following his orders, allowing him to lead them to the slaughter. This way there is hope for his counterrevolutionary restoration.

2. How Liu Shao-ch'i Prepared to Usurp the Party and Country in the Field of Organization.

Liu Shao-ch'i did not spread counterrevolutionary slavishness simply to train "slaves" to blindly follow him, he also wanted them to become "willing tools" to help him peddle his black revisionist goods and realize the restoration of capitalism. Actually, How to be a Good Communist produced a group of "slaves," and a group of "slave owners" squatting on their "slaves'" heads, organizing his counterrevolutionary class army to prepare to take over the party and country.

On the one hand, Liu Shao-ch'i used the clubs of "The party is the supreme guide," "unreasoning following," "rules of organization," "party spirit," etc. to force you into submission, to cause you blindly and without analysis to accept the poison of his revisionism. On the other hand, he also preached that one should be a person who shoulders the "heavy burden," and that one must go through an "arduous steeling process," and that "first one's will must suffer, one's bones and sinews must toil..." One sentence, "Only after tasting bitterness amidst bitterness can one be a man above men." He is using this high-class individualism as bait to tempt you to ignore the actual class struggle, to ignore the masses and practice solitary "self-cultivation," in order to facilitate using his "self-cultivation" to become an "experienced revolutionary of the old school," a "leader," a "hero." Actually, this cultivates Liu Shao-ch'i style "leaders" and Khrushchev style "heroes. People raised by the methods of Mr. Liu's How to be a Good Communist have a distinguishing feature; to use Liu Shao-ch'i's own words, they are those so-called "enthusiastic, willing tools" who can follow the "party," who can become "generals" or "commissars," who can "each follow the development of history. "When you write history, write your own name." "Even if the majority and the upper echelons or the Central Committee are dead wrong, you should still follow them; first carry out your orders, even if they are wrong." Therefore they are slaves to their superiors. If the superiors say East, they do not face West; to each word of their superiors they reply, "I am greatly honored to receive your instruction...." Even when it is impossible they do not stop to think, "Is this directive really right; does it fit actual conditions?" But go to study the "leadership plan" and seek their "errors." Mei Ch'i-ming (5019/0366/0682) said, "Closely follow the spirit of the party commissar." Those who do not do this are scolded; having no "party spirit" is bourgeois thinking."

When it comes to their subordinates, however, they show another face. Even if they have only a little power, they still take a "father knows best" attitude toward their subordinates, assuming the attitude of "even if the wind blows and the waves rise, there is a firm seat in the fishing boat." In questions of leadership mistakes and the actual struggle between the two lines they cast away principles and only talk about following organizational rules. They themselves do not rebel, nor do they permit others to rise in rebellion. If they have the slightest doubts about someone they snutter, "Where has your party spirit gone?" This kind of person is really a "slave" to his highest superiors, but behaves like a "slave owner" toward the masses. The diametrically opposed concepts of "slave" and "slave owner" are united in his body: these are miracles wrought by "Mr. Liu's Method of Self-Cultivation." Are they strange? Not at all! As they see it, to

willingly play the "slave" today is to be able to go out and "will" a bunch of "slaves" tomorrow. To use Liu Shao-ch'i's words, this is "suffering a small wrong for a greater convenience." Its general foundation is selfishness.

Liu Shao-ch'i's How to be a Good Communist doses party members with "slavery" and "slave ownership," and recklessly makes them "willing tools" of revisionism. Not only in matters of organization do they absolutely follow the "party," but in ideological matters, too, like birds of a feather, they flock to Liu Shao-ch'i's line, and become tools which "go as the mind wishes" to restore capitalism. The facts exposed by the Great Cultural Revolution make it clear that some, under the poisonous influence of how to be a Good Communist, are about to go over to the side of "Revisionism;" at worst, some are already deeply mired in the morass of counterrevolutionary revisionism. Liu Shao-ch'i is really using the reactionary theory of "fooling all of the people all of the time," and plotting to direct our party members and the masses to prepare organization, ideology, and cadre for his usurpation of the party and country.

II. Smash the "Curse of Slavery."

Although the evil, counterrevolutionary revisionist Liu Shao-ch'i puts on the trappings of Marxism-Leninism, he is actually an unmitigated "slave owner." His How to be a Good Communist is altogether a curse, a spiritual ball and chain placed on the feet of party members.

1. Denounce the "Organization Concept."

Chairman Mao teaches us, "The force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party. The theoretical basis guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism." Mao Tse-tung's thought is the pinnacle of modern Marxism-Leninism, the most lofty, most active Marxism-Leninism of the present era. Mao Tse-tung's thought directs all the work of the entire party and nation. The attitude of all levels of party cadre and leadership toward Mao Tse-tung's thought -- acceptance or resistance, support or opposition, love or hate -- is the dividing line and touchstone separating true revolution from false revolution, revolution from counterrevolution, and Marxism-Leninism from revisionism. In his sea of words, Liu Shao-ch'i does not mention the absolute leadership of Mao Tse-tung's thought at all, but twists the organizational concept, saying, "The party cadre and party leaders should be concrete representatives of the advantages of the party and the proletariat."

According to his logic the leadership of the Party is absolute leadership; obeying the upper echelons is obeying the Party. He proposes that Party members not think, act, or investigate; not weigh everything in the balance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, but only know how to blindly follow the rigid directives of their superiors and submissively become "willing tools" of those above them. It is very clear that the rotten line of the "Party Concept" and "the Leadership is the Party" completely serves Liu Shao-ch'i and his counterrevolutionary revisionist rogues. For many years they have been chanting this "curse," disguising themselves as "Buddhas of the Party," saying, "The Party knows best" and "to oppose us is to oppose the Party." During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution they have, on the one hand, utilized the love of the Party members for the Party, desiring to take credit for all good things as their own, to mislead some of the masses into protecting them; on the other hand, they have brandished the cudgels of "anti-party" and "True Headquarters of the Proletariat" to intimidate and oppress the enthusiastic revolutionary generals who have dared to rise in opposition to them.

Chairman Mao taught us long ago regarding directives from the high leadership: "To carry out discussions and inquiries not based on actual circumstances is to act blindly. This attitude of formalism based only on the concepts of superiors is quite wrong."

Reality is indeed like this. It is necessary to discriminate between correct and erroneous, proletarian and bourgeois in the case of "superiors" and directives handed down by "superiors." The majority of our Party cadres are loyal to Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's Thought. For the past 17 years in our country and Party Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has been incontrol. However, our Party cannot turn its back on the life of society and survive; the class struggle within society must be reflected within the Party -- "no ideology does not leave its mark on its leaders." The struggle between the two lines within the party still exists; the struggle between Marxism and opportunism still exists; especially dangerous is the existence within the party of a small handful of bourgeois representatives who raise the "red flag" to oppose the red flag Chairman Mao points out. "Representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the Party, the government, the armed forces, and all kinds of cultural circles are a group of counterrevolutionary revisionist. One day when the time is ripe they will be able to seize political power and change the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of their people have been discovered and dealt with; others remain to be discovered. Some are actually in positions of trust, brought up as our

successors -- Krushchev, for example -- and even now sleeping at our sides. All levels of Party committees should pay attention to this point." Liu Shao-ch'i is the Krushchev of China, the black headquarters of Liu and Teng (6772) is the root of revisionism.

Does the small handful of those in power within the Party who follow the Capitalist road represent the Party? Do they represent the good of the Proletariat? No! On the contrary, they stand for the best interests of the bourgeoisie. Look! This bunch of reactionary tools within the Party, government, and armed forces secretly plots to usurp the power of leadership from us proletarians, to change China's color. In the field of economics they propose the profit motive and recklessly plan to change the relationships of production of socialism. In literary and art circles they preach the "traditions of the Thirties," and "rebelliousness;" publish stories about emperors, kings, generals, and prime ministers, brilliant scholars and beautiful women; they oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art in order to prepare public opinion for the restoration of Capitalism. In educational circles they recklessly struggle with the proletariat to seize the minds of youth, to bring up youth as successors to the bourgeoisie. Are not the innumerable examples brought to light during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution sufficient to show clearly the implacability of those in power in the Party who follow the Capitalist road and recklessly plot the restoration of Capitalism? But Liu Shao-ch'i, in order to deceive, and fearing that the masses would see through them, mixed fish eyes with pearls so that Party members could not tell black from white, and presented all "high leaders" as "representatives of the good of the proletariat" to facilitate the peddling of their black goods.

Chairman Mao teaches us, "Communists must always go into the whys and wherefores of anything, use their own heads and carefully think over whether or not it corresponds to reality and is really well-founded; on no account should they follow blindly and encourage slavishness."

We should examine everything in the light of Mao Tse-tung's Thought. With limitless faith in, and reverence for Chairman Mao, we will always follow the leadership of Mao Tse-tung's Thought. Whoever carries out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line thereby represents the good of the Proletariat; we trust and support him. If anyone opposes Chairman Mao or Mao Tse-tung's Thought, then, no matter how lofty his position, how great his "reputation," how ancient his precepts, we will pull him down from his horse, beat him to the ground, and trample on him.

2. Denounce the Reactionary Mr. Liu's "Disciplined Self-Cultivation."

According to Chairman Mao's teachings, "It is only after sniffing all around something to determine whether it is good or bad that we can decide to welcome it or to oppose it." When a Party member uses Mao Tse-tung's Thought to dissect and analyze a problem, when he calls for views that do not agree with his, Liu Shao-ch'i sees that his first curse was ineffective and runs to chant his second "curse" -- Mr. Liu's "Disciplined Self-cultivation," plotting to use the cudgels of party spirit and organizational discipline to force Party members into accepting his black Revisionist goods. In How to be a Good Communist he repeatedly admonishes, "We require invariable obedience to the organization." "The basis of democratic centralism is that decisions made by the majority, the higher-ups, or the central committee should be followed, even if they are incorrect." "Even if none of the conditions for obedience is right, one should obey absolutely and unconditionally." All this is one word, obedience! Absolute obedience! No matter whether it is Marxism-Leninism or revisionism, proletariat or bourgeoisie, it is obedience that counts. One cannot harbor doubts; still less may one oppose. This is clearly the logic of tyrants and thieves!

Chairman Mao states very clearly, "Mistaken leadership which endangers the revolution should not be followed, rather it should be opposed."

There is really no such thing as Party spirit or rules of organization in the abstract. There are only class parties and organizational rules, which, in the case of a Proletarian party and organizational rules, all serve the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao says, "We Communists must accord in all our words and deeds with the best interests of the broadest mass of the people, taking that which is supported by the broadest mass as the highest standard." "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 and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas and actions...." These are the party spirit and rules of organization which a proper Communist should have. They are as compatible with the so-called "rules of organization" proposed by Liu Shao-ch'i as fire is with water. What is the description of this set of Liu Shao-ch'i's rules of organization? The facts of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution give us the best answer.

The year before last, upon the appearance of comrade Yao Wen-yuan's (1202/2429/0337) article "A Criticism of the New Historical Play Hai Jui Dismissed from Office," the counterrevolutionary revisionist P'eng Chen (1756/4176) clamorously posed the question, "What happened to your Party spirit?!"

On 25 May of last year, when comrade Nieh Yuan-tzu (5119/0337/2737) and others from Peking University had just pasted up the first Marxist-Leninist wall newspaper, people like Sung Shir (1345/4311) and Lu P'ing-chih (7120/1627/0037) attacked it as "disorganized, undisciplined, and anti-party."

On 24 June of last year, when comrade K'uai Ta-fu (5566/1129/1381) and others from our school rose in rebellion against the work teams, the work teams cried, "We represent Mao Tse-tung's Thought. Opposing the work teams is opposing the Party Central Committee, is seizing power from the proletariat, is monstrous rightism." As a result of the "counter-revolutionary, anti-party, false leftist actual rightist" hats being placed indiscriminately, several hundred revolutionary masses were labeled "counterrevolutionary." The facts tell us that what Liu Shao-ch'i calls the "Party" is really not the Communist Party, but is a false communist party, is the party of revisionism. What Liu Shao-ch'i calls the "organization" is an anti-party clique composed of a small handful of those in power within the Party who follow the Capitalist road. What Liu Shao-ch'i calls "rules" is a vindictive struggle waged against the proletariat, a hardhearted attack, the carrying out of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary masses. It is quite clear that the "organization" and "rules" of Liu Shao-ch'i are the black organization and black rules of the bourgeoisie. In How to be a Good Communist Liu Shao-ch'i purposely disguised the class nature of rules, purposefully confused the border between revolutionary and counterrevolutionary, forced even those party members having "differing principles" with the higher-ups into "unconditional obedience" merely to cause Party members to follow blindly in meeting the political needs of the restoration of capitalism. How poisonous were his attentions!

Liu Shao-ch'i also encouraged the obedience of the "minority" to the "majority." Even if the majority was wrong he still demanded obedience. This certainly harmonizes with Krushchev's song. Think of this year -- did not Ho T'u-tzu (6378/4422/1311) brandish the cudgel of "opposing the will of the majority" to force our Party to submit to his revisionist ideas? At the same time our Party earnestly and severely reprimanded this irrational theory: "In treating questions of

the basic principles of Marxism, who is correct and who is incorrect cannot under all circumstances be decided on the basis of majority vote." It is just as Chairman Mao said, "Historically, new and correct things, at their inception, have often not been acknowledged by the majority, and only through struggle can they develop in their full complexity." Therefore the minority must be protected and a member of a minority who has grasped truth should uphold the truth and tenaciously struggle to victory; he must not emulate Liu Shao-ch'i and grasp it only to cast it away and submit to the erroneous words and acts of the "majority."

Liu Shao-ch'i also applies such libelous epithets as "destroying Party unity, creating splits, and weakening the Party's will to struggle" to those Party members who are "unwilling" and do not obey his black rules of organization. This is a worthless argument. Only by upholding principle, upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's Thought can true revolutionary solidarity of the Proletariat be achieved. To cast away principle and speak of solidarity with the reactionary, anti-socialist "Three Family Village" and "Four Family Inn," to speak of solidarity with such Krushchevian conspirators as Liu Shao-ch'i and Peng Hsiao-p'ing (6772/1420/1627) is, as Lenin said, "To idealize the unity of the running dogs and split with the revolutionaries." Then both the Party and the country will be lost.

In fact, the person most observant of the proletarian "rules of organization," the person most damaging to the cause of proletarian "united solidarity" is none other than Liu Shao-ch'i himself! He has habitually opposed Mao Tse-tung's Thought, ignored Chairman Mao's leadership, and for a long time he alone acted; night and day he ignored the decision passed to the Party at the Lu Shan meeting, finally reopening the case of the right-leading opportunist. He turns his back on Chairman Mao, upholds the "three freedoms and one contract," the "three reconciliations and one reduction" and the "four great freedoms;" to damage the Socialist Collective economy. He turns his back on the Peach Garden experience upheld by Chairman Mao, peddling his reactionary line which looks "left" but is actually right, opposing the Socialist Education Movement; during the Great Cultural Revolution, opposing Chairman Mao's directives, sending out work teams, suppressing the revolutionary mass movement.

The facts clearly show that the "organizational rules" of Liu Shao-ch'i are all clever words to fool the masses; when a threat to the interests of his bourgeoisie arises, Liu Shao-ch'i's "obedience to superiors" and "obedience to the majority" are cast to the winds. It is just as the old quotation says, "The magistrate may commit arson but the people may not light

a lamp." His How to be a Good Communist is entirely meant to trick people.

As for the Proletarian revolutionaries, we consciously guard the rules of the Chinese Communist Party and unconditionally obey the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. As for the "Party Spirit" and "Rules of Organization" of Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang of counterrevolutionary revisionists, we cannot accept them in the least. Moreover, we will take their black organization and black rules which strangle the spirit of revolutionary rebellion and smash them to dust.

3. Overthrow the Servile Philosophy of "Accepting Difficulties Uncomplainingly."

Chairman Mao says, "We wish to train a large group of men to be the vanguard of the revolution, all to have political foresight. These men must be filled with the spirit of struggle and sacrifice."

But the servile philosophy propounded by Liu Shao-ch'i says that to become a model Communist one should "Make the best of things, return good for evil, and accept difficulties uncomplainingly." A Communist "should have the highest opinion of himself, the greatest self-esteem... he should be most liberal to his comrades, enduring and making the best of things, even to putting up with all kinds of wrong interpretations and insults if necessary, without harboring a grudge." The teachings of this "self-cultivated, old revolutionary" are identical with the teachings of the Christian Bible. Reading How to be a Good Communist leads people to become loyal, and sincere disciples of this "Savior of the World," Liu Shao-ch'i, and neutralizes their ideological weapons in the face of the battle between the two classes and the two lines. According to this servile philosophy, when the counterrevolutionary revisionists usurp political power one should still make the best of it; should not one then fold one's hands and turn political power over to the class enemies?

Isn't this saying that when the work teams labeled revolutionary masses and cadres as "counterrevolutionary black gangs," one should still "put up with all kinds of misinterpretations and insults without harboring a grudge?" Isn't this saying that when the masses rose in criticism of the work teams they should have sympathized and been "lenient" with those great pickpockets who were strangling the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution?

Isn't this saying that when the enemy sharpens his sword to kill us, we should still "return good for evil" and "accept difficulties uncomplainingly?"

What rotten logic this is!

If we go and practice "self-cultivation" according to "Mr. Liu's method," our Party members will all turn into those "ears do not hear earthly affairs," but carefully compare how each one "manages business, manages people, manages himself;" they will become "model communist" nobodies, become foolish muddled louts, slaves who do not know who has beheaded them. These are the "Willing Tools" required by Liu Shao-ch'i.

Chairman Mao says, "Either the East Wind prevails over the West Wind or the West Wind prevails over the East Wind. In the question of which line to take there is no place for compromise."

"The wind does not stop because the tree wants rest." The class struggle is not changed by people's will. If you do not struggle with him, he will struggle with you; if you do not overthrow him, he will overthrow you. We do not speak of compassion or "making the best of it" with regard to those who "preach leniency while knocking out teeth and gouging eyes," but rather demand "exact correspondence -- an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

Actually, Liu Shao-ch'i never said anything about leniency toward the true proletarian revolutionaries. When the young Communist, Comrade Chen Li-ning (7115/6849/1337) courageously began to criticize Mr. Liu's black How to be a Good Communist, Liu Shao-ch'i, whose mouth was full of mercy, righteousness, and virtue, even declared him "mentally ill," placed him in a mental hospital, placed him in prison, and subjected him to severe persecution. Does this not reveal even more clearly the true face hidden in the "tricky words" of Liu Shao-ch'i's How to be a Good Communist?

Therefore we will not speak at all of leniency toward Liu Shao-ch'i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, and all counterrevolutionary revisionists. The entire party will punish them, the entire country will execute them, beating them to the ground, smashing them to dust, driving them to the eighteenth level of hell from which they can never rise again.

III. Smash Slavishness! Long Live the Spirit of Proletarian Revolutionary Rebellion!

Liu Shao-ch'i peddled a reactionary philosophy of slavishness in his tricksterish, black How to be a Good Communist, and a few of our comrades have not completely reformed their world view, have not made "selfishness" a rare concept in their thoughts, and under the influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's "Suffering a small wrong for a greater convenience" and his repeated "curses" have been inadvertently poisoned. Some comrades have been seriously infected and have made mistake after mistake in the Great Cultural Revolution, falling into the morass of revisionism. If we do not uphold the Great Cultural Revolution we have no way of knowing how many comrades have unknowingly and unconsciously become henchmen of Liu Shao-ch'i and willing tools of the restoration of capitalism. It is just as Chairman Mao has indicated, "If the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, monsters, and demons are allowed to run out together and our cadres do not pay close attention, a great many people will not even be able to tell us from the enemy but will consider us allied with them, and will be corrupted and surprised by the enemy, to collapse like a pile of bricks; many workers, peasants, and intellectuals will have their strength diluted with weakness by the enemy. Proceeding in this manner it will not be long, a few decades at most, until a national counterrevolutionary restoration unavoidably appears, the Marxist-Leninist party becomes a revisionist party, a fascist party, and China must change its color." One day Liu Shao-ch'i will change heaven and these comrades of ours will lose their heads without even knowing they have been decapitated. Think it over, comrades; is this any way to prepare for danger? Should we not arise today and overthrow the monstrous evils of slavishness? The uncountable numbers of enthusiastic revolutionary generals produced in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution dare to think, dare to speak, dare to rush in, dare to revolt, and dare to rebel. They uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, raise high the great banner of revolutionary rebellion, rebel against revisionism, rebel against all monsters and demons, "yielding up their lives, they dare to pull the emperor from his horse." In the face of bourgeois white terror they do not fear ruthlessness, but uphold the struggle to finally overthrow Liu Shao-ch'i and bring him to the ground, to establish the imperishable merit of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution when all comrades poisoned by Mr. Liu's How to be a Good Communist shall have turned their swords to completely liquidating its flowing poison. They have not yet turned their swords; how long shall we wait?! Poisonous weeds are not to be feared, but can be hoed into fruitful fields. As long as we raise high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought in our criticism, creatively study

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[The page contains extremely faint and illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the paper. Two horizontal lines are visible across the page, one near the top and one near the bottom.]

and apply Chairman Mao's Works, binding them to the reform of our own thinking, unceasingly stimulating our spirits, unceasingly replacing "selfishness" with "selflessness," then can we smash the fetters of the slavishness preached in Mr. Liu's How to be a Good Communist, and liberate ourselves from the bonds of slavery.

Listen! The spring thunder is rolling. Look! The red flags form a sea. The great army of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution rolls forth like the inexhaustible Yangtze. The mass criticism movement, opened out on an unprecedented scale by the thousands and myriads of workers, peasants, soldiers, and Red Guards, each grasping the invincible sword of Mao Tse-tung's Thought is now in the midst of completely neutralizing the poisonous fog and deluding dust spread by Liu Shao-ch'i. A new world, blindingly flashing red in the light of Mao Tse-tung's Thought will be delivered from the struggle.

Long live the correctness of Revolutionary Rebellion!

Long live the spirit of proletarian revolutionary rebellion!

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RED GUARDS SHOULD BE MODELS OF SELF-CRITICISM

[Following is a translation of an editorial in the Chinese-language publication Shou-tu Hung Wei-ping (Capital Red Guard), Peking, Nos 36-37, 9 June 67, p 1. Shou-tu Hung Wei-ping is published in Peking by the Capital Colleges and Universities Red Guard Congress.]

That there are still some contradictions and divergences among proletarian revolutionaries is not surprising. The crux of handling these contradictions correctly lies in "whether there are earnest self-criticisms" on both sides. To dare to make self-criticism or not is a severe test for each revolutionary organization and comrade. This is a revolution. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, it behooves the Red Guards not merely to serve as vanguards in attacking the handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, but also serve as heroes who dare to rectify the evil of selfishness and as models in self-criticism.

In the great proletarian cultural revolutionary movement many little revolutionary generals have emerged. They have done exactly this; they are the future and hope of our proletarian revolutionary enterprise; they are the dependable successors for our proletarian revolutionary enterprise. Just as Chairman Mao pointed out, "If China should have a large number of this kind of vanguard elements, China's revolutionary tasks would be resolved successfully."

Vice commander-in-chief Lin [Piao] says: "While regarding ourselves as a part of the revolutionary strength, we must also continuously consider ourselves as the object of revolution. In revolution, one must also revolt against one's self without which the revolution cannot be consummated." At present, diverse

nonproletarian ideologies are rampant within the revolutionary outfit, including small cliquishism (Hsiao T'uan-t'i Chu-i), mountain-headism (Shan-t'ou Chu-i) and anarchism. This has caused disintegration of solidarity, laxity of organization and even disruption of the revolutionary outfit. This condition has seriously jeopardized the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, weakened the combative strength of the revolutionary outfit and curbed proletarian dictatorship. If this is allowed to develop, it would cause certain individuals and organization to slip onto a perilous road and bring irreparable losses to revolutionary enterprise.

It is axiomatic that anarchism, mountain-headism and small cliquishism are all nefarious things of the bourgeoisie; they are the arch enemies of the proletariat and proletarian dictatorship. Confronted with the enemy, it is necessary to wage a struggle and to defeat him. Nonetheless, in this struggle, it behooves one to truly take the proletarian stand; if one should take the stand of bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie, it will be impossible to route the enemy.

You oppose mountain-headism and so do I; you oppose anarchism and so do I. Nevertheless, this is merely to oppose other people's anarchism and mountain-headism, though one never opposes his own. These comrades are not using Mao Tse-tung's ideology to oppose anarchism and mountain-headism, but are using anarchism to oppose anarchism and are standing on their own small mountain-head to oppose other people's mountain-head. The result is that instead of getting rid of anarchism and mountain-headism, it would merely cause the rampancy and development of these erroneous ideologies. How could it be possible if this was continued?

In studying Chairman Mao's works and the documents of the Central Committee and listening to the words of superiors, there are people who, instead of taking the proletarian stand and comparing one's flaws and errors, would only try to search for what is beneficial to one's self and sometimes would even use what has been learned to attack one's own comrades. Such a line of conduct is absolutely wrong and intolerable. It must be pointed out that this is a most serious problem and one of attitude in treating Mao Tse-tung's ideology. The invincible Mao Tse-tung ideology is a sharp weapon for proletarian combat. It would be absolutely impossible for the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie to find something to suit their own taste from Mao Tse-tung's ideology.

When they hear some critical views from others and from some fraternal organizations, instead of pondering calmly and earnestly whether these views are reasonable, they would feel

provoked and angry and would always want to hit back. These are untouchable. Chairman Mao says: "People who take this kind of attitude are bound to fail and this is almost 100 per cent sure."

There is another kind of person who thinks only he can revolt. They feel that they are number one in the world and no others could criticize them. They are especially averse to the criticisms of those comrades who committed errors and have opposed them before. In fact, such people are not true proletarian revolutionaries; they cannot be considered yet as the successors of proletarian revolutionary enterprise.

In the five articles for successors of proletarian revolutionary enterprise enacted personally by our great leader Chairman Mao there is this article: "They must be modest and careful, without arrogance and impatience, rich in the spirit of self-criticism, courageous in rectifying flaws and errors in one's own work. They must not be like Khrushchev who attributed all merits to himself and all errors to others." He also pointed out: "Whether there is true self-criticism or not is also one of the salient symbols which distinguish our party from the other political parties." At this juncture, it is incumbent especially on us to bear in mind this great teaching of Chairman Mao by being brave in making self-criticism and by trying to train ourselves into dependable successors of proletarian revolutionary enterprise.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Two policies have been traditionally maintained by our army: the first being that in dealing with the enemy one must be harsh, must try to overwhelm him and eliminate him; the second being that in our relationship with own own people, comrades, superiors and subordinates, there must be harmony and solidarity." The handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are our dastard enemies. In regard to them, we must thoroughly expose them and the entire nation and party must join forces in attacking them. However, in dealing with our own comrades, comrades in arms and allies, there must be harmony and solidarity. We must not treat our own comrades, comrades in arms and allies with the same method which is designed for treating the enemy, thus making no distinction between enemy and friend. This is then the attitude of Marxism-Leninism and of Mao Tse-tung's ideology.

In regard to internal contradiction within the revolutionary outfit, it is necessary to use Mao Tse-tung's ideology as the weapon and to resolve it through criticism and self-criticism, especially self-criticism. Among revolutionary organizations, there should be mutual aid and mutual support instead of mutual

attack and mutual destruction. Even if it is only some divergences in principle, it is also necessary to adopt the method of presenting the facts and talking reasons as well as to resolve it through discussions. No solution should be sought by recruiting some other outfit or by setting up new mountain-head; still less should one resort to the method of beating, smashing and looting. In regard to some nonessential problems, one must not grasp them too tightly. It is only thus that the general direction of struggle can be grasped firmly and it will be conducive to strengthening the proletarian dictatorship.

Recently some revolutionary organizations are engaged in conducting rectification. They have been doing well, properly and timely. In the course of rectification, it is imperative to study the Central Committee's Circular of 16 May 1966 and the series of Chairman Mao's important directives which have been issued recently. It is also necessary to comprehend Chairman Mao's great strategic ideology and to implement fully Chairman Mao's line, direction and policy concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In the rectification, there must be full development of criticism and self-criticism and more self-criticism should be conducted. Earnest summing ups should be made regarding one's own ideology, work and style. What are right and if so where? What are wrong and why are they wrong? One cannot keep a pan of rice glue in one's head and run ahead fuzzily. It is necessary to distinguish what is in keeping with the general direction and what not. Where it is not in keeping with the general direction, one must refrain from it resolutely; where it conforms to the general direction, one must do it resolutely to the very end.

It must be emphatically pointed out that after the proletarian revolutionaries have gained power, in keeping with the changes of status, the problem of how to correctly deal with the proletarian command headquarters, with the masses, and with their own comrades in arms and allies will be more accentuated. This problem poses a more severe test on the proletarian revolutionaries. Unless this is handled properly, those who have opposed the bourgeois reactionary line before may themselves commit the errors of direction and line; it would therefore be feasible for proletarian dictatorship to become bourgeois dictatorship anew. It behooves every revolutionary organization and comrade to deal with this problem seriously and vicariously.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "We have this Marxist-Leninist weapon of criticism and self-criticism. Thus, we are capable of discarding undesirable working style and preserving fine worki

style." If we will only do as Chairman Mao has taught us to do honestly, our level of Mao Tse-tung's ideology is bound to rise, our combative strength will be augmented, our outfit will flourish, and we are bound to garner a thorough victory in the great cultural revolution.

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ANOTHER VICTORY SONG OF MAO TSE-TUNG'S THINKING

-- The Formation of the Revolutionary Committee of the Peking Political and Law College

[Following is a translation of an unsigned article in the Chinese-language newspaper, Shou-tu Hung Wei-ping (Capital Red Guard), Peking, No. 2, 11 June 1967, pages 1 and 3. This newspaper is published in Peking by the Capital Colleges and Universities Red Guard Congress.]

The Revolutionary Committee is excellent!

Red flags reflecting on smiling faces; battle drums accompanying the sound of singing. On 10 June 1967, the Revolutionary Committee of the Peking Political and Law College was born in the violent struggle between the two classes and the two lines! It was a great occasion for the proletarian revolutionaries!

The formation of the Revolutionary Committee of the Peking Political and Law College was a solemn announcement of the thorough collapse of the small handful of capitalist authoritarians in the party headed by Liu Ching-hsi (0491 6975 6007)! The red political power controlled by the revolutionaries was established! It was a great victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line! It was a great victory of the proletarian dictatorship!

Comrade Hsieh Fu-chih (6200 1381 3112), Vice Premier of the State Council and Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, and Comrade Ch'ung Pi (1504 4310), Commander of the Peking Defense Area of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and Vice Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, read the letter personally written by Airforce Commander Wu Fa-hsien (0702 3127 2009). Vice Ministers of Public Security Li Chen (2621 7201), Yang Pen-ch'ing (2799 2609 3237) and Yu Sang (0060 2718), Deputy Chief of the

Supreme People's Court T'an Kuan-san (6223 0385 0005), Deputy Chief of the Supreme People's Procuratorate Huang Huo-hsing (7806 3499 2502), Vice Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee Wu Te (0702 1795), and Comrades Ting Kuo-yu (0002 0748 6877), Chou Ching-fang (0719 2529 5364), K'uai Ta-fu (5566 1129 1381), Wang Taping (3769 1129 6333), and Chang Pen (1728 2609) attended the celebration.

At 3 p. m. in the afternoon, the meeting began in the powerful music of the "Tung-fang-hung." First, Comrade Ch'en Jung-chin (7112 2837 6855), member of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Peking Political and Law College, gave a speech. He pointed out that the formation of the Revolutionary Committee of the Peking Political and Law College was a great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and his revolutionary line! With a revolutionary fervor, he recapitulated the achievements of the Political and Law Commune in the struggle between the two classes, two roads, and two lines in the past year. He appealed to the proletarian revolutionaries of the Peking Political and Law College to raise high the bright banner of the 16 May "Announcement" of the Chinese Communist Central, promote the great criticism of and the great struggle against the small handful of biggest capitalist authoritarians in the party, successfully complete the great historical mission of struggle, criticism, and reform of their own units, and prosecute the great proletarian cultural revolution to final victory!

The Deputy Chief of the Defense Department of the Airforce Commanding Headquarters read the personal letter of Airforce Commander Wu Fa-hsien. Deputy Minister of Public Security Li Chen, Deputy Chief of the Supreme People's Court T'an Kuan-san, and Vice Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee Wu Te gave speeches successively. They highly praised the outstanding contributions of the little revolutionary warriors of the Political and Law Commune in the struggle between the two classes, two roads, and two lines. They pointed out that these little revolutionary warriors must diligently study the 16 May "Announcement" of the Chinese Communist Central, a bright Marxist-Leninist document, firmly adhere to the general direction of the struggle, and knock down the small handful of capitalist authoritarians in the party by criticism!

Friends of 15 nations, including Albania, New Zealand, India, England, and Pa-lo-szu-t'an, attending the meeting by invitation. In their statements at the meeting, they fervently extolled Chairman Mao, the great leader of the people of the world, highly praised the shining Mao Tse-tung's thinking, and enthusiastically cheered the epochal significance of the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao. In their statements, the comrades of Albania, the most intimate combat friend of the Chinese people,

expressed their sincere hope that our great leader, Chairman Mao, would remain forever in the world like the magnificent high mountains of Albania! On behalf of Comrade Wei-er-k'o-k'o-szu, Chairman of the Communist Party Central of New Zealand, Mai-k'o-lao, National Committee Member of the New Zealand Communist Party and chief editor of the party paper, warmly congratulated the formation of the Revolutionary Committee of the Peking Political and Law College. He declared that Chairman Mao was the great pilot in the world revolutionary storm! The statements of our foreign friends were constantly interrupted by thunderous applauses. Shouts of "Long Live Chairman Mao" reverberated in the skies. The revolutionary combat friends of more than 520 units coming from the five lakes and the four seas gathered under one roof to rejoice in the celebration.

The proletarian revolutionary combat friends of such higher schools as the Geological Tung-fang-hung, the Normal University Ching-kang-shan, the Postal and Telegraph Tung-fang-hung, the Tsing-hua Ching-kang-shan, and the Peking Aeronautical Red Flag also attended the meeting. The revolutionary delegates of the Industrial Congress (Kung-tai Hui), Agricultural Congress (Nung-tai Hui), Middle School Red Congress, and Higher Military Colleges and Schools also participated in the meeting.

6080

CSO: 3577-D

DRAG OUT THE RINGLEADERS SPECIALIZING IN
STRUGGLE BY FORCE IN PEKING

[Following is a translation of an article by the "Eliminate Four Harms" Combat Corps of the Red Guard Congress in the Chinese-language newspaper, Shou-tu Hung Wei-ping (Capital Red Guard), Peking, No. 2, 11 June 1967, page 3. This newspaper is published in Peking by the Capital Colleges and Universities Red Guard Congress.]

The moment the experts in struggle by force are mentioned, most people will immediately think of the "United Action Committee."

As a matter of fact, the "Ideological Corps" (Szu-hsiang Ping-t'uan) of the Worker-Farmer-Soldier Physical Culture College and the Revolutionary Association of the Physical Education Department of the Peking Normal College are even more vicious than the United Action. The brutal conduct of the small handful of fascist rascals in those organizations far surpasses anything ever done by the United Action.

This small handful of rascals have formed the habit of beating people up. Their hands itch if they do not beat people up everyday. Whether bricks, tiles, chinaware, or metal chains, they use anything handy, and they always aim at the fatal spots. A warrior of the Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters of the Physical Culture News of the Industrial Congress (Kung-tai Hui) suffered a brain concussion, many warriors of the 8.8 Combat Team of the Finance and Currency College of the Red Guard Congress were knocked unconscious, the revolutionary rebel warriors of many brother colleges and schools of the Red Guard Congress had bruises over their entire body...

Why are they so vicious against the rebels? Why is their reactionary bearing so arrogant? The overthrow of the Liu-Teng bourgeois reactionary line in the physical culture field and the destruction of the beautiful dream of the specially privileged stratum by

the powerful current of the great proletarian cultural revolution aroused their deep hatred of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the proletarian revolutionaries.

Marx said: "The special quality of the material studied in political economics will call up the most violent, despicable, and evil sentiment in man's mind, the god of vengeance representing private interest, to the battlefield to oppose it." The hatred harbored by the small handful of rascals of the "Ideological Corps" and the "Revolutionary Association" against the proletarian revolutionaries is a product of their despicable and selfish bourgeois mind.

In the development of the great proletarian cultural revolution today, if there are still those who ignore the party discipline and state law, violate the revolutionary order, provoke struggle by force, and create trouble, then they are guilty of disrupting the great cultural revolution, and they must be punished according to the proletarian dictatorship. Otherwise, we will not be able to enhance the morale of the revolutionaries or undermine the prestige of the reactionaries; otherwise, we will not be able to assure the success of the great cultural revolution.

Lenin said something to the following effect: The proletarian dictatorship is an iron political power, requiring revolutionary courage and quick revolutionary action, and suppressing not only all exploiting classes, but also the tramps. Meanwhile, our political power is at times too soft. Instead of like iron, it is like paste.

We must firmly suppress the small handful of political tramps of the "Ideological Corps" of the Physical Culture College and the "Revolutionary Association" of the Physical Education Department of the Normal College. We strongly demand that the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee exercise its proletarian revolutionary authority and demonstrate the ugly features of this small handful of rascals to the public. Those guilty of assault and battery must be punished according to law, and those plotting struggle by force behind the scene must be handed over to the revolutionary masses for trial. They must not be permitted to indulge in violence without restraint and remain beyond the law.

The rascals of the "Ideological Corps" and the "Revolutionary Association" must lay down their butcher knife and reform. They must check their horses at the hanging cliff and surrender themselves. If they continue to resist the proletarian dictatorship, they will have their heads broken and their blood shed!

"Eliminate Four Harms" Combat Corps of the Red
Guard Congress.

- END -

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TRANSLATIONS ON COMMUNIST CHINA: POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

No. 414

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REASONS FOR THE FAILURE OF MAO TSE-TUNG'S ATTEMPTS
TO ACHIEVE SOCIOECONOMIC REFORMS IN RURAL CHINA

[Following is a translation of an article by N. Khan'kovskiy in the Russian-language periodical Literary Digest (Literary Gazette), Moscow, No. 27, 5 July 1967, pages 12-13.]

[Editorial note]: The Mao Tse-tung group has been using high-speed methods to carry out socioeconomic changes in the Chinese rural areas. A Soviet economist analyzes those "methods" and discusses the consequences to which they have led.

* * *

There has been a truly monstrous "metamorphosis" carried out by the Chinese People's Republic under the pernicious guidance of Mao Tse-tung and his associates.

But what is the origin of the muddy counterrevolutionary stream which has splashed to the surface under the concealment of "leftist" phrases? An analysis of the current Chinese scene leaves no doubt whatsoever that that stream evolves completely naturally from the failure of Mao Tse-tung's adventurist policy, from his policy of "leaps" in industry and agriculture.

But many years ago Lenin said that politics is concentrated economics. Therefore one ought to begin with the economy, with agriculture, with a demonstration of how Mao once decided at a single blow, so to speak, to shift the Chinese peasants into communism -- that is, to begin with the "people's communes."

After the victory of the revolution, the Chinese leaders became aware that there was absolutely no chance of an immediate transition to socialism in China. In June 1950 Mao Tse-tung said, "After we have created a flourishing national economy and culture, after all the conditions are ripe, and after this has been approved by the entire country, we, in our steady movement forward, shall enter a new era of socialism." The

notes of realism and the little bow in the direction of revolutionary democracy were in harmony with the postwar period. China was becoming the second large detachment in the socialist camp. An agrarian reform had been carried out according to the formula: every plowman will have his own field. The planned industrialization of China began, the technical and industrial base of the CPR began to change, and the country's age-old backwardness began to be noticeably overcome.

At that time there was no mention whatsoever of any delirious theory of "cultural revolution" or of any "great leaps." It was simply a matter of consistently moving forward in proportion to one's own real possibilities, in close collaboration with the entire socialist camp, relying on the assistance of the Soviet Union.

It appeared that on that realistic basis everything would go more or less smoothly, and the tendency of development which was noted was a favorable one, although the overall level of industrial production remained low: in 1956 the country with the largest population in the world produced less electric power than Australia, less steel than Canada, and less petroleum than Peru.

How the Horse Was Saddled

And that is the (more than modest!) level of technical and industrial development which has turned the heads of the Chinese leaders headed by Mao. Actually, their heads began to swim at their initial successes. It is completely natural that it was still very early at that time to speak about any far-ranging and large-scale social reforms. But nevertheless the Mao Tse-tung group swung the rudder of the ship of state sharply in the direction of absurd "leaps" which were fraught with danger for the new order.

The Maoists conceitedly considered themselves to be great Marxists and decided not to wait until the necessary material and technical prerequisites for socialism had been created. Instead, they decided to accelerate, to "revolutionize" the entire course of economic and social development. They asked, what fool was able, in the twentieth century, when the chief Marxist is Mao Tse-tung, to state that for the construction of communism it was first absolutely necessary to create a corresponding material and technical base? Were they, the students of the "great helmsman" Mao, to be the slaves of objective conditions?

People mean everything, and technology means nothing. That is the sense of the "theoretical" statements made by the Maoists, which not only were employed by them in the practice of the high-speed construction of their own kind of special Chinese "communism" but also elevated to the status of some kind of dogma. In a collection of articles published in Peking in 1960 with the overall title "Long Live Leninism!" they wrote, in black on white, that Marxist-Leninists "always said that in the history of the world the fate of mankind is determined not by technology, but by man, by

the masses of the people." This Maoist principle philosophically poses the question, so to speak, in a topsy-turvy manner.

"By economic relations," F. Engels wrote, "which we feel to be the determining basis of the history of society, we understand that method by which the people of a definite society produce everything required to maintain them in their life, and how they exchange among themselves that which has been produced (inasmuch as the division of labor exists). Thus, this includes the entire technology of production and transportation.

"This technology, in our opinion, also det mines (emphasis supplied) the method of exchange, and then the distribution of the products, and consequently, after the decomposition of the tribal system, also [determines] the subdivision into classes, and consequently, the relations of dominance and subordination, and consequently, the state, politics, law, etc."

These teachings of Marxist were casually cast aside. Having made the break with the "accursed" technology, the Maoists were not going to wait for their growing industry to create the necessary material and technical pre-requisites for the socialist reforming of agriculture, but instead they began to carry out abrupt social reforms, recalling only that allegedly only opportunists and revisionists take the actual situation into consideration. And so it is understandable that they easily achieved, on that shaky basis, the desired "leap." But they obviously did not understand the Marxist truth that the carrying out of abrupt social reforms in the life of hundreds of millions of people without a consideration of the factors of technology means building castles in the air (and building them on shifting sand). And that, unfortunately, is what happened to the Maoists as soon as they lost their sense of reality.

Initially the leaders of the Communist Party of China, including Mao himself, apparently attempted to combine their rash reformist impulses with a certain consideration of the country's economic backwardness. For example, the plan for the formation of agricultural cooperatives, which was proclaimed in 1955, was intended not for months, but for many years. Speaking in the name of the Central Committee of the CPC on 31 July 1955, to leaders of provincial, regional, and city party committees, Mao asked, "By what method did the Central Committee of our party decide to carry out the formation of agricultural cooperatives in China?" Then he answered, "The Central Committee intends to fulfill this plan basically over an 18-year period." But in practice that plan was soon rejected by the Maoists. The policy of complete formation of cooperatives began to be carried out, under Mao's influence, at accelerated rates.

The Communist Party of China had thinkers who felt that the "new" rates of formation of agricultural cooperatives which had been proposed by Mao Tse-Tung were unjustified, hurried, and unreal. In some places it was even necessary to dissolve cooperatives which had been created with a crude violation of the principle of voluntary action. On the basis of the situation in rural areas, they proposed delaying the process of formation of

industrial cooperatives. Fearing a break in the union between the working class and the peasantry, they persistently recommended that no one be carried away by the "super-rates" of formation of cooperatives or by a desire to rush things.

In response, Mao Tse-tung hung on his critics the label of opportunists. "If one does not saddle the horse immediately (emphasis supplied) and continue to movement forward, that is when we will see the danger of a break in union between the workers and the peasants." And so the horse was saddled and put into a gallop! The less that this strange logic was substantiated, the more strongly it was foisted on the Communist Party of China. There wasn't even a hint of Marxism there.

Mao's speech of 31 June 1955 gave impetus to sharp leaps in the field of collectivization, and the production cooperatives began to be formed by high-speed methods.

Mao was enraptured. "This is a tremendous event and an outstanding one," he wrote early in 1956. And again he began to tighten the screws of the social reforms in the rural areas. Now he began to propose putting an end to the formation of cooperatives in rural areas not in the end of the third five-year plan (according to his very own plan!), but at the beginning of the second five-year plan. "During the year 1956 alone," Mao Tse-tung wrote, "it will be possible, for the most part, to complete, the semi-socialist formation of cooperatives in agriculture," and by approximately 1959, or at worst 1960, he continued, "it will be possible basically to complete" that process, to convert the cooperatives completely into socialist cooperatives of a higher type. The constant urging of collectivization was continued. As a result of this entire policy of Mao's, by the spring of 1957 the production cooperatives in the CPR encompassed 97% of the peasant households, of which 93.3% consisted of cooperatives of a higher (socialist) type.

Putting it another way, a miracle had occurred: the collectivization of 120 million small-scale peasant farms was basically achieved by Mao and his stooges long before the end of the first five-year plan. History knows of no other instance when small-scale owners have displayed such speed in voluntarily giving up their tools and their land and, as quick as lightning, becoming conscientious collectivists. Such miracles have not even happened in China!

It goes without saying that the Communist Party of China enjoyed authority, the members of the party carried out an extensive campaign for the creation of production cooperatives, and this found a lively response among the masses of the peasantry. Nevertheless it is well known that this matter was the topic of severe arguments, and a struggle raged not only among the peasantry but also within the party. In his speech of 31 July 1955 Mao was forced to recommend that the peasants not be drawn in forcibly, that prosperous elements (20-30%) were "hesitant," and the poor peasants and unprosperous ones, as a result of their weak conscientiousness, "were still

waiting it out and also were hesitant." And then suddenly, after Mao's speech, the Chinese peasants stopped being hesitant and poured into the cooperatives!

As a consequence of these peculiarities of their lightning-like development, the Chinese cooperatives were based on an antediluvian technical basis. But the simple addition of the peasants' farm equipment could not become a lever for the mighty development of the productive forces of agriculture. It was inevitable that negative factors of the extremely hurried thorough collectivization would be revealed. And they did not delay in having their influence when, soon after that, the cooperatives were reorganized into communes which were based on the same manual labor.

When substantiating, after the October Revolution, the Marxist point of view concerning the construction of socialism in such a backward peasant country as Russia, Lenin repeatedly pointed out that that task could be resolved only by extremely stubborn and prolonged labor, that the transition from small-scale peasant farms to the public cultivation of the land requires a long period of time, and that the transition to socialism in countries with small-scale peasant farms is impossible without a number of preliminary stages.

". . . The job of reorganizing the small-scale landowner, of reorganizing his entire psychology and all his habits," Lenin said, "is a job that requires generations. The solution of that task with respect to the small-scale landowner, the improvement of his entire psychology, can be achieved only by a material base, technology, the application of tractors and machinery in vegetable husbandry on a mass scale, by electrification on a mass scale. That is what fundamentally and with tremendous speed would remake the small-scale landowner." But in the CPR, under the guidance of the "great helmsman," everything has been swung completely around. Lenin's principles were ignored. It was decided there that the transition of millions of small-scale peasants to socialism could be achieved quickly and without caution, without the slightest dependence upon the technology of agricultural production or the achieved level of industrialization in the country:

It is obvious that Mao Tse-tung completely ignored the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

A Success in Name Only!

By the beginning of 1958 the sea of small-scale peasant farms in the Chinese rural areas had disappeared. To replace them, 740,000 cooperatives were formed. What lay ahead, however, was a number of gigantic difficulties about which no one had guessed. But this seemed insignificant to the Maoists. Simultaneously they undertook the same cavalry raid in industry, counting on the assistance of hundreds of thousands of small-scale shops and "blast furnaces," the dimensions of which sometimes corresponded to a large Tula samovar, in order to make China rapidly one of the advanced countries in the world.

This unrestrained carrying out of a harebrained scheme was doomed to failure. It is impossible to use such sleight-of-hand tricks to move productive forces ahead, or to move ahead to socialism. Historical experience has shown that during the ten years which have elapsed since that time the CPR has, at best, been marking time.

The Maoists rushed onto the world scene possessed with nationalistic and hegemonistic longings. Naturally, a policy of genuine industrialization of the country, a policy which might take several five-year plans, stuck in their throats. There are a lot of us Chinese, they said. We Chinese are the biggest nation on earth. We have millions of pairs of work-loving hands, and with their aid we can bring about a miracle. That is the leitmotif of their entire activity.

"Our party," the newspaper Jenmin Jihao wrote at that time, "is profoundly convinced that if we achieve a situation in which our nation of 600 million people, by straining all their efforts, moves ahead, then we will undoubtedly be able, at rapid rates, to carry out construction, we will undoubtedly be able, within a comparatively short period of time, to catch up with all the capitalist countries and thus to convert our country into one of the most advanced, richest, and mightiest powers in the world" (emphasis supplied). This voluntaristic conception or, rather, these emotions which are completely unsupported by technical and economic computations, gave birth to the infamous "program of the three banners," in which the "people's commune" and the "great leap" were a kind of material skeleton. That policy soon plunged a vast country into an abyss of calamities.

Certain superficial bourgeois journalists attempted to represent the Chinese "people's commune" as a "movement" which sprang up deep within the masses of the peasantry. That's a fable! The creation of the "communes" was an adventuristic enterprise forced on the masses from above.

The first commune "sprang up" in Suip'in District, Honan Province, in April 1958. It is very telling that it was called "Sputnik." That commune combined four village districts (27 cooperatives, in which there were 9,300 farms and 43,000 persons). And late in August of the same year the resolution of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the CPC was published. That resolution, adopted in the resort city of Beidaiho, dealt with the creation of the so-called "people's communes" throughout the country.

First, vast village communes were created -- each was supposed to encompass from 6000 to 12,000 households and, in essence, become an entire autarcic association.

Second, it was recommended that the creation of such communes be carried out "as a single process" or, as a maximum, "as two processes."

Third, the authors of that document gave themselves a titanic task: that of "actively employing the form of the people's commune" in order "to

find a concrete method of transition to conversion to communism" for the backward Chinese rural areas.

In a word, what was devised was a leap from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom. That, one must assume, also explains why the first commune was named "Sputnik."

The authors of that decision of the Politbureau on 29 August 1958 made the "modest" supposition that "soon, on a country-wide scale, there will develop, with irrepressible force, a sharp upsurge in the development of the people's communes." And they "were not mistaken." In a month 90% of the Chinese peasants had become "communards." The miraculous communes created at the will of Mao were supposed, within 3-4 years, to assure in all the major regions of China the "leap into communism."

But what technical, economic, historical, and social justifications were given by the Maoists to prove the possibility of that sudden archi-revolutionary turn?

Why, none at all! But nevertheless they had no doubt whatsoever that they were close to their goal. "Apparently," the Politbureau document reads, "the carrying out of communism in our country is no longer something remote" (emphasis supplied).

True, the Maoists had not yet made the outright call to transition in the "communes" to the communist method of distribution. But the practitioners filled the gap, and no one hindered that, since they were walking in step with the "theoreticians." Moreover, they were being pushed to the transition to the "partial" carrying out of the communist system of distribution. This constituted the final undermining of every stimulus for the development of the productive forces.

And so the "Beidaiho resolution" proclaimed the entry of China (the first of the socialist countries!) onto the path of communism. By the end of the memorable year 1958, 26,000 communes had been created. They encompassed 120,000 peasant farms -- 99% of the population of rural China.

How this looked in real life is well known. In many communes the peasants were forced to give up all their possessions: personal livestock and poultry, orchards, gardens, and utensils were taken away. People got up at 5 o'clock in the morning to the sound of bells, bugles, and gongs.

According to Mao's idea, the commune was supposed to completely unify the life and labor of people, utilizing them in a "combined" farm that combined industry, agriculture, irrigation and road-building operations, etc. The division of labor was eliminated, and in so many words the distinctions between mental and physical labor, and between city and country were wiped out. And all this took place on the primitive basis of adding together hands, hoes, and a few buffaloes!

Three months after the "Beidaiho resolution" a plenary session of the Central Committee of the CPS was held in Wahan. Looking forward with anticipation to their sudden and complete victory, the Nazis even recommended reducing the amount of land sown. That was the reckless step of people who were completely out of touch with the real situation. They dreamed that soon there would be no place to put their grain. All this was in 1955, and the next year a period of bad harvests began, and it was in turn followed by complete and utter starvation! So all the dreams about the commune, about free food, and similar blessings of wage-leveling were doomed to oblivion, since there was nothing to divide. Labor productivity dropped, and the "people's commune" became a commune in name only, after returning to the regulatory procedures of cooperatives, in which the principle of payment "based on labor" was in effect.

A leap had taken place, but it was backward!

To what, then, were the Nazis led by the attempt to whip up the historically conditioned process of the social development of China? To a situation in which history has not started to follow their primitive route, but has led to disorder in the country. The Nazis wanted, in one fell swoop, to carry out the most profound social reforms without a consideration of the technical, economic, cultural, political, or class conditions and peculiarities. Their attempt was doomed to failure before it began.

Failing to understand that and not wanting to understand that, they rushed headlong into the quagmire of antisovietism, anticommunism, and took the path of counterrevolution. Mao's new anticommunistic policy is the result of his bankruptcy.

* * *

In April of this year Jennin Jibao printed an article which had been sent by the Hungweibins of the Tacing oil fields. These "rioters," as the newspaper calls them, bragged that they had conquered all difficulties, "by developing the spirit of Yui-hung, who moved mountains". . .

In China the parable of the old man who moved mountains has broad currency. The path to the old man's house was barred by large mountains -- Taihangshan and Wangwushan. Yui-hung did not bypass the mountains, but decided, with his sons' help, to wipe them from the face of the earth by using, of all things, hoes and baskets! Noticing this, the all-mighty took compassion on him and sent to earth two saints, who removed the mountains at once. A procedure had been created, to which the old Yui-hung had rushed.

Judging by everything, Mao Tse-tung was operating according to the principle of Yui-hung. But whereas the old Yui-hung had honorable and good intentions, attempting gradually to carry out, to the best of his abilities, a fantasy which had popped into his mind, the present-day Yui-hung turned

out to be a schemer and braggart who intended by force to shove the Chinese people into communism without a consideration of the real possibilities while still relying on the same unreliable hoe.

5075

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SWEDISH COMMUNIST DEMENTNESS
ASSESSSES CHINESE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

[Following is a translation of an article by Ronny Ambjornsson entitled, "Key Word in China Today: Three-In-One Combination," in the Swedish-language weekly Communist organ, Tidsignal (Time Signal), No. 23, Stockholm, 12 - 18 July 1967, p. 13.]

The cultural revolution is usually reported in the Swedish press in terms of a struggle for power among party leaders and carefully worded editorials speak of it in the striking terminology of personal conflicts, such as "hidden struggle" and "purge." This leads them to idle speculation amounting to very little, in the final analysis. Such reporting received new encouragement after 1 July, when the theoretical organ of the Chinese CP, Red Flag reported that Liu Shao-chi had been deposed. Personal conflicts are fortuitous and diffuse and tend to suggest to the reader anarchy and dissolution, and this tendency is increased since, looking at events from the aspect of a power struggle, it is easier to see an influence from the top down instead of the other way around. Expressen (Express [Liberal daily Swedish newspaper]) in an editorial about Liu's fall from power spoke of "incredible confusion" and thought that outside the limits of Peking, chaos reigned.

During a trip I took through China in June along with a Swedish group, the impression I received is that this account is, to say the least, exaggerated -- and as far as trade, communications, and heavy industry are concerned, everything was functioning irreproachably in the areas we saw. It is true that the cultural revolution involves a struggle for power, but it is one that must be viewed in ideological terms, as a struggle for power reflecting the opposing forces to be found in a socialist state.

According to the Chinese themselves, the cultural revolution is the result of an inevitable development in the socialist society, a step in the constant struggle between the capitalist and socialist ways. Classes and the class struggle continue to exist in the socialist state, as Mao said in

a famous speech made in 1957, obviously aimed against Khrushchev. An economic revolution is not enough; the revolution must be carried further to include ideology and politics. The development of the people's communes brought about a conflict with capitalist elements and the conflict over the cultural revolution has been even more intense. It is true that real capitalists, those remaining from pre-liberation times, are weak. They have no political power. The same is true of the rich farmers. The criticism of the cultural revolution is aimed instead at the middle segment of cadres, leaders of factories and people's communes, school principals and, at a higher level, secretaries of party Congresses in various provinces. Often it is the party secretaries who are depicted in the wall newspapers in the provinces. Thus, criticism strikes most often the middle of the party apparatus, the segment most responsible for increasing production. We must look among this group for those who are called, with official Chinese rhetoric, "the handful of people who have turned to the capitalist way."

But what do the Chinese mean by "turning to the capitalist way" and on what do they base their criticism of revisionists? What does the cultural revolution mean to a factory or a people's commune?

We visited ten factories of different types in different parts of China. Our first impression was how unevenly the revolution had progressed in different factories and the great differences in the character of the revolution. Around Peking, the cultural revolutionary groups at the factories are usually called "Revolutionary Rebels" and had taken over as early as January. In a silk factory in Wushi in central China, four rebel organizations were still arguing with each other while the old factory leaders were still running the factory. In general, one can tell how far the revolution has advanced in a factory by counting the revolutionary organizations: the more organizations, the longer they are from taking over power. In Peking, the role of revolutionary cadres was stressed, while in Shanghai and Canton cadres were not mentioned, only revolutionary organizations.

Actually, there is opposition between the party and the revolutionaries, which can be explained by the fact that the revolutionaries have struck first at party officials. This conflict is easily spread to factory leaders, because they often work closely with various party committee members on the local level. At the end of December 1966, the Chinese labor organ, Worker's Newspaper, was discontinued at the same time it was announced that the National Council of Trade Unions was to be reorganized. The conflict extends to the top of the party. Liu Shao-chi was quite close to the trade unions.

At a cotton mill near Shanghai, the rebels told us how things went when they took over. Last fall cultural revolutionary groups formed, apparently as a sort of Mao study club. Factory leaders discouraged them in various ways -- our informants spoke of "white terror." The Shanghai

municipal committee named a "crew" to investigate conditions at the factory. These "crews" appear in most accounts of the cultural revolution. Their primary task appears to have been to gain control over the development of the cultural revolution and to stop it, if possible. The cultural revolutionaries soon came into conflict with the crew and at the end of November organized themselves into a cultural revolutionary group, the Revolutionary Rebels, and drove the crew out. In January 1967 the Revolutionary Rebels took over the factory. Now it is led by a revolutionary committee known as a "Three-In-One Committee," made up of: 1) responsible members of the revolutionary organization; 2) representatives of the liberation army; and 3) technicians.

These committees are found in various forms in most of the areas where the cultural revolutionaries have taken over the leadership. Technicians are often included in the combination. One of the purposes of the "Three-In-One Committees" seems to be to try to come to grips with the problems of technocracy and domination by experts. Technocracy is regarded as a component of revisionism, an attempt to shift over to the "capitalist way." This is important in understanding the cultural revolution. The cultural revolutionaries want to put people in the center of things and do so by stressing the political and social aspects of technical developments at all levels. In this sense, one might say the cultural revolution has chosen humanism over technocracy. Technology will never be allowed to rule men, something they believe has happened in the West.

The concept of experts is given as an example of revisionism. Another example is what is called "economism." Economism is a vague idea used in different ways, partly in a concrete way to describe events in Shanghai in January 1967 when factory leaders tried to paralyze production by paying travel money to workers for going through the country and spreading their "revolutionary experiences," and partly in alluding to any thinking that places production higher than politics. Economism may refer to the practice of paying bonuses for various kinds of work in order to make them more attractive to workers and thus increase production. Production must be increased, the revolutionaries believe, not by paying incentives, but by increasing political awareness. An incentive system only splits the workers and can be viewed, in the long run, as a trend toward capitalism. Favoring incentive payments is a sign of revisionism. The incentives and bonuses mentioned here came mostly from welfare funds, in other words the money was set aside for the security of the workers. Since the bonuses and incentive payments often went to party officials, they are the primary target of the cultural revolution -- the terrible warning that the cultural revolutionaries never fail to bring up is the example of the Soviet bureaucratic state with its party upper class. One of the reasons for the cultural revolution is to prevent such a thing from happening in China, which explains one of the most often repeated slogans of the revolution: "Never forget the class struggle."

Economism is also found in agriculture. In many people's communes, profits have been given out to the individual families. The spokesman of a people's commune outside Shanghai told us that economism could be traced back to the beginning of the '60's. In 1962 local party officials tried to expand the free market where the farmers could buy and sell agricultural products. At first only vegetables were transacted, but after a while grain was included as well. An attempt was also made to increase the private ownership of land. A campaign was run favoring a small type of boat pump to be used agriculturally. These pumps could only be used on individual farms. In order to develop agriculture on a large scale, it is necessary to build large pumping stations.

These ideas gained great influence in the middle of the '60's, especially among the former rich farmers and certain party members, the speaker told us, particularly party secretaries in the communes. But there was also opposition to these ideas and in March a change took place, with control shifted over to a "Three-In-One Committee" consisting of Revolutionary Rebels, revolutionary cadres and militiamen. According to our guide the workers, in following the cultural revolution, had simply chosen in favor of socialism.

In June 1967, China made an initial shocking impression on a European of a society in turmoil. Walking the streets of Peking or Shanghai, one is struck by the almost electric atmosphere, with the noise of drums and cymbals as one troop of demonstrators was followed by another filling the air. But it is difficult to get a concrete idea of where the movement is taking place. It is certain that, at least so far, the cultural revolution is confined to the larger cities and nearby provincial towns. At this time, provincial committees have been replaced in only four provinces, besides Peking and Shanghai.

But even if the cultural revolution should be a complete failure, the Chinese will have learned much from one of the greatest experiments of all time, an attempt to create an absolutely egalitarian society, an attempt to create the collective man.

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TRANSLATIONS ON COMMUNIST CHINA: POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

No. 415

This serial publication contains translations of political and sociological articles on Communist China. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

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CAPITALIST BANK IN CHI-NAN BURNED

[Following is a translation of an unsigned article entitled "The Most Basic Aid" in the Chinese-language magazine Chieh-fang-chun Wen-i (Liberation Army Literature) Peking, 10 April 1967, pp 12-13]

Late at night, the yard of a certain manager of the Chinese People's Bank of Chi-nan city was unusually calm. The light in the southwest corner of the meeting room was still on. Li Tan-chen (2621 0030 7201) could be seen leaving the sleeping quarters and entering into the meeting room.

Li Tan-chen, a sergeant in the army in Chi-nan, took pains to give to an organization called the Star of the Revolution a picture and quotations by Chairman Mao. This group had been following Captain Han (7218) into the manager's office and carrying out their guard duties for several days. After several days of investigation, they purged the great revolutionary elements. The true leftists organized the Starfire Revolutionary Counterattackers and many people were harassed and persecuted. Who said they wouldn't be angry? Because of this, they opened the door this day for a short meeting and planning conference. They said that although they were assigned to guard duty, they also decided that they should do their best to support the leftist party. All of the comrades pointed out that thousands upon thousands of supporters used Mao Tse-tung's thoughts to arm the revolutionary people as the basic aid. Therefore, probing into the circumstances of the fight at the office, they decided to give the picture and quotations by Chairman Mao to the leftist comrades.

At this time, six officers of the Starfire Revolutionary Counterattackers' group went into the meeting room. As soon as Li Tan-chen pushed open the door and entered, the six leftist comrades immediately pressed in on him. As the leftist group was being harassed and persecuted, their need of the Liberation Army became greater. They

looked at Li Tan-chen whose hands held the picture and quotations of Chairman Mao. Their hearts were warmed and their eyes watered.

"Come. I will hang this on the wall for you. Comrades, if in our hearts we think about Chairman Mao, no great obstacles will cause us to pale or become faint." Li Tan-chen hung up the picture and in a loud voice read one part of the Mao quotation: "We ought to purge our soft and useless thoughts. It is wrong to make any high or low estimations of the enemy's strengths."

He finished and said to them enthusiastically, "Comrades, if we think about the teachings of Chairman Mao, we will certainly increase our faith in victory and courageously fight against the enemy."

The six officers of the Starfire Revolutionary Counterattackers continued to meet but Li Tan-chen went out. He very much expected the leftist comrades to act soon. This night, he was the hindmost guard. At dawn he saw a member of the Starfire Revolutionary group enter the corridor to post big character poster news. After he left guard duty, he quickly went to the corridor. He saw a part of the big character poster news: "Many thanks for the support of the Liberation Army!" Another slip said: "Firmly take back the rights seized by the counter-revolutionists!" Then he laughed satisfactorily.

From now on, Li Tan-chen and the warriors paid more attention to using Mao Tse-tung's thoughts to help the revolutionary people. One day, Captain Han told Li Tan-chen, "Young Li, now our leftist comrades gather their strength, but they still have not paid attention to the stimulation of the morale of the people." Li Tan-chen listened, his heart stirred, and he went back to his group. He told them to pick a new quotation, to copy it and hang it up. The quotation said: "To organize thousands of people and to start a magnificent revolutionary army is the meritorious need of today's revolution against the counter-revolutionists."

The next day, Li Tan-chen went out to the corridor to see the big character poster news. He discovered that many people wanted to participate in the leftist organization and were looking for the big character poster's cry of unity of the proletariat revolutionist party. He was very happy and almost jumped up. "Chairman Mao, every word in your sentences is true. One of your sentences is equal to thousands of sentences." In his mind he read it continuously. Suddenly at the corner he was a big character poster which was contemptuous of the Liberation Army and the leftist group. He was angry and held up his fist. "This is the people's world which certainly cannot be disturbed by cow devils and snake deities!" He immediately reported to Captain Han and his comrades.

"Comrades, the devils have come to disturb again. What shall we do?"

"According to the instructions of Chairman Mao, if everybody comes to attack us, we must fight well. We have to stand firmly and completely demolish them," the communist cadre Hsu Tsu-lin (1776 2737 2651) said, quoting Mao.

"For the last two days, we have been singing: We should support what our enemies are against!" someone else suggested.

The new action had started. As a result, the flame of the anti-revolutionary members was beaten out. The leftist army quickly enlarged. At this time the big character post news was posted all over. It disclosed the criminals of capitalism and the authorities among the anti-revolutionists. Li Tan-chen knew that a new battle was to come soon.

What he thought was right. That day, Captain Han told him and a sergeant of the decision by the revolutionary party to seize power soon. When he heard this, he thought of what was taught by Chairman Mao: "The basic problem of the revolution is the governmental problem." At this moment, shouldn't the use of a Mao quotation be made to arouse the revolutionary people to fight? He flipped through his notes for awhile, and said to the captain and the sergeant, "I want to hang out this Mao quotation." Then he continued to read: "The struggle of all the revolutionists in the world depends upon the seizure of the government and the support of the regime."

The sergeant added, "Add this quote: To have an advantage but no preparation is not a real advantage, and also lacks momentum. Once one understands this, one with a disadvantage yet with a prepared army sometimes can defeat the enemy who possesses the advantage."

"Good, good," Captain Han satisfactorily nodded. "Bring these two quotations right out to hang immediately. The revolutionary people must prepare to follow the instructions of Chairman Mao in the struggle!"

In just a little while, the two Mao quotations appeared on a board in the corridor.

A Poor Dinner

The proletariat revolutionary party have gained victory! By evening, the entire yard of the manager's office was ablaze. The peopled jumped for joy.

Sergeant Chang Chuan-li (1728 0278 4539) led the whole group back to the sleeping quarters at midnight. He rested only a little while and then he went to check the guards again. The second time he came back, a soldier told him that the cook of the managerial office had arrived who had informed him that since the next day was the Spring festival and also since the seizure of power was successful, the

revolutionary members in the office wanted to eat a victorial dinner with the soldiers. Chang Ch'uan-li immediately said, "Just because we have won we absolutely cannot allow our innermost reserve guard to become lax towards imperialistic elements and other running dog maddened people. Whosoever allows this guard to become lax will be throwing away his military dress on the public heap...." He thought about this awhile and then turned to his comrades saying,

"Comrades, tomorrow is the Spring festival. We ought to celebrate accordingly, but doesn't it have more meaning than eating meat dumplings?"

"Sergeant, you speak your mind first, and let us listen," his assistant Li Tan-chen said. Actually everyone had just been discussing this matter.

Chang Ch'uan-li spoke his mind: "Tomorrow noon we will not eat meat dumplings but eat a meagre meal of sweet potatoes, corn meal mounds and a little nappa cabbage..... The more victories we possess, the more we cannot forget the bitterness of the classes. It is not only an education to ourselves, but it is also a push to the fighters in the office."

He finished his talk and all of the comrades agreed with him by raising their hands and adding their voices in approval. Chang Ch'uan-li reported this matter to Captain Han that night.

In the morning of the next day the cook was informed of Comrade Chang's decision. Before anyone knew it, the old cook kicked open the kitchen door and entered, saying, "Sergeant Chang, today at noon, the comrades in the office do not plan to eat the meat dumplings, but have decided to accompany you in eating a meagre meal together." For during the previous evening, Captain Han had told the revolutionary fighters in the office of Chang Ch'uan-li's constructive suggestion. As soon as they heard of it, in one loud shout they said, "Learn from the Liberation Army. All together we suggest changing from eating meat dumplings to eating a meagre meal!"

After breakfast, Chang Ch'uan-li went into the adjacent room for a meeting which lasted all morning. As soon as the meeting was dismissed, he went back hurriedly because he wanted to eat the meagre meal with the revolutionary fighters in the office. He was a little late since the meagre fare had already been passed around. Nevertheless, he went into the dining room and devised something which would give everyone a pleasant reflection: More people were eating in the dining room than usual. People who usually didn't come were present that day. The comrades came to eat together with the fighters. On one hand they ate and on the other hand they talked. When he looked at this happy picture, Chang Ch'uan-li thought: "The great seizure of the office, although successful, was only the beginning of the struggle. On one

hand he ate the meagre fare and on the other, he thought about the teachings of Chairman Mao. After the dinner ended, he went to the corridor as soon as he left the room. It was full of people all over. He went close to have a look and found that there was a change in two sections of Chairman Mao's quotation already. One section read:

"You should concern yourselves with the great matters of the nation and you should carry out the proletarian revolution completely." Another section read, "To gain victory over the entire nation - this is only the first step in a long march."

He was very happy, for the vice-sergeant and the comrades had revitalized the quotation. It was just the quotation that he had been thinking about when he was eating the meagre fare with the men. Tomorrow there would be a new struggle.

11,395
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PURGING OF GLASS FACTORY SERVICEMEN URGED

[Following is a translation of an article entitled "Open the Door for the Purging Wind" by Tung Ch'iao-hsueh (5516 2699 7185) in the Chinese-language magazine Chieh-fang-chun Wen-i (Liberation Army Literature _____), Peking, 10 April 1967, pp 16-17]

One day in the last ten days of the month, Chao Ho-an (6392 0678 1344), a newly elected serviceman in the steel window and car department of a glass factory in Shanghai noted that in the "Opinion Register" the workers had given a very incisive opinion of him: "I have one opinion to give about the serviceman Chao Ho-an. He is not a car mechanic, but he rushed in suddenly to have his picture taken which was published in the newspaper. This kind of attitude should be purged." It was signed by the young cargo transporter, Hu Chia-shui (5170 1367 3843).

After reading his opinion, Chao Ho-an was trembling involuntarily. Since the revolutionary products committee was established at the beginning of the month by the steel window and car department, the emotions of the workers seemed like fire hitting oil. The more the heat, the more their arousal. The miracle in production resembled the spring bamboo after the rain. One product after another sprang from the earth. Journalists of every newspaper continuously came to visit them. But Chao Ho-an did not want to say that his picture had not been published. Actually he had not even been photographed once. Some journalists wanted to take his picture but he refused politely. "The mass of people are the real heroes. This should belong to Chairman Mao and to all of us." Then how did this criticism come about? Chao Ho-an thought about it and then something came into his mind.

A few days ago young Hu Chia-shui had brought a newspaper to Chao Ho-an and smiled. "Master Chao, you are in the newspaper." Chao Ho-an was very busy at this time. As soon as he heard that he was in the newspaper, he started trembling. He received a newspaper and looked

at it. He found a picture of the mechanic, Liu Chin-hui (劉欽輝 65410) who resembled him. Liu Chin-hui was wearing a duck's tongue cap and had a long face which made him look like Chao. He realized that young Hu Chia-shui had played a joke on him and smiled. He handed the newspaper back to him and started working hard again. But young Hu didn't know that Liu Chin-hui. When he saw Chao Ho-an smiling, he thought he had acknowledged the picture, so he made his criticism in the "Opinion Record."

Chao Ho-an on one hand thought about that on the other hand he read the criticism over and over again. He considered it many times. The more he read it, the more he thought it was good. "This kind of attitude should be purged. Chao Ho-an read this sentence and thought of many things. He thought: "The mass of workers dared to check the new members in everything and everywhere. This was an extremely good thing which showed the class brothers feelings towards themselves. Truly if the worker comrades trust us, they would elect us to be servicemen and that would make our duties heavier. The worker comrades suggest many higher standards to us, hoping to purge us, to cleanse our breasts of unproletarian thoughts in order that we serve the masses even better, in order that we become even better instruments of the non-capitalist classes. This was a very important view and indeed.

After work, Chao Ho-an did not change his work clothes nor did he return his tools. He picked up Chairman Mao's books and started to read. "If we were to complete the duty of defeating the enemy, we should purge in the party. Therefore, we must purge, purge now and even purge in the future, and we must continuously purge. By this we can correct our own mistakes in order to better undertake responsibilities and better work with the resolutely revolutionary sincere people outside the party."

The great leader's incisive teachings caused Chao Ho-an to consider things deeply. "This kind of attitude should be purged." He felt it was not really a misunderstanding of the picture. He only wanted to present an easy solution to this easily solvable problem. The cry of the soul of the masses was the class's brothers suggesting an even higher standard of revolutionary thinking for servicemen all along. He suddenly saw the word "purge" and "other" about other people's problems unleashed his thoughts that he had even presented thoughts of hardships unbecomingly and cowardly. This made him think that after those fellow comrades had become servicemen, they not only became more humble, devoting themselves entirely to the people's welfare but also they felt they were better than other workers in everything. They did not budge but merely pointed their fingers and crossed their legs. Some, having become servicemen, wanted only to have an office table just to have an office job. The more Chao Ho-an thought about this, the more uncomfortable he felt. "If we do not correct our mistakes

completely and constructively get rid of the selfish motives and if we do not pluck out the roots of "personal cultivation", eventually we will unknowingly become refashioned magistrate officials."

When his thinking reached this point, he immediately picked up Chairman Mao's book and the "Opinion Register". He called for a meeting with his fellow servicemen to come to grips with the problem. He presented his own opinion and got complete support immediately. At the same time they reached a decision. On one hand, have the struggle and on the other hand, have the purge. Fight against the people's war. The nature of the proletariat revolutionary is that he means what he says! Servicemen wrote big character posters and drafts for the broadcasters that said: The servicemen of the mechanic department will purge and check the thoughts of the servicemen and they hope everyone will note their thoughts.

When the big character poster was posted, many people gathered around it immediately. Workers crowded into the area as soon as the draft was put on the air by the broadcasters. Chao Ho-an led the mass to learn a paragraph of Chairman Mao's quotation. He said sincerely, "Mao Tse-tung's thoughts are the red sun. The revolutionary mass is the land, while we servicemen are the sprouts of young plants. The young plants cannot live without the land and the sun. Since we have been the servicemen, we still have many flaws and our thoughts have many, many problems. The masses should check us very often and help us to cleanse the dirt from our thoughts."

The worker comrades listened to Chao Ho-an's speech, looked at his greasy work clothes and his honest and humble attitude. Their hearts were warmed. The speeches from their hearts flowed out like a rushing stream.

11,395
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UNNAMED PARTY LEADER CRITICIZED FOR ANTI-MAOISM

[Following is a translation of an article entitled "Opposing Mao Tse-tung's Thought is to Oppose the Revolution" in Chieh-fang-chun Wen-i (Liberation Army Literature) Peking, 25 April 1967, pp 20-21]

Chairman Mao pointed out: "We should exercise vigilance against such individual ambitious schemers as Khrushchev to prevent such bad men from usurping the leadership of the state at the various levels." The top party person in authority taking the capitalist road is precisely one of such individual ambitious schemers as Khrushchev. This individual ambitious schemer has now been dragged out by the millions of the revolutionary people. This is a great victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution and of the invincible Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The top party person in authority taking the capitalist road has long been opposed to Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, he has committed new crimes. This was regarded by him as "an old revolutionary encounters a new problem" in an effort to vindicate himself. But this effort is in vain, because from his book "On Self-cultivation" we can see that he is by no means an "old revolutionary" but rather a pseudo-revolutionary and a counterrevolutionary.

In as early as 1960, it was pointed out in the resolution of an expanded session of the Military Affairs Commission of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee that: Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of modern times... Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guideline of the Chinese people's revolution and socialist construction, and is a powerful ideological weapon to oppose imperialism, revisionism and dogmatism... The great conduct of Comrade Mao Tse-tung in the revolutionary struggle in the past few decades can be regarded as the model of our behavior in all respects. In that resolution, the Commission called on us to master Mao Tse-tung's thought by all means, to study Chairman Mao's works, obey his words and instructions, and be his good fighters.

Under the correct leadership of the Military Affairs Commission and Vice Chairman Lin Biao, a mass movement for creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works has quickly swept over the whole army and the whole country. This has opened a new era in which the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers will directly master Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In his revised edition of "On Self-Cultivation" of 1962, the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road, however, failed to mention at all Mao Tse-tung's thought and the importance of mastering Chairman Mao's works and being good pupils of Chairman Mao. On the other hand, he cited Confucius and Mencius on more than 30 occasions and, by implication, viciously attacked our great leader, and openly disparaged great Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In 1962 when imperialism, revisionism, and reactionaries in the world joined hands to oppose China and when the class struggle at home was becoming unusually acute and complex, this top party person in authority taking the capitalist road published a revised edition of his black book "On Self-Cultivation" in a vain attempt to induce the people to study this book instead of mastering the powerful ideological weapon against imperialism and revisionism for the socialist revolution and socialist construction, thereby disarming the people spiritually. In this way, he aimed at perpetrating the crime of restoring capitalism in China in coordination with our enemies at home and abroad.

Lenin taught us: "Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement." Today, we must study and master Mao Tse-tung's thought in order to carry out the revolution. The history of the Chinese revolution and construction in the past few decades shows that Mao Tse-tung's thought is not only the guiding principle of the whole party and the whole country in all their tasks, but also a sharp weapon for each Communist party member and each revolutionary to reform their ideology. The author of "On Self-Cultivation" failed to say one word about studying Chairman Mao's Works. How can anyone self-cultivate himself into a revolutionary in this manner? From my own personal experience I realize very deeply that without studying Chairman Mao's works I shall be unable to know why and how to carry out the revolution, and only by creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works with greater emphasis on application can I be devoted to the revolution and learn how to pursue the revolution. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the standard of our behavior, the soul of our lives, the source of our strength, the guidepost of our action, the weapon of our struggle, and the basis of our revolution, as far as each and everyone of us revolutionaries are concerned. Chairman Mao's works are the required course of study for a good Communist, and are the only and highest standard in judging our thoughts, words and deeds.

The great Mao Tse-tung's thought is the "food," "air," and "sunshine" required for bringing up fighters in the proletarian revolution. This was borne out by Lei Feng (7191 6912), Wang Chieh (3769 2638), Liu Ying-chun (0491 5391 0193), Tsai Yung-hsiang (5591 3057 4382), Kuo Chia-hung (6753 0857 1347), and countless numbers of Communist fighters in their growth and heroic deeds. But by doing self-cultivation according to the book "On Self-Cultivation," one is liable to become a non-revolutionary and counterrevolutionary revisionist.

A person's attitude toward Mao Tse-tung's thought can serve as the criterion to determine whether he is a revolutionary or a counterrevolutionary and whether he is a true revolutionary or a sham revolutionary, and as a touch stone to find out whether he is a Marxist-Leninist or a modern revisionist. The author of "On Self-Cultivation" who is opposed to Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought is the biggest counterrevolutionary. We should mobilize the whole party and the whole country to condemn him, to resolutely drag him down from his high horse, and let him forever stand aside.

10,644
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UNNAMED PARTY LEADER CRITICIZED FOR SAYING EXPLOITATION GOOD

[Following is a translation of an article entitled "Repudiate the Reactionary View that "Exploitation is Good" by T'ien P'u-yuan (3944 2528 0337), Deputy Company Commander, in Chieh-fang-chun Wen-i (Liberation Army Literature), Peking, 25 April 1967, pp 21-22]

The top party person in authority taking the capitalist road clamored without shame that "The laboring people are not opposed to but rather welcome exploitation." This is a great insult to us laboring people, and is an out-and-out counterrevolutionary fallacy.

The class to which a person belongs can be judged by his words in much the same manner as the species of a plant can be determined by its fruit. The top party person in authority taking the capitalist road: Your mind is full of capitalism. You love capitalism. The man-eats-man philosophy peddled by you is nothing but the black goods of revisionism!

In the old society, in the same way as the millions of the laboring people in the world, my family was the victim of the three big mountains. In the dark old society, a most vicious landlord caused the death of four members of my family through his oppression. To make a living, my father served as a worker and my mother as an amah for the landlord, leaving behind their infant children. While the landlord's son was fattened, I was starved to become a living skeleton. My mother used to cry a lot when she saw me in such starving situation. But what could she do under such repressive old social ways? My uncle was forced to mortgage his house to the landlord who was a notorious loan shark. When my uncle fell sick because he was unable to pay his debt, my aunt was forced to become a beggar. Finally, my uncle hanged himself. What caused this tragedy in my family? The most evil old society and the most evil exploitation system! I served as an apprentice for a capitalist since I was 13. I received inhuman treatment under him. I had to work with a heavy hammer which was taller than me. After one day's heavy work, my shoulder

would swell so that I could hardly raise my arms. Even so, I had to do cooking, laundry, and baby-sitting for the boss' wife. She would hit me with a pair of iron tongs whenever I should incur her displeasure. As a result, I bore injuries everyday. While I worked as a draft animal, I was fed only with left-overs. Being unable to stand the torture, I stealthily returned home on several occasions. But on each occasion I was not given back my freedom. I was asked to pay for my meals without taking into account the work I did for the capitalist...

But the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road has seen fit to spread the nonsense that "exploitation is good" and that the laboring people "welcome exploitation." What was the idea of such nonsense? He spoke entirely from a capitalist's stand according to the bourgeois logic. Only landlords and capitalists would find comfort in exploitation, because by so doing they would be able to make big money and lead decadent and extravagant living, while riding on the heads of the people enslaved by them.

Under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao, we laboring people have carried out the revolution with bloodshed in order to completely eliminate the man-eats-man exploitation system for the establishment of a Communist social system where there will be no exploitation and oppression. If the laboring people "welcome exploitation" and "find comfort in exploitation," why are they engaged in the revolution? Great leader Chairman Mao taught us: "The merciless economic exploitation and political oppression imposed on the peasants by the landlord class forced the peasants to rise up on numerous occasions to oppose the rule of the landlord class." Since time immemorial, the laboring people have hated the exploitation system to death. But the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road has seen fit to frantically insult the laboring people. This has completely exposed his evil intention to restore capitalism. The top party person taking the capitalist road should himself be proclaimed a counter-revolutionary righter as determined to follow Chairman Mao, the red sun in our hearts, to bring down all the exploitation systems, and bring down you as the agent of the bourgeoisie who supports the exploitation system, and you as the mainstay of the counterrevolutionary revisionism who dreams about the restoration of capitalism, for the establishment of a Communist society where there will be no exploitation and oppression.

UNNAMED PARTY LEADER CRITICIZED FOR
ADVOCATING JOINT PUBLIC AND PRIVATE OPERATIONS

[Following is a translation of an article entitled "In Revolution There Can Be No 'Joint Operations by Public and Private Interests" by Wu T'ieh-pi (0702 6993 1084) in Chieh-fang-chun Wen-i (Liberation Army Literature), Peking, 25 April 1967, pp 22-23]

Chairman Mao taught us that following the examples of Norman Bethune and Chang Ssu-te (1728 1835 1795) we should be completely and totally devoted to the interests of the people without caring for our own interests.

Each and every revolutionary who is devoted to the cause of the Party should carry out Chairman Mao's great teachings without hesitation. But in his book "On Self-Cultivation," the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road has seen fit to sing a different song. After perfunctorily stating that a Communist should surrender his personal interests to the interests of the Party, he said: "This does not mean to say that our Party wants to overlook or abolish the personal interests of the Party members or to destroy their personality;" "there are bound to be some private problems which a party member wants to handle himself;" and "one should undertake to develop himself according to his own character and special talents."

Very clearly, he wanted to spread the bourgeois philosophy that "a person is doomed if he does not work for himself," although he did not spell it out in so many words. He taught the readers a trick to fulfill their personal aims. He said: a Communist should "continually develop and elevate himself," but "this should be done without departing from the cause of the Party," because "facts prove that only by completely devoting himself to the development, success, and victory of the cause of the Party can a Communist elevate and improve his ability," otherwise, "he will find it impossible to do so." In short, what he meant was that "under conditions of socialism, a person will be unable to have personal gain if he tries to get such gain exclusively; but if he is devoted to the interests of the people, he will be able to have personal gain. By working on one end, he will be able to gain on both ends." "A little loss will bring about a great gain--this is

the law on the development of the opposites." According to this theory, it seems that we pursue the revolution aiming only at developing and elevating ourselves and at advancing our personal interests. But this is a great insult to us revolutionaries. Do we pursue the revolution merely for our own sake? And the countless revolutionary martyrs sacrifice their lives for their personal gains? Were the deeds of such countless revolutionary fighters as Lei Feng and Wang Chieh committed for their own personal interests?

To mop the floor with a filthy mop will make the floor more filthy than before. If we undertake to cultivate ourselves according to the book "On Self-Cultivation," we shall become egoistic revolutionists caring more and more for our personal gains. If each and everyone of our revolutionary fighters must take into consideration his "undeniable" personal interests, on occasions when there is sharp contradiction between the interests of the Party and himself, will he be able to unconditionally surrender his personal interests for the interests of the Party? And on occasions when the course of the Party makes it necessary for him to sacrifice his life, will he be able to do so without the least hesitation as done by Liu Xu-shan (0491 5170 5695), Tung Ts'un-jui (5516 1317 3943) and Huang Chi-feng (7806 4949 0342)? Will he be willing to play the role as a rust-proof screw without the least selfishness in the manner as Lei Feng? Will he be able to unhesitatingly sacrifice himself in the same manner as Wang Chieh, Ouyang Hai (2962 7122 3189), Ts'ai Yung-ssiang, Huo Chia-lung, and Wang Yu-ch'ang (3709 5940 2490) in the event state property or class brothers are in great danger? Will he be able to stand all trying tests and be revolutionary forever? No, it will not be possible. Those whose minds are rusted out by selfishness will forever be unable to carry out "foolish" tasks.

Chairman Mao taught us: "As far as world view is concerned, there are basically two schools of thought: the proletarian world view and the bourgeois world view. It is one or the other." In a class society, there is no such thing as a world view which is above class. The theory that it is possible to advance both public and private interests is nothing but a fallacy aiming at deceiving the people. "Public interests" is the nucleus of the proletarian world view, while "private interests" is that of the bourgeois world view. In any event, if you want to advance one public interests you must sacrifice your private interests, and vice versa. In the book "On Self-Cultivation," it is said that it is possible to "develop and advance ourselves for the cause of the Party." This seemingly sound slogan is in reality one for advancing one's self-interest. In this theory, the "cause of the Party" is merely the excuse for advancing one's private interests, and the small sacrifice is only a means for getting big gain. No matter how cleverly the author of "On Self-Cultivation" tried to camouflage this theory, he was unable to cover up his criminal aim of popularizing egoism in the name of advancing the interests of the Party.

With the forward rolling of the wheel of history, the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road has finally been exposed, in spite of his clever camouflage. His book "On Self-Cultivation" has also been unmasked under the microscope of Mao Tse-tung's thought. To advance the glorious Party's cause, we must completely wipe out the bourgeois venom spread by "On Self-Cultivation", with Mao Tse-tung's thought. Let Chairman Mao's great instruction on "wholehearted devotion to the interests of the people" shine brightly in our hearts forever!

10,644
CSO: 3577-S

UNNAMED PARTY LEADER CRITICIZED FOR
USING CONFUCIAN TERMINOLOGY

[Following is a translation of an article entitled "Wipe out the Venom of Feudalism" by Huo T'ao-k'ao (7202 2711 4430) in Chieh-fang-chun Wen-i (Liberation Army Literature), Peking, 25 April 1967, p 23]

The top party person in authority taking the capitalist road is not only a loyal agent of the bourgeoisie in the Party, but is also an obedient son of the feudalist landlord class. In his book "On Self-Cultivation," he said nothing on Mao Tse-tung's thought, in spite of all the Marxist-Leninist phraseology used by him. On the other hand, he undertook to widely spread the venom of feudalism by citing the adages of such feudalist rulers as Confucius and Mencius. He advised the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers to learn from the feudalist "saints" in a vain attempt to reform our Party by the feudalist ideology. What a vicious scheme!

The top party person in authority taking the capitalist road actually preached for Confucius, citing his nonsensical assertion that "At fifteen, I had my mind bent on learning. At thirty, I stood firm. At forty, I had no doubts. At fifty, I knew the decrees of Heaven. At sixty, my ear was an obedient organ for the reception of truth. At seventy, I could follow what my heart desired, without transgressing what was right." By citing this assertion from the feudalist corpse, the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road aimed at popularizing his idealistic theory, inducing the people to study the self-cultivation of feudalist "saints" and divorce themselves from the class struggle, revolution, and political struggle. According to him, one should indulge in self-cultivation behind closed doors until he is seventy when he will be able to "follow what his heart desired without transgressing what was right." But this is pure nonsense and idealistic sermon aiming at opposing the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works by the revolutionary masses.

In the Mao Tse-tung era, the revolutionary masses are diligently engaged in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. They are devoted to the revolutionary struggle of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and to the work of reforming their subjective world while

reforming the objective world. Countless people have become Chairman Mao's good pupils in their youth. Is not this an iron-clad fact? Liu Wen-hsueh (0491 2429 1331), 12-year-old member of the Children's Pioneer, courageously safeguarded collective property at the risk of his life. Liu Hu-lan, 16, was killed by the enemy because she refused to yield under pressure. Ts'ai Yun-hsiang, 16, sacrificed her life in trying to save a train loaded with red guards. Teng Ts'ing-jun, 19, destroyed an enemy pillbox at the cost of his life for the liberation of his motherland. In addition, Lai Fung, Wang Chien, Chung Hsi, and Liu Ying-chun were all great Communist fighters. Do they follow a firm at thirty" or "followed what their heart desired without transgressing what was right at seventy?" By citing Comrade, the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road aimed only at fooling and deceiving the revolutionary masses, making it impossible for them to master Mao Tse-tung's thought, and turning them into successors to the cause of revisionism. We have now seen through his scheme and are not going to tolerate it in the least degree. We would like to tell this top party person in authority taking the capitalist road: We want Mao Tse-tung's thought, not your Comrade!

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road also talked about the necessity to "steel one's mind and body," "cultivate one's patience," and "review oneself three times a day" in order to prepare oneself for taking up "important positions." But this is absurd to the extreme! If all Communists should undergo such "self-cultivation" according to the rules laid down by the feudalistic "saints," would they not be turned into feudalistic overlords? If one should undertake to cultivate himself according to these rules which are divorced from class struggle and the masses of workers and peasants, one is bound to become a slave of feudalism or a Khrushchev. How can one expect him to carry out revolution? Let all the ghost talks of feudalism by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road be damned.

The time has now come for us to settle accounts with the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road for his capital crimes. We should raise high the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought, swept away all the demons and fiends, and wipe out all the venom of "On Self-Cultivation." Let great Mao Tse-tung's thought be the conqueror in all fields!

REPUDIATION OF "ON SELF-CULTIVATION" FOR MAO'S THOUGHTS

[Following is a translation of an article entitled "Our Red Hearts are Devoted to Chairman Mao" by soldier Chao Ming-li (6392 2494 4539) in Chieh-fang-chun Wen-i (Liberation Army Literature), Peking, 25 April 1967, p 24]

Chairman Mao is the red, reddest sun in our hearts. Whoever are opposed to him will be our enemy and against whom we will fight to the end.

In his book "On Self-Cultivation," the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road did pretentiously advise his readers to "be good pupils of Marx and Engels," but failed to advise them to be the good pupils of Chairman Mao. In this way, he vainly attempted to disparage great Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao. Furthermore, by implication he viciously attacked Chairman Mao, the red sun in our hearts. We are utterly enraged by him.

We know very clearly that it was our great leader Chairman Mao who founded the great Chinese Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army, the first armed force of the Chinese proletariat, who corrected the mistakes of "left" and rightist opportunism thereby enabling the revolution to win victory after victory, who led us to defeat the Japanese aggression, who directed us to wipe out eight million Chiang bandit troops thereby liberating our motherland and breaking to pieces the yokes which had been imposed on the laboring people for thousands of years, who led us to step on the bright highway of socialism and pointed out to us the glorious Communist future, and who personally initiated and directed the current great proletarian cultural revolution of great historical significance making it possible for the great motherland to remain unchanged in color forever. Without Chairman Mao there would not have been the Communist Party, the New China, and all the things we have.

I remember that in 1942 when a drought disaster struck Honan, more than three million poor people were starved to death. My family was forced to run away begging for food from place to place. My

grand parents died in two weeks of sickness and starvation. When we returned home after the famine, my father was conscripted by the Kuomintang reactionaries, and my uncle was tortured by the Kuomintang for more than three months... The arrival of Chairman Mao saved us from the burning fire. I was then able to attend school. After graduating from high school, I joined the People's Liberation Army and came to Peking, to see our great leader Chairman Mao. The development of events surpassed my wildest dream. Had it not been for Chairman Mao, how could we laboring people be liberated as we are today? The truth is that Chairman Mao is closer to us than our parents and his blood ties with us is deeper than the deepest rivers and seas. He is the closest person to us laboring people.

Although Chairman Mao made the greatest contribution to the Chinese revolution and world revolution, he still remarks humbly: "The people, and only them, are the creative power behind world history," and "the masses are the real heroes while ourselves are often childish and ignorant; those who fail to understand this point have no knowledge to speak of." This shows how our great leader Chairman Mao respects and trusts the masses. We have boundless love, confidence, and respect for him. Our deep class feelings toward our great leader Chairman Mao stem from the bottom of our hearts. No one in the world will be able to destroy such feelings. Chairman Mao is the red, reddest sun in our hearts, and our red hearts are forever devoted to him. The top party person in authority taking the capitalist road has tried his utmost to disparage Chairman Mao's image in our hearts in order to pave the way for usurping the Party and the state and for restoring capitalism. But this is a pipe dream. Listen, you top party person in authority taking the capitalist road: Your scheme does not have the ghost of a chance to succeed. We shall use Mao Tse-tung's thought as a powerful weapon to repudiate and discredit your "On Self-Cultivation." The glorious Mao Tse-tung's thought will forever shine over the whole China and the whole world.

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UNNAMED PARTY LEADER CRITICIZED FOR
ADVOCATION OF SLAVISH OBEDIENCE

[following is a translation of an article entitled
"Completely Abolish the Practice of Slavish Obedience"
by soldier Chou Wen-k'ui (0719 2429 7608) in Chieh-fang-
chun Wen-i (Liberation Army Literature), Peking, 25 April
1967, pp 24-25]

Chairman Mao, the red, reddest sun in our hearts, taught us:
"A Communist should ask why in all affairs. He should think them over
carefully and see if they are realistic and logic. He should
absolutely refrain from practising blind and slavish obedience."
The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, however,
has openly sung a different song in his book "On Self-Cultivation."
In that book, he tried his utmost to instill slavish obedience into
the minds of the Communists, asking them to cultivate the spirit of
forbearance and endurance under injustice. This is as good as asking
the Communists to refrain from carrying out struggles, criticism and
self-criticism, to yield principle to "internal peace in the party,"
and to serve as obedient tools for him to practice the bourgeois
reactionary line and to restore capitalism in the whole country.
This is a vicious trick indeed!

Listen, you top Party person in authority taking the capitalist
road: You have repeatedly asked us to cultivate forbearance. Does
this include forbearance with regard to the capital crimes committed
by you in frantically opposing Mao Tse-tung's thought in the past
many years, in stubbornly carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line
in the great proletarian cultural revolution in order to sabotage it, and in
trying to restore capitalism in China thereby causing the Party and
the state to change color and millions of people to lose their lives?
Oh no, we can absolutely not practice such forbearance. With regard
to you handfuls of persons in authority taking the capitalist road,
counterrevolutionary revisionists in the cloak of Marxism-Leninism, and
Khrushchev-style persons, we can only do one thing: rebel against you,
bring down all you demons and freaks, and trample you underfoot so that
you will never be able to raise your heads again, according to Chairman
Mao's teachings. The practice of slavish obedience advocated by the top
Party person in authority taking the capitalist road must be abolished.

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CSO: 3577-S

UNNAMED PARTY LEADER CRITICIZED FOR
SUPPRESSION OF REVOLUTIONARY MASS MOVEMENT

[Following is a translation of an article entitled
"The Revolutionary Mass Movement Must Not be Suppressed"
by Chin Ch'un-hsin (2516 5028 2450) in Chieh-fang-chun
Wen-i (Liberation Army Literature), Peking, 25 April 1967,
pp 25-26]

In 1900, when imperialism was intensifying its aggression and our nation was faced with unprecedented distress, the great masses of the Chinese people composed principally of peasants started a rebellion with big knives and spears, plus other native weapons. They first destroyed churches and drove out the foreign missionaries, then killed all foreigners and corrupt Chinese officials. This rebellion immediately rocked the whole country and scared the wits out of the foreign aggressors and the feudalist rulers. Just as pointed out by Chairman Mao, the courageous struggle of the heroic boxers "reflected the rebellious spirit of the Chinese people who refused to yield to imperialism and its running dogs," and "the unyielding heroic struggle of the Chinese people in the past century has made it impossible for imperialism to conquer China today or in the future."

Yao K'ao (1202 0344) is a petty running dog of imperialism. In keeping with his counterrevolutionary stand and to meet the needs of imperialism and the feudalist landlord class, he composed a play named "the Inside Story of the Ch'ing Court" to viciously condemn the boxers. In the film based on this play, the boxers are shown as mobs rushing back and forth with torches on the one hand and spears on the other in the same manner as packs of wolves. The leaders of the boxers are shown as masters of "witchery" who assume leadership over the "mad demons" who commit murder and arson here and there.

With regard to this most reactionary film of national betrayal, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has praised it as a "patriotic" film, instructing his subordinates to acclaim it for its "patriotic and progressive" nature. In defiance of Chairman Mao's instructions, he has forbidden the people to criticize it. Why does this self-styled "veteran Marxist-Leninist revolutionary" and

"great leader of the masses" show such loving interest to this film which insults the revolutionary mass movement so?

There can be only one answer, i.e. he has the same class interests and feelings as the playwright of this film. As he is eager to serve as a "red comprador" for imperialism, it is natural for him to draw such conclusion on this film.

A resentment toward historical revolutionary mass movement reflects a similar feeling toward the revolutionary mass movement in actual life. This top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is notorious for his resentment toward mass movements. In as early as 1942, he used many excuses to condemn the revolutionary act of the longshoremen in Wunan to forcibly occupy the British Concession and hold demonstrations there. In 1962, he said: "In the past few years, there have been many movements which were carried out by spontaneous developments. In some cases, a movement was carried out only on the basis of some hearsay or some untrue report, without the support of formal documents. This practice is very bad..." These words exposed his totalitarian attitude toward mass movements. According to him, revolution must be forbidden and suppressed.

The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao is always opposed to the practices of holding a bourgeois stand to protect the rightists, punish the leftists, suppress the revolutionary masses, restrict the activities of the revolutionary masses by setting forth numerous rules and regulations, and behave as overlords to command the masses. On the other hand, it stands for trusting the masses, relying on them, fully mobilizing them, respecting their initiative, practising the principle of coming from the masses and returning to the masses and of acting first as the pupils of the masses before acting as their teachers. But the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is opposed to this line. In the course of the current great proletarian cultural revolution, in collusion with another top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, he adopted a vicious bourgeois reactionary line to openly oppose the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. As soon as Chairman Mao personally kindled the revolutionary fire, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road dispatched large numbers of "fire brigades" to the various localities in China to put down the fire. In addition, he dispatched Wang (3769) to the frontlines to confuse the people with the two categories of contradictions of two different natures, to instigate the masses to struggle against themselves, to direct the cadres to punish the masses, to carry out the policy of "peeling off the skins layer after layer, beating about the bush first before punishing the black line, letting small demons expose the big demons, tracing melons by their vines, and carrying out investigations both internally and externally," to "catch the swimming fish," and to "eliminate disturbances." As a result, he condemned large numbers of the revolutionary masses as "counter-revolutionaries," "pseudo-leftists," and "true rightists."

In addition, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road also imposed many restrictions on the revolutionary masses such as "a line must be drawn between the inside and outside," "pay attention to security regulations," and "stick to assigned positions," in order to forbid the revolutionary masses to engage in the revolution. Furthermore, he also undertook to besiege the revolutionaries and frenziedly repressed the revolutionary masses, thereby giving rise to a "white terror." He practiced the policy of "hitting hard at the great majority in order to safeguard a handful." He also said: "To post big-character posters is a practice of raising the red flag to oppose the red flag," and "the red guards are secret organizations which are outlawed." He condemned the revolutionaries who had the courage to start the rebellion as "pseudo-leftists but true rightists," forcing them to undergo "reform" in their schools after graduation. In this way, he tried his utmost to boost the morale of the bourgeoisie and demoralize the proletariat. On an occasion when certain persons succeeded in condemning the revolutionary masses of a certain university as counterrevolutionaries in a counterrevolutionary act, he regarded this act of suppressing the revolutionary mass movement as "timely" and "correct," giving instructions to immediately sum up the "experience" for universal adoption throughout the whole country, saying that "the same action should be taken in similar cases," in a vain attempt to condemn all the revolutionary masses who dared to rebel as counterrevolutionaries, thereby creating a white terror throughout the whole country.

"One ship may sink, but a thousand others will sail forward; and one tree may die, but ten thousand others will live in the spring," as a saying has it. For this reason, no matter how high is the position of this "great man" and how authoritative he seems to be, the revolutionary masses armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are determined to oppose him. They have successfully resisted his merciless suppression and his economic bribery, broken all barriers, smashed the bourgeois reactionary line, and dragged out the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who advanced the bourgeois reactionary line. This is another glorious victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought and another glorious fruit in the history of the Chinese revolution.

"The people, and only they, are the creative power behind the world history." Whoever dare to oppose the revolutionary mass movement will most assuredly be crushed by the wheel of history.

Long live the revolutionary mass movement!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

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CNC 3577-S

UNNAMED PARTY LEADER CRITICIZED FOR
CONDONING REACTIONARY FILM

[Following is a translation of an article entitled
"Thoroughly Condemn National Betrayal" by Ch'eng
Yen (2110 1693) in Chieh-fang-chun Wen-i (Liberation
Army Literature), Peking, 25 April 1967, pp 26-27]

In the treasonable film "The Inside Story of the Ch'ing Court," Chen Fei (3791 1173) was a fabricated figure by the playwright. In actual history, Chen Fei was merely one of the imperial harem girls liked by Emperor Kuang Hsu (0342 4872). But to peddle his treasonable philosophy, the playwright saw fit to cover up her class characteristics and prettify her words and deeds in a vain attempt to present her as an immortal "heroine." This fully reflected the treasonable views of playwright Yao K'o, a reactionary writer.

Let us first consider not that Chen Fei was actually a fabricated figure in this film which tries to give her the image of a "heroine." But the role played by Chen Fei in the film itself still identifies her as a one hundred percent defender of the feudalist landlord class, a person loyal to a feudalist emperor, and a traitor who feared, worshiped, and loved imperialism.

In this film, Chen Fei showed her love for the feudalist monarch. What she did aimed only at safeguarding the shaky rule of the feudalist landlord class, so that it might continue to exploit and oppress the great masses of the laboring people. This type of persons are the trumpeters of the exploiter class and are the sworn enemy of the laboring people. What she sang in the film that "the plain people should be provided with abundant food and clothing so that they would enjoy a happy living" was a shameless lie to deceive the people.

How did Chen Fei show her "patriotism" and try her best to safeguard the "Ch'ing Monarch" in the film? She adopted the measure of throwing herself at the feet of foreign imperialism. Prior to the hurried escape of the Empress Dowager, Chen Fei swore before Emperor Kuang Hsu that she would not leave him even if it meant certain death. Why? Because she realized that Kuang Hsu was in

favor of imperialism, and that imperialism "would certainly pardon His Majesty, refrain from harming His Majesty, and assist his Majesty to regain his throne and restore his power," thereby making it possible for imperialism to exploit the Chinese people. For this reason, she said that "this is one opportunity in a thousand years." What was the opportunity she talked about? It was the opportunity for her to betray her country and to serve as a running dog for imperialism. This fully shows that she was a willing slave who feared, worshiped, and loved imperialism. She eagerly hoped that Kuang Hsu would ally with imperialism in suppressing the Chinese people's revolutionary movement to consolidate the "Ch'ing Monarch." This was the role she regarded by her as leading to "prosperity of the state and the people." But this was national betrayal pure and simple!

Although it was so plain that Chen Fei was an agent of the feudalist landlord class, a trumpeter of imperialism, and a traitor, on the eve of the liberation of the whole country the playwright and producer of this film saw fit to produce and show it to glorify Chen Fei. In so doing, they aimed at advising the collapsing Kuomintang to rely on U.S. Imperialism to suppress the Chinese people's revolutionary movement. Although this reactionary aim was as plain as daylight at that time, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, a self-styled "veteran revolutionary," undertook to praise Chen Fei as a "patriot" and this film as a "patriotic" film. He even went so far as to oppose Chairman Mao's instructions for criticizing and repudiating this film. This really provided us with food for thought.

In reality, however, there is actually nothing surprising about this. A review of the biography of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road shows that he has long been eager to serve as an agent of imperialism in China, judging from his words and deeds.

At the end of the Anti-Japanese War, Chairman Mao called on us to abandon all illusions and carry out the four-year anti-imperialist struggle of the way against the enemy. At that time, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who wanted to yield to the pressure of imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries, however, advanced the fallacy that China was entering into a "new stage of peace and democracy," trying his utmost to spread pessimism about the revolution and promote peace illusions about U.S. imperialism and the Ch'ing gang. In this way, he promoted the national capitulation line, "peace," and "back-to-the-land" struggles, in order to attack and denigrate the revolutionary will of the Chinese people. How could such vociferous outcries to the U.S. imperialist aggressors of "both you and us are in need of 'peace,'" "we hope you will sympathize with us," and "you must need peace." Did not the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road fully expose his feature as a willing slave of a foreign power by humiliating himself in such a way before imperialism?

In 1949 Chairman Mao said to us: "It is the duty of every

out political, economic, and cultural struggles against imperialists, the Kuomintang, and the bourgeoisie in cities." However, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road still enthusiastically remarked: "In the United States, it is very hard to distinguish the directors, engineers, and workers in industrial plants. This shows the democratic spirit of the bourgeoisie." He also acclaimed the U.S. engineers for their "higher pay because of greater ability," saying, "we should adopt the same system in our industrial plants." He also said: "The United States is very powerful. It is the most powerful country in the world," and "the slogan 'landownership for the tiller' is also popular in the United States and Britain." In so doing, was he not singing praises for imperialism to openly oppose the revolutionary line advanced by Chairman Mao?

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road wished to high heaven to restore capitalism in China quickly. He was very servile and cajolery before imperialism. He even went so far as calling on us Communist party members to serve as "red compradores." This is most absurd! He even shamelessly said: "We have learned from the West and made much progress." The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road harbored great illusions about U.S. imperialism, holding that "the United States does not wish to actively expand the war," and that "some sensible persons within the U.S. ruling circles have gradually realized that the war policy may not be in the best interest of the United States." These views seem to echo very well with the views of the modern revisionists.

From this it can be seen that the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road had much in common with Chen Fei in the aforementioned film. This explains why he acclaimed this totally treasonable film as a "patriotic" film.

Although our greatest leader Chairman Mao seriously pointed out long ago that "the Inside Story of the Ch'ing Court" was a treasonable film which had to be repudiated, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road refused to do so in defiance of Chairman Mao's instructions. This fully exposed his wish to serve as an agent of imperialism and his true color of sham opposition to imperialism but true capitulation to it. It also exposed his capital crime of opposing the Party, socialism, and Mao Tse-tung's thought. Listen, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road: Today, the Chinese revolutionary people throughout the whole country will thoroughly criticize and repudiate you. They will not stop to do so until you are dragged down from your high horse!

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UNNAMED PARTY LEADER CRITICIZED FOR
BEING PSEUDO-REVOLUTIONARY

[Following is a translation of an article entitled
"Smash Class Capitulationism" by Chung Yuan (6945
6678) in Chieh-fang-chun Wen-i (Liberation Army
Literature), Peking, 25 April 1967, p 28]

The reactionary and treasonable film "the Inside Story of the
Ch'ing Court" was produced completely for advancing the class interests
of the landlords and bourgeoisie and for meeting their political needs.

In the final part of the film, it is shown that a group of
"villagers" rushed to the imperial carriage of Emperor Kuang Hsu,
presenting him with eggs and cakes and cried in unison, "Your Majesty
is a good emperor who is kind to us, the plain people." After that,
all of them kowtowed to bid the emperor farewell. This was plainly
something complimentary to the collapsing Ch'ing monarch at that time.
No wonder after seeing a modern play based on the same story, Chiang
Kai-shek heaped high praise for the show and took pictures with the
performers. Does not this show clearly the interests of which class
the film advances?

But at the time of the liberation, a self-styled "patriotic
revolutionary" in the cloak of a "Communist Party member" went so
far as presenting a laurel of "patriotism" to this film. In addition,
in defiance of Chairman Mao's instructions, he refused to criticize
and repudiate this big poisonous weed. Why?

Chairman Mao taught us that "there can be no love and no hate
without a reason." It has now been discovered that this "Communist
Party member" is the top Party person in authority taking an "right"
road and an agent of the bourgeoisie who infiltrated the Communist
Party. Over the past many years, he has tried his utmost to oppose
Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, hinder the revolutionary-
mass movements, and promote the restoration of capitalism.

In as early as the period of the Anti-Japanese War, this top
party person in authority taking the capitalist road walked a road
his life-preservation philosophy and capitulationism. He said

nonsensically: "When necessary, it is all right to abandon some of the Party's missions in order to preserve our comrades." In his opinion, there can be nothing more important than one's life. Guided by this reactionary ideology, he advised others to capitulate in the name of "making pseudo-capitulation to preserve the force of the revolution." But this "pseudo-capitulation" required open surrender to the enemy, the publication of "anti-Communist statements" in newspapers, and the oath of "sincere repentance" and "resolute opposition to Communism," to be followed by criminal acts against the Party and the people. This type of persons are renegades true to that name.

At the time of the victory of the Anti-Japanese War, this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road immediately wanted to raise a white flag to seek peace and surrender to U.S. imperialism and the Chiang bandits. He wanted to establish a "long-term cooperation" relationship with the Kuomintang reactionaries, and addressed Chiang Kai-shek, the killer, as "President Chiang" and a "revolutionary flag." He even wanted our armed forces to be placed under the leadership of the "Central Military Affairs Commission of the Kuomintang." What are the kind of persons who would praise the Chiang Kai-shek gang which has been engaged in massacring the Chinese people for 20 years in such cajolery fashion? Only landlords, capitalists, and their agents would do so. This reflects the true filthy feature of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road!

After the liberation, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road still held fast to capitalism, saying "socialism is to be realized in the future, and it is yet too early to do so." To restore the capitalist system, he kowtowed to the bourgeoisie and urged them to exploit the workers, nonsensically saying, "today, exploitation by capitalism is a merit instead of a crime," and "there is not too much but rather too little exploitation today. The workers and peasants are pained for being not exploited. The more exploitation the better." In rural areas, he stood for the long-term preservation of the rich peasant economy, saying "to preserve the rich peasant economy so that it is not destroyed is a good thing and is good for the great masses of peasants." Is not this very plain for which class he spoke and offered his services? This completely exposed his out-and-out class capitulationism and his feature as an obedient son of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie.

Following the growing development of the socialist revolution, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road began to oppose the socialist revolution and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line more and more openly. He launched a large-scale attack on the three red flags, and promoted his theory on the necessity of "three freedoms and one contract" and "underground factories" to instigate the development of capitalism. In the socialist education movement, he adopted a seemingly "left" but actually rightist line. By the time

of the great proletarian cultural revolution, he openly jumped out to oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In conjunction with another top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, he adopted a bourgeois reactionary line to suppress the revolutionary mass movement. This fully exposed him as an agent of the bourgeoisie and a representative of the landlord class who infiltrated the Party. He is by no means a "veteran revolutionary," but rather a pseudo-revolutionary and a counterrevolutionary. He is a time-honored revisionist whose thought, words, and deeds are all in keeping with his capitalist stand. There is nothing surprising about his praising the reactionary film "the Inside Story of the Great Court" and whitewashing the exploiter class. With regard to such a Khrushchev-style ambitious schemer like him, we must fully expose, repudiate, discredit, and overthrow him, so that he will never again be able to do evil and to attempt the restoration of capitalism.

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SHENYANG LUMBERYARD QUALITY CONTROL

[Following is a translation of an article entitled "At the Loading and Unloading Yard" by Liu Shih-hsi (3177 4258 3305) in Chieh-fang-chun Wen-i (Liberation Army Literature), Peking, 25 April 1967, pp 34-35]

After completing their work of fully loading a train with timber, the workers began to gather on the road side to joke with one another in an atmosphere of relaxation, feeling extremely happy about having overfulfilled their loading task. The fully loaded train will soon pull out.

It was the usual practice of old-man Ma (7456), foreman of the loading and unloading team, to have a final inspection of the loading work to insure that it was done properly. When the time was drawing near for the train to pull out, old-man Ma suddenly issued a loud outcry: "Quick, open up the rope!" This outcry had all the loading workers puzzled. Why?

"Why? What is wrong, foreman?" some one asked.

Instead of answering, old-man Ma only used a stick to point at a log among others on the train. The log pointed out by him was one of the second grade which was mistakenly put into the pile of logs of the first grade by the log assortment team and was inadvertently put by comrades of the loading team on the train designated for shipping logs of the first grade. Seeing this mistake, Ma thought to himself: "Chairman Mao has called on us to grasp the revolution and stimulate production. But this mistake may cause losses to the state." A glance at his watch showed that only a little over 10 minutes were left before the train was due to pull out, meaning that there was just about enough time to take out this log. So, he barked to his men: "Quick, take out this log!" Members of the loading team immediately jumped on the train. Somebody remarked, "let us hurry. One mistaken log seems to be a trifle, but it will reflect our sense of responsibility." Hearing this, the workers were determined to take out this log. With joint efforts they quickly untied the logs, pulled out the log of the second grade and retied the logs again. As soon as this was done,

it was seen that the green flags were out to signal the time for the train to pull out. All the workers jumped down from the train, watching it sailing out of the loading and unloading yard strictly according to schedule. All the works were deeply touched, feeling as if the train carried not the logs, but their red hearts of deep patriotism.

In unison the loading workers shouted: "Be outstanding models in grasping the revolution and stimulating production!" "Assure a high standard of our work!" and "Long live Chairman Mao, and long, long life for him!" These outcries echoed back and forth in the forest farm as the train slowly rolled away.

(This article was contributed by the Shenyang Unit of the People's Liberation Army.)

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TIENTSIN ROLLING MILL STOPPAGE OF WASTEFULNESS

[Following is a translation of an article entitled "Sincere Assistance" by soldier Li Ch'ao-yuan (2621 6389 0337) in Chieh-fang-chun Wen-i (Liberation Army Literature), Peking, 25 April 1967, pp 35-37]

In the thin plate workshop of a certain rolling mill in Tientsin, Li (2621), foreman of a team, was preparing the place for work in the early morning. As he was doing so, he noticed there were a few sections of half-used welding rods on the floor. He picked them up and remarked to himself: "These young comrades do not seem to have a cost-conscious mind!" This was heard by Liu (0491), deputy commissar of the Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda team of the People's Liberation Army assigned to the rolling mill. Liu said to Li: "Why don't you give them a lecture on this matter?" Li replied: "Why don't you do it instead? Everyone will listen to the Liberation Army!"

Li was a veteran Communist Party member, having had his Party membership for more than 20 years. He used to enjoy a high prestige among the workers. But he committed certain mistakes as deputy director of the workshop during the great cultural revolution. Finally, with the help of the masses and under the guidance of the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao, he quickly corrected such mistakes and was re-elected foreman of the A team. Today, although he still directed the workers to carry out their work industriously, he was reluctant to touch on ideological problems for fear of disobedience on the part of the workers on account of his previously committed mistakes.

Noticing Li's hesitation in this matter, Liu said smilingly to Li: "Let us study a few quotations from Chairman Mao's works." "All right, as you say," was the reply. So the two sat down together to read the "Quotations from Chairman Mao." From that pocket book Liu read: "It is our responsibility to be responsible to the people. Each word, act, and policy should be in keeping with the interests of the people..." After that Liu remarked: "Li, inasmuch as you are re-elected foreman of the A team, it means that the workers have confidence in you. For this reason, to be responsible to the people,

you should care not only for their work, but also their thought." Continuing on the "Quotations from Chairman Mao," Liu said further: "Chairman Mao taught us that 'ideological education is the central task in uniting the whole Party for pursuing the great political struggle.' For this reason, to raise the revolutionary consciousness of the workers, it is necessary to carry out political and ideological work among them."

Li was greatly enlightened by these words. So, after completing the current shift of work, he got hold of Han, the young worker who had dropped the half-used welding rods on the floor without bothering to pick them up for use again. Li took Han to make a tour of the rolling mill and asked him about his opinion about the operations of the mill. Han replied that he was greatly impressed by the busy working spirit of all workers of the mill, and he was also pleased to see so many quotations from Chairman Mao posted here and there. Then Li took out his pocket book of quotations from Chairman Mao and pointed out one quotation which reads: "Save coppers one by one for the war and the revolution..." and then directed him to watch the work of an old welding worker who used his welding rods so carefully that each welding rod was used to the very end before it was finally thrown away. This made young Han blush all over, realizing that Li was blaming him for wasting welding rods in his work. So, he thanked Li for his kindness.

Thereupon, Li gave Han a lecture, saying: "Young Han, you realize today workers are masters and the revolutionaries are in authority, so it is possible for us to get everything we need for work from the supplies section. But, prior to the liberation, things were not so easy. Besides, in the past we worked for capitalists, while today we are working for ourselves and for the revolution. For this reason, we should be more careful about the waste of materials. It is not a matter of a few cents saved or lost, but rather a reflection of our sense of revolutionary responsibility." Hearing this, the red-faced Han replied: "I am sorry I was so absorbed in work that I forget this point."

(This article was contributed by the Shenyang Unit of the People's Liberation Army.)

SCHEME TO INCREASE TOOL PRODUCTION IN NANKING

[Following is a translation of an article entitled "A New Upsurge" by soldier Chu Jun-hsiang (2612 3387 4382) in Chieh-fang-chun Wen-i (Liberation Army Literature), Peking, 25 April 1967, pp 37-39]

Prior to the start of the early morning shift, Ch'ien Keng-shen (6929 1649 3234), foreman of the forging and pressing section, posted out a statement by his section, pledging to overfulfill its monthly production plan by forty percent. Many workers began to gather before this statement and read with marked interest.

Shen Tao-ti (3038 6670 1717), deputy company commander of the liberation army unit assigned to the factory for lending support to industrial production, was deeply touched by this statement. When he met Ch'ien Keng-shen outside of the crowd of workers, he asked: "Foreman Ch'ien, you said in the statement that you would overfulfill your monthly production by forty percent. This is a tremendous stride to be made. Are you sure you can do it?" Ch'ien replied: "No problem. Most assuredly we can do it. This is the best we can do, however."

As soon as Ch'ien finished, young worker Kao Chieh-min (7555 1455 2450) rushed over and asked him, "Foreman, what do I do today?" Ch'ien smiled, "You will know in the workshop when the shift begins." After these words, however, he whispered to Kao what his work would be and walked away. Shen Tao-ti turned to Kao and asked: "Comrade Kao, do you think your section would be able to overfulfill its monthly production by forty percent?" "Not easy," was the reply. "Not easy? But Foreman Ch'ien seemed to be so sure!" Shen demanded. "Oh, may be he was sure because he thought he could rely on the two old machines on which he had spent so much time for overfulfilling the monthly production plan." Shen was quite puzzled by this reply, so he strolled over to the workshop and watched how the workers would start their productive operations. He saw that after assigning work to the workers in a hurry, Foreman Ch'ien went to a corner himself trying to fix two broken-down machines. In the workshop, every worker was busy at his work. Every now and then, some worker would stop his machine to remove the cutting tool and take it to the grinder for

sharpening. But Shen noticed that this was not done by Kao Chan-hsin.

Strolling to the side of Kao Chan-hsin, he asked: "Comrade Kao, do not your cutting tools need sharpening?" Kao smiled, "Any not, my cutting tools are no different from others." "But I never see you going back and forth to the grinder for sharpening yours," was the next question. "Oh, that. But I had sufficient number of sharpened cutting tools ready before I started to work, so that I don't have to waste my time on sharpening them during working hours," he replied. Shen noticed that Kao had more products piled up before him than others, and he understood why. He also recalled that Kao was the only one who had asked Ch'ien what would be his arrangement, so that he could have the cutting tools sharpened before hand to save him the trouble during working hours.

At this juncture, Foreman Ch'ien came over and said excitedly to him: "Comrade Shen, I have just had the two machines fixed. I shall try them out this afternoon. Come and watch it." To this, Shen retorted, "But look at Kao Chan-hsin; he has already produced eight more machine parts than his quota." "Oh, what of it," Ch'ien remarked, "by this afternoon, when my fixed machines are put into productive operations, they will be able to produce 120 such machine parts each shift."

From this conversation, Shen realized that although Foreman Ch'ien worked quite hard himself, he did not pay enough attention to the workers subordinate to him. If this mistake was not corrected, it would be detrimental to the development of enthusiasm of the workers in overfulfilling their monthly production plans. So, he said seriously to Ch'ien: "Foreman Ch'ien, do you notice that the water of the vast sea is composed of countless drops of rain? This shows that an accumulation of countless small quantities can mean an overwhelming sum. If everyone of the 60 workers under you can overfulfill his quota by eight machine parts, what a substantial achievement would it be? We should pay due attention to the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses!"

Hearing this, Foreman Ch'ien immediately called all the workers of the workshop to the side of Kao Chan-hsin, asking him to involve his experience to all the workers. Kao said humbly to them: "There is not much secret about my overfulfilling my quota by a couple of machine parts. It was only because the foreman told me what I would be doing this shift before this shift started, so that I had time to do the preparations for my work beforehand." A young worker said: "Foreman Ch'ien, can you do the same to us so that we could do likewise as Comrade Kao?" "All right, all right," Foreman Ch'ien replied with some embarrassment.

An old worker stepped forward and carefully took out a small piece of paper to show Foreman Ch'ien, saying: "Comrade Ch'ien, can

you tell me if we could renovate the lathe by installing three cutting tools like what is drawn on this paper?" Foreman Ch'ien took over the paper and studied it. He discovered to his surprise that if the lathe was renovated as shown in that piece of paper, the working productivity of the workers could at least be doubled. After that, more than ten rationalization proposals were made by other workers.

Foreman Ch'ien was so embarrassed that he addressed the workers in a loud voice: "Comradar, I would like to confess that in the past few days I have paid attention only to the work of my own without paying sufficient attention to your work. I have failed to shoulder my responsibility properly. This is a tremendous mistake. I hope you will help me correct that mistake."

Shen Tao-ti and the workers were very pleased that Foreman Ch'ien could come forward with such a confession. Kao Chai-hsin said: "I admire Foreman Ch'ien's courage in making that statement. But in all fairness it should be said that he is wholeheartedly devoted to the revolution and production. In the future, if all comrades of our section would be united more closely in our work, we should be able to overfulfill our production quota even by a greater percentage."

In the afternoon, a new statement was posted by the forging and pressing section. This statement shook the whole factory. Somebody remarked: "My goodness. That section pledges to overfulfill its monthly production plan by seventy percent. Isn't that something? It seems that we should use more of our brains also."

A new upsurge in "grasping the revolution and stimulate production" began to sweep over the whole factory. Shen Tao-ti was deeply touched. He murmured: "Dear Chairman Mao. You have nothing to worry. The revolutionary workers and cadres are grasping the revolution and stimulating production in revolutionary spirit. They will reply to your concern with the most outstanding achievements in production."

(This article was contributed by the Marking Unit of the People's Liberation Army.)

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ARMY DRIVER FINDS COARSE RICE SEEDS FOR NATION'S
PRODUCTION TEAM

[Following is a translation of an article entitled
"The Delivery of Rice Seeds" by soldier Li Ch'ang-shan
(2621 7022 1472) in Chieh-fang-pan Wen-i (Liberation
Army Literature), Peking 25 April 1967, pp 39-40]

One afternoon, as driver T'ien Ai-min (3944 1947 3040) drove a horse-drawn cart from the Hsien seat to the village, he encountered old-man Ting (0002), a poor peasant member of Red Flag No.5 Production Team, who complained to him about the prevailing cold wave which killed the seedlings of the rice of "Ranking No.6" strain which the production team had obtained through great difficulty. Ting remarked that the seedbed must be reseeded immediately, but for three days the team had been unable to obtain any seeds of that strain which was necessary for cultivating the experimental farm.

Driver T'ien was worried about this situation. He suddenly remembered that in his unit there were 14 chin of rice seeds which were gleaned by him and comrade Cheng from a harvested rice field. He immediately returned to his unit and talked over with Chang to see if he was willing to use the rice seeds for exchange for the "Ranking No.6" strain to be presented to that production team to solve its urgent problem. His proposal was agreed upon by Chang and told him about at Tai village, 30 li away, rice seeds of "Ranking No.6" might be obtained through exchange.

Hearing this, T'ien immediately went to the company headquarters to get for leave of absence and took with him 14 chin of rice seeds to the village for exchanging it to seeds of "Ranking No.6" strain. On the way, when he arrived at the Tai village grain station, the clerk told him that all seeds of that strain were gone. Seeing that T'ien had come from a long way, that clerk immediately telephoned 18 kin of the grain stations of adjacent areas asking them if rice seeds of that strain were available. All of these stations gave a negative answer, except one at Tung village which still had some left. The clerk told T'ien about this, adding that Tung village was about 20 li away. T'ien immediately took off again, forgetting even to thank the clerk for his trouble. On the way to Tung village, T'ien was as tired as

he was hungry. To overcome his tiredness and hunger, he recited a quotation from Chairman Mao which reads: "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice, overcome all difficulties to win victory." This quotation gave him strength and enabled him to run like wind.

By the time when T'ien arrived at the grain station in Tung village, the sun was down and the station was closed. What should he do? He immediately proceeded to the homes of the accountant and sales clerk of the station in Tung village. These two persons were having dinner when he arrived, but they promptly went with him to the station and exchanged rice seeds of "Nanking No.6" strain for him. As darkness fell, the clerk wanted to ask T'ien to spend the night in Tung village, but before he turned around to say so, T'ien was already gone.

Carrying with him the new rice seeds, T'ien rushed directly to Red Flag No.5 Production Team of his own village. He arrived in time to overhear a conversation between the team director and old-man Ting. The team director was telling old-man Ting that the only chance to get rice seeds of "Nanking No.6" strain was for them to make a trip to Tung village the next day. T'ien interrupted them by saying: "You don't have to go now. Here are your rice seeds."

The two men were pleasantly surprised. Looking over the rice seeds of "Nanking No.6" strain, they shook hands with T'ien again and again, saying "Thank you for your support." T'ien replied: "Don't thank me. It was Chairman Mao who taught us to do so. It is the responsibility of everyone to support spring sowing. What I have done is nothing." After that, he bid good-bye to these two old men and hurried back to his camp. The two old peasants looked toward the way where T'ien vanished in the darkness and said to themselves: "The people's liberation army which cares so much for us has brought us not just 10-odd chin of rice seeds, but also the love of the young men of the army toward us and Mao Tse-tung's thought. We revolutionary cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants should by all means follow the example of the liberation army by resolutely responding to Chairman Mao's great call for 'grasping the revolution and stimulating production,' caring for both the revolution and production, and letting the first round of gun fire in the spring farming hit its target."

(This article was contributed by the Nanking Unit of the People's Liberation Army.)



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TRANSLATIONS ON COMMUNIST CHINA: POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL
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This serial publication contains translations of political and sociological articles on Communist China. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

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THE SUPPORT OF THE LEFTIST MASSES
BY THE HARBIN GARRISON

[Following is a translation of an article originally entitled "In Violent Storm - A Report of the Support of the Leftish Masses by the Harbin Garrison in the Annihilation of the Glorious Restoration Army" by Lung Chun (7893/6511), a member of the Mukden Garrison, in the Chinese-language periodical Chieh-fang-chun Wen-i (Liberation Army Literature), Peking, No. 2, 1967, pp 15-17.]

Harbin, a famous city in the North, just like many other places in our fatherland, is now being baptized by the great proletarian cultural revolution. The revolutionary storm has covered the entire city in which the red rebels are waving their red flags and beating their drums. The high tide of the revolution is rising higher and higher, while the influence of the small number of people in authority in the party who are following the capitalist road is now rapidly declining and their bases are being drowned by the huge stream of revolution.

The stormy struggles for seizing power have started! This is a big fight and a decisive battle between the proletarian and capitalist classes! The revolutionary troops with red rebels as their nuclei have seized power from the few people in power in the party who are following the capitalist road, including party power, political power, financial power, and cultural power. All of them are now under the control of the red rebels.

On 22 January 1967, the young warriors of the revolution took advantage of previous victories and smashed the base of the reactionary "War Preparation Army", thus recapturing the Friendship Palace for the revolutionary masses.

However, the enemy will not be annihilated automatically and will never withdraw from the stage of history voluntarily. Every reactionary force will take time to make a show but eventually will definitely fail.

The "Glorious Restoration Army" is Again Active

The twenty-third of January was not a peaceful day. At dark many people arm bands of the "Glorious Restoration Army" poured into the Youth Palace from all sides. Only a few days ago at the critical moment when the red rebels were developing the struggle for seizing power the reactionary "Glorious Restoration Army" in cooperation with the "Red Flag Army", the "War Preparation Army" and other conservative forces held a highly provocative demonstration against the revolutionary red rebels. Some of their members participated with deadly weapons in the anti-revolutionary action initiated by the "Red Flag Army" in attacking the city's ad hoc committee for the take-over of the police department.

What about the secret talks they held at the Youth Palace? Their conspiracy was finally exposed at the end of the evening party held at the palace. One fellow rose to shout: "All members of the 'Glorious Restoration Army' please don't leave! We have some assignments to do tonight! As a matter of fact, they gathered there on the false pretence of attending an evening party. He also shouted: "Family members of the 'Glorious Restoration Army' also stay; they must take charge of the first-aids." Most members of the army were confused and asked: "What are our assignments?" Their leaders then threatened them: "We are going to smash the headquarters of a reactionary organization. Those who don't want to go are cowards who will be considered as anti-revolution!" After hearing this, many hesitated to move. At that time, one fellow came in and shouted in pretended sincerity: "Our action today has been approved by the authorities concerned and we don't need to worry about our safety. We must go out to get experience. I shall be responsible for anything that happens!" As soon as he finished talking, the leaders immediately followed up. They organized the so-called "Vanguards", "Second Echelons", and "First-aid Teams". After this, their "commander-in-chief", "Political Commissar", "Chief-of-staff", and other lesser chiefs led their men out of the palace.

At that time, the night was dark and there were trucks parking outside the palace loaded with weapons they had prepared long ago. Both male and female members of the army got on the trucks which followed one another and immediately disappeared in the dark. At ten fifteen, they arrived at the Friendship Palace on the Anti-revisionist Road. Due to his nervousness, the driver of the third truck drove his car into the body of the second truck. In the upstairs of the Friendship Palace, seven red rebels were seriously studying their work in a well-illuminated room. The Palace was then surrounded by more than 300 members of the "Glorious Restoration Army" who broke into the building with sticks, iron bars, and daggers. Once they entered, they were separated into three groups: one heading for the

office of the red rebels, one for the West building, and one for the auditorium. They also cut off the telephone, opened the storages, and blocked both the eastern and western entrances of the Palace allowing nobody to pass. The young warriors of the red rebels "who wanted to start a prairie fire with a tiny spark" were facing a very serious and urgent situation.

A Punch in the Nose

It was at ten twenty-one at night that a certain unit of the Harbin Garrison of the People's Liberation Army got news of the attack by the "Glorious Restoration Army".

At that time, the few commanders of the unit were studying carefully Chairman Mao's great call exhorting the People's Liberation Army to support the leftist masses. During those days they had spent sleepless nights watching the new developments of class struggles in the city and had become more and more convinced of their serious responsibility. They applauded the big victory through unity of the red rebels in the class struggles and at the same time became extremely angry at the dire consequences of the activities of conservative forces against red rebels' seizing power. It was exactly at that critical moment that our great supreme commander, Chairman Mao, issued his great call for battle: the People's Liberation Army must support the vast leftist masses. Chairman Mao, your word has expressed the strong desire in our heart. In the difficult war years of the past we have achieved victory after victory and conquered difficulties after difficulties under your guidance. Today at the critical moment of our great cultural revolution and in the violent storm of revolution, you are making another great call to battle. Your call is indeed the supreme order for battle! In order to support the revolutionary leftists and to achieve the final victory of seizing power in our revolutions, we are willing to lose our life and shed our blood. Therefore, when the commanders heard the attack of the red rebels, they took action without hesitation and ordered "March"!

Within two minutes, motor cars moved rapidly and infantry units advanced in forced march towards the Friendship Palace. The noise of engines and quick footsteps broke the silence of darkness. Every commander was filled with righteous anger, swearing to support the red rebels and to render a deadly blow to the anti-revolutionaries.

At the gate of the palace, many members of the "Glorious Restoration Army" were attacking the red rebels. When the latter were arguing with the former, these rascals shouted: "How dare you to resist us!" Exactly at this moment the motorized units of the Liberation Army arrived and was then followed by the infantry. They encircled the "Glorious Restoration Army" and swiftly and courageously

blocked the retreat of the latter.

Some leaders of the gang were not willing to admit failure and tried to escape while shouting and waving their sticks and belts. The commanders of troops then ordered: "Don't move! Surrender! and 'Your only way out is to confess and stubbornness means death to you!'" The encirclement was gradually tightened and all the "Glorious Restoration Army" in and out of the palace were driven into the auditorium of the palace. At that time, the police and other units of the red rebels also arrived and the "Glorious Restoration Army" was trapped by both the troops and the people.

Complete Expose

When the few leaders of the "Glorious Restoration Army" discovered that their men were driven into the auditorium, they threatened those comrades guarding the gates: "We are revolutionary leftists. Why should you fight us? You must take all the consequences!" Our warriors answered sternly: "We are taking the responsibility. We are Chairman Mao's soldiers and we are responsible to the people, to revolutionary leftists, and to the masses who are being fooled! To you reactionaries, we have the only responsibility of forcing you to confess your crime and surrender to the people!" When those crooks could not argue any more, they thought of another trick. Some shouted: "The People's Liberation Army had no right to interfere with our action. Let us break out!" Some confused people also shouted and followed them.

Facing this situation, the commanders were not nervous and they followed Chairman Mao's instruction: "Our victory does not depend on our fighting but on the collapse of the enemy." Then they started a powerful political offensive against the "Glorious Restoration Army".

One commander stepped on the platform and delivered a warning: "Don't move! Your action is illegal and the 'Glorious Restoration Army' is an illegal organization which must be dissolved immediately. We believe most of you are victims of a fraud. We will handle you people according to our party policy. Those who were fooled don't need to be afraid and those crooks will be exposed!" The revolutionary masses also shouted: "Those who confess will be forgiven and those who continue to resist will be severely punished." These noises shook the roof of the auditorium and all the trouble-makers lost their nerve.

At that time, the representative of the Harbin red rebels walked into the auditorium. He explained the party policy clearly and pointed out the conspiracy of the few crooks. He then picked up

a few weapons and talked with strong emotion to the people who were fooled by the crooks: "Many of you have been educated by the party and now you are fooled by crooks attacking the red rebels and causing bloodshed. In doing all this, can you face the party, Chairman Mao, the people, and those heroes who died for the revolution?" Other revolutionary masses outside the auditorium also shouted: "This is the time of awakening! Continued resistance will only lead you to your own destruction!" These sincere words reached the hearts of those who were fooled and the "Glorious Restoration Army" disintegrated under the political offensive of the revolutionaries. Some threw away their daggers and some threw away their reactionary arm bands. Many who were fooled before then shouted: "We were fooled before and now we will redeem ourselves by exposing those crooks!" While they were shouting, they threw their arm bands on the floor and stepped on them. Under the pressure of the masses, those who knew the "inside story" began identifying their "Commander-in-chief", "Deputy Commander-in-chief", "Political Commissar", "Chief-of-staff" and other reactionary leaders and sent them up to the platform where their crimes were exposed by those they had fooled. The place where the anti-revolutionaries caused trouble then became a place where they were being exposed and accused.

At the accusation meeting, many who were fooled talked tearfully and regretfully: "We have let Chairman Mao down! We must apologize to Chairman Mao! If it were not for the swift arrival of the People's Liberation Army, we would have followed these anti-revolutionaries in committing serious crimes! We are grateful to Chairman Mao and the People's Liberation Army for saving us!" At that time the slogans of "Long live Chairman Mao!", "Long live the Chinese Communist Party!", and "Long live the Chinese People's Liberation Army!" were heard everywhere.

Under the accusations of former members of the "Glorious Restoration Army" and under the noise of slogans shouted by the masses, the few exposed anti-revolutionaries were scared. They were trembling and were almost paralyzed on the platform. Then, by the demands of the masses, they were arrested by the police. Thus, the battle for the suppression of anti-revolutionaries was won without one bullet being fired.

The news of the victory was soon spread to the entire city, the entire province, and the entire country. Both the red rebels and the vast revolutionary masses were excited at the news. The red rebels of Harbin visited local garrison with red flags, Chairman Mao's picture, and the posters printed with "long live Chairman Mao". They also received thousands of congratulating telegrams and letters from people all over the country in which there is only one

voice: "Long live Chairman Mao and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution to the end!

CHAIRMAN MAO ORDERS US TO PERFORM
SENTRY DUTIES FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFTISTS

Following is a translation of an article by An Ping (1344/0365), a member of the Nanking Garrison, in the Chinese language periodical Chieh-fang-chun Wen-i (Liberation Army literature), Peking, No 2, 1967, pp 18-197

The Divisional Political Commissar Kao (7559) came to the post of Company A and Company F, Garrison of Ho-fei City on 22 January 1967. As soon as he arrived, he told everybody: "Comrades, let us turn to page 146 of Chairman Mao's Sayings and study together the teaching of our great leader. Then everybody read loudly the following: "Serve wholeheartedly for the people and never isolate ourselves from the people for even a minute; everything must be based on the people's interest ...". After this reading, Political Commissioner Kao then told us in high emotion: "Comrades, now allow me to transmit to you the new instruction our most respected and beloved great Commander-in-chief Chairman Mao has just sent us: "The People's Liberation Army should support the vast leftist revolutionary masses!" Everyone of us was listening attentively to him. Commissar Kao then continued: "We should obey firmly Chairman Mao's following instruction: "For all genuine revolutionary groups which need the support and assistance of the Army, we should satisfy their demands. We must firmly stand on the side of the proletarian class with Chairman Mao as its representative and must try our utmost to support actively the revolutionary leftists."

After Commissar Kao transmitted Chairman Mao's great call to each warrior, he then continued to speak: "Comrades, the revolutionary rebels of the Ho-fei City in Anhwei will call a meeting of 300,000 persons tomorrow at the Provincial Athletic Field for the struggle against a small number of people in power in the party who are following the capitalist road. In accordance with this, Chairman Mao's new instruction, our superior has ordered Company A and Company F to serve at the meeting and to perform sentry duties for the revolutionary leftists." Our great Commander-in-chief Chair-

man Mao knows best the mind of our warriors and his great call has expressed the wish of millions of our revolutionary people, as well as expressing the urgent wish of thousands of our military commanders.

Our warriors then continued to cheer "long live Chairman Mao!" Even one to ten thousand of such cheers can hardly express the happiness in our warriors' minds. One "five-good" warrior, Li Tsung-fu (2621/1350/1381) said excitedly: "Chairman Mao most understands our warriors' minds. The People's Liberation Army is a People's Army personally built up by Chairman Mao, which is the most important tool for the proletarian dictatorship. In this earth-shaking class struggle we will firmly fight those who dare to attack the revolutionary leftists."

It was already sunset and taps had been heard. The barracks were dark and quiet, but our comrades were still excited. One "five-good" warrior, Wang Kuo-li (3769/0948/4539), was writing his diary in which he wrote: "Tomorrow will be the most unforgettable day since my enlistment because we are going to perform sentry duties for the revolutionary leftists assigned by our great tutor, great leader, great Commander-in-chief, great helmsman, and the reddest sun in our mind, Chairman Mao. My beloved Chairman Mao, we revolutionary warriors who grew up under the sunshine of your brilliant thought will obey every word you said and do everything you asked even to march to the hill of swords and the sea of fire, or have ourselves crushed to pieces, just for the sake of accomplishing the mission you have assigned us!"

The above was not just the feeling of Wang Kuo-li, alone. There were many cadres and warriors who were so excited that they did not sleep at all in the night. The company commander of Company F, Sun Feng-hsiang (1327/7685/4382) sat alone at his headquarters reading Chairman Mao's Writing and repeating the paragraph in "People's Army". He also read repeatedly the congratulatory telegrams sent to various revolutionary rebel groups at Shanghai by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the State Council, the Central Military Committee, and the Central Cultural Revolutionary Group while he was studying how he could best and firmly carry out his mission the next day. When it was after one o'clock in the morning, he went to the political officer, Wang Nien-min's (3769/1819/3046) room since they were so excited that they even forgot the cold winter night. Together they completed an operational plan for the next day. Then they separately went to check dormitories in the barracks.

As soon as it was three in the morning and reveille was sounded, comrades of all squads stood at attention in front of Chairman Mao's picture and finished their study of some paragraphs

From Chairman Mao's Sayings. At five in the morning, comrades of Company A and Company F marched into the meeting field full of red flags and performed their sentry duties around the field and beside the presidium platform. Immediately after sunrise, all revolutionary workers, farmers, teachers, students, and cadres joined together to form a large troop of high spirit, carrying a huge picture of Chairman Mao and many red flags, and beating drums while entering the field. When the masses discovered warriors of the Liberation Army on sentry duty, they shook hands with the latter. The crowd repeatedly cheered "long live Chairman Mao" and many had tears in their eyes.

Suddenly, when a seven or eight year old boy fell down to the ground, he was in imminent danger of being seriously hurt by the stampede. Company Commander SUN Feng-hsiang, who was standing on the iron door in maintaining law and order, immediately jumped into the crowd in order to save the boy. When he discovered that the boy's coat had gotten entangled with other people's feet, he realized that protecting a member of the revolutionary masses was equivalent to both supporting proletarian cultural revolution and answering Chairman Mao's call for our troops to support leftist masses. So he covered the boy with his body and thus saved him. Everybody there was moved by his gallantry. Many people left the field for a while then returned with posters of "Learn from the Liberation Army", "Pay Respect to the Liberation Army", and "Thank the Support of the Liberation Army", which were newly written with fresh ink. They approached the warriors and gazed at them in tears. They seemed to say: "Comrades, you are truly Chairman Mao's loyal warriors!" In the field, more than 300,000 people were waving the bright-colored Chairman Mao's Sayings and reading loudly Chairman Mao's teaching: "The nucleus power leading our endeavors is the communist party and the theoretical basis guiding our thought is Marx-Leninism."

The masses of 300,000 men repeatedly read Chairman Mao's Sayings and sang both songs of "The East Is Red" and "Depend on Helmsman for Sea Navigation" as well as cheering hundreds of times, "Long live Chairman Mao." The numerous masses alternately looked at Chairman Mao's picture and those warriors on sentry duty. Many voluntarily offered their water canteens to the warriors and the warriors also admired the masses for their revolutionary spirit of "dare to think", "dare to speak out", "dare to work", "dare to break obstacles", and "dare to revolt". Comrades of the proletarian revolutionary rebel groups took turns in speaking on the platform and cited numerous facts to expose the serious crimes of the small number of people in power in the party who are following the capitalist road. Many warriors said: "Today, young warriors gave us a most lively lesson on class struggle and we have just participated in the biggest study class for learning Chairman Mao's writings." In their heart, these

warriors were cheering for the unity of revolutionary rebel groups and their power seizing. They cheered and saluted the good work of these rebel groups as well as pledged their strong support to them. Comrades of revolutionary rebels, we Liberation Army warriors pledge to carry on the great cultural revolution to the end, shoulder to shoulder and hand in hand with you. Let us cheer together: "Long live the ever victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung!" and "Long live Mao Tse-tung to ten thousand and a hundred million thousand years!"

The meeting ended at three o'clock in the afternoon while people chanted "The East Is Red" and "Depend on Helmsman for Sea Navigation." The masses of 300,000 bade farewell to the Liberation Army amidst slogans of "Thank the Liberation Army" and "Pay Respect to the Liberation Army". When warriors departed, they also shouted: "Firmly support proletarian revolutionary groups." Chairman Mao, we will forever be your loyal warriors and follow your revolution to the end. In the great proletarian cultural revolution we will obey your instruction to support the seizing power by the revolutionary leftists and to protect the cultural revolution with our rifles. We will unite with the vast revolutionary leftists both in battles and in victory. We will use your glorious thought in struggling to create a shiny red communist new China and new world.

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TSINGTAO GARRISON SUPPORTS
THE REVOLUTIONARY REBELS

Following is a translation of an article originally entitled "Red Combat Flags Along the Coast of the Yellow Sea" by Lu Ch'ing-wen (7120/7230/2429), a member of the Tsinan Garrison of Shantung, in the Chinese-language periodical Chieh-fang-chun Wen-i (Liberation Army Literature), No. 2, 1967, pp 20-23/

Tsingtao, a stronghold of our seacoast, is now experiencing an earth-shaking great revolutionary struggle. On 22 January 1967, all revolutionary rebel groups in the city united together in their general offensive against the small number of people in power in the city who were following the capitalist road and won a great victory in seizing power in the city. A new Tsingtao was born while happy revolutionary people there were cheering "long live Chairman Mao!" Since this victory has scared the enemy, the small group in power, before their final annihilation, make a last effort in cooperation with local landlords, rich peasants, anti-revolutionaries, crooks, and leftists to plan a final counter-attack. These buzzing flies even tried to block the main stream of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In answering firmly the great call of Chairman Mao, the Tsingtao Garrison has taken active action in supporting the revolutionary leftists and delivering a crushing blow to the people in power who were following the capitalist road.

FIRMLY DEFEND THE VOICE OF REVOLUTION

At midnight on 24 January 1967 the revolutionary employees of the reborn Tsingtao Daily were rushing out articles in support of the meeting for revolutionary rebels to seize power in the city. Suddenly a few leaders of reactionary organizations together with those people who were led astray, broke into the newspaper and threatened to close it. This sudden attack aroused a strong protest from the revolutionary employees of the paper. One editor told them sternly that a revolutionary newspaper can never be closed. However, the leader of the mob was beyond reasoning. He waved his huge bat and tried to resort to force.

The revolutionary people could not be scared and amidst the sound of "defending the voice of revolution with our life", many revolutionary workers arrested the leader and delivered him to the police. The rest of the mob were not willing to admit defeat and they continued to create disturbances while blocking the work of the newspaper. It was really a critical moment when so many news items and instructions of the revolution were waiting to be communicated to the masses. It was obvious that our class enemy intended to strangle the voice of the revolutionary leftists, thus strangling the life of new Tsingtao.

At that critical moment, after learning the truth at the newspaper, the Tsingtao Garrison which has pledged to defend the great proletarian cultural revolution, immediately sent some units to support the struggle of the revolutionary leftists. As soon as one unit of the Liberation Army arrived at the newspaper, they posted sentry at the gate and announced that on order of the Tsingtao Garrison Headquarters, they were there to protect Tsingtao Daily. This encouraging news was like spring thunder shaking up the quiet night of Tsingtao. The revolutionary rebels kept cheering and held the hands of warriors. At first they were unable to say anything because of their extreme excitement and later they all raised their hands, shouting "Chairman Mao has sent his close comrades to support us!" Those trouble makers were very scared. All the revolutionary masses ran forward to welcome the Liberation Army, and they were so excited at finding their own troops arriving at such a critical moment. Chairman Mao, you are always concerned with people in struggle and now you are giving us the biggest support at our most difficult moment. One old worker shouted in tears: "Long live our most respected and beloved leader, Chairman Mao!"

The unit assigned to protect the newspaper was Company B of the Tsingtao Garrison. Recently they have repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's important instruction: "Liberation Army must support the vast leftist masses." Chairman Mao has spoken what warriors had wanted to say and warriors' heart was already in the new battlefield of class struggle. All cadres and warriors made the following pledge in front of Chairman Mao's picture: "Chairman Mao, we will fully support and respond to your instructions. We will carry them out and obey them. In defense of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by you, we will dare any mountain of swords and any sea of fire, even at the sacrifice of losing our heads and shedding our blood." Now, when they received the order to protect Tsingtao Daily, they immediately marched to the battlefield.

At that moment, a serious class struggle was developing. Facing the Liberation Army, some people who were fooled realized their mistake and got out of the newspaper building. Then the warriors of the unit and revolutionary comrades of the newspaper cooperated in their political offensive against those trouble makers. One editor,

even though without sleep for four days and four nights, shouted in his hoarse voice courageously: "The power seizing meeting of January 22nd is a meeting of revolution. Even the Liberation Army is supporting us. Our true revolutionary comrades should not be fooled by the enemy and must withdraw from the newspaper now." Facing this political offensive, many people who were fooled withdrew and apologized to our warriors: "We are wrong and we want to apologize to Chairman Mao. We will firmly join the side of the revolutionary leftists." Those leading trouble makers lost control of the masses and became more scared. Some of them still tried to organize a counter-offensive. They asked the warriors of the Liberation Army: "Who sent you here?" The crooks could not find anything more to say. Then our warriors warned them: "The People's Liberation Army firmly supports the proletarian revolutionary groups and will firmly suppress those anti-revolutionaries and anti-revolutionary organizations that are against the great cultural revolution. We will fight and destroy those who dare to oppose Chairman Mao!" The voice of iron and steel caused the crooks to lose heart.

The struggle was not yet over. Another battle was being fought in the printing shop of the paper. When Company Commander, Chou Chung-tao (0719/181/6670) arrived at the shop with the seventh squad, the shop was already occupied by the crooks. Commander Chou immediately answered: "All revolutionary masses have the responsibility of protecting state property. Everybody should withdraw from this workshop except employees of the newspaper!" Watching the arrival of the Liberation Army, all revolutionary workers at the shop cheered: "Long live Chairman Mao! Learn from the Liberation Army!" In response to Company Commander Chou's call, many revolutionary masses voluntarily withdrew from the workshop and those who were fooled also withdrew. However, a few crooks surrounded Commander Chou and one crook asked him: "What is your official position?" Commander Chou answered sternly: "We in the Liberation Army have no official position. We are only the people's servants." That crook then faded away in the masses but another crook stepped forward to ask: "Who instigates you here?" Commander Chou answered: "I am here in response to Chairman Mao's call, people's instigation, and order of the Garrison Headquarters." At that time he remembered Chairman Mao's instruction: "This army has a dashing spirit. It will conquer its enemy and will never be conquered by the enemy." Thus strengthened by this instruction of Chairman Mao, he ordered the Seventh Squad to post sentries at the doors of the shop. In order to resume normal operation, together with revolutionary employees there, he cleared all trouble makers out of the shop.

In the midst of cheers, the new struggle against time started. All works of melting lead, choosing characters, arranging pages, and proof-reading were completed in the shortest possible time. After six o'clock in the morning, the printing press started rolling and revolu-

tionary newspapers were being printed.

More and more revolutionary masses were gathering at the newspaper while warriors were guarding the building and the printing press was rolling rapidly. The revolutionary employees of the Department of Posts and Telecommunications also sent their delivery trucks. The warriors and newspaper employees realized the importance of newspaper delivery in the unification of the masses and the expose of the enemy.

As soon as batches of the newspaper were out of the workshop, the voice of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao was delivered to the people in the midst of chanting of the revolutionary masses in spite of all the obstacles. How can anyone not be moved by this exciting scene? Every batch of newspapers caused cheers of "long live Chairman Mao!" among the masses

LET RED BROADCASTS FILL THE SKY

After a violent struggle, the new-born Tsingtao Daily crushed the conspiracy of a few people in power who were following the capitalist road and succeeded in printing the three following announcements by the Tsingtao Revolutionary Rebel Committee: "A letter to All People of Tsingtao", "General Order Number One", and "A Telegram to Chairman Mao in Expression of Respect." The few people in power were afraid that the voice of rebels might fill the sky. So they, in desperation, aimed their target at the new Tsingtao broadcasting Station with the intention of strangling the voice of the proletarian dictatorship, thus creating their last chance of survival.

Thus a serious struggle again started. A small number of reactionaries instigated the masses to come to the radio station individually. Their leader hysterically asked the military representative who was participating in the work at the station: "Why do you support the meeting for seizing power in the city?" The military representative answered in a righteous manner: "The seizing of power by the unified proletarian revolutionary groups is the great combat call of Chairman Mao. We of the Liberation Army firmly answered this great call and firmly support the proletarian revolutionary groups!" Then the same reactionary leader said: "This meeting of seizing power is an unauthorized meeting. You cannot broadcast the three common accounts!" The military representative answered: "Nonsense! The direction of the struggle of the proletarian revolutionary groups is both correct and revolutionary. You have gone to the opposite side of the people. If you don't repent now, you will be crushed to pieces by the wheels of history." Under the stern and righteous condemnation of our military representative and the revolutionary masses, these crooks sensed the unfavorable situation and retreated quietly.

During this serious struggle for seizing power, the thought of Mao Tse-tung has guided our comrades in their actions and our comrades have studied over and over again the new combat call issued by Chairman Mao: People's Liberation Army Should Actively Support the Vast Revolutionary Leftist Masses. Our military representative said excitedly: "Chairman Mao's words expressed what was in our mind. In the past, Chairman Mao led us in bloody battles for ten years and succeeded in seizing political power in the country. Today, under Chairman Mao's great call to battle, we must support the proletarian revolutionary groups in their seizing power from a small number of people in power in the party who are following the capitalist road." All commanders pledged: "We will do whatever Chairman Mao says and fight wherever he asks us to go. We want to stand together with the revolutionary rebels during this struggle of seizing power, and crush the group of people in power who are following the capitalist road.

Our military representative solemnly announced to the revolutionary masses: "The Tsingtao People's Broadcasting Station will broadcast on time all the three announcements; one of them is 'An Announcement to the Tsingtao People' issued by the Tsingtao Revolutionary Rebels Committee." This announcement by the military had the effect of a spring thunder and the news was spreading fast among the revolutionary masses who kept cheering: "Long live Chairman Mao!" Many shouted excitedly: "Pay respect to the Liberation Army!" One worker delivered the following letter of congratulations in tears to the station: "At this critical moment, the Liberation Army has announced its support of the Revolutionary Rebels Committee. This is Chairman Mao's support of us, as well as the strong support given us by the Liberation Army. We must firmly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line." One member of the masses who was fooled tore away his arm band of a rightist organization and stepped on it. Then he shouted: "I want to destroy this reactionary organization and apologize to Chairman Mao!" Many revolutionary masses applauded him and one of them jumped on the platform shouting: "Welcome comrades who dare to surrender to the truth and comrades who join the revolutionary rebel groups!" At that time many members of the masses came out to expose the crimes committed by those in power who were following the capitalist road. Some said: "We want to stand on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and join the organizations of revolutionary rebels." Some even joined immediately, thus strengthening the size of the proletarian revolutionary rebels.

Since ghosts are afraid to face the sun, our class enemy is afraid of the broadcasting of the three announcements by the revolutionary rebels. They also were afraid of the collapse of their conspiracy so they frenziedly made a last desperate struggle. The station was full of war atmosphere and commanders were "sharpening their knives" in preparation for combat. They repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's following instructions: "Enemies will not vanish automatically" and "They will not put down their butchers' knives and they will

never become a Buddha. Thus our comrade understood better the class nature of enemies and were ready to meet the new challenge.

As expected, the small number of people in power who are following the capitalist road were not willing to admit defeat so they instigated more people to shout in a truck outside the station. Then more people came in two cars and attacked the military representative. One tried to say: "We want to fight the military representative. Let us drag..." Before he finished the words--"drag him out", the military representative was standing right in front of him saying sternly: "What do you want? You had better behave!" At that time warriors were ready and revolutionary masses were lining up in defense of the voice of the revolutionary rebels--the broadcasting station. The crooks immediately backed down but did not give up. They asked: "Why should the Liberation Army support the broadcasting of the three announcements?" The military representative said: "The support of the proletarian revolutionary rebels is Chairman Mao's great call to combat, as well as the duty of the Liberation Army. To let the red broadcasts fill the sky is the demand of all revolutionary people in Tsinotao." Then they asked: "Who authorized you to support the three announcements?" The answer was: "It was authorized by the Supreme Commander, Chairman Mao, and the revolutionary masses." These words hit the opponents like iron hammers and the latter tried to escape. Then all the revolutionary masses shouted at these crooks: "We revolutionary rebels want every inch of the ground to be planted with the red flag of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and every space in the sky to be filled with the red broadcast of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. We will crush all those who dare to oppose our efforts and the Liberation Army!"

Facing the firm warriors of the Liberation Army and the strong condemnation of the masses, the small number of crooks lost heart. Many slipped away and some members of the masses who were fooled said quietly: "We should listen to the advice of the People's Liberation Army. The Liberation Army was personally established by Chairman Mao and they all obey him. We should not be fooled any more!" Some of these masses started to expose the reactionary conspiracy. One worker pointed at the leader of the crooks: "This crook wants to drive the military representative out of the station and dreams of the Liberation Army's withdrawing support of the revolutionary rebels. This is just a day dream; we will never let him get away with it. We fully trust the Liberation Army!" There were more and more revolutionary masses coming to the station. They hoisted Chairman Mao's picture and Chairman Mao's Sayings. The following slogans shook the sky: "Down with the capitalist reactionary line!", "Long live Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!", and "Long live Chairman Mao!" The masses heartily cheered the Liberation Army exhorting them to support firmly and unswervingly the revolutionary leftists. Facing

this huge stream of the revolutionary masses, the small number of reactionaries who attacked the broadcasting station had to admit defeat.

In the early morning, bright sunshine was over the entire new Tsingtao. With high revolutionary emotions announcers of the Tsingtao People's broadcasting Station were broadcasting the following voice of seizing power by the unified revolutionary rebels of Tsingtao: "The East is red and the sun is rising. Facing the high morning sun, we solemnly announce the birth of the Tsingtao Revolutionary Rebels Committee. From now on, the political, economic, and cultural powers of Tsingtao are in the hands of the proletarian revolutionary rebels and the revolutionary masses..." All the three announcements were thus being broadcast. Red broadcasts filled the entire sky and reputed to Chairman Mao another victory of his proletarian revolutionary line. Millions of people cheered on the beaches of the Yellow Sea. After days of battles and complicated struggles, the voice of the thought of Mao Tse-tung was eventually broadcast. How can one refrain from excitement and cheers. Commanders guarding the station could hardly refrain from smiling, jumping, singing and cheering!

In order to deliver a further blow to the enemy's reactionary atmosphere and to support the revolutionary rebel groups, our Tsingtao Garrison then made an unprecedented demonstration of armed forces. Commanders hoisted a huge picture of Chairman Mao and a poster of "firmly support the Tsingtao Revolutionary Rebels Committee", and shouted revolutionary slogans amidst red flags and war drums. Silver grey planes flew over the masses with two red flags tied to the wings of each plane and many leaflets supporting the revolutionary rebel groups were dropped from them. Watching these planes and watching warriors, the revolutionary masses were excited and kept cheering. Many of them climbed up to the roof and shouted: "The Liberation Army is a strong supporter of our revolutionary rebel groups!", "The Liberation Army is our closest family member!", and "The proletarian rebels are right; long live the revolutionary rebels!"

The spring waves of the Yellow Sea are rising and the red sun is coming out from it. Those awe-inspiring warriors are guarding the broadcasting station. The coastal city, Tsingtao, is like a giant at the front of our coast defense guarding the eastern gate of our fatherland.

A BIG VICTORY BY OUR AIR FORCE

Following is a translation of an article originally entitled "The Air Sentry of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" by P'eng Yu-hsueh (1756/3768/1331) and P'an Ch'ang-yu (3382/2490/3768) of the Chinese Communist Air Force, in the Chinese-language periodical Chieh-fang-chu Wen-i (Liberation Army Literature), Peking, No 2, 1967, pp 24-27

On 13 January 1967, heavy clouds were piling up in the sky above a certain place in Eastern China. Comrades of a certain air force unit were studying telegrams of congratulations to different revolutionary rebel groups of Shanghai sent by the Central Committee, the State Council, the Central Military Committee, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group, as well as the following editorial published by both People's Daily and Red Flag, entitled: "Take All Risk to Defend the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution! Firmly Defend the Proletarian Revolutionary Line Represented by Chairman Mao." These comrades were quite aware that the current soul-touching great cultural revolution has delivered a tremendous blow to the entire old world, thus scaring all the cow ghosts and snake demons in and out of our country who will not be willing to be annihilated and will certainly start trouble. These comrades said: "We must increase our alertness and strengthen our war preparations. We all pledge our life to protect Chairman Mao, the Central Committee, and the great proletarian cultural revolution. If our enemies make trouble, we will firmly destroy them!"

When comrades were discussing the Red Flag editorial, they received an order from headquarters: "We have a report about enemy movement; be ready for combat!" Remembering all their old and new hatred of the enemy, as well as the courageous spirit in pledging for the defense of the great proletarian revolution, commanders rapidly carried out all pre-combat preparations.

There are different types of pre-combat preparations, of which the great thought of Mao Tse-tung is the most fundamental. At that time, from the headquarters to the airfield, everywhere there was the

noise of reciting Quotations From Chairman Mao. Contact with the enemy was imminent and Quotations from Chairman Mao was the highest combat order. These comrades decided to use the great thought of Mao Tse-tung in command planes, in navigating, and in fighting enemy planes.

Within the headquarters, Commander Hsu Teng-k'un (1776/4098/2492) was holding a pencil and concentrating on planning. He figured: "Since the enemy wants to destroy our proletarian revolution, we must render them a big blow. The F-104 planes to be used in this raid are trump cards of American and Chiang gangsters. These air bandits dared to come because of the speed and attached guided missiles of these planes. Well, we will not let them get away!"

According to information gathered about the enemy, Commander Hsu and his staff officers got together to study operational plans. They obeyed Chairman Mao's instruction: "Revolutionary war is a war of the masses. Only by mobilizing and relying on the masses can we carry on the war." Finally, they pooled their brains and worked out all kinds of strategies and tactics for the annihilation of the enemy. Our comrades were waiting at the field. Suddenly two green signals were fired and pilots left with their hawks. Commander Hsu Teng-k'un issued in a loud and firm voice the first order for combat to all outgoing planes: "All reactionaries are paper tigers!" This supreme order just like an all round "additional power", gave our hawks more will-power for combat and more speed. The commander of the leading plane answered in a steel-like voice: "We will try our very best to annihilate all invading enemy planes!"

At that time the navigator, Tung Fu-ch'eng (5516/4395/2052) was watching closely the complicated situation in the sky as indicated on the radar, while at the same time reviewing Chairman Mao's instruction: "Our responsibility is to be responsible to the people." When he discovered the commander was about to issue an order, in accordance with his first-hand information and his responsible spirit to the revolution, he dared to remind the commander: "We should turn right!" After careful consideration, the commander accepted his proposal, thus enabling our hawks to discover enemy planes sooner.

When our planes were about to contact enemy planes, the changes on the radar were extremely variable and complicated, thus giving pilots a lot of trouble in their observation of the situation. Comrades sitting beside them then recited Quotations from Chairman Mao: "When our comrades confront difficulties, they must aim at eventual success and bright future, and must heighten their courage." Under the encouragement of Chairman Mao's instruction, our comrades immediately conquered many difficulties and evaluated enemy situation more clearly

accurately, and rapidly.

Above the clouds of X Air District, our hawks discovered enemy reconnaissance planes on the left. At that time, the distance between our enemy and us was still too big. The captain of the leading plane, Qi'iao T'ien-fu (0829/3944/4395) immediately remembered Chairman Mao's words: "Make decision not to be afraid of sacrifice, conquer all difficulties and fight for victory." Then he and his comrade-in-arms increased the speed of their planes and chased the enemy planes. Facing the heroic warriors equipped with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, those cowardly air bandits lost their nerve and retreated toward the sea.

At 12:50 in the morning, the close combat in the air took place. When a pilot, Hu Shou-ken (5170/1103/2704) was covering his commander's leading plane, he heard a message from headquarters that there were enemy planes in the rear. When he started to search for them, he thought: "I am on a covering mission and I cannot let the enemy get the upper-hand!" Then he talked to the commander: "Hit the enemy as hard as you can! I shall cover you!" When he continued to search for enemy planes from both sides, he heard the commander's voice: "Turn right! Hit the enemy head-on!" The commander's swift decision and firm voice gave Hu big encouragement and at the same time he recognized the order as a brilliant tactic. Only by meeting enemy head-on can we conquer enemy's spirit. Therefore, he turned the control, reduced the diving speed, and sharply turned to the right. He expected to destroy the enemy plane even at the price of a collision.

Once he made the turn, he discovered a plane flying directly at him. He was not scared by the threatening enemy. Before taking off, the assistant mechanic, Liu Shu-li (0491/2885/4539) gave him a line from Quotations from Chairman Mao: "This army has a dashing spirit which will conquer the enemy and will never be conquered by the enemy." This saying of Chairman Mao's was now in his entire thoughts. Hu was of poor peasant origin and has been a "five-good pilot" member of the Chinese Communist Party for five consecutive years. Facing an enemy who was here to destroy the great cultural revolution personally initiated by Chairman Mao, he was extremely angered by both his old and new hatred of the enemy.

In close coordination with other comrades-in-arms, he charged against the enemy. Since his philosophy of life has been: "To die for people's interest will make one immortal as the T'ai Mountain", he had no fear at the moment and was quite willing to sacrifice for defending the nation and the proletarian cultural revolution. Holding fast to the right direction, he charged towards the enemy. Facing the fearless warrior nurtured in the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the enemy was so scared that he tried to escape. However, the rear of the

enemy's wing was within effective range of Hu's guns. Hu could even see the insignia on the enemy pilot's uniform. He then remembered Assistant Chairman Lin Piao's instructions on close combat and tried to wait until he was extremely close to the enemy. Then and only then he pushed the button and the enemy plane fell away in dark smoke.

Exactly at the moment Hu shot down that enemy plane, another enemy plane tried to attack him. His comrade-in-arms, Ch'en Kuo-liang (7115/0948/5329) discovered the danger and jumped at that enemy plane, thus fouling the enemy's plot and effectively covering Hu's plane.

This was, indeed, a brilliant battle. Considering the relatively high speed of both our planes and the enemy planes, it was a miracle that Hu could hit the enemy within the split second, unprecedented in our air force history, as well as a great victory of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Watching the falling off of the enemy, Hu did not relax because he remembered the proverb: "Use any courage left in chasing retreating enemy and forget the vain reputation of Hsiang Yu (7309/5038)". He dived after the fallen enemy plane and did not turn upward until the enemy already dropped below the cloud. When he failed to get his plane turning upward at his first try, he was not scared because he discovered Chairman Mao's picture in the cabin and remembered one of the Quotations From Chairman Mao: "Make decision and fear no sacrifice in order to conquer all difficulties and to win victories." Just like Chairman Mao was beside him, he was full of confidence and strength in returning to safety. He then circled above the clouds twice in search of enemy planes and his comrades. Finally he joined his squadron and returned victoriously to base in formation according to the order of the ground commander.

After the safe landing of our hawks, commanders and comrades all rushed forward to congratulate Hu. When everybody grabbed Hu's hand, congratulating him on his victory in the air battle in defense of the great proletarian cultural revolution, he said emotionally: "This is the victory of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, as well as the victory of the ever victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung. This is the result of the correct command of our superiors and close coordination of our comrades-in-arms." At the moment, everybody was moved and gave him thunderous applause. The cheers of "long live Chairman Mao, the reddest sun in our heart!" reached as high as the sky.

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SHANGHAI AIR FORCE SUPPORT POWER
SEIZING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFTISTS

Following is a translation of an article originally entitled "Revolutionary Leaflets fly in the Sky - A Report of Shanghai Air Force Supporting Power Seizing of the Revolutionary Leftists" by T'ien Chung (3944/0022) and Tou Tou (6258/6258), members of the Chinese Communist Air Force, in the Chinese-language periodical Chieh-fang-chun Wen-i (Liberation Army Literature), Peking, No 2, 1967, pp 27-29

"The sky was full of all colors; who was dancing with colorful cloths?" On 26 January 1967, the sky of Shanghai was full of planes dropping revolutionary leaflets all over the city. The propoganda planes assigned by our Shanghai Air Force units in support of the seizure of power in the city by the revolutionary leftists had set out for action.

On that day the city was covered by red flags under bright red sunshine while the east wind was blowing gently and waves of people were roaming in the street. Commanders of all Shanghai Air Force units, implementing the orders of the Central Committee and Chairman Mao and after holding a meeting pledging themselves to the support of power seizing by the revolutionary leftists, rode in several tens of motor cars and in close coordination with the masses of Shanghai and commanders of other branches of the service formed a powerful force of revolution in the sky and on the ground, thus initiating propaganda activities of large scale!

"Look! Our planes have set out for action!" "Our planes are dropping leaflets!" Immediately the entire city of Shanghai was shaken by cheers, applause, and the slogan: "long live Chairman Mao!" When people looked up, they saw three red flags hanging on top of the wings of planes. On both body and wings of each plane was written the slogans: "long live Chairman Mao!" and "long live the ever victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung!" These planes flew over the People's Square, the Bund, and tops of high buildings circling and dropping batches of revolutionary leaflets including "A pledge to Shanghai people" issued

by all commanders of Shanghai Air Force units.

These air force commanders firmly made the following pledge in the "A Pledge to Shanghai People": "We will support the genuine revolutionary leftists seriously and whole heartedly, and also resolutely support your struggles for seizing power against the small number of people in power in the Shanghai Party Committee who are following the capitalist road, in order to crush the capitalist reactionary line! We will use practical action to support your control of revolution and stimulation of production!"

"We will risk our lives to defend the proletarian dictatorship. If any reactionary dares to destroy our great cultural revolution and the proletarian dictatorship, we will thoroughly and completely destroy him without mercy just like we dealt with the American Imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gangs."

"We will build a great wall of steel in our territorial air above Shanghai so that the revolutionary leftists could rest assured in carrying out their revolution. If the American and Chiang Kai-shek's flying bandits dare to cause trouble, we will destroy them all no matter if they come from higher space or lower space, in daytime or at night."

"Our great leader, Chairman Mao, teaches us: 'All the revolutionary struggles in the world were for the seizure and consolidation of political power and the desperate struggles of the anti-reactionaries against the revolutionary forces were also for maintaining their political power.' Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms, Comrad Lin Piao, also instructs us: 'We are the people's army and also the revolutionary rebels' army. We are against the old ruling class and for the liberation of the vast masses....' We will resolutely obey the great teaching of Chairman Mao and the instruction of Comrade Lin Piao and will thoroughly purge the evil influence of the capitalist reactionary line in the armed forces, will carry on the great cultural revolution to the end, and will keep the bright red flag of our great People's Liberation Army!"

"Our revolutionary comrades let us unite in war and peace and hoist the great Chairman Mao's red flag, thus seizing all the powers from the small number of people in power in the party who are following the capitalist road. If they dare to offer stubborn resistance, we will resolutely knock them out!"

When one warrior of the rebels among workers picked up one revolutionary leaflet, he said excitedly: "The Liberation Army is really the proletarian army personally established by Chairman Mao and also Chairman Mao's good warriors."

One red guard from college and professional school wrote the following poem in excitement on the leaflet he picked up: "Hawks are flying all over in the sky and a big fire is burning high; warriors are supporting the revolutionary groups and today is the power-seizing time."

After reading the leaflet, another farmer who wore a red armband of revolutionary rebels said happily: "With the support of the Liberation Army, we can go ahead to carry out our revolution!"

The revolutionary masses were delighted on the ground, and air warriors were excited in the sky. There was a pilot, I Chen-min (2692/2182/2404) who gloriously participated in the battle for the liberation of Shanghai in the spring of 1949. The veteran warrior whose class origin was poor peasant, was enlisted in 1946. During the battle for the liberation of Shanghai, he was an assistant platoon leader who commanded his platoon to conquer the area from Hung-ch'iao to the Bund until the end of Chiang's rule in Shanghai. Today when he looked down from his plane and saw millions of red flags and people on the ground, he was extremely excited. He thought: "We liberated Shanghai 17 years ago and after 17 years we will liberate Shanghai for the second time!" When he handled his hawk steadily, he was reciting silently the following: "All the revolutionary struggles in the world were for the seizing and consolidating of political power and the desperate struggles of the anti-reactionaries against the revolutionary forces were also for maintaining their political power." Yes, we want to fight, to carry on a revolution, to revolt, and to seize power! Shanghai is ours and does not belong to the capitalist class and its representatives in the party!

Planes were flying under difficulty at a height of 200 meters because of a ten-meter head wind and 160 degrees of side wind. It was quite unusual to fly under this condition. Comrade Liu Chen-min had sweat all over his body. However, this was the moment the proletarian class launched its counter-attack against the 17-year old outrageous attacks of the capitalist class and its representatives in the party. Naturally little difficulties should not mean anything to a veteran warrior like Comrade Liu. He loudly quoted the following teaching of Chairman Mao to encourage both himself and his comrade-in-arms: "Make up your mind and fear no sacrifice in order to conquer all difficulties and to achieve victory." After hearing this instruction of Chairman Mao, the navigator who was responsible for dropping leaflets was so encouraged that he never missed a chance of dropping leaflets even when the wind at high altitude caused him to lose balance and blinded him, thus successfully delivering several hundred thousands of leaflets to the hands of Shanghai people.

"Despite wind and waves, one is strolling leisurely at the

court!" The warriors of the Shanghai Air Units thus accomplished their mission amidst the noise of their engines.

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A SHANGHAI NAVAL UNIT SUPPORTS
REVOLUTIONARY LEFTIST WORKERS

Following is a translation of an article originally entitled "Struggles on a Seaport Wharf - A Report of a Naval Unit Supporting the Struggle of Shanghai Revolutionary Leftish Workers" by Tung Wen (2639/5113), a member of the Chinese Communist Navy, in the Chinese-language periodical Chieh-fang-chun Wen-i (Liberation Army Literature), Peking, No 2, 1967, pp 29-30/

It was extremely cold and foggy on 25 January 1967 and nobody could see anything beyond ten steps ahead. The entire Shanghai area was covered by heavy fog and all vehicles and ships stopped operations. However, the fog did not stop the revolutionary masses equipped with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Groups of employees and workers were marching toward their working posts. On the street the noise of the following heart-touching slogans broke through the fog: "Down with economism!", "Firmly respond to Chairman Mao's call for taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production!", "Resolutely support proletarian revolutionary groups!", "Thoroughly crush the new counter-attacks by the capitalist reactionary line!", "Seize the power from those in power in the party who are following the capitalist road!", and "Resolutely suppress the anti-revolutionaries and anti-revolution organizations that oppose the great cultural revolution!"

Resolutely and enthusiastically responding to Chairman Mao's call for supporting Shanghai port in taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production, the Eastern Sea Fleet immediately braved the heavy fog and arrived at the Fifth Loading Zone of the port.

When convoys were proceeding slowly in the fog, revolutionary leftist workers, students, and revolutionary masses were delighted at the Liberation Army's support of revolutionary leftists and cheered together with warriors. Then the fog disappeared and the Huang-pu River was brightened by the shining sun.

The Fifth Loading Zone of the Shanghai Port is responsible for

the loading, unloading, and transshipping of import and export goods. In order to launch a new counter-attack against the great proletarian cultural revolution, the small group of people in power in the party who are following the capitalist road again committed the serious crime of instigating a strike at the port. Under the guidance of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, revolutionary workers in the Fifth Loading Zone seized all the power in the zone and resumed their work. They were particularly excited to see their own warriors joining them shoulder to shoulder in battle. They said: "Only this morning we heard the broadcasting station broadcasting the editorial from the Liberation Army Daily on "The Liberation Army Resolutely Supports the Proletarian Revolutionary Groups" then you are here already. Comrades of the Liberation Army indeed obey our Chairman Mao:, "You are coming real soon; you are really the people's battalions personally established by Chairman Mao!" and "With the support of the heroic Liberation Army we have now more support for and confidence in our victory!"

A welcoming meeting was immediately called by revolutionary workers in which workers cheered: "Learn from the Liberation Army!" and commanders of warriors cheered "learn from revolutionary workers!" Then they cheered together: "Respond to Chairman Mao's great call for taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production!" and "Long live Chairman Mao!"

Along the long wharves ship after ship was loading and unloading goods. In the storage rooms there were plenty of imported powdered goods urgently needed to be shipped out. If they were not moved soon, production in some factories would be delayed and some export goods could not be moved in. That was where the battle started. In the storage rooms goods were rapidly moved from commanders' shoulders to the trucks and eventually reached factories or suburban storages. In such a short moment every comrade had white powder all over him and sweat poured down his neck. No one missed a moment in moving the goods at the port. Carrying one 50-chin bag on each shoulder, some warriors even grabbed another bag under one of their arms. Workers both admired them and showed concern. They said: "Comrades of the Liberation Army, don't work too hard and tire yourselves!" The warriors answered in one voice: "We made up our minds not to be afraid of sacrifice and to conquer all difficulties to win victories!" One "five-good" warrior, Sun T'ien-pao (1345/1131/1405) said: "To carry on a revolution and to increase production are important political missions. Any extra work we do is one more support we give to the revolutionary groups and one more blow to the reactionaries!" At that night, one female worker commented: "Every warrior of the Liberation Army is a new Yu Kung'. Now they have even moved two mountains away!"

From that day on, all suburban storages had become much busier and the volume of goods being loaded and unloaded increased tremendously. The number of pulley-men on duty was increased from only one to three persons.

In the afternoon of 27 January 1967 it was raining hard. Normally moving of valuable goods would stop under that circumstance in order to avoid losses. However, the commanders were convinced by the principle that man is the decisive factor and not the material. They believed that if proper measures were taken, losses in materials could be avoided. Therefore they decided to continue working so that the weather would not tie up the hands of their warriors. They covered the trucks with large canvas cloths and climbed on top of them to prevent leaking, thus braving the rain themselves but safely moving 80 tons of goods out of the storage buildings.

Every word and every deed of each commander showed the highest virtue of their devotion to the public interest. Normally, once they transported goods to the storages and then unloaded them, they would have accomplished their mission. Now they even helped storage personnel to move goods up to the shelves. Since it was too slow to use pulleys and goods might get wet in the rain, they volunteered to move 36 tons of goods with their shoulders to the upper floors of the storage. After they were soaked by sweat they all said happily: "It is quite worthwhile to get ourselves soaked with sweat in exchange for no loss of state property!" When a cadre, Chu Lung-fu (2612/7893/1381) and a warrior, Chang Hsi-lin (1728/0823/2651) were loading goods at a wharf, they discovered leaks in two bags and immediately repaired them before carefully returning the leaked goods to the bags. All comrades involved have realized that revolution is for the people and revolutionaries should always think of people's interest and be responsible to them at any time and any place. They should never waste any of the people's property.

In the struggle of taking firm hold of the revolution and production, commanders of warriors and revolutionary workers built up a strong friendship of comrades-in-arms. Workers voluntarily took care of the heavy jackets commanders took off while working and offered their own soap and towels for the warriors to wash their hands or take a bath. One day, around eleven in the morning, a supervisor, T'ang Lien-sung (3282/0265/2646) was about to have his lunch. Then he remembered that the mess trucks which should deliver lunch for the 40 odd warriors in a suburban storage might be delayed because the driver did not know the route there too well. He immediately stopped his lunch and personally guided the trucks to their destination.

Warriors were deeply moved by the warmth of revolutionary

workers. They all said: "The common goal in the great cultural revolution and friendships accumulated in the struggle have united the hearts of revolutionary warriors and revolutionary rebel workers. We will do a better job in supporting proletarian revolutionary groups. Let those who dare to oppose cultural revolution die without any burial place!"

The Huang-pu River was bustling with moving ships and goods being loaded and unloaded. After revolutionary rebels seized power of leadership and assumed the dual responsibility of both revolution and production, the situation has been improving everyday. Since the seizure of power in the Fifth Loading Zone by the revolutionary workers, even with shortage of personnel, a new record of 152 percent above quota of production was achieved.

On 31 January 1967, revolutionary workers and warriors studied together the editorial of Red Flag, No 3, in which they learned more about the sharp and complicated nature of class struggle. They said with full confidence: "Proletarian revolutionary groups must strengthen their unification and under the red flag of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung thoroughly crush all the destructive activities of their class enemies and firmly carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!"

LAMPS WITH QUOTATIONS FROM
CHAIRMAN MAO

Following is a translation of an article by Kuo Shao-kuei (6753/4801/6311) in the Chinese-language periodical Chieh-fang-chun Wen-i (Liberation Army Literature), Peking, No 2, 1967, pp 31-32/

At midnight a long row of generated lamps shone at the work-site. Written on the cover of each lamp was Chairman Mao's latest instruction: the People's Liberation Army must actively support the vast masses of revolutionary leftists. Under the light of these lamps many warriors of the railroad troops were carrying baskets of earth in the midst of the mixed noises of spades, shovels, slogans, and footsteps. A battle for repairing the railroad and clearing collapsed road foundations was going on.

This was not an ordinary battle but a battle for the support of revolutionary leftists. Within two hours a special train loaded with materials urgently needed by the red rebels would be passing through the place. If the materials were not delivered to various plants in time, the "Revolutionary Production Committee" would certainly be ridiculed by the small number of people in power who followed the capitalist road but were recently overthrown, thus being deprived of their power. Looking at these lamps with quotations from Chairman Mao, comrades were working even harder. They said: "We railroad troops fought heroically in war in maintaining a strong transportation line, and now in this stormy class struggle and decisive battle for seizing power we will support the revolutionary leftists and build a strong transportation line in the great cultural revolution." In spite of the cold in the winter night, the morale for combat of these comrades rose even higher. Those in charge of loading earth swung their shovels without even raising their heads and those in charge of moving earth were asking for more earth to be put in the twin baskets they carried. -Every warrior had sweat all over his body.

Time was running out fast and an instructor, Chang Hui (1728/6540) noticed that the road was almost cleared of debris. Then suddenly a warrior from the Fifth Squad, Hu Tung-pin (5170/2639/2430) rushed

over to report that a rock of five cubic meters in size was hanging on the cliff overlooking the railroad which could be very dangerous should the passing of the train cause it to fall down. At that moment, every warrior around Comrade Chang was looking at him for instruction. At that time the train would arrive within 15 minutes. To tell the train to stop? In his mind, Instructor Chang remembered that the troops were revolutionary troops personally established by Chairman Mao and Chairman Mao had told them to support the revolutionary leftists. Therefore, they must not delay the train even for one minute. Then he bit his lips and issued the following steel-like pledge: "Dynamite the rock before the train arrives!" Other warriors all shouted: "Right, dynamite it!" They soon rushed to the dynamite box and little Hu (5170) was first to grab the dynamite and the fuse. Others tried to compete with him. Then Instructor Chang told Hu: "It is dark now and the cliff is too steep. I am more experienced in handling hanging rock. Let me go!" Still grabbing the dynamite fuse, little Hu answered: "No! revolutionary rebel workers are not afraid of ghosts or demons. We will knock the enemy down and shoulder the burden of taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production. We are fighting in support of the revolutionary leftists and socialism. What difficulty are we afraid of?" He immediately jumped up the cliff and Instructor Chang took a lamp following him, thus making the following red characters reflect on the entire cliff: "People's Liberation Army must actively support the vast revolutionary leftist masses!" Watching the lamp with a quotation from Chairman Mao and the graceful figure of little Hu, other warriors were so encouraged that they cleared all the remaining debris on the road right away. The battle was gradually reaching its climax!

The dynamite was installed and all comrades took cover. The noisy worksite suddenly became very quiet. Everybody watched the hissing sound of the burning fuse. Then Instructor Chang with the lamp in his hands jumped down with little Hu like hawks and soon took cover. The watch on Chang's hand showed only five minutes left. Soon they heard the explosion and broken pieces of rock flew all over the place. At that time, they also heard the whistle of the coming train. Warriors rushed out from their cover and cleared the last debris there while checking every rail and every nail on the railroad.

The train passed by like lightening and nobody could control his excitement. Instructor Chang, little Hu, and other warriors all rushed toward the train and handed over the lamp with quotations from Chairman Mao to someone in the train. When warriors saw the arm stretching out from the train to grab the lamp, and the red arm band on it with the insignia of "Red Rebels", they all cheered: "Resolutely support the proletarian revolutionary groups!" and "Long live Chairman Mao!"

Amidst the cheers, a note was dropped from the train. Little Hu picked it up and handed it over to Instructor Chang. Taking one

look at the note, Chang read it loudly to all warriors: "Comrades, please listen to the following voice of the revolutionary rebels: "Without a people's army, people will lose everything! We must learn from the Liberation Army and carry through the great proletarian cultural revolution to the end!"

As soon as Instructor Chang finished reading, everybody cheered: "Resolutely stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary groups! Learn from revolutionary rebels!" Then Instructor Chang asked his warriors to quiet down. Pointing at the train, he said: "Yes, we should learn from revolutionary rebels and obey Chairman Mao's new instruction in actively supporting vast masses of revolutionary leftists, and in defending both the dictatorship of proletariat and the iron world of socialism. We will fight wherever Chairman Mao sends us!" Warriors then continued to cheer at the far away train: "Long live Chairman Mao!"

The whistling train was carrying the lamp with quotations from Chairman Mao, the strong class sentiment warriors had for Chairman Mao, and the warriors' decision to support revolutionary leftists to various plants and their workers.

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THE SECOND PLATOON OF HUNG-LIU GORGE

[Following is a translation of a series of articles by Lin Ch'ing-lin (2651 1987 2651), Hao Hsiu-chien (6787 0208 1696), Chao Hsien-li (6392 0341 4409), T'ao Ya-tung (7118 0068 2630), Kung Shih-heng (7895 2514 0077), and Ho Hui-chi (0149 6540 0679) in the Chinese-language magazine Chieh-fang-chun Wen-i (Liberation Army Literature), Peking, No. 2, 1967, pages 83-89.]

Editor's Note: The Second Platoon of Hung-liu Gorge, Sinkiang Military Region, is an advanced collective in actively studying Chairman Mao's works. Usually, the soldiers mingle with the masses to propagate Mao Tse-tung's ideology with high spirits. During emergencies, the soldiers take all risks for the people's welfare. At the end of July 1966, when most of the young men went out for labor, a gigantic flood inundated Hung-liu Gorge. Guided by the ideology of serving the people, the comrades of the Second Platoon courageously fought the flood for thirteen hours. Eventually, all of the 86 peasants and herdsmen of various nationalities were rescued from the flood waters. The local masses praised the soldiers, saying, "Every one of them is like Liu Ying-chun (0491 5391 0193)."

The source of their courage was their selflessness, which in turn emanated from the red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Armed with the thinking of Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese People's Liberation Army is the protector of the lives and

property of the people in the face of natural calamity. The Liberation Army faithfully executed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line as a reliable force to resolutely support the masses of the revolutionary left during the class struggle and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

LITTLE SINCERE AND HER MOTHER

Comrade Tai Jui-t'ao (2071 3843 7118), an accountant of the production brigade, was awakened by the shouts of the Liberation Army troops. He knew that there was a flood in the mountains. He did not have time to save his wife and daughter Sincere, but ran downstream to help the Kazakh masses.

Not long after Tai left his home, the flood inundated little Sincere's room. In an instant, the flood waters covered her bed and washed away her covers. Little Sincere was scared and crying. Her mother felt helpless in the face of this sudden flood; she could only stare at the rising waters. Jars, pots and furniture were dashed together in the turbulent swirl. Earth was falling from the walls, and the walls themselves were cracking. The whole house began to tremble, seemingly on the verge of collapse. The lives of mother and daughter were severely threatened. At that precarious moment, someone outside yelled, "Come out, neighbors! The house is falling over!" Then little Sincere's mother heard the sound of rapid splashing, as though someone were walking toward her through the water. Before she had figured out what was happening, two people had already entered the house. One grabbed little Sincere, and the other led the mother in a dash toward the door. Sincere's mother was pulled forward, but she could not help turning back to look. She didn't see the comrade carrying little Sincere come out. By this time, the house was about to collapse, and the sharp cracking of the rafters made her heart ache. A fearful thought flashed suddenly into her mind: "Could something awful have happened? Could the rafters have knocked them down?" She decided to go back and see. Then she saw someone moving inside the door. Just as the comrade carrying Sincere stepped out of the door, the house came crashing down with a great roar. After the collapse of the house, the waves sent the comrade stumbling forward. Sincere's mother gave a little scream; her heart almost jumped out of her bosom. She knew that if the comrade were to fall, both would be swallowed up by the mindless flood. In her apprehension, she saw the comrade spread his legs, brace himself, and clutching little Sincere tightly, straighten his back and

stabilize himself. Sincere's mother finally drew another breath. She looked at the house covered with water, and in her fright, said to herself, "If they had been just one step slower, then . . . !" In the dim light reflected by the waves in the dark, she looked gratefully at the two persons standing before her. Though their faces were not clear, she could see the bright-red stars on their military caps, which shone exceptionally bright and clear.

Who were these two people? They were Assistant Platoon Leader Ho Hui-chi and Kuo Hsiang-i (6753 4382 5030) from the local garrison. When the mountain torrent rushed down, they had been on duty in the mountains. At that critical time, Chairman Mao's words had flashed before them like a bright lamp in the dark: "Our troops are for the liberation of the people; our troops work for the people's welfare." Yes, we cannot look on while the people's lives and property are being damaged. Chairman Mao's teachings encouraged them and gave them great strength. Here, the mountains were high and the streams deep, and the night black as ink, but they ran down the mountains at breakneck speed. Just as the house was about to collapse, and at the instant the lives and safety of the masses were in serious danger, they followed the commands of Chairman Mao's thinking and arrived in time to courageously rescue their endangered neighbors and move them to safety.

After Sincere and her mother were rescued, the soldiers were afraid that Sincere would freeze, so they wrapped her up in a fur coat. Little Sincere lay in the warm overcoat and fell into a sweet sleep. The child's mother was greatly moved by this scene. With hot tears in her eyes, she said in boundless gratitude, "The Liberation Army sent by Chairman Mao and the Party risked their lives to save us. Chairman Mao's benevolence is greater than the heavens and deeper than the sea. We shall never forget it as long as we live. We shall actively study and actively apply the works of Chairman Mao, just like the Liberation Army, and use their fearless spirit to properly carry out production and rebuild our homes in order to build Hung-liu Gorge into a beautiful red mountain area of the new socialism."

THREE TRIPS INTO THE SUPPLY AND MARKETING STORE

The mountain flood tore down the valley like a wild horse. Boulders weighing hundreds of pounds were swept down

stream, and the almost irrepressible waters cut deep furrows across the fertile farmlands. There was a supply and marketing store northwest of Hung-liu Gorge. Under the sweep of the flood, earth kept dropping from the wall, and more than ten large holes were knocked in the walls. The situation was very dangerous, with houses collapsing and State property being lost in the flood.

At this crucial moment, Platoon Leader Kung Shih-heng and several soldiers arrived on the scene. Kung was worried upon hearing that the cash, accounts, yard goods, and other things in the supply and marketing store had not been rescued. Looking at the turbulent flood and the shaking store, for a moment he seemed to hear Chairman Mao's teaching: "Our troops are for the liberation of the people; our troops work for the people's welfare." This voice was louder than thunder, drowning out the roaring of the flood. It made his hot blood seethe in his veins, and gave him inexhaustible strength. After putting a cordon of troops around the danger area, Squad Leader Tiao Ch'ang-ch'eng (0431 7022 1004), Tractor Driver T'a-i-erh-chiang of the production brigade and he courageously dashed into the store.

The water in the supply and marketing store was already more than knee-deep and still rising. Earth from the ceiling was falling on them, and it was hard to move. Before they had gone but a few steps, a rafter suddenly hit Kung's arm, causing him great pain. But paying no attention at all, he thought only of one thing: to hurriedly save the State property. After a great deal of difficulty, they found a counter in the corner, and staggered out with it. But this counter held only the account books; they still had not saved the cash. They said, "The money belongs to the State; we must find it!" Then, as they were about to re-enter the store, some of the local residents held them back, saying, "Squad Leader Kung, the store looks like it's about to collapse. You can't go in there." But they said resolutely, "We are responsible to the people. We must go in, even if the heavens collapse." They threw off the hands of the local residents and splashed their way into the store again. The masses there saw them, and there were none who were not moved. They also rushed forward, but were stopped by the cordon of soldiers.

Upon entering the supply and marketing store for the second time, they found conditions even worse. Some of the roof timbers had already broken, the walls had cracked, and the entire building was creaking and groaning. Undaunted,

they concentrated on salvaging goods from the water and finding the cash. After a tense struggle, they finally found the small chest filled with cash. Happily carrying it and several bags of chemical fertilizer, they rushed out the door. How dangerous! Just as they ran out of the door, the front wall fell over with a crash. The onrushing air and waves made them stagger.

With the collapse of the front wall, the roof became even more dangerous. But not all of the goods in the store had been rescued. "What shall we do?" Platoon Leader Kung kept asking himself. He understood that although the goods in the supply and marketing store did not amount to much, it supplied the peasants and herdsmen of the Hung-liu Gorge area for ten miles around; thus there was a direct effect on the livelihood and welfare of the people. Chairman Mao has taught us that "Party members should never put individual interests first regardless of time or place, but should subordinate individual interests to the interests of the people and the masses." Therefore, even if an individual sacrifices his life, his death achieves its purpose. Kung decided to risk his life and continue the rescue. More goods saved meant the lightening of the burden of the peasants and herdsmen of the various nationalities, and that the State and people would suffer less damage. Thinking thusly, he ordered the other comrades to remain outside, and fighting the current, he lifted his head, threw out his chest, and splashed his way into the store for the third time. Now almost two-thirds of the timbers in the building had broken; the cracks in the walls were even wider. The rear wall and the left and right gables had begun to lean outward; the situation was extremely dangerous. The masses, held back by the soldiers on the high slopes, perspired and did not even dare to breathe. But Platoon Leader Kung did not cower in the face of danger. Steadying himself, he went inside. While keeping one eye on the dangerous building, he selected some of the more important items for rescue. When he exerted all his strength to carry the last few bundles of yard goods in a final dash out the door, the entire building collapsed with a great roar, and was covered by the swift current.

Only when the masses saw that Platoon Leader Kung was safe did their hearts drop from their throats. A great sigh of praise came from the masses, and tears of gratitude were in the eyes of some. The sentence "The best book in the world is the book of Chairman Mao; the best troops in the world are our Liberation Army -- the soldiers cultivated by Mao Tse-tung's ideology love the people most and share our

thoughts and feelings" echoed in the heart of each.

A HUMAN WALL

With the flood roaring wildly, the villages of the Hung-liu Gorge Agro-pastoral Brigade were inundated in an instant. Platoon Leader Kung Shih-heng and Assistant Platoon Leader Ho Hui-chi led the entire platoon through waist-deep currents to rescue the peasants and herdsmen of various nationalities. The comrades dashed into each house to shoulder and carry the local residents regardless of the danger of the walls collapsing. They had only one thought: "We are responsible to the people in our every action. We must hurry to rescue the local residents and remove them from danger."

After struggling for a long time, they saved all the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Moslems, Kirghiz, and Kutsung inhabitants of the village and moved them to a little hillock.

The night was dark and the water was advancing rapidly; the current was fast, and in no more than an instant, the low hillock was covered by knee-deep water. The flood produced eddies beside the people. Some children, unable to keep their footing, became frightened, and began to cry, "Liberation Army comrades, what shall we do?"

Soldier Shih Kuang-hui (0670 0342 6540) stood among the people and clutched a child with both hands. On hearing the worried voices, he shouted, "Neighbors, don't be afraid. We are the people's troops established by Chairman Mao, who has instructed us to serve the people wholeheartedly. With us here, you will be safe. Even if the sky falls, we can hold it up. We can certainly overcome all difficulties and enemies!"

Hearing Shih Kuang-hui, everyone calmed down and consoled one another, saying, "Our Liberation Army is here; what is there to fear?" A few of the more able-bodied took the initiative in organizing a rescue team.

At that time, Shih Kuang-hui said to Ho Hui-chi, "Assistant Platoon Leader, the local inhabitants here are old, children, women, and infants. The flood is so deep and the sky so dark that it will be hard to do anything if one or two are swept away. The best thing would be to form a human wall around the inhabitants."

The assistant platoon leader said, "Right. We are responsible to the people. We should not let even one of them be washed away. Let us first surround the inhabitants, and then think of a way to move them." Then he grabbed Shih Kuang-hui's arm with his left hand, and Ho Ching-li's (0735 0079 4539) hand with his right. Pulling tight, the 18 soldiers formed a human wall, standing shoulder to shoulder in the turbulent flow.

The flood roared, and the turbulent waves beat fiercely against the soldiers' chests, stirring up water columns a foot high. The water pounded the soldiers' heads and faces. Then, another wave came. But the soldiers, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, raised their heads and thrust out their chests. They did not move in the face of the cold and turbulent flood. The inhabitants were saved inside the iron-hard human wall. When they saw the heroic actions of the soldiers, they cheered spontaneously: "Long live Chairman Mao! Long live Chairman Mao! Hail! Hail!" When the comrades heard this ardent cheer, they were encouraged, and spontaneously recited Chairman Mao's quotation: "Fix your determination, don't fear sacrifice, . . ." After they had recited two lines, the inhabitants joined in: "Wipe out all difficulties, and struggle for victory." The valiant and powerful sound of this quotation echoed through the night and drowned out the roar of the flood.

At that time, red clouds appeared in the east; dawn was approaching.

ON A TRACTOR

The turbulent flood dashed against the human wall; several eddies were caused, and these flowed westward.

At dawn, the cold flood and chilly wind attacked the human wall. Some children within the "wall" could not stand the freezing cold, and had to be moved in a hurry. The assistant platoon leader dispatched several soldiers to search for a route to safety, but they returned, saying, "Although the water is not deep, the current is too rapid. It will be difficult to carry the children across." What should be done? It was truly a worrisome situation.

Suddenly, the sound of a motor came from nearby, and when they looked closely, they saw that it was a "Tung-fang Hung" tractor bouncing toward them. Everyone could not help cheering when they saw the tractor approaching.

"First move the children out," the assistant platoon leader said.

The comrades immediately formed a human chain to pass the children to the tractor one at a time. But the tractor cab was too small, and there was only room enough for six or seven children. Standing in front of the tractor, Soldier and Party Youth Leaguer Kuo Hsiang-i still held a two- or three-year-old Moslem child. The child, so cold that his lips were purple, held tightly to Kuo's Neck and made not a sound. Kuo thought, "The child will be frozen if it is not moved." He walked around the tractor, looking for a place where the child could be put safely. The tractor was rumbling, and the iron engine cover shook lightly. Kuo had an inspiration, and said, "Yes, there is a way."

Kuo held the child and climbed up onto the tractor tread, thinking to place the child on the engine hood. When he let go of the child, it cried softly, "Uncle." Kuo looked at the child, and saw its unwillingness to go. He immediately reproached himself, saying, "How could such a small child stay on the hood when the tractor drives through the flood over uneven ground?" Then Kuo sat down on the hood of the tractor. Seeing this, the driver, T'a-i-erh-chiang, said, "Comrade, this will be dangerous. When I drive through the water, I won't be able to see where I'm going. This is rough ground, and if you're not careful, you'll be thrown off." Kuo said, "That's alright. Just drive." Then he moved next to the exhaust pipe and held onto it. T'a-i-erh-chiang was even more agitated, and said, "The exhaust pipe is very hot. You will burn yourself." Kuo replied, "The child is the most important of all. It doesn't matter if I am burned a little. Drive!" Seeing how determined Kuo was, T'a-i-erh-chiang was overwhelmed with respect and admiration. He grabbed the steering bar, stepped on the footpedals, and the tractor sailed off like a boat.

The Tung-fang Hung tractor headed into the turbulent flood and broke through the waves, weaving back and forth toward the mountain slope. Kuo, sitting on the hood, felt every bump of the tractor, and tumbled back and forth. He clutched the child tightly with one hand, and held onto the exhaust pipe with the other, fearing that the child would fall if he were careless. The tractor traversed holes and ditches, while the exhaust pipe grew hotter and hotter and Kuo's arm grew more and more painful. At that time, he thought of Chairman Mao's teaching: "Fix your determination, don't fear sacrifice, wipe out all difficulties, and

struggle for victory." He fixed his determination that, for the people's welfare, the child should be moved to the safety of the mountain slope regardless of whether the red-hot exhaust pipe burned his clothing and skin. Just then a big wave struck the tractor, and the water evaporating from the hot exhaust pipe made a hissing sound and a great deal of steam. Kuo's arm was very painful, but he persisted nevertheless, reciting Chairman Mao's quotation over and over. The more painful his arm became, the louder his voice grew.

The sun rose slowly, and the far heavens gave off a myriad of rosy rays. The tractor advanced toward the pink clouds, and finally delivered the children to safety.

THE MOST PRECIOUS GIFT

The sky was still dark the second morning after the floodwaters receded. The duty officer had just blown reveille, and the comrades scrambled out of bed. They had no time to wash their faces or brush their teeth. Someone brought a piece of red silk to make a large red flower in front of Chairman Mao's portrait, and another got some red paper to wrap up a reader of Chairman Mao's works. The cooking squad comrades carried wheat flour and dried vegetables. The assistant platoon leader counted the boards with quotations from Chairman Mao written on them The platoon's Mao Tse-tung ideology propagation team was going to console the peasants and herdsmen of Hung-liu Gorge during their time of difficulty and propagate the thought of Mao Tse-tung. This was a significant matter; no wonder the comrades' enthusiasm was so high.

On the previous day, we had fought the flood for thirteen hours to rescue all of the peasants and herdsmen. In the afternoon, we helped the local inhabitants to retrieve their scattered belongings from the mud. It was seven or eight o'clock in the evening by the time we finally returned to camp. Everyone was tired, so I told the duty officer to tell everyone to take a rest after straightening up their flood-soaked things.

Upon returning to my room, I had a discussion with the assistant platoon leader, and gathered some money and a few articles of clothing to contribute to the peasants and herdsmen who had suffered from this natural calamity. We regarded the difficulties of the masses as our own

hardships, and felt that we should help to alleviate them. Just as we were gathering the clothing together, Kuo Hsiang-i suddenly burst in, carrying a package of shirts and shoes. Before he had even stopped, he put the things onto my bed and pulled out ten yuan, saying, "Platoon Leader, the natural disaster has caused much suffering to the people of Hung-liu Gorge. We have the responsibility to relieve them. This is only a token of my feelings; I hope that the Party organization will turn these things over to my class brothers who have suffered." He spoke very movingly, and my feelings were stirred. Looking at his two shining eyes, I thought, "What rapid progress Kuo Hsiang-i has made in these two years in actively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works!" I was thinking of some words to praise him when several soldiers suddenly burst in. In their hands they were holding all kinds of things: the most precious portrait of Chairman Mao; the selected works of Chairman Mao, bought with much efforts; the boards with Chairman Mao's quotations which they had designed and made themselves; new clothing and shoes which they had never been able to bring themselves to wear; money which they had set aside to send home to their families -- and as soon as they had entered, they all began to shout loudly.

One said, "Platoon Leader, we could not let the suffering peasants and herdsmen starve and freeze."

Another said, "They are our class brothers. Their difficulties are ours."

A third said, "What they need most now are Chairman Mao's works. I have three books which I'll contribute."

The fourth said, "Tomorrow we'll organize a team to propagate the thought of Mao Tse-tung to spread the thinking of Mao Tse-tung and take these things along."

Before these soldiers left, another group came, and right after that all of the comrades in the platoon entered with things in their hands. I was truly moved to see this, and said loudly, "Quiet, comrades. Let's recite a quotation of Chairman Mao's together" My words were only half spoken, but they seemed to know the paragraph I had in mind. Everyone took out their copies of Chairman Mao's quotations and began to read the very one I was about to pick: "All people in the ranks of the revolution must be concerned about one another, cherish one another, and help one another." I said, "Comrades, what you have done is right! We people's

troops should always be concerned for the sufferings of the masses -- this is our sacred duty! But comrades, of all assistance, the presenting of the thought of Mao Tse-tung is the greatest. As for other things, all of you should help as much as your resources permit. So those of you who want to give Chairman Mao's works, leave them here. My things and those of the assistant platoon leader will also be donated. But as for the other things, let us discuss it first and then decide." As soon as I had finished, the comrades were afraid that I wouldn't accept their things. They said earnestly, "Platoon Leader, please don't worry. We can overcome all of our own difficulties if we can only help the masses to solve some problems!"

Kuo Hsiang-i said, "Last year, my home suffered a disaster, and all of the people of China aided us. Now the masses here have suffered a disaster -- do you mean to say that I shouldn't help them?" Chao Hsien-li and Lu Fa-chen (0712 4099 4176) said, "Platoon Leader, there is no need to consider anything else. We'd best hurry and organize a team to propagate Mao Tse-tung's ideology!"

After the comrades had gone, the things on my bed were piled as high as a small mountain. After discussing things with the assistant platoon leader, we immediately organized a team to propagate Mao Tse-tung's ideology, and set out early the next morning.

The comrades were busy early, at daybreak. They had prepared four loads* of grain, dried vegetables, and clothing. A stack of Chairman Mao's works wrapped in red paper was placed neatly in each load, and colored paper on which quotations of Chairman Mao had been written were hung from the carrying poles. In front, several soldiers carried a portrait of Chairman Mao. Beating gongs and drums, we marched happily out of the camp, as though it were a holiday.

At that time, the sun was rising in the east, and Hing-liu Gorge was flooded with a ruddy glow. Our Mao Tse-tung ideology propagation team advanced toward the rising sun!

After we had walked for awhile, the local inhabitants heard the gongs and drums and came running out to see what was happening. Men and women wore military overcoats which we had given them the night before. First they clapped their

*Using a type of hand-carried means of conveyance woven from willow wands, similar to a carrying pole.

hands and then came running toward us, crowded around us and shook our hands. When they saw that we were going to give them so many things, especially the bright works of Chairman Mao and a portrait of Chairman Mao, esteemed as the reddest sun by the people of the various nationalities, the local residents immediately cheered. No amount of words could have expressed their delight. In a tremendous roar, they finally shouted, "Long live Chairman Mao! Long live Chairman Mao! Hail! Hail!" The chief of the farm walked toward us and clasped our hands tightly. Holding up a stack of the works of Mao Tse-tung in the midst of the crowd, he said in a loud voice: "You have given us the most precious gift! This is more valuable than anything else in the world! With Chairman Mao's works, we can certainly overcome all difficulties in building a new Hung-liu Gorge." An old Kazakh herdsman held Chairman Mao's portrait in both hands, and so excited was he that his eyes brimmed with tears. Suddenly he waved his arms and loudly began to sing "We Must Rely on the Helmsman to Sail the Open Sea." Then all began to sing:

. "We must rely on the helmsman to sail the open sea;

The growth of all things depends on the sun;

Rain and dew make the grain sprouts strong;

The revolution depends on the thought of Mao Tse-tung."

The loud song reverberated throughout the valley, sending a back a tremendous echo.

THE WAVING WHEAT FIELDS

In winter we helped the inhabitants spread sheep manure over the farm fields, and in the beginning of spring, tractors were used for deep plowing. Thus the wheat stalks grew stout, with long tassels, and the waving wheat fields were the scene of bumper harvests. But now the flood had covered all of the wheat in Hung-liu Gorge with mud. Besides, many of the inhabitants' houses had been destroyed by the raging waters, and their livelihood would be hard for the time being. We studied the situation and decided to use Mao Tse-tung's ideology as the guiding force of all activities to emphasize politics and mobilize the comrades in the platoon to help the suffering masses with the greatest of working spirits.

When the floodwaters receded, part of the comrades were dispatched to propagate to the masses Chairman Mao's teaching: "In time of difficulty, our comrades should view past achievements, look at the bright side of things, and raise our courage." Thus the masses were encouraged to overcome disaster and rebuild their homes. Most of the comrades came to the rescue in the inhabitants' wheat fields. Mud was everywhere; the tasseled stalks of wheat were covered with mud and weeds. We bent our backs to straighten the wheat plants and then anchored the roots. We had had little rest since the flood, and now we were tired. But the comrades had the thought "Our troops are for the liberation of the people; our troops work for the people's welfare." We should suffer before others, and do the heavy tasks. We determined to rely on Mao Tse-tung's thought to recover all of the things damaged by the flood. The comrades' determination and working spirit were high, and the wheat plants were quickly and properly straightened. Through the joint efforts of the troops and local inhabitants, all of the more than 1,000 mou of wheat was straightened, and we were very happy.

After straightening the wheat, we immediately helped the inhabitants to build new villages. On that day, we set out after breakfast carrying boards with Chairman Mao's quotations and tools, and when we arrived at our own wheat fields, we stared in surprise at the scene before us. We had had no time to take care of our own fields while we were helping the inhabitants straighten their wheat, but now we found our own wheat straightened. Who had done this? Afterwards, we learned that the cadres and masses of the agro-pastoral production brigade had helped us. The men of the brigade had gone to collect fodder and work on capital construction, leaving only the women behind. These women and cadres came to the wheat fields of our unit to remove the weeds and mud covering the stalks of wheat, and then they straightened the water-soaked wheat and wiped off all of the mud from the wheat tassels. They said, "Every stalk of wheat contains the blood and sweat of the soldiers, as well as the feelings of unity between the soldiers and local inhabitants. Let us not do a sloppy job!"

On seeing these wheat fields, we could not help thinking of another incident. Late one night in the early spring, the lamps in the production brigade offices were still burning, and the cadres were studying production work. They thought of the fact that we had no vehicles and that it was difficult for us to haul sheep manure. So they decided to

haul manure into our wheat fields. But because they were afraid that the troops would not accept it, they hauled the manure at night, finishing just before daybreak. Discovering the great quantities of manure in our fields the next morning, we thought that the inhabitants had dressed the wrong fields by mistake. So we loaded the manure for dressing the fields of the production brigade. Not long after, the members of the production brigade came to stop us, and told us the true story.

Thus two "secret" incidents had occurred in these wheat fields. Here, with the sweat of the troops and local inhabitants, the fertile land had been irrigated, and now, in flood-swept Hung-liu Gorge and in the villages, people and horses bustled happily to and fro, and the fields were filled with waving stalks of wheat as before. Looking out over this scene of prosperity, we could not help thinking of a paragraph from Chairman Mao's teachings: "In liberated areas, on the one hand, the troops should embrace politics and love the people, and on the other, the democratic government should lead the people in supporting the troops and giving good treatment to their dependents in order to further improve the relationship between the soldiers and the people." Who can oppose the solidly united troops and people? Certainly not natural calamities, imperialists, revisionists, or reactionaries!

(Articles supplied by the Sinkiang
Military Region)

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REVOLUTIONARY MAXIMS

[Following is a translation of a group of anonymous revolutionary maxims appearing in the Chinese-language magazine Chieh-fang-chun Wen-i (Liberation Army Literature) Peking, No. 2, 1967, page 89.]

Situations change greatly, but the stressing of politics remains constant.
Though we be busy in carrying out our duties, we cannot forget the study and application of Chairman Mao's works.

* * *

The drum should be struck in the center of its head;
The Chinese violin should be played on the strings;
Application should be emphasized in the study of Chairman Mao's works.

* * *

Remember old grievances in your heart,
Engrave new hatreds on the points of your swords, and
Take up your stance for struggle.

* * *

Class suffering can brighten your eyes;
The fierce fires of hatred can ignite the
soldiers' revolutionary enthusiasm.

* * *

Difficulty great as a mountain is but a
stone before a hero;
Difficulty small as a needle looms as a
great tree before a coward.

* * *

Even in a high post, the natural character
of the soldier does not change;
Even in old age, the vigorous working spirit
does not change;
Even when life is good, thrifty attitudes
do not change;
Even with a long history of struggle, the
will to carry out the revolution to the
end does not change.

* * *

Water that does not flow will smell;
Boats not repaired will leak;
Rifles will rust without cleaning;
Men will be backward without studying
Mao's works.

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ATTACKS ON YANG HAN-SHENG AND CHAO SHU-LI

[Following is a translation of a series of unsigned articles entitled "Raise High the Great Red Flag of Chairman Mao's Thinking to Completely Eliminate the Counterrevolutionary Revisionist Literary and Artistic Line: Fighting Newspaper of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Literary and Artistic Circles" in the Chinese-language magazine Chieh-fan-chun Wen-i (Liberation Army Literature), Peking, No 2, 1967, pp 93-96]

"Whoever seeks to overthrow a regime must first always create public opinion, must first always do work in regard to consciousness and behavior. This is true for the revolutionary class, and it is also true for the counterrevolutionary class."

-- Mao Tse-tung

* * *

Editor's Note: Yang Han-sheng (7122 5060 4563), former Secretary-General of the All-China Federation of Literature and the Arts, was a "key figure" in Chou Yang's (0719 2254) counter-revolutionary revisionist bloc. He was also one of the "old leaders" of the ghosts and demons in motion picture and dramatic circles. Yang was one of the authoritarians following the capitalist road who wormed their way into the Party, and

was in Chou Yang's inner circle as early as in the 1930's. After the Liberation, under the direction and protection of Chou Yang, Yang engaged in criminal activities against the Party, against socialism, and against the thought of Mao Tse-tung, speaking black words and spreading poisonous weeds to gather ghosts and demons and corrupt the ranks of literature and the arts, using any and every means at his disposal to spread the counterrevolutionary literary and artistic line, and plotting in vain to transform the All-China Federation of Literature and the Arts into a "Beethoven Club" for the restoration of capitalism.

Chao Shu-li (6392 2885 3810) was a "black writer," a "model soldier" of the counterrevolutionary revisionist literature established by Chou Yang and his cohorts, and an uncompromising counterrevolutionary revisionist. For many years he stubbornly persisted in maintaining a reactionary capitalist stand, consistently opposing Chairman Mao's literary and artistic line and repelling and resisting Chairman Mao's thinking in regard to literature and art. Chao prepared large numbers of poisonous weeds to purposely expose the so-called "dark side" of the new socialist rural villages, to evilly attack Party leadership, to attack the "Three Red Flags," to ridicule and malign the rural cadres and the poor and lower-middle peasants, to create public opinion for the restoration of counterrevolution, and committed many crimes against the Party and against the people.

Chairman Mao has taught us that the basic problem of the revolution is the problem of political power. "Whoever seeks to overthrow a regime must first always create public opinion, must always first do work in regard to consciousness and behavior. This is true for the revolutionary class, and it is also true for the counterrevolutionary class." The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a serious class struggle to seize power from the small group of authoritarians within the Party taking the capitalist road under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must resolutely carry out the proletarian

revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. We must prevail over the likes of Chou Yang and Yang Han-sheng who follow the capitalist road within the Party to recapture the leadership of literature and the arts and put it in the firm grasp of the proletarian revolution. We must smash such "black writers" as Chao Shu-li, not allow them to create counterrevolutionary public opinion, and thoroughly pulverize their dark plot to implement the restoration of the counter-revolution. We must solidly plant the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought on the literary and artistic battlefield of the proletarian revolution!

* * *

THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY VISAGE OF YANG HAN-SHENG

Yang Han-sheng Is A Key Rightist Cheating Under the Name of "Leftist Writer"

Thirty years ago, Yang Han-sheng faithfully executed the surrenderist line of Wang Ming (3769 2494) to lay siege to Lu Hsun (7627 6598), who resolutely executed the correct line of Chairman Mao. Yang Han-sheng was one of the "four fellows" refuted by Lu Hsun. During the war against Japan and the war of liberation, Yang created large numbers of poisonous weeds to propagate "indirect national salvation" and flatter Chiang Kai-shek, the common enemy of the people. His play "The Death of Li Hsiu-ch'eng (2621 4423 2052)" was a plot for Chiang Kai-shek, and his "Kingdom of Heaven" alluded that the southern Anhwei incident was a "struggle for power and mutual extermination." Yang maliciously slandered the Communist Party and ignored the crimes of the murderer Chiang Kai-shek. His "Wilderness Hero" praised the agents and ruffians of the Kuomintang.

Yang Han-sheng Is A Revisionist Opposing the Thought of Mao Tse-tung

Yang Han-sheng was scared to death by the thought of Mao Tse-tung and hated it to his very marrow. In several of his speeches, he purposely avoided any mention of Chairman Mao's thought, speaking only of writing styles and techniques and purposely disparaging the highest levels of Marxism-Leninism -- he intimated that the thought of Mao Tse-tung was

no more than a problem of "language" and "expression." He maliciously attacked Chairman Mao's thoughts on literature and art, and publicly maligned worker-, peasant-, and soldier-heroes, opining that writing about "key topics" and creating "three combinations" were "ten ropes" binding writers hand and foot. Yang Han-sheng maliciously attacked Mao Tse-tung's ideology; he is our deadly enemy.

Yang Han-sheng Is A Vanguard Against the Party and Against Socialism

In 1962, Yang Han-sheng engaged in various activities to hold black meetings and blow ghost winds. He criticized the socialist society as not allowing the existence of democracy and accused it of forcibly separating families. He took Party leadership to task for being little dictators, and slandered the Party's critique of literature and art by calling it simple, crude, and blind. He went everywhere to fan the wind and light the fire, to fiercely dispute right and wrong with the Party. He wanted the Party to admit its mistakes, and also called for the ghosts and demons together for an attack on the Party, thus clearly revealing his fierce anti-Party, anti-socialist visage.

Yang Han-sheng Is A Propagandizer of Revisionist Literature and Art

Yang Han-sheng deeply hated revolutionary literature and art and boosted revisionist literature and art. He said nonsensically that the drama of the 1930's was the tradition of the revolutionary struggle and the red line. When Khrushchev made the All-Soviet players perform a black anti-Party, anti-Stalin drama, Yang applauded the play and said that it was the "world's best." "Seeing it for two months is equivalent to three years' study." He shouted with all his might that we should learn from the Soviet revisionists, sold his black goods, and plotted to lead China's literary and artistic circles into the cesspool of revisionism.

Yang Han-sheng Is the Maker of Such Large Poisonous Weeds as Pei-kuo Chiang-nan (Yangtse Delta in the North)

For more than ten years, Yang Han-sheng threw out successively larger poisonous weeds to pave the way for the restoration of capitalism. In Pei-kuo Chiang-nan, he propagandized class harmony, the human nature of the capitalist class, and modified the characters in between. In San Jen Hsing (Three Men Walking), he rejected Party leadership, distorted

the land-reform movement; ridiculed the workers, peasants and soldiers, and beautified the intellectuals of the capitalist class. Yang Han-sheng rewrote the large poisonous weed "The Death of Li Hsui-ch'eng," written before the Liberation, into "Li Hsiu-ch'eng" for performance on the stage, and endowed the big traitor Li Hsiu-ch'eng with a spirit of daring to risk his life for the heavenly King Hung Hsiu-ch'uan (3163 4432 0356). Yang propagated matter with such implications in an indirect attack on Party Central.

Yang Han-sheng Is A Venomous Snake Poisoning the Rank and File of Literature and Art

Yang Han-sheng and Chairman Mao sang two different tunes; Yang opposed the reformed world view of the rank and file of literature and the arts. He propagated again and again that the rank and file of literature and the arts were "lovable," "reliable," "firm," and "tried and tested." "That the world view of the capitalist class is a little questionable -- well, everyone is questionable." He did not allow literary and art workers to study Chairman Mao's thinking, but enthusiastically propagated the study of "5,000 years of ancient history," the study of "dramatic traditions since the Yuan and Ming dynasties" and "traditions since the May Fourth Movement," the study of "foreign literature" and "Greek tragedy," the learning of "music, chess, books, and painting, and the four types of Chinese poetry," and even the study of "the enjoyment of flowers." Yang's evil scheme was to "peacefully transform" the rank and file of literature and the arts.

Yang Han-sheng Was A Black Secretary of the Chinese Federation of Literature and the Arts

Yang Han-sheng was a black secretary of the All-China Federation of Literature and the Arts. In the name of "organizing the literary and artistic rank and file for the Party," he organized his gang for the restoration of the counter-revolution. He established such newspaper columns as "Snacks," "Literary and Art Club," "Literary and Artistic Teahouse," and "Study Meeting" to gather Kuomintang spies, reactionary politicians, leaders of the Three People's Principles Youth League, lackeys of foreigners, Chinese traitors, rightists, rogues, and "authorities" on reactionary literature to form the "Szechwan Gang" and to prepare an organization to plot the restoration. Yang constantly gathered his ghosts and demons to speak black words and write black

articles in order to transform the Federation of Literature and the Arts into a counterrevolutionary Beethoven Club.

CHAO SHU-LI: "MODEL SOLDIER" OF COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY REVISIONIST LITERATURE

Chao Shu-li is a counterrevolutionary revisionist in the clothing of a "revolutionary writer." He is a "model soldier" of "intermediate characters" established by the Chou Yang counterrevolutionary revisionist bloc. For more than ten years, Chao Shu-li faithfully followed Chou Yang's instructions and insanely opposed the Party, socialism, and the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and with all his might prepared public opinion for the restoration of the counterrevolution.

I. Chao Shu-li Widely Attacked Chairman Mao's Thought

Comrade Lin Piao said: "The thought of Mao Tse-tung is a new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism. It is the highest level of Marxism-Leninism, the Marxism-Leninism for reforming peoples' souls. This is the strongest ideological weapon of the proletariat."

All of the people of China and the world have a boundless love for Chairman Mao's thought. All class enemies are scared to death of Mao Tse-tung's thought and hate it in their bones. So does Chao Shu-li.

Chao Shu-li said such nonsense as "Studying quotations of Chairman Mao is fruitless work." He maliciously degraded the great significance of Chairman Mao's thought regarding literature and the arts, wildly slandered Chairman Mao's poems, and insanely opposed the study and propagation of Chairman Mao's thought.

II. Chao Shu-li Insanely Opposed the Party and Socialism

Chairman Mao said: "The central force leading our task is the Chinese Communist Party." "Only socialism can save China."

Chao Shu-li publicly opposed the Party leadership with his fallaciousness: "What 'glory the Party has given me'? I wrote no such thing. This is clearly a fabrication."

He publicly opposed the Party's leadership of agricultural production and the planned production of socialist agriculture. He never forgot the production of the small

agricultural economy, and maliciously slandered the peasants' collective production as being unstable and disorderly. He spoke nonsensically of the policy of collective purchasing and sales as being damaging to the positivity of the peasants and advocated a free market for agricultural products.

Chao opposed the construction of new socialist rural villages. When the peasants answered the Party's call to carry out agricultural water conservation construction, Chao Shu-li stopped them, saying, "Why build so many dams, dig so many wells, waste so much work and confuse accounting units? No, this should be stopped."

Chao Shu-li opposed Party leadership. He was against everything related to the new socialist rural villages, and his criminal purpose was to restore capitalism to China.

III. Chao Shu-li Stubbornly Opposed Praising Proletarian Heroes

Chairman Mao said: "If you are a capitalist writer or artist, you do not praise the proletariat, but praise capitalism. If you are a proletarian writer or artist, you do not praise capitalism, but praise the proletariat and the working people. You must be either one or the other of the two."

Chao Shu-li consistently opposed the praising of proletarian heroes. The Mao Tse-tung era has seen a great number of heroes, but Chao said, "I don't have any characters to write about!" "It's a pity that there are so few heroes!" A responsible comrade of a local Party committee once asked Chao to write about an activist in the study of Mao Tse-tung's works, but Chao refused, saying, "I can't communicate with those young people." He created the fallacious thesis that advanced units and advanced characters "should only be observed but not written about." For many years, he stubbornly adopted a reactionary standpoint and wrote about "intermediate characters," but never about a proletarian hero.

IV. Chao Shu-li Expended All Efforts to Create Large Anti-Party, Anti-Socialist Poisonous Weeds

Chairman Mao said: "Whoever seeks to overthrow a regime must always first create public opinion, must always first do work in regard to consciousness and behavior. This is true for the revolutionary class, and it is also true for the counterrevolutionary class."

At all times, Chao Shu-li dreamed of restoring capitalism and expended all efforts to create counterrevolutionary public opinion. Especially, after 1958, he turned out such large poisonous weeds as "Train! Train!", "Selling Tobacco," "Old Fixed Quota," "Practitioner P'an Yung-fu (3382 3057.4395)," "Grandfather Yang," and "Chang Lai-hsing (1728 0171 5281)."

Chao flew the black flag of writing "problem novels" to specially pick out the so-called "problems" of rural socialist construction, to purpose expose the so-called "dark side" of socialism, to evilly attack the general line, the Great Leap Forward and the people's communes, and unscrupulously slandered Party leadership, distorted Party policies, ridiculed the rural cadres, maligned the poor and lower-middle peasants, and spent all efforts to pave the way for the restoration of capitalism.

V. Chao Shu-li Opposed the Performing of Modern Revolutionary Drama

Chairman Mao said: "Many Communist Party members enthusiastically advocate feudalist and capitalist art, but are unenthusiastic in advocating socialist art. How can this be anything but strange?"

Chao Shu-li attacked the performing of modern revolutionary drama, saying that it was performed for the sole purpose of "occupying the stage." He opposed the use of drama for the propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, and criticized the Party's reform of drama as being "a clean sweep." He maliciously accused the critics of the old drama of being "overly tedious, ever present, and in too great abundance," and advocated that dramas about emperors, kings, generals, prime ministers, peasants and beauties be "performed first and examined later."

He boasted the praises of the two forbidden evil plays "P'i-p'a Cave" and "Hall of Five Happinesses" and organized performances of these two dramas. He openly flashed the green light for propagating the performing of "Meeting on the Road to Town," which depicted the immorality and shamelessness of the capitalist class, and personally authored "Feast at San-kuan Pass" to propagate emperors, kings, generals, prime ministers, peasants, and beauties. In opposition to the performing of plays with worker, peasant, and soldier protagonists, he penned the black play "Ten-mile Inn," which slandered the new socialist rural villages, and usurped the

right to order it performed. All of Chao Shu-li's efforts were directed toward paving the way for the restoration of capitalism.

VI. Chao Shu-li Recklessly Attacked the Literary and Artistic Creations of the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers

Chairman Mao said: "People, and only people, are the main force for the creation of world history."

The workers, peasants and soldiers are the main force of socialist literature and art. Chao Shu-li knew that once the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung occupied the literary and artistic positions of the proletariat, he would have a hard time carrying out his pipe dream of restoring capitalism. Using any and every means, he obstructed the writing of literature and the creating of works of art by the workers, peasants and soldiers. When he saw that many workers, peasants and soldiers had taken up writing, he said, "I cannot write good compositions after reading so many books. You (workers, peasants and soldiers) haven't read many books, yet you want to write. What is a writer like me supposed to do then?" He maliciously ridiculed the writings of the workers, peasants and soldiers, saying, "It would be better to use them to paper the walls."

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the rightist, capitalist Chao Shu-li has been seized by the revolutionary masses and his crimes have been clearly exposed. We must raise high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and completely purge Chao's enormous crimes and thoroughly criticize his reactionary thought and writings. We cannot rest until complete victory is attained!

10,424

CSO: 3577-S

NOTICE CONCERNING THE SUBMISSION OF
ARTICLES FOR THIS PUBLICATION

[Following is a translation of a notice in
the Chinese-language magazine Chieh-fang-chun
Wen-i (Liberation Army Literature
Peking, No. 2, 1967, page 96.)

In order to better propagate the new victories of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, the new victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and the new victories of the People's Liberation Army actively participating in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and protecting the proletariat, this publication is soliciting from its many readers and authors articles regarding the following:

1. How our People's Liberation Army troops enthusiastically responded to Chairman Mao's battle cry of vigorously supporting and aiding the struggle of the proletarian revolutionary bloc to seize power, to resolutely oppose the rightists, and to resolutely suppress the counterrevolutionaries and counterrevolutionary organizations damaging the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

2. How the commanders and soldiers of our Liberation Army have raised high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's ideology and actively studied and applied Chairman Mao's works and subjectively propagated the great ideology of Mao Tse-tung to the masses while participating in and protecting the struggle of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

3. How the commanders and soldiers of the Liberation Army have assisted the leftist masses in engaging in revolution and promoting production.

4. How our army's commanders and soldiers have engaged in the revolution, promoted preparations for struggle, heightened their alertness, and strictly guarded their battle posts, closely watching enemy plots and prepared at all times to eliminate all enemies daring to attack in order to protect the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution by practical activities.

5. Other articles reflecting the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Articles submitted for publication must be short and concise, must emphasize truth and be realistic, and must be the result of serious investigation and research. No limitations are set on style: features on literature and the arts; literary reports; brief sketches; short stories; poems and songs; short plays; short musical skits; miscellany; continuous picture-stories; propaganda cartoons -- all are welcome.

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JPRS: 42,140

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- Communist China -

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FOREWORD

This publication was prepared under contract for the Joint Publications Research Service as a translation or foreign-language research service to the various federal government departments.

The contents of this material in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U. S. Government or of the parties to any distribution arrangement.

PROCUREMENT OF JPRS REPORTS

All JPRS reports may be ordered from the Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information. Reports published prior to 1 February 1963 can be provided, for the most part, only in photocopy (Xerox). Those published after 1 February 1963 will be provided in printed form.

Details on special subscription arrangements for any JPRS report will be provided upon request.

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All current JPRS scientific and technical reports are cataloged and subject-indexed in Technical Translations. This publication is issued semimonthly by the Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information and is available on subscription (\$12.00 per year domestic, \$16.00 foreign) from the Superintendent of Documents. Semi-annual indexes to Technical Translations are available at additional cost.

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This serial publication contains translations of articles from the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No. 10, 21 June 1967. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article. This completes the translation of this issue of Hung-ch'i.

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CREATIVELY STUDY AND APPLY CHAIRMAN MAO'S WRITINGS,
CORRECTLY HANDLE CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE

Following is a translation of an article by the Detachment for Propagating Mao Tse-tung's Thought of PLA Units in Peking and Units Directly Under the Air Force published in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 10, 21 June 1967, pages 44-48./

In accordance with Chairman Mao's great directive that "the People's Liberation Army should support the broad masses of the Left," we made our way into the North China Metal Structure Plant on 13 February this year.

A grave struggle between the two classes and the two lines had for a long time been in existence in this plant. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the class struggle was even more acute and salient. In order to safeguard their reactionary rule, a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road in the plant obstinately carried out the bourgeois reactionary line. They hit a great many in order to protect a handful. They introduced White Terror and ruthlessly suppressed the revolutionary masses and the revolutionary cadres who brought their problems to light.

However, the proletarian revolutionaries refused to be cowed. They cleared one obstacle after another and formed their own revolutionary organization -- the Red Rebels. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, they united the broad revolutionary masses and the revolutionary cadres. On 14 January, they seized back power usurped by a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road in the plant.

However, the class enemies are not reconciled to take their defeat lying down. They instigated an incident for the purpose of recapturing power, incited the masses to fight against the masses on a large scale, and created serious antagonism between the deceived masses and the Red Rebels.

It was under such a situation that our Detachment for Propagating Mao Tse-tung's Thought made our way into the plant.

Have Faith in and Rely on the Masses, Let the Masses Liberate Themselves

We followed Chairman Mao's teaching that "you must place politics in command, go among the masses and stay with them, and make a greater success of the great proletarian cultural revolution." We went deep among the masses, established wide contact with the masses of the organizations of various factions, found out what they had in mind, and listened to their views. We especially listened humbly to their critical views and seriously considered same.

When we first arrived at the plant, because we had not a clear idea of the situation and had not expressly made known our attitude, some persons with an ulterior object in view spread rumors and slanders to deceive the public and to provoke our relationship with the revolutionary masses. Because of this, some comrades of the Red Rebels misunderstood us and were rather indifferent toward us. We expressed no dissatisfaction over this, but took the initiative to get in touch with them and humbly listen to their views. After spending more than 20 days to investigate things in real earnest, we were of the opinion that seen in the light of the general orientation of the struggle and of the key problems in the struggle between the two lines in the plant, the Red Rebels was the organization of the revolutionary Left, and we openly expressed our firm support for them in the whole plant.

Chairman Mao said: "The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge." In our work, we bore in mind at all times Chairman Mao's teaching, and guarded against monopoly or substitution and self-righteousness. After we worked over a period of time, the Red Rebels and the broad revolutionary masses developed a deep class affection for us. When they came across problems in work, they were always fond of seeking our advice. At that time, we did not try to impose our own view on them. Instead, we first creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's writings with problems in mind together with them, and solved their problems in conjunction with their own comprehension. The masses were allowed to educate and liberate themselves.

The process of knowing and supporting the proletarian revolutionaries is also a process of learning from the broad revolutionary masses. We have come to understand deeply that the broad revolutionary masses boundlessly cherish Chairman Mao, our great leader, and intensely hate the handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the party. The broad revolutionary masses most warmly cherish and respect the People's Liberation Army personally built and trained by Chairman Mao. We must have faith in the masses, rely on them and learn humbly from them before we can guard against belying Chairman Mao's teaching and the trust of the broad revolutionary masses in us.

Help the Proletarian Revolutionaries Distinguish Between Two Kinds of Contradiction of Different Character

Because of the provocation of a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the plant, the antagonism between the proletarian revolutionaries and the masses of the conservative organizations was very serious. In their everyday contact, they either ignored each other or denounced each other. They used whatever words that could vent their spleen, and carried out whatever things that were most infuriating to the opposite side. This seriously affected the formation of a great revolutionary alliance in the whole plant.

Chairman Mao taught us: "The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature of controversial issues among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression."

A handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road in the plant manipulated the conservative organizations, and regarded them as tools for their own protection. We were of the opinion that the mistakes of the conservative organizations must be thoroughly exposed, criticized and repudiated. However, because the masses of the conservative organizations had been deceived by the bourgeois reactionary line, their contradiction with the proletarian revolutionaries belonged to contradictions among the people. They were our class brothers, and they warmly cherished Chairman Mao and the Communist Party. On the basis of the guideline of "unity/criticism/unity," we should show deep class affection for these class brothers who had taken the wrong side and had gone astray for the time being in the great cultural revolution. Through conducting painstaking and delicate politico-ideological work, we should enlighten their class consciousness and help them return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, but should not strike blows at them or oust them just because they had made mistakes.

But some proletarian revolutionaries failed to understand this view of ours at first, and they even alleged that we were in favor of "reconciliation" and "compromise." The chief reason was that because they had been persecuted, encircled and attacked and struggled against by the bourgeois reactionary line on many occasions in the past, for a time they were unable to see the difference between the masses of the conservative organizations and the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party who manipulated such conservative organizations. They also adopted an antagonistic attitude toward the deceived masses. This mentality of theirs was entirely understandable.

In order to handle correctly the contradiction between the proletarian revolutionaries and the masses of the conservative organizations, such antagonism must first of all be eliminated. This required us to make a success of our work with the proletarian revolutionaries because now that theirs was the organization in power, they formed the principal aspect of the contradiction, and every utterance or deed of theirs would affect the masses of the

conservative organizations to some extent. If the proletarian revolutionaries did not settle this question ideologically, they could not make a success of politico-ideological work for the masses of the conservative organizations, and unite the great majority of the masses.

In light of the situation of the struggle between the two lines in the plant, we were full of enthusiasm, and we creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's writings together with the proletarian revolutionaries. When any question arose, we look for the answer from Chairman Mao's writings together with the revolutionary masses.

We studied together with the proletarian revolutionaries Chairman Mao's illustrious article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." We strictly differentiated the two kinds of contradiction of different character and correctly handled contradictions among the people.

The great majority of the proletarian revolutionaries in the plant are from poor and lower middle peasant families. Some of them once worked as hired farmhands and led the life of a beggar. They wept bitterly when they talked about the wicked old society. Through conducting class education, we helped them understand that the great majority of the comrades in the conservative organizations were ordinary workers and their own class brothers. They stood on the wrong side in the great cultural revolution because they had momentarily been deceived by the bourgeois reactionary line and fallen prey to a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party. As the contradiction between the revolutionaries and the deceived masses came under contradictions among the people, it should be dealt with according to Chairman Mao's directive concerning the correct handling of contradictions among the people.

The proletarian revolutionaries gradually changed their attitude and they said: "When our own class brothers have swallowed a few mouthfuls of water in the stormy class struggle, we should give them a hand, and should never press them down."

Meanwhile, in view of the fact that some comrades' sometimes did not carry out work according to party policies in the class struggle and gave no thought to the living ideas of struggle strategy, we also studied together with them Chairman Mao's directive that "policy and tactics are the life of the party." By way of study and practice, we made them understand that they must carry out work according to Chairman Mao's instructions and the general and specific policies of the party before they could make a success of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

They have rectified the erroneous ideas that "so long as we dare to blaze trails we can make a success of the revolution" and that "so long as our general orientation is correct, it does not matter for us to make some mistakes." They have come to learn that should they blaze trails on the basis of their own feelings, they might go astray; that one can head from

one victory to another only when they do things according to the thought of Mao Tse-tung; and that making remarks to vent one's spleen is unfavorable to uniting the deceived masses and to the revolution. They have paid attention to presenting fact, appealing to reason and reasoning people into compliance, and have raised the level of the struggle.

Win Over and Unite Our Own Class Brothers

The process of our creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings together with the proletarian revolutionaries is also the process of making use of Mao Tse-tung's thought together with them to educate and win over the deceived masses.

There are but a few persons in our detachment for propagating the thought of Mao Tse-tung. It is not possible to depend merely on a few persons to make a success of politico-ideological work among the masses of the conservative organizations. What is important is that the workers among the proletarian revolutionaries should be aroused to work together with us. They work together, study together and live together with the masses of the conservative organizations, and their understanding of the living thought of each person is of greater advantage to shooting the arrow of ideological work at the target. In this way, the working masses also can be helped to make creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings in a better way in actual struggle and the thought of Mao Tse-tung strike solid root in the plant.

A variety of difficulties and twists and turns will necessarily be encountered in the process ranging from knowing a problem ideologically to solving that problem in practice. Some comrades among the proletarian revolutionaries close their ears to critical views, especially those improper ones. Very often, their conversation with the masses of the conservative organizations ends abruptly due to disagreement. The masses of the conservative organizations have various kinds of erroneous understanding which cannot be changed for the time being. We adopt a painstaking and delicate method of work, study Chairman Mao's writings together with them, and set the example ourselves. When they do a good job, we opportunely help them sum up and popularize their experience and arouse everybody to carry out ideological work.

The reason that the masses of the conservative organizations refuse to change their way of thinking is that they are deceived by the bourgeois reactionary line and they fail to see clearly the general orientation of the struggle. Instead of casting their eyes on the essence or mainstream of a question, they lay hold of and cling to some improper statements and deeds of the proletarian revolutionaries. In view of this, we stand with the Red Rebels and use a host of facts to expose thoroughly the offenses of a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the plant, and criticize and repudiate the danger of the bourgeois reactionary line.

Meanwhile, we make use of various means to study together with the masses of the conservative organizations Chairman Mao's directives on clearly distinguishing the two kinds of contradiction of different character. We help them understand that the contradiction between them and a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the plant is a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy, while the contradiction between them and the proletarian revolutionaries is one among the people. They have been poisoned by "self-cultivation" and fooled by those in authority taking the capitalist road, and have gone astray from the general orientation of the struggle. Now, they should turn their heads and direct the spearhead of struggle at a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party, but should not find fault with some improper statements and deeds of the proletarian revolutionaries.

At the same time, the proletarian revolutionaries threw open the door to rectification, and openly rectified whatever work that had not been carried out according to policies in the past. When some workers among the proletarian revolutionaries chatted with the deceived class brothers and told their sad stories in the old society, they embraced each other and wept bitterly saying: "We are two gourds of bitterness growing on the same vine, but the bourgeois reactionary line has separated us from each other. Now we must unite and make revolution!"

Some of the masses in the conservative organizations have fallen prey to the pernicious influence of the reactionary "pedigree theory," and they describe all workers of undesirable family background and those who have committed mistakes as "monsters and demons." Together with the proletarian revolutionaries, we propagate Chairman Mao's class line, and help these comrades understand that while they should pay great attention to class origin, they also should not lay sole emphasis on origin. Youths from families of exploiting classes should be differentiated from elements of exploiting classes. They should be welcomed to join the revolution and helped to reform themselves in the revolutionary struggle. We should not discriminate against them, edge them out, or forbid them to make revolution. As to the workers who have committed mistakes, so long as they are willing to correct their mistakes, we should support their revolutionary actions.

Meanwhile, the proletarian revolutionaries have also clarified a host of facts through conducting conversational activities on a wide front. Some revolutionary comrades who have known persecution proceed from general interests and take the initiative to win over the deceived masses who had encircled and attacked them in the past.

There is a young factory girl who was by origin an urban pauper and had led the life of a beggar. During the great cultural revolution, because she fought firmly against a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the plant, she was slandered as one of capitalist origin, coming under the category of "monsters and demons." Some of the masses who did not understand the true situation encircled and attacked her and struggled

against her. After studying Chairman Mao's writings, this young factory girl patiently worked to win over the masses of the conservative organizations one by one. She helped some deceived comrades to sharpen their eyes and see through the conspiracies and tricks of the class enemies.

Some of the masses in the conservative organizations have gone astray in the movement because they put self-interest above everything else. Some individuals with an eye on personal advancement have also served as the pawns of a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party. In view of this, we study the "three old articles" together with the masses of the conservative organizations and helped them make an ideological examination of the root cause of their mistakes and overcome self-interest in their minds. The Red Rebels also use a host of facts to expose the criminal activities of a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the plant to carry out capitalist restoration there. They point out that should this road be taken, the plant and the country would change political color.

The masses of the conservative organizations begin to see that the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the plant are the sworn enemies of the working class. Confronted by a powerful enemy, we must clearly distinguish the enemy from ourselves, fight fiercely against self-interest, and become proletarian revolutionaries. Some persons suddenly saw light and said: "But for the great cultural revolution, we really would have slipped into the quagmire of revisionism without our knowing it."

To be sure, the resistance to our endeavor to make the masses who have taken the wrong side return to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is by no means small. When some of the masses begin to see their own mistakes, some other people will exert pressure on them, denounce them as "traitors" and instigate their family dependents to drag their legs from behind. Some are ill affected. We actively educate and patiently wait for those who have been poisoned more deeply by the bourgeois reactionary line. With an eye on these living ideas, we study the pertinent quotations from Chairman Mao together with them, and help them raise their understanding. As regards those who have changed, the proletarian revolutionaries express their warm welcome through wall posters and broadcasts. Because of this, quite a number of the deceived masses have announced their decision to withdraw from the conservative organizations, firmly stand on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and closely follow Chairman Mao to make revolution.

Nursed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the Red Rebels have quickly grown up in struggle. They set strict requirements for themselves in the politico-ideological sphere and in work. They eradicate self-interest to make way for public interest, and are impartial and unselfish. The revolutionaries take the lead in criticizing those comrades among the Red Rebels who do not abide by labor discipline, and they also cite the good persons among the masses of the conservative organizations and their good deeds in

production and work. Under the banner of "grasping the revolution and stimulating production," they strengthen their unity with the deceived masses, and make joint effort with them to bring success to production. Simultaneously with this, they also show concern for the livelihood of the deceived class brothers.

There was a worker belonging to a conservative organization who was sick and was sent to hospital. Because it was necessary to perform an operation on him, many persons among the Red Rebels went to the hospital of their own accord to donate their blood. That worker was so moved that warm tears ran down his face. This case has also educated the broad masses of the whole plant, and is of assistance to eliminating antagonism among the masses.

* * *

Comrade Lin Piao, the closest comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao, pointed out: "The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the guiding principle for all kinds of work in the whole party, the whole army and the whole country." In accordance with Comrade Lin Piao's directive, we used Chairman Mao's writings as weapon to differentiate and support the proletarian revolutionaries and educate the deceived working masses in the North China Metal Structure Plant, and have reaped prompt results in this regard. As a result of the efforts of revolutionary masses in the plant and of our work, the conservative organizations have disintegrated, and the ranks of the proletarian revolutionaries have grown in size and strength, and gained absolute dominance. At present, the revolutionary situation is very favorable, and production is rising continuously in the whole plant.

When we left the plant, the workers said: "Of all kinds of support and assistance, your bringing us the thought of Mao Tse-tung is the greatest form of support and assistance." They also said: "You have given us assistance which is fundamental and hits the mark." These appraisals of the working comrades give us greater faith in the boundless power of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We shall even more steadfastly hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought in all kinds of work, and use the thought of Mao Tse-tung to guide every action of ours.

CSO: 3530-D

MAKE A STRICT DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE TWO DIFFERENT TYPES
OF CONTRADICTIONS, CORRECTLY HANDLE THE DECEIVED MASSES

Following is a translation of an article by the Revolutionary Committee of the Cultural Work Regiment of the Political Department of the Air Force of PLA published in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 10, 21 June 1967, pages 49-52./

"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," the illustrious work of our great leader Chairman Mao, has scientifically summed up the experiences and lessons gained and learned in the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat, and developed with genius Marxist-Leninist materialistic dialectics, the theory of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship. It is a program document for guiding the proletariat to carry the socialist revolution through to the end after seizing political power.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, this great work is the most powerful weapon for guiding us to see clearly the general orientation, distinguish the enemies from ourselves, unite the great majority, arouse all positive elements, and deal blows at a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party.

We proletarian revolutionaries of the Cultural Work Regiment of the Political Department of the Air Force have launched a resolute struggle against a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party by following the teachings of our great leader Chairman Mao in this work, studying, practicing and summing up things in struggle, and using the viewpoint of class struggle and the method of class analysis to differentiate strictly the two different types of contradictions and lay a firm grip on the general orientation of the struggle.

Meanwhile, through launching a powerful political offensive and carrying out painstaking politico-ideological work, we have won over, educated and united the great majority of the deceived masses of the conservative

organizations, brought into being the great revolutionary alliance, seized back the party, government, financial and cultural powers from the hands of a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party, and built a revolutionary committee with revolutionary representative and proletarian authority according to the revolutionary principle of "three-way alliance."

At present, the great proletarian cultural revolution of our regiment is advancing in triumph along the navigation route opened up by Chairman Mao.

I

Chairman Mao taught us: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution and is likewise a question of the first importance for the great cultural revolution."

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great decisive battle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. The contradictions between a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party and us are contradictions between the enemies and ourselves, while more than 95 percent of the masses and the cadres are our comrades and friends. The contradictions between the deceived broad masses of the conservative organizations and us come under contradictions among the people. They are two different types of contradictions.

Proletarian revolutionaries must firmly bear in mind what has been pointed out in the Sixteen-Point Decision: "The main target of the present movement is those within the party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road." "Contradictions among the people must not be made into contradictions between ourselves and the enemy; nor must contradictions between ourselves and the enemy be regarded as contradictions among the people."

Although those among the masses who have been deceived have joined the wrong ranks and done wrong things in the great cultural revolution movement, yet they are also the victims of the bourgeois reactionary line. While we have been persecuted by the bourgeois reactionary line, they also have been victimized by the bourgeois reactionary line. We can never direct the spearhead of struggle at them and handle them with the means which we use to handle the enemies. According to the principle that there is no precedence in revolution, we must be sympathetic to them, take good care of them, show concern for them, and patiently help them return to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Only in this way can the great revolutionary alliance be brought into being to form a mailed fist which hits hard at a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party.

In order to achieve the object of waging struggle against a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party and at the same time educating the deceived masses, it is necessary to present facts, state reasons, persist in struggle by reasoning and oppose struggle by force

or coercion. As proletarian revolutionaries, the truth is in our hands, and it is entirely possible for us to overcome the enemies with struggle by reasoning. In order to present facts and state reasons, it is necessary to lay hold of factual data and carry out an abundance of arduous investigation and research work.

During the days we were persecuted by the bourgeois reactionary line, the young fighters of the revolutionary rebel detachment, with a red heart cherishing boundless fervent love for Chairman Mao, often had to break away from a siege through struggle and from those who shadowed them. They had to brave the cold and hunger, and walk several tens of li to carry out painstaking investigation and study so as to lay hold of the criminal deeds of a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party. After the revolutionary rebel detachment exposed the crimes of the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party with an abundance of facts, the latter were thrown into consternation. Many among the deceived masses were awakened. They clearly saw the general orientation and pulled out from the conservative organizations.

Within the short course of one month, our revolutionary rebel detachment, only 20 persons strong, armed itself with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, firmly adhered to the method of presenting facts and stating reasons, made use of wall posters and personal chats to launch a political offensive, dragged out a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party, won over, educated and united the great majority of the deceived masses, and expanded and strengthened the ranks of the proletarian revolutionaries.

II

In work to win over, educate and unite the deceived masses, the proletarian revolutionary masses must first solve the question of attitude and proceed from the desire for unity.

Because a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within our regiment carried out the bourgeois reactionary line of "hitting at a great many in order to protect a handful" and incited the masses to fight against the masses and the cadres, there has been grave antagonism among the masses. After fighting our way out from the persecution of the bourgeois reactionary line and gaining predominance politically and organizationally, whether we proletarian revolutionaries can adopt a comradely attitude toward those deceived masses who had encircled and attacked us, take the initiative to draw close to them, help them and unite them so as to enable them to return to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is a stern test for the proletarian revolutionaries.

When solving this question of attitude, we must abide by Chairman Mao's teachings, lay emphasis on the general situation, and can never give any thought to personal grudges.

Chairman Mao taught us: "We not only must unite with those who agree with us, but also must be good at uniting with those who disagree with us and those who have opposed us and have been proved to be wrong by practice." There was in the band a committee member of the party branch who had once been encircled, attacked and struggled against by some of the deceived masses. After the proletarian revolutionaries recaptured power, he was elected as a member of the revolutionary committee. At that time comrades who had a part to play in encircling and attacking him felt very embarrassed. That committee member of the party branch knew that as a true proletarian revolutionary he could never take personal gratitude or grudge into consideration when dealing with those comrades. He took the initiative to chat with them, and very soon he eliminated such estrangement and paved the way for unity.

Chairman Mao taught us: "Policy and tactics are the life of the party." When we deal with the deceived masses, we can never replace policies with sentiments.

After we seized power, some comrades were opposed to those among the deceived masses who had dealt blows at them and they said: "Although you had struggled against me in the past, I am not going to struggle against you today, but you will have no part to play in the great revolutionary alliance." They also said: "Our unit is unusual and is unable to unite more than 95 percent." In light of these living ideas, through launching a rectification campaign we seriously studied Chairman Mao's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People."

We all know that in order to bring the great revolutionary alliance into being, the principal responsibility rests on the shoulders of us proletarian revolutionaries. We can never replace policies with sentiments and can never adopt a tooth-for-tooth attitude toward our class brothers. If we only think of venting one's spleen and do not try to win over, educate and unite the deceived masses, we would drive our own comrades to the enemy side and would be fooled by the class enemy.

Through study, we proletarian revolutionaries raised our policy level, bore the revolution in mind, paid attention to the whole situation, and acted firmly according to the policies of the party. Many comrades who had pulled out from the conservative organizations said: "We have all the time kept you under observation to see what policy you adopt toward us and whether the alliance is genuine or phoney. As we see now, you genuinely act according to the policies of the party and are proletarian revolutionaries."

The practice of struggle tells us that in carrying out work, whatever it is, we must act according to Chairman Mao's instructions and the policies of the party. Once Chairman Mao's instructions are understood, they must be firmly carried out, and even those which are not understood for the time being must also be firmly carried out so that we may gradually understand them in the course of executing them.

III

Chairman Mao taught us: "The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature or controversial issues among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression." In order to win over, educate and unite the deceived masses, it is necessary to persist in the four firsts, carry out painstaking politico-ideological work, and patiently help them.

When carrying out politico-ideological work, we must be good at taking a firm hold of living ideas and giving the right remedy. Among a part of the deceived masses, the ideological burden is very heavy. Especially in the case of some older comrades, because they stood on the wrong side during the crucial moment of the great cultural revolution notwithstanding their having been educated by the party over a number of years, they feel that they are unable to face the party, and are unwilling to go out and meet other comrades. These comrades feel the burden and pressure because they have come to know their mistakes. At such a time, they can never be required to "reflect on one's misdeeds in private," much less to allow them to "ask for pardon." Instead, they should be encouraged to switch their orientation, actively throw themselves into battle, and educate themselves in struggle. In this way, these comrades will quickly part with their ideological burden and hit back at the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party.

After the collapse of the conservative organization in our regiment, a part of the masses were slow in turning around. Although they had severed relations with the conservative organization, yet they were still estranged from the proletarian revolutionaries. In light of this situation, we carefully studied things, located the crux of the problem, and untied the ideological knot of these comrades.

After his withdrawal from the conservative organization, a comrade was in a low mood. He contacted neither the conservative organization nor the revolutionary rebel detachment. During the great cultural revolution, this comrade all along wanted to play an active part in the movement. Because of his low politico-ideological level and lack of class viewpoint, he joined the conservative organization. After the collapse of the conservative organizations, he still felt ill-affected toward those comrades of the revolutionary organization. In light of his ideological condition, we patiently helped him see clearly the misdeeds which a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party made use of the conservative organizations to carry out. We then enlightened him with the miserable past and the happy present, and helped this comrade who was a cowboy by origin quickly to raise his awakening and change his stand.

Very often, there also will be reversals in work to unite and win over the masses. Some comrades originally shared our viewpoint. After the conservative organization seized power, they joined that organization. When the

revolutionary rebel detachment fought its way out, they once again closed ranks with that detachment, but very soon they fell for the conservative organization again. Some comrades among us had an antipathy to these persons, thinking that they were opportunistic and waving with the wind and could not be trusted. After due study, we were of the opinion that a number of causes were responsible for this phenomenon. After the proletarian revolutionaries rose on their feet, the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party still wanted to pull the wool over the eyes of the masses in the conservative organization so as to protect themselves. They spread rumors, created confusion, and enhanced the antagonistic feelings of the deceived masses toward us. Some persons fooled by the bad persons or with selfish ends wavered. Among them only a few were opportunists, but for the overwhelming majority of the comrades, the question was one of recognition. We should contact such comrades with greater warmth, expose the plots and tricks of the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road, help them detect the enemy and draw a dividing line with that handful of persons. Before they were awakened, we should wait with patience. Facts showed that so long as we gave them genuine assistance, they would learn lessons in the struggle, see the orientation and finally stand on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Chairman Mao said: "Today, the need of revolution to launch an attack against counterrevolution lies in organizing millions of the people and mobilizing a mighty revolutionary army." The great proletarian cultural revolution is the revolutionary movement of the masses, and only through arousing the revolutionary activism of the broad masses can the great proletarian cultural revolution be triumphantly carried through to the end. We should have political faith in those comrades who have been deceived but have since rectified or are in the course of rectifying their mistakes. We should boldly make use of them by allocating them work and tasks. Some of them have become members of leading groups in branches of the regiment. Many comrades have played a useful role in the struggle after their withdrawal from the conservative organization.

We are deeply aware that in the present great proletarian cultural revolution every victory scored by us is a victory for the great, invincible and boundlessly brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung. At the same time, we also deeply feel that the victory we have scored at the moment is but the first step in the long march, and that work will be much harder in the future. We have not studied Chairman Mao's writings as we should and have not done enough to bring them into "application." There are still quite a number of shortcomings in our work to win over, educate and unite the deceived masses.

Today, as we commemorate the 10th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," we are resolved to hold higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, make further effort in the creative study and application of this illustrious article of Chairman Mao's, follow his teachings, make a strict distinction between the two different types of contradictions, correctly handle contradictions among the people, further unite the great majority, closely integrate

the large-scale criticism and repudiation of the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the party with the practice of struggle, criticism and reform in this unit, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

CSO: 3530-D

BE FOREVER LOYAL TO CHAIRMAN MAO'S PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARY LINE

/Following is a translation of an article by Li Shui-ch'ing (2621 3055 3237) and Ch'en Chi-te (7115 4949 1795), Responsible Persons of a Certain PLA Unit, published in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 10, 21 June 1967, pages 53-59./

The unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao himself, has for the past year won world-shaking, splendid victories, with the result that a momentous change has taken place in the political life and social aspect of our country. In this great struggle, inspired by Chairman Mao's great call and under the direct leadership of Vice Chairman Lin, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has unwaveringly taken the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, actively supporting the broad revolutionary masses, striving to fulfill such tasks as supporting the Left, aiding industry and agriculture, exercising military control and carrying out military training. At the same time, the vast masses of cadres and fighters have also been tempered and tested.

Sharing the Revolutionaries' Urgent Desire and Helping to Meet Their Needs

At a crucial moment when the great proletarian cultural revolution entered into the stage of struggle of proletarian revolutionaries to seize power, Chairman Mao issued to the People's Liberation Army a great call to support the Leftists. By doing so he has shown the greatest trust in our army, the greatest concern for it, and given it the greatest encouragement. This is also the greatest test to our army. Before taking on the task of supporting the Left and particularly in the early period of the great cultural revolution, we had no understanding of this unprecedented great revolutionary movement or of a series of theories, lines and principles and policies Chairman Mao propounded for the great proletarian cultural revolution. As a result, we failed to keep abreast of the situation. However, we cherished a firm faith -- the firm faith in the wisdom and greatness of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, in the incomparable correctness of Chairman Mao's

proletarian revolutionary line, and in the inevitability of victory if we advanced along the direction charted by Chairman Mao. On some questions, due to our low level, we were unable to catch up with Chairman Mao's thought and more often than not we were unable to comprehend at once the spirit of his directives. But then our attitude was this: The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the soul commanding the whole party, the whole army and the whole country, and it is important that we seriously study and deeply understand it, and closely follow Chairman Mao. Whether we understand them or not, we must resolutely support and carry out his directives and further appreciate them in the course of practice. Only thus can we remain clear-headed and keep firmly to the proletarian stand in the course of the complicated class struggle. Therefore, after the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we with the problem in mind, repeatedly and seriously studied Chairman Mao's works and relevant directives, corrected our understanding, raised our thinking, and resolutely took the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it. The desperate struggle of the counterrevolutionary forces against the revolutionary forces is likewise aimed at preserving their political power." The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great mass movement of revolution aimed at preventing capitalist restoration carried out under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship. The focus of struggle is still the question of political power. In the midst of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the proletarian revolutionaries have risen to rebel against the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road and seize their power. This rebellion is justified and power has been well seized! In our work of supporting the Left, the first thing is to give resolute support to the broad masses of the Leftists in all those units where power has to be seized so that they will unite together to seize power. Where power has been seized, we will firmly support them in exercising power well. The good or bad results of the work of supporting the Left primarily depends on whether we truly support them to seize and exercise power in the proper manner.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a vigorous revolutionary mass movement. We have profoundly realized that to make a success of the work of supporting the Left we must with resolve implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, wholeheartedly and enthusiastically support the revolutionary mass movement, resolutely trust the masses, rely on them, mobilize them freely, and allow them to educate and liberate themselves. No work can be done well if we do the work that should be done by others and if we just arbitrate in disputes arising from among the masses. Therefore, we must constantly guide the revolutionary masses to make a creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, and encourage them to contribute ideas, devise methods, engage in independent thinking, and run their own houses. Sometimes, this or that shortcoming may appear in the opinions and practices of the masses, yet, barring any mistake of principle, we must support the creative spirit of the masses and allow them to do what they want to do.

With regard to those masses in the conservative organizations who have been hoodwinked, we must likewise believe that once they understand the truth of things, they will awaken and return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Hence, we should regard the calls by members of the conservative organizations as an opportunity to do mass work among them. Whether they come individually or in groups, we should welcome them, sincerely explain the truth to them, educate them in the struggle between two lines, and encourage them to rebel against the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road, against the bourgeois reactionary line.

Vice Chairman Lin has pointed out: "We must regard ourselves as part of the revolution. At the same time, we must continue to regard ourselves as the target of the revolution. In carrying out revolution, we must revolutionize ourselves. Without revolutionizing ourselves, we cannot carry out this revolution successfully." To fulfill the task of supporting the Left victoriously, we must continue to carry out a self-revolution, go into the midst of the masses, go into the thick of struggle, and transform our subjective world while transforming the objective world. Before taking part in supporting the Left, some comrades, although they too understood that "revolution is violence, a violent action by which one class overthrows another," were somewhat surprised by the raging revolutionary storm. They were unaccustomed to the revolutionary actions of the young Red Guard fighters. However, when they came into contact with the masses, took part in practical struggle, studied and applied Chairman Mao's works creatively and with the problems encountered in the struggle between the two lines in mind, and clarified their own thinking, a basic change took place in their sentiments toward the revolutionary masses. They were pleased by the revolutionary actions of the revolutionary masses, loved what they loved, hated what they hated, shared their worries, and helped them in meeting their needs. They staunchly fought and won alongside the revolutionary masses. The practice of struggle for the past months has given the best training and the best test to every comrade who supported the Left. We have deeply felt that class struggle is the best classroom and the best teacher of the revolutionary masses. With such a big classroom and such a teacher, we shall make our thoughts even redder and our work even more successful.

To Support the Revolutionary Left, We Must Take a Firm Stand and Hoist a Clear-Cut Banner

Chairman Mao teaches us: "'One must dare to suffer a thousand cuts and dare to unhorse the emperor.' When fighting for socialism and communism, we must possess such fearless spirit." In the course of the struggle between two classes and two lines in the great proletarian cultural revolution, whether one dares to put courage to the core, come forward bravely to take a firm stand and hoist a clear-cut banner, and unwaveringly take the side of the masses of the Left and fully support them, is a question of whether or not we dare to make revolution. The People's Liberation Army is the strong shield for the proletarian revolutionaries. To support the revolutionary Left, we ourselves must be staunch revolutionary Leftists.

Fearlessness derives from selflessness. Only when we are infinitely loyal to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line will we pledge to defend it to the death. For the past several months the thought of Mao Tse-tung has given us courage and strength, enabling us to stand firm and preserve the militant stance of proletarian revolutionaries in the work of supporting the Left as well as in the strikingly violent storm of class struggle.

First, fear no risks and dare to support.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a struggle between the attempt to restore capitalism and the effort to thwart this attempt, carried out under conditions of proletarian dictatorship. It is a struggle between the attempt of the bourgeoisie to overthrow proletarian dictatorship and the effort of the proletariat to consolidate proletarian dictatorship. In this life-and-death class struggle, there have to be many reverses and twists and turns, and this or that risk will have to be taken.

On 22 January this year, Tsingtao's proletarian revolutionaries closed their ranks and, with the participation of Comrade Wang Hsiao-yu, a revolutionary leading cadre and under his leadership, seized the party, government, financial and cultural powers of Tsingtao city from the hands of the small handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road in the former Municipal Party Committee and Municipal People's Council. This was an encouraging, big and joyful event, a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. However, the small handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road, though overthrown, were not reconciled to their defeat. Immediately after they had calmed down, they colluded with the ghosts and monsters and all reactionary forces in society, cheated and hoodwinked some masses ignorant of the truth, and stirred up an adverse current for counterseizure of power on the city-wide scale. They went to the extreme in creating lies and slanders, directing the spearhead of their attack at the revolutionary leading cadres who took the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Moreover, they vainly attempted to strangle the tools of public opinion of proletarian dictatorship, time and time again inciting the masses who did not know the truth to besiege and attack the reborn "Tsingtao Jih-pao" which published the pronouncement on the 22 January seizure of power and to obstruct the-normal publication of the paper. They also threatened to destroy the newspaper office. In these activities, some mass organizations who at first joined the rebellion participated, and this added to the complexity of the situation. At such a crucial moment of violent struggle, should we adopt a wait-and-see attitude, hesitate, and sit idly watching the proletarian revolutionaries being subject to pressure? Or should we be brave in taking the risks and take the initiative to support the proletarian revolutionaries? Out of a high sense of responsibility toward the proletarian revolutionary cause, we immediately decided to act and explicitly expressed our firm support for the 22 January seizure of power.

That we decidedly sided with the revolutionary Leftists and resolutely supported them greatly stimulated the fighting will of the proletarian revolutionaries, and received their enthusiastic welcome and support. But the class enemy highly resented us. They again instigated some hoodwinked masses to turn the spearhead of attack against the leadership organs of our armed forces in a vain bid to shake our support for the proletarian revolutionaries. However, they did not succeed in their sinister scheme. "To be opposed by the enemy is not a bad but a good thing." This teaching of Chairman Mao we shall never forget.

Supporting the revolutionary Left involves a sharp and complicated class struggle, which will surely meet with the interference, resistance and opposition from the class enemy and conservative forces. No matter where such pressure comes from and what form it assumes, its essence is a reflection of class struggle. For the past months we have not yielded, nor have we been shaken, by such pressure; instead, we have, in a fighting stance, defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and unswervingly supported and protected the proletarian revolutionaries in Tsingtao and other areas.

Looking back to the work of supporting the Left over several months, we understand that if we fear to take risks, we cannot make revolution, and that if we are to make revolution we cannot fear to take risks. Proletarian revolutionary fighters who are loyal to the thought of Mao Tse-tung should advance against the wind and waves of the class struggle!

Second, welcome criticism and correct mistakes, if any.

In the work of supporting the Left, whether we will constantly and modestly listen to the opinions and criticism of the masses is a question of mass viewpoint, a question of basic stand and attitude toward the masses. In view of the masses of the people's infinite love for and trust in our army, there is a special need for us to constantly educate the cadres who are carrying out the task of "three branches" and "two armies" to pay close attention to this question. The masses dare to criticize us because they are concerned about us and love us. This is a good thing. In dealing with the criticism originating from the masses, our attitude is this: that "anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them." When listening to criticisms and opinions of various kinds, we should observe the following points: (1) On any occasion, regardless of the number of people, whether inside or outside a conference, and whether it is a big or small conference, we should warmly welcome any criticisms and opinions. (2) We should calmly listen to anyone, no matter what his attitude is, whether he speaks politely or rudely, and whether he criticizes us lightly or severely. (3) Regardless of the language used, the nature of the suggestions, and no matter whether the problems involved are many or few, we must see that "those who speak commit no crime, so that those who listen shall take warning." (4) We should seriously listen to anyone, whether he speaks to us face to face or makes a suggestion through someone else, and whether he sends us a letter or a note.

We must modestly accept the opinions and criticisms of the masses. First of all, the leadership must take the lead and set an example. The principal responsible official of our armed forces who serves on the Tsingtao Municipal Revolutionary Committee adheres steadfastly to Chairman Mao's teaching of "from the masses and to the masses" and "summing up the opinions of the masses and sending them back the decisions drawn up on the basis of these opinions for implementation." Humbly learning from the masses, he plays a good exemplary role among the whole body of personnel in supporting the Left.

When the masses call on us and criticize us, we should warmly receive them and humbly listen to them. When the masses do not call on us, we should go out and call on them on our own initiative. A unit of ours stationed in the city's suburbs, in supporting the Left, makes use of such means as holding mass meetings, forums, and heart-to-heart conferences, and has at one time and another heard more than 70 representatives from 15 revolutionary mass organizations. In addition, members of the unit called on the masses individually on more than 140 occasions to get their opinions about the work of supporting the Left.

While modestly listening to the masses' criticisms regularly, we have also continued to carry out rectification and training and develop self-criticism. From April up to now, we have called a rectification and training session every month for those cadres participating in the work of "three branches" and "two armies." We have developed a mass movement of criticism and self-criticism, exposed our ideas, put problems on the table, summed up experience, and learned the lessons. In this way, every time this is done, our consciousness is raised one step higher and our work advances also by one step.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "With this Marxist-Leninist weapon of criticism and self-criticism, we are able to get rid of undesirable styles of work and preserve a fine style of work." The aim of listening to the masses' criticism and developing self-criticism is to discover and correct mistakes in good time. In making revolution, we can hardly avoid making mistakes. In this connection, our attitude is: Admit mistakes and correct them. Some personnel of our units supported the conservatives, but once the masses criticized them and pointed out their mistakes and clarified the truth of the matter, they promptly admitted their mistakes publicly, conducted a thoroughgoing investigation, and worked to mend their ways. In that way, it is not difficult to develop our work, which can be done with still better results. Our prestige will not be lower but higher.

In Supporting the Revolutionary Left, the Most Fundamental Thing Is to Arm the Broad Masses of the Left With the Thought of Mao Tse-tung

Vice Chairman Lin says: "It is necessary that, through creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, we instil into the minds of the workers and peasants the thought of Chairman Mao. Only by doing so can we change

the spiritual aspect of the laboring people and turn the spiritual force into a huge material force." The work of supporting the Left is rich and varied in content, but the most important and basic thing is to support the Left politically and ideologically, to use the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung to arm the broad revolutionary masses and advance the revolutionization of man's thinking. For this reason, it is necessary that the creative study and application of Chairman Mao must go hand in hand with the work of supporting the Left.

First, we must use Chairman Mao's theory on making revolution under proletarian dictatorship to arm the revolutionary masses, and help them to distinguish between the enemy and ourselves and understand that under conditions of proletarian dictatorship, the principal target of the revolution is the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road and we must firmly grasp the general orientation of struggle.

After the proletarian revolutionaries of Tsingtao city had seized power, the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road did not reconcile themselves to defeat but resorted to all ways to disrupt our front, undermine the unity of revolutionary masses, and shift the general orientation of struggle. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, we then helped the revolutionary masses to discern the plots of these people in time and to thoroughly expose and struggle against them. At the same time, we enlightened and helped the hoodwinked masses, raised their understanding, and helped them learn the lessons and draw a line of distinction with the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

From the seizure of power to the application of power, a change has taken place in the status of the proletarian revolutionaries. In the revolutionary organizations, some people entertained under varying degrees various nonproletarian ideas, such as individualism, the "limelight" mentality, the "small group" mentality, the "mountain stronghold" mentality, and anarchism. All of these ideas hindered the formation of the grand revolutionary alliance, hindered the establishment of proletarian dictatorship, hampered the large-scale criticism against the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road, and undermined the struggle, criticism and reform in the local areas and units. In the light of the development of the situation and in view of the living ideas of the broad masses, we organized the masses to make a serious study of Chairman Mao's relevant works and important articles carried in Hung-ch'i and Jen-min Jih-pao, thereby enabling the proletarian revolutionaries to heighten their awareness and grasp tightly the general orientation of the struggle.

In order to direct the spearhead of struggle at the handful of top party power holders taking the capitalist road and make success of struggle, criticism and reform in local areas and units, we have successively convened four city-wide mass meetings in the Tsingtao area, repeatedly publicized and grasped the principal contradiction, and mastered the general orientation of the struggle. In addition, we helped all revolutionary organizations to

develop rectification and studies. Now, the situation of Tsinghao is getting better and better. An upsurge has appeared in the mass large-scale criticism and struggle against the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road. Many units, through large-scale criticism and struggle, have realized a grand revolutionary alliance and achieved a double victory in revolution and production.

Second, applying Chairman Mao's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" as a sharp ideological weapon, we must help the proletarian revolutionaries to deal correctly with the hoodwinked masses and strive to unite with the majority of the masses.

After the proletarian revolutionaries in the areas where we stay had seized power, some comrades adopted a wrong attitude toward the hoodwinked masses, calling them "black veteran royalists" and describing their houses as "dens of old royalists." Some people said: "They have oppressed us for such a long time in the past. We must not treat them lightly today." When some hoodwinked masses surrendered to the proletarian revolutionaries, some people nevertheless were blind to their awakening and change, accusing them of "attempting to sneak in" or "salvaging a straw." In view of these problems, together with the proletarian revolutionaries we studied Chairman Mao's teaching of strictly distinguishing between and correctly dealing with contradictions of two different types of contradictions, so that they realized gradually that those masses who were cheated into joining the royalist organizations desired revolution. They had joined the wrong groups and had been the victims of the handful of the party power holders taking the capitalist road. We must therefore unite with them, help them, and win them over with strong class sentiments.

In order to strive to unite with the majority of the masses, we and the proletarian revolutionaries studied Chairman Mao's works with the hoodwinked masses. We also labored and talked with them intimately. The proletarian revolutionaries told them about their own experience of revolutionary rebellion and helped them summarize lessons. They also affirmed any progress, however insignificant, made by the hoodwinked masses, and welcome them when they too rise in rebellion. In the meantime, we mobilized the broad masses to struggle fiercely against the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road, expose and indict their crime of instigating the conservative organizations to incite the masses to struggle against each other, thus speeding up the awakening of the masses of the conservative organizations. Vast numbers of hoodwinked masses withdrew from the conservative organizations and joined the revolutionary organizations. They turned around and rebelled against the handful of party power holders taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois reactionary line.

Third, we also applied Chairman Mao's "three constantly read articles" and such illustrious articles as "On Correcting the Mistaken Ideas in the Party" to help the revolutionary masses to destroy self-interest, foster devotion to public interest, and transform their world outlook.

The great proletarian cultural revolution demands of each and every revolutionary to make revolution on two fronts simultaneously, namely, the revolution on the front of transformation of the objective world and the revolution on the front of transformation of the subjective world. Only by thoroughly revolutionizing self-interest in one's mind can we successfully discharge the historical task of transforming the objective world. We cannot be thoroughgoing proletarian revolutionaries if we have only the courage to rebel against the power holders taking the capitalist but not the determination to seize power from the self-interest in our heads. To rebel against the self-interest in one's head, one must divide oneself into two, that is, one must see oneself not only as the motive power of the revolution but also as the target of the revolution. Should one see oneself only as the motive power of the revolution but not as a target of the revolution and thus relax one's thought remolding, then one not only cannot be the motive power of the revolution, but there is the danger of turning oneself into an obstacle to the revolution. Just as a responsible person of a Leftist organization has said, "in the sharp struggle between the two lines, we must not hide the self-interest in our minds just as Mr. Tung Kuo hides his wolf in a fable". Otherwise, we would surely be destroyed by self-interest and betray Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

To guide the revolutionary Leftists to clarify the following two problems will be of advantage not only to correctly understanding ourselves but also to raising our revolutionary consciousness. One is the problem of what we should do both before and after seizure of power. Before seizure of power, under the persecution by the bourgeois reactionary line, we are fearless fighters; after the seizure of power, since we have assumed power, we would become complacent and conceited if our revolutionary consciousness is low. In that case, we would become "self-important," chase after fame, authority and profits, divorce ourselves from the masses, and cease to seek progress. The other is the problem of the relationship between the point of departure and the point of destination. In the preceding stage of the revolution, we had made a good start by defending Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and marched ahead valiantly. However, the class struggle is a prolonged one with its twists and turns. The duty is heavy and the journey is long. We cannot finish our task unless we always obey Chairman Mao's orders and serve the people completely and thoroughly.

The "three constantly read articles" and "On Correcting the Mistaken Ideas in the Party" point out that the core of the world outlook is the problem of "for whom." When we solve the problem of why we are living, we shall acquire the sharpest weapon for destroying self-interest and fostering devotion to public interest and transforming the world outlook. The problems solved by these splendid works are not only basic problems of transformation of world outlook but also practical problems which we often encounter. We must study these works every day and wage a "war of liberation" to free ourselves from self-interest. We must act honestly and regard ourselves as targets of the revolution. Starting from the very beginning, we should study these works carefully and examine our thoughts in the context of the teachings

contained in these works. In that way we shall be able to gain fresh knowledge as we go on learning and apply what we have learned with good results. We must not blindly be complacent with the fact that "we are pathbreakers, are revolutionary, and have given expression to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line." Otherwise, we shall not be able to digest what we read, nor shall we be able to appreciate the spirit and substance of what we read.

The "three constantly read articles" and "On Correcting the Mistaken Ideas in the Party" are from beginning to end distinguished by the glorious idea of wholehearted service to the people. It is necessary to stress that we study them with an abundance of class sentiments. Only when we love the people can we comprehend these works, appreciate them deeply, and apply them. Only when we love the people can we feel the weight of every word and sentence. In the over-all process of study, we must constantly "think of the people's interest and of the sufferings of the majority of the people." Having done this, we shall arouse class sentiments in ourselves, deepen our understanding of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and link it to our problems. Secondly, we must nurse a deep class hatred against self-interest, which we cannot destroy until we hate it. Similarly, only when we love public interest can we foster devotion to it. In order to increase hatred against self-interest, in some schools, rural areas, and factories we carried out the activities of "three-recollection" (recollecting the party history, the history of one's family, and the history of the individual). As a result, the masses were enabled to see that our party history is a history of struggle against all kinds of mistaken lines by the proletarian revolutionary line which Chairman Mao represents, that our family histories are histories of blood and tears under the system of private ownership but are histories of happiness under the system of public ownership, and that the history of our personal progress is a history of struggle of public interest against private interest. The party history, the family history, and the history of the individual are full of struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between two roads, the socialist and the capitalist. In the final analysis, they are struggles between the public and private interests. Through "three-recollection," we aroused the class sentiments in the broad masses and hardened our determination to fight self-interest.

For the last few months, thanks to the fact that the broad masses of cadres and fighters participating in the work of supporting the Left cherish unbounded loyalty to Chairman Mao and the thought of Mao Tse-tung and, in the light of the development of the situation of struggle and in the contest of ideological realities of the revolutionary masses, have intensively grasped creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works as the most basic link, the fighting power of the revolutionary mass organizations has been effectively raised and the revolutionary character, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline on the part of the broad masses have been strengthened. This has promoted the large-scale criticism and struggle against the handful of top party power holders taking the capitalist road and the struggle, criticism and reform in local areas and units. At the same time, in the course of the winds and storms of the class struggle we ourselves have been educated, tempered and improved.

Chairman Mao recently again issued a great call for supporting the army and cherishing the people. Under the new situation of the revolution, this is the latest directive to our army in its work of aiding the Left, and it is the highest demand. We must forever be loyal to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, going all out to raise the work of aiding the Left to a new level. We must resolutely fight by the side of the proletarian revolutionaries, seize new victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution, and consolidate proletarian dictatorship.

CSO: 3530-D

CORRECTLY UNDERSTAND AND PRACTICE EXTENSIVE DEMOCRACY
UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

Following is a translation of an article by Hung Hsiao-pin (3163 2556 2430) published in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 10, 21 June 1967, pages 60-62./

In his epoch-making work "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Chairman Mao trenchantly explains the class nature of democracy, proletarian democratic centralism and the Marxist-Leninist theory of the relationship between democracy and dictatorship, between democracy and centralization, and between freedom and discipline. This is particularly significant for our correct understanding and practice of extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the current great proletarian cultural revolution, for grasping firmly the general orientation of struggle, for criticizing and repudiating the handful of top party people in authority taking the capitalist road, for bringing about and consolidating the grand revolutionary alliance and revolutionary "three-way combination," and for victoriously fulfilling the tasks of struggle, criticism and reform.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Freedom and democracy do not exist in the abstract, only in the concrete. In a society rent by class struggle, if there is freedom for the exploiting classes to exploit the working people, there is no freedom for the working people not to be exploited, and if there is democracy for the bourgeoisie, there is no democracy for the proletariat and other working people."

Throughout the whole historical period of proletarian dictatorship, there exist classes, class contradictions and class struggle. Of course, democracy bears a class character. There is either proletarian democracy or bourgeois democracy. Above-class and abstract democracy simply does not exist.

Our democracy is proletarian democracy. That is to say, our democracy operates within the ranks of the proletariat and all the people who agree with, support and join the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction. As for our class enemies who oppose socialist revolution and who are hostile to and sabotage socialist construction, we do not allow them democracy, we exercise dictatorship over them. However, the bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the handful of party in authority taking the capitalist road, do exactly the opposite. In the areas and departments in which they entrench themselves, they turn proletarian democracy into bourgeois democracy. They give democracy and freedom to the landlords and the bourgeoisie. They let loose the ghosts and monsters. They allow the poisonous weeds against the party, socialism, and the thought of Mao Tse-tung to spread unchecked. But they exercise bourgeois dictatorship over the people.

The great proletarian cultural revolution which we are now carrying is for the purpose of arousing the masses boldly to expose and overthrow the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road by applying extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We will smash their bourgeois democracy and their schemes for a capitalist comeback, and consolidate and strengthen proletarian democratic centralism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Those who demand freedom and democracy in the abstract regard democracy as an end and not a means. Democracy sometimes seems to be an end, but it is in fact only a means. Marxism teaches us that democracy is part of the superstructure and belongs to the category of politics. That is to say, in the last analysis, it serves the economic base." We must firmly remember this teaching, for it is a guide to us in correctly understanding and applying extensive democracy under proletarian dictatorship in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

What kind of a means is extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat. What is it for? Against whom is it directed? What end does it seek to achieve? Extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the means for carrying out revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is used for dealing with the handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and for achieving the aims of smashing these class enemies, consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, defending and developing the economic base of socialism and preventing capitalist restoration. If we depart from these aims, we still depart from proletarian democracy and go astray down the path of bourgeois democracy.

We must pay constant attention to the fact that application of extensive democracy under proletarian dictatorship is for strengthening proletarian dictatorship and not for weakening and undermining it, for consolidating and developing the economic base of socialism and not for weakening and undermining it.

In the midst of the great proletarian cultural revolution, whether a mass organization correctly practices extensive democracy under proletarian dictatorship is to be judged by whether it, when applying extensive democracy, turns the spearhead of struggle against the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road, whether it does so for the purpose of consolidating proletarian dictatorship and defending the economic base of socialism. This is the most basic criterion. If we depart from this criterion and fail to see the orientation and aim of struggle, we shall not be able to distinguish between big right and big wrong.

Within the ranks of the people, extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat is also a means. It is precisely through the methods of extensive democracy, airing one's views, contending and debating to the fullest extent and publicizing one's views in big-character posters, that right is distinguished from wrong and contradictions among the people are correctly solved. Through these methods we are also able to expand and develop the Leftist forces, gradually unite with over 95 percent of the masses and over 95 percent of the cadres, realize a grand alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, and isolate to the greatest extent and strike at the handful of party power holders taking the capitalist road.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, it is normal that among mass organizations and within a mass organization there should be differences of opinion and contradictions of one kind or another. These opinions and contradictions involve problems of ideology and understanding. They are contradictions among the people and should be resolved according to the formula of "unity -- criticism -- unity" and by democratic methods, that is, criticism and self-criticism as well as reasoning on the basis of facts. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature or controversial issues among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression." This is the only correct way for us to handle the contradictions among the people. A mass organization and the responsible persons of a mass organization, in dealing with those mass organizations which differ from them in opinion and the masses who have been cheated into joining the conservative organizations, must proceed from the desire for unity and solve the contradictions through criticism or struggle; on no account must they overcome these masses with sheer physical force. Under no circumstances must they treat the masses who have been cheated into joining the conservative organizations as enemies and direct the spearhead of struggle at them.

As responsible members of revolutionary mass organizations, and when our position has changed from that of being suppressed to that of being in power, we should pay all the more attention to the correct practice of extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the past we have mobilized the broad masses to apply the extensive democracy under proletarian dictatorship to expose the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road and seizing their power. Today, we still have to

apply extensive democracy under proletarian dictatorship to thoroughly repudiate and totally discredit the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road politically, ideologically and theoretically, and to fulfill the tasks of "struggle -- criticism -- transformation" in our own units. At the same time, we should learn to practice extensive democracy in order to handle correctly contradictions among the people and controversies and differences of opinion among them. In particular, we should dare to accept criticism from the revolutionary masses, overcome our shortcomings and correct our mistakes, and make a really good job of holding and exercising power for the proletariat.

Within the ranks of the people, extensive democracy under proletarian dictatorship is relative to a high degree of centralization of the proletariat. Democracy and centralization are two aspects of the unity of opposites. Without extensive democracy of the proletariat, there will be no high degree of centralization of the proletariat, or vice versa.

Chairman Mao says: "Within the ranks of the people, democracy is correlative with centralism and freedom with discipline. They are the two opposites of a single entity, contradictory as well as united, and we should not one-sidedly emphasize one to the denial of the other. Within the ranks of the people, we cannot do without freedom, nor can we do without discipline; we cannot do without democracy, nor can we do without centralism. This unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, constitutes our democratic centralism. Under this system, the people enjoy extensive democracy and freedom, but at the same time they have to keep within the bounds of socialist discipline."

Chairman Mao has also said: "This democracy is democracy under centralized guidance, not anarchy. Anarchy does not accord with the interests or wishes of the people."

Extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat is under the command of Mao Tse-tung's thought and of his proletarian revolutionary line. When we employ extensive democracy as a means we should devote attention to defending and strengthening the proletarian centralization and must not weaken it, and we should use Mao Tse-tung's thought to guide all our actions and use his proletarian revolutionary line to guide our practical struggle. Only in this way can we ensure that extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat is carried out smoothly. It will be anarchism if we regard extensive democracy as an end in itself and oppose proletarian centralism. Anarchism, in essence, is bourgeois democracy and bourgeois liberalization. We must overcome this erroneous tendency before it goes too far.

Extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat must be combined with consciousness adherence to proletarian revolutionary discipline. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, we should employ extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat as a means of overthrowing

the slavishness peddled by the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and smash the bourgeois reactionary discipline which they used to suppress the people. It is precisely because we want to strengthen the proletarian revolutionary discipline that we do this. That is why, when applying extensive democracy under proletarian dictatorship, we must firmly defend and earnestly abide by proletarian revolutionary discipline. As taught by Chairman Mao, we should "enjoy broad democracy and freedom" and "at the same time keep ourselves within the bounds of socialist discipline."

The fundamental method for recognizing and practicing extensive democracy under proletarian dictatorship is to make an earnest and creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and his "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," and use the thought of Mao Tse-tung to remold our world outlook, eliminate self-interest and foster utter devotion to the collective interest and promote the revolutionizing of our ideology. Only in this way can we keep firm hold of the general orientation of the struggle, bring about the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary three-way alliance," overthrow completely the handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

CSO: 3530-D

SHANTUNG PROVINCIAL REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE'S REGULATIONS
ON CONSCIENTIOUSLY IMPROVING CADRES' STYLE OF WORK

Following is a translation of an article published in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 10, 21 June 1967, page 65.

At present, the great proletarian cultural revolution in Shantung Province is developing in depth and breadth in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the road of socialism and that of capitalism and between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line.

In order to carry the cultural revolution through to the end, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent a capitalist restoration, it is imperative to establish the absolute authority of Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought in Shantung. All our words and deeds must be gauged by the supreme criterion of whether or not they are in conformity with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

All the members of the committee must take the lead in the study of Chairman Mao's works, and make the study of Chairman Mao's works a necessary, systematic and daily task.

It is imperative to study over and over again such great teachings of Chairman Mao's as: "Our point of departure is to serve the people wholeheartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses," and "the comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be helped to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle."

It is imperative to practice criticism and self-criticism regularly, to revolutionize ourselves ideologically and in our work, working style and our way of life. We must remain ordinary working people at all times, resolutely oppose preferential treatment given us and any ways that divorce us from the masses.

For this purpose we prescribe the following provisions:

- (1) It is forbidden to heap praise on members of the revolutionary committee. Big-character posters and slogans praising members of the committee are forbidden. In cases where such posters and slogans are put up, efforts should be made to persuade the people to have them covered over immediately.
- (2) No member of the committee should make a public speech on behalf of the committee unless it is discussed collectively beforehand by the committee.
- (3) There should be no formal welcome or send-off and no applauding at the arrival or departure of members of the committee at mass gatherings. Without permission of the committee, its members may not be photographed or filmed.
- (4) Members of the committee must devote a definite amount of time to doing physical labor.
- (5) Members of the committee are not allowed to present gifts in their own name or accept gifts.
- (6) Generally, the names of committee members should not appear in the press. Where it is necessary for their names to be printed in a newspaper, this must be done according to the stipulations set out by the Party Central Committee.
- (7) Members of the committee should live a plain life. Extravagance is forbidden. They are not allowed to use motor cars belonging to the organization for private purposes. They should pay attention to economy when using cars on public business.
- (8) Members of the committee should set aside a certain amount of time for interviews with people and should personally deal with letters from the people.
- (9) With an attitude of willingness to be the pupils of the people, members of the committee should go among the masses regularly and call fact-finding meetings and forums to invite people's opinions and criticisms.
- (10) The Revolutionary Committee should undertake periodical rectification campaigns (once every two months or so). Some representatives of the mass organizations should be invited to participate in each rectification campaign as and when necessary.

Shangtung Provincial
Revolutionary Committee,
7 June 1967

CSO: 3530-D

COMBINE THE BIG CRITICISM WITH EACH UNIT'S STRUGGLE,
CRITICISM, AND REFORM

Following is a translation of an article by the Workers' Revolutionary Rebel Team of Shanghai Aimin Candy Factory published in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 10, 21 June 1967, pages 69-73./

Hung-ch'i editor's note: The experiences of the workers' revolutionary rebel team of Shanghai Aimin Candy Factory are very good. They firmly grasp the main direction of the struggle and closely combine the big criticism of the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road with their own unit's struggle, criticism, and reform.

Experiences show that the big criticism of the small handful of biggest party persons in authority taking the capitalist road can effectively move forward each unit's struggle, criticism, and reform, and the latter can bring about the fuller exposure and deeper criticism of the poisons spread on all fronts by the small handful of biggest party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

In order to combine the big criticism with our own unit's struggle, criticism, and reform, we must carry out hard, penetrating, and care-demanding investigation and research. Only thus can we deeply and thoroughly criticize the small handful of biggest party persons in authority taking the capitalist road until they are rendered repugnant, deepen the mass movement of big criticism, extensively demolish bourgeois thought, extensively build the thought of Mao Tse-tung, realize the revolutionization of thought of man, develop production, and move the socialist cause forward at flying speed.

The typical experiences provided by the workers' revolutionary rebel team of Shanghai Aimin Candy Factory have general significance. It is hoped that the proletarian revolutionaries of all units will study them seriously.

I

In the storm of the "January Revolution," the proletarian revolutionaries of our factory joined together and waged a struggle for seizing power. In mid-February, we studied the experiences of the proletarian revolutionaries of Heilungkiang and Kiangsi, and absorbed revolutionary leadership cadres into the revolutionary production committee. After that, we attended to revolution energetically and promoted production vigorously. While fighting, we also rectified our style. In early April, elections among all the revolutionary workers of the factory gave birth to a provisional power structure of revolutionary "triple combination" -- the revolutionary committee. This created a condition which was to make possible the combination of the big criticism of the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road with our factory's struggle, criticism, and reform.

How to combine the big criticism with our own unit's struggle, criticism, and reform was a new topic. We solved the problem gradually in the course of struggle.

At the beginning, we staged a factory-wide procession and demonstration. We then called a denunciation conference and stuck many big-character posters. We denounced the heinous crimes of the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road. A few days later, the revolutionary workers of our factory actively plunged themselves into this movement of big criticism. After a time, however, the movement could not be deepened any more. Some workers felt that the big criticism did not have much to do with themselves. They said, "The biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road is in far-away Peking. We do not know about him. How can we criticize?"

We analyzed the reasons why the big criticism could not be deepened. They were two. First, some workers did not adequately understand the meaning of this big criticism. Secondly, we failed to combine the big criticism with our factory's struggle, criticism, and reform. Accordingly, we creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's writings having regard for the new problem. We called forums and did a lot of political and ideological work. In this way, we made everybody realize the great significance of the big criticism. At the same time, through reading newspapers, we explained the crimes of the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road -- crimes of comeback of capitalism. In particular, we explained his reactionary words and actions in Tientsin's former Tungya Woolen Textile Mill. Many of the workers of our factory were made to suffer by the exploiting class in the old society, and they had a feud of blood and tears against the exploiting class. Our big criticism of the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road thus began with criticism of his absurd view that "exploitation is a meritorious service." In this way, we directly combined the criticism of China's Khrushchev with what our factory's workers had suffered from exploitation.

The biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road told capitalists, "It is you who support the workers. The more factories you build and the more you exploit the workers, the better." Listening to this, we nearly burst with anger. We knew the most clearly whether capitalists were good or bad. The capitalists of our factory lived in nice apartments and were extravagant. They had nothing which had not come from the blood and sweat of us workers. The biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road spread the view that "exploitation is a meritorious service." This sufficed to show that he was a 100 percent agent of the bourgeoisie within the party. Some workers said: When he told capitalists that if they "continued to exert effort, you would have a bright future, and the restoration of the country and nation would be a matter of time," he was encouraging capitalism, opposing socialism, and wanting our working class to suffer exploitation and be slaves. It was quite clear that, unless the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road was overthrown, the socialist state would change its color and we workers would suffer a second time.

Chairman Mao said, "IN OUR COUNTRY, SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION HAS BEEN BASICALLY COMPLETED AS FAR AS THE SYSTEM OF OWNERSHIP IS CONCERNED, AND THE LARGE-SCALE STORMY MASS CLASS STRUGGLES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD HAVE BASICALLY COME TO A CONCLUSION. BUT REMNANTS OF THE LANDLORD COMPRADORE CLASS THAT HAS BEEN OVERTHROWN ARE STILL PRESENT. THE BOURGEOISIE IS STILL PRESENT. THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE IS JUST BEING REFORMED. CLASS STRUGGLE HAS NOT COME TO A CONCLUSION. THE CLASS STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PROLETARIAT AND THE BOURGEOISIE, THE CLASS STRUGGLE BETWEEN DIFFERENT POLITICAL FORCES, AND THE IDEOLOGICAL CLASS STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PROLETARIAT AND THE BOURGEOISIE IS STILL LONG-LASTING, TORTUOUS, AND SOMETIMES VERY INTENSE."

While criticizing the absurd view that "exploitation is a meritorious service," the broad masses of the workers followed Chairman Mao's teaching and adduced the indisputable facts of the class struggle of our factory to refute effectively the "theory of extinction of class struggle" advocated by the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road. Certain leadership persons of our factory handed to capitalists the big powers of trade mark designing, industrial health, supply and marketing, and labor protection. They also praised capitalists as "authorities on Mickey Mouse candy" and permitted a rich peasant element, who had concealed his status for a long time, to be a production team leader and a labor protection committee member. Making use of the authority he had usurped, the capitalist shot poisoned arrow after poisoned arrow through the candy labels. He used as candy trade marks portraits of the God of Long Life, Liang Shan-po, Chu Ying-t'ai, and strange-looking women, thus vending feudalist, capitalist, and revisionist black goods by wholesale. Concerning the question of party building, quite a few among the party members recruited in our factory had problems. There was a partner who received fixed dividends with one hand and paid party dues with the other. There were also foremen and big hooligans. All these facts profoundly educated the broad masses of the workers. The biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road said, "For some time, the working

class probably cannot be depended on." Everybody saw clearly that our factory had acted in accordance with this reactionary theory before the power seizure, when it depended not on workers but on capitalists.

In the movement of big criticism, we further mobilized the masses to expose and criticize profoundly the bourgeois reactionary line enforced in the great cultural revolution by the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road. The broad masses of the revolutionary workers realized that, over the question of cadres, "striking against a big surface, protecting a small handful" must be entered into the book to the debit of the small handful of biggest party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Those cadres who once enforced the bourgeois reactionary line should be welcomed by us if they realized and corrected their mistakes and returned to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Helped by proletarian revolutionaries, the fairly good cadres further examined their mistakes in front of the masses. Then, with the unanimous approval of the masses, they were absorbed into the revolutionary committee as members. In this way, the revolutionary big alliance and the revolutionary "triple combination" were strengthened and consolidated.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing put it well, "The struggle, criticism, and reform of each unit does not clash but can be united with the work of criticizing the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road. The big criticism of the small handful of biggest party persons in authority taking the capitalist road can effectively move forward the struggle, criticism, and reform of each unit. The struggle, criticism, and reform of each unit will make possible the fuller exposure and deeper criticism of the poisons spread on all fronts by the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road."

The proletarian revolutionaries of our factory found a way in the practice of struggle. This way was to begin with criticism of the absurd view that "exploitation is a meritorious service," and to combine the criticism of the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road firmly with our factory's struggle between two classes, two roads, and two lines, and with our factory's struggle, criticism, and reform. In this way, we further mobilized the masses of the workers throughout the factory to plunge themselves more actively and consciously into the revolutionary movement of big criticism, thus deepening our factory's work of struggle, criticism, and reform.

II

After energetically criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line of the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road and his absurd views such as that "exploitation is a meritorious service," our factory's proletarian revolutionaries, without loss of time, continued to mobilize the masses boldly and carried out a revolution of the factory's old system for operations management. We realized that, unless revolutionization of the

enterprise was carried out, unless the poisons of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line in the management of operations were cleared up, and if the old things were kept intact, then the hotbed for revisionism would continue to exist, and the comeback of capitalism would still be possible. For this reason, we regarded the reform of the system for operations management as an exceedingly important part of combination of the big criticism with our factory's struggle, criticism, and reform.

The broad masses of the workers of our factory concentrated on exposing and criticizing three problems in the system for operations management.

One was the exposure and criticism of institutions contrary to Chairman Mao's great policy of "STREAMLINED ARMY AND SIMPLIFIED ADMINISTRATION." Our factory had only 200-300 workers, but it had six functional units and one workshop office. Administrative personnel were as many as 38, accounting for 17 percent of the total number of workers and employees of the factory. From the factory manager's office to the production team, offices were redundant. "There are many teams and persons, and when matters have to be attended to, a lot of procrastination goes on." When a worker had to apply for a small spare part, he had to file the application through three or four levels, namely, the production team leader, the workshop superintendent, the functional group leader, and the factory manager. In the administrative department, there are more people than things to be done. "There are many mouths to feed, but few hands to do the work." "The workers work busily in production, trying to save one minute or one second. But some administrative personnel are so idle that they spin yarns." In this way, the cadres were separated from the masses, and the workers were very critical.

The second was the exposure and criticism of our factory's practice of revisionist "techniques first, targets first, output first, profit first." These four first's were completely opposed to Chairman Mao's politics being the commander-in-chief and the soul and to Comrade Lin Piao's four first's. Practice of "techniques first" resulted in a capitalist being praised as "authority on Mickey Mouse candy." It was thought that but for him there would have been no Mickey Mouse candy. Practice of "targets first" and "output first" meant extensive material incentive and cash awards in command. The masses' revolutionary morale was undermined. Attention was paid only to production, not to politics. Practice of "profit first" turned the factory into a capitalist factory which sought nothing but profit.

The third was exposure and criticism of our factory's capitalist management system hampering the workers' activism and creativeness and hampering the development of production. Responsible for the quality of product, workers had to change production technical measures slightly depending on changes in the quality of materials and raw materials and in the weather. But this was considered as "contrary to operational rules." The old regulations and system greatly hampered the workers' activism and creativeness. In this way, the workers were turned into slaves of regulations and system.

Chairman Mao often teaches us in these terms: WITHOUT DEMOLITION THERE IS NO CONSTRUCTION. DEMOLITION MEANS CRITICISM AND REVOLUTION. DEMOLITION REQUIRES REASONING, AND REASONING IS CONSTRUCTION. WHEN DEMOLITION IS PARAMOUNT, IT AT THE SAME TIME IMPLIES CONSTRUCTION. In the process of combining the big criticism with our factory's struggle, criticism, and reform, the revolutionary workers carried out increasingly penetrating exposure and criticism. As they did so, they felt surer that the revisionist practices must be demolished. How were they to be demolished? The revolutionary committee of our factory attended to two matters. First, it gave prominence to politics and let the thought of Mao Tse-tung command everything. Secondly, it implemented the mass line, trusted the masses, and depended on the masses. Concerning how the factory was to reform its system, the revolutionary committee did not begin by imposing any rules or frameworks. It called on the revolutionary workers to regard the thought of Mao Tse-tung as the weapon and to make observation and analysis. It mobilized everybody to express opinions and make suggestions. While mobilizing the workers to express opinions, it also organized the administrative personnel to discuss tasks, determine organizations and talk about division of labor. In this way, after a period of study and discussion, the factory's three levels of leadership offices were changed to two levels. Production tasks directly reached the production teams. The original six functional groups were changed to six groups -- the political group, the production group, and the logistic group. Cadres sitting in offices were reduced by a large number. The number of administrative personnel was cut by 42 percent. Those who had been functionaries were more able to go to the workshop and to face in the direction of production and workers. Together with the workers, they fought on the front line of production. By going to the workshop to take part in labor, the administrative personnel not only strengthened their ties with the workers and improved their unity with them, but were able to solve promptly many problems in production. The production teams had certain authorities and were able to handle problems in accordance with concrete conditions. The masses of the workers said, "In the past, we only had the duty to work but did not have the right to take part in administration. Things are now better. We workers have really become the masters and housekeepers!" Full play was given to the activism and creativeness of the masses of the workers.

III

The process of combining the big criticism with each unit's struggle, criticism, and reform is a process of extensively demolishing bourgeois thought and extensively building capitalist thought, a process of extensively demolishing capitalism and extensively building socialism, and a process of extensively criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line and extensively establishing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. In a word, it is a process of creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings, demolishing bourgeois things and building proletarian things, and realizing the revolutionization of the thought of man.

In the process of combining the big criticism with our own unit's struggle, criticism, and reform, we often led the masses of the workers to apply Chairman Mao's glorious thought and revolutionary line and criticize the poisons spread in our factory by the reactionary words and actions of the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road and by his counterrevolutionary revisionist line. As they went on with criticism, everybody came to realize more clearly the crimes of comeback of capitalism of the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road, and the harm to revolution of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line. As they went on with criticism, everybody came to hate even more the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road. Their infinite love for Chairman Mao, the reddest, reddest sun in our minds, was increased, and so was their infinite faith in the glorious thought of Mao Tse-tung and in Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Before revolutionization of the enterprise can be realized, a good job must be made of the revolutionization of the thought of man. The worker comrades put it well: In order to demolish the old system, we must demolish the old ideas and old frameworks first. Cadres must demolish the old thoughts and old habits which had made them want to go to higher levels but not to lower levels, and which had made them want to be "bureaucrats" but not "humble people." Workers must welcome the cadres as they come to the workshop to labor and to work. In the process of demolishing the old system and building a new system, administrative personnel came across some ideological problems. First, they were impatient to go to the workshop to labor. They thought, "Administrative work is hard. I'll feel relieved when I no longer hold an official position. I am skilled, and I can labor for eight hours a day in the workshop." Secondly, they were afraid that if they went to the workshop, people would think by mistake that they had done wrong, or would not welcome them. In view of such real thoughts, the factory's revolutionary committee organized the workers to study deeply the "three old pieces," to study Chairman Mao's directive of "STREAMLINED ARMY AND SIMPLIFIED ADMINISTRATION" and teachings on the need for cadres to take part in collective productive labor, and to study the letter of the Party's Central Committee to the revolutionary workers and cadres of all factories and mines in the country. As a result of the study, the administrative personnel all said, "Streamlined army and simplified administration is an appeal by Chairman Mao. We must carry it out firmly," and, "Whether we go to the lower level or remain at the higher level, we are doing something needed by the revolution," and, "When we go to the lower level, we must not only concern ourselves with production for eight hours. We must help the teams do their work well. When we remain at the higher level, we must dare to carry the heavy burden and properly serve production and the masses." As a result of the study, the workers of the workshop all said that they would welcome administrative personnel coming to the workshop to labor. In this way, those comrades who remained at the higher level actively took up heavy burdens and continuously improved their work. Whenever they had time, they went to the production teams. Their work was done penetratingly, and their work style improved. Those comrades who went to the workshop labored actively and worked seriously. They felt happy.

Once, the functionaries going to the candy workshop discovered some lowering of the quality of toffee. On their own initiative, they and the workers examined one work process after another to discover the cause, and studied measures for improvement. Very soon, the problem was solved.

In the process of combining the big criticism with our factory's struggle, criticism, and reform, the workers energetically and creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's writings. Their class consciousness was further raised. They demonstrated greater revolutionary vigor. Production rose continuously. It rose by 40.6 percent in the first quarter as compared with the corresponding period last year. In April, the plan was fulfilled ahead of schedule and then overfulfilled. In May, the monthly plan was fulfilled four days ahead of schedule and then overfulfilled by 14.8 percent.

Chairman Mao's writings are a red magic book. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is a street lamp for the revolutionary people. We must raise high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, grasp the main contradiction, firmly grasp the main direction of the struggle, avoid conceit and rashness, continue our forward march, further combine the big criticism with our factory's struggle, criticism, and reform, thoroughly eliminate the poisons in our factory of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line, and make up our minds to turn Aimin Candy Factory into a bright red big school of the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

- END -

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THE "TALKS AT THE YENAN FORUM ON LITERATURE AND ART" IS A
REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM FOR CARRYING OUT GREAT
PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

-- Speech by Yao Wen-yuan at Shanghai Commemoration Rally
Marking 25th Anniversary of Publication
of Chairman Mao's "Talks at Yen-an Forum on
Literature and Art" --

[Following is a translation of the text of a speech published in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 9, 27 May 1967, pp 29-35.]

Comrades and comrades in arms: Today, when the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation is in full swing, when the great proletarian cultural revolution is entering a stage of launching a general attack against and settling accounts with the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and when the shameless renegade action and theories of Soviet revisionism are facing bankruptcy throughout the world, we, the fighters of Shanghai's proletarian revolutionaries, are holding a solemn rally to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's great works "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art." It bears an important historical as well as realistic meaning.

"Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" is a brilliant crystallization of Mao Tse-tung's thought, an immortal document of Marxism-Leninism, an epoch-making development on Marxist-Leninist world outlook and literary and art theories, a programmatic document for the great proletarian cultural revolution and against modern revisionism and all bourgeois reactionary ideas, and a militant clarion call which inspires all the oppressed peoples in the world to bravely attack imperialism and all reactionaries.

In the history of the world proletarian literary and art movement, the "Talks" for the first time most clearly, completely, and thoroughly put forward the fundamental orientation of serving workers, peasants, and

soldiers, systematically solved the questions of linking literary and art workers with workers, peasants, and soldiers, and settled a good many important and fundamental questions on the theories and practices for the development of proletarian literature and art.

The "Talks" extensively summed up the historical experience in the struggle between the two lines on the cultural front, thoroughly criticized and repudiated the bourgeois line on art and literature which had occupied a dominant position within the party for a long time, and in an all-round way formulated the proletarian line and various concrete policies on literature and art.

Holding high the great revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism of criticism and repudiation, the "Talks" dealt all kinds of reactionary ideas of the bourgeoisie and revisionism with destructive blows, and thoroughly exposed the reactionary features of the black line of the thirties on literature and art advocated by Chou Yang and his gang.

This criticism and repudiation are so profound, sharp, and forceful that they struck at the vital part of the bourgeois reactionary world outlook and theories on literature and art.

The reactionary trend of revisionist thought of all kinds, including the reactionary theories which the book "On Self-Cultivation" advocated to betray the dictatorship of the proletariat and to peddle class capitulationism, and including the bourgeois theory on human nature and humanitarianism which the Soviet modern revisionist had treasured, could not escape the boundless power of this monster-exposing mirror -- the "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" -- no matter how well they camouflaged themselves. Once this monster-exposing mirror is used their ugly features are immediately exposed. The path pointed out by the "Talks" that literary and art workers must identify themselves with workers, peasants, and soldiers, cope with the new mass era, and thoroughly remold themselves is the only path that should be taken by all intellectuals who are willing to make revolution so that they will become even more revolutionary and proletarian. It is the only path to develop proletarian culture and the fundamental guarantee to oppose and prevent revisionism. All revolutionary cadres and cultural workers found the broad path in the "Talks" for remolding their thought and identifying themselves with the masses.

In solving all kinds of complicated problems, the "Talks" applied and developed, with genius and creatively, the dialectics of Marxism. It is a brilliant example with which we can make use of dialectical materialism in the revolutionary practice. The "Talks" is the everlasting truth for the development of revolutionary culture, the invincible militant banner of proletarian literature and art, and the compass for carrying out the great revolution on the ideological and cultural fronts.

This great work of Chairman Mao's, along with his other works such as "On New Democracy," "Letter to the Yenan Peking Opera Theater After Seeing 'Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels,'" and "Pay Attention to the Discussion of the Film 'Biography of Wu Hsun,'" "A Letter on the Question of Studying 'The Dream of the Red Chamber,'" and "Questions on Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," published during the period of socialist revolution; and "Talks at the National Propaganda Work Conference of the CCP" and many important instructions and documents issued since the beginning of the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution have developed Marxism-Leninism to a brand new stage and opened up an entirely new historic period in the development of proletarian art and literature and in the carrying out of the proletarian cultural revolution.

Over the past 25 years the "Talks" has greatly influenced China and the world, pointing out the direction of advance for all revolutionary art and literary workers and dealing telling blows to the reactionary bourgeois world outlook of all descriptions. The appraisal of the great historical role of the workers, peasants, and soldiers and the criticism and repudiation of the reactionary bourgeois world outlooks such as "the love of humanity" and "the theory of human nature" embodied in the "Talks" have helped the proletariat and the revolutionary people throughout the world understand the deceptive nature of the bourgeoisie and revisionism and encouraged them to struggle for their own liberation.

Of course, these 25 years have not passed without troubles. The history of the past 25 years has been one filled with violent class struggle and struggle between the two lines. Having controlled the former Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee, the former Ministry of Culture, the old Peking municipal party committee, and many other cultural departments throughout the country, Peng Chen, Lu Ting-i, Chou Yang, and other counterrevolutionary revisionists, and the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road who vigorously supported them, have frenziedly opposed and resisted the proletarian line on art and literature expounded in the "Talks" and in the series of Chairman Mao's important instructions on the question of culture, and frantically promoted a reactionary bourgeois line on art and literature (that is, the counterrevolutionary revisionist line on art and literature), so as to prepare public opinion for their evil cause of restoring capitalism on a nationwide scale.

In Shanghai a handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road in the former municipal party committee also frenziedly opposed and resisted Chairman Mao's proletarian literary and art line and opposed and resisted his instructions on criticizing and repudiating the agents of the bourgeoisie who had sneaked into the party. They did their best to oppose and obstruct the struggle carried on by Comrade Ko Ching-shih for steadfastly adhering to Chairman Mao's literary and art line. Colluding with Lu Ting-i, Chou Yang, and company, they vainly attempted to use Shanghai as a base for developing the reactionary capitalist art

literature. Over the past 17 years, in league with those academic and literary and art "authorities" of the reactionary bourgeoisie, the handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists, who had sneaked into the party, government, army, and the various cultural spheres, usurped the leadership in the cultural sphere.

Using Peking and Shanghai as their major bases for conducting reactionary propaganda, they extended their evil hands to various parts of the country, exercised counterrevolutionary bourgeois dictatorship on the proletariat in the cultural field, and rampantly perpetrated "peaceful transition." They frenziedly praised the reactionary art and literature of imperialism, feudalism, capitalism, and revisionism; frenziedly supported a large group of antiparty, antisocialist big poisonous weeds to serve the political needs of the counterrevolutionary revisionist clique within the party and to serve the antisocialist needs of the bourgeoisie; frenziedly opposed Mao Tse-tung's thought; slandered the propaganda of Mao Tse-tung's thought as "oversimplified" and "Philistine"; and advocated the various bourgeois reactionary art and literary theories which had long been refuted by the "Talks." They frenziedly staged and prettified all the ugly symbols of the exploiting classes -- emperors, kings, generals, prime ministers, scholars, beauties, corpses, devils, young masters, and young mistresses. They also repudiated or distorted the symbols of the great workers, peasants, and soldiers. They frenziedly recruited the deserters and renegades in the art and literary circles; sheltered the bad elements; protected and developed the new nobilities of the bourgeoisie; put into important positions large numbers of renegades, traitors, special agents, and elements who maintained illicit relations with foreign countries, exploiting class elements, and degenerates; and perpetrated various unspeakable activities. They frenziedly hit at all "small persons" who dared to rebel against them and those who dared to adhere to Chairman Mao's art and literary line. So vehement was their hatred that they would deal them a fatal blow.

They repudiated, distorted, revised, blocked, or boycotted all instructions of Chairman Mao's; but, regarding the world of the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the "big" intellectuals of the bourgeoisie, they obeyed them as if they were the words of God. Over the past 17 years, the handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists have committed towering crimes and no end of evil. From lauding "The Inside Story of the Ching Court" to producing the drama "Hai Jui's Dismissal," it is a complete black history of their opposition to the "Talks," their opposition to Mao Tse-tung's art and literary line, and their activities for restoring capitalism.

Serving proletarian politics means that art and literature should serve the needs of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship and developing the socialist revolution in the period of socialist revolution, and

that art and literature should serve the needs of remolding the party and the world with the countenance of the proletariat. But the core of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line is to remold the party and the world with the countenance of the bourgeoisie, dreaming of converting the proletarian dictatorship into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and to reduce China to an imperialist colony. As Chairman Mao correctly revealed: they intended to launch a counterrevolutionary coup in the fashion of the "Hungarian Petofi Club."

Chairman Mao personally led the numerous major art and literary struggles after liberation. Chairman Mao personally initiated and guided the criticism of "Hai Jui's Dismissal." Chairman Mao's theories on launching a great proletarian cultural revolution from the bottom to the top under the proletarian dictatorship, on proceeding from criticizing and repudiating the representatives of the bourgeoisie in the ideological and cultural realms to exposing and criticizing the handful of party persons in authority taking the capital road, to preventing capitalist restoration, and to consolidating the proletarian dictatorship, represent a creative development of the spirit of the "Talks," an epoch-making development of Marxism-Leninism and a great pioneering achievement in the international communist movement. Now, the ugly faces of this handful of counterrevolutionary revisionist elements have finally been exposed in the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution. Their plot has been crushed.

In opposition to the reactionary art and literary line of the bourgeoisie (that is the counterrevolutionary revisionist art and literary line) -- represented by Chou Yang, Hsia Yen, Lin Mo-han, and Chi Yen-ming -- Comrade Chiang Ching has steadfastly adhered to Chairman Mao's proletarian art and literary line as defined in the "Talks," carried out an unflinching struggle against the reactionary art and literary line of the bourgeoisie, and made vital contributions to the great proletarian cultural revolution. She has warmheartedly supported the newborn proletarian forces in the cultural circles who persist in the direction pointed out by the "Talks." She has dared to oppose each and every strict rule of those reactionary bourgeois authorities. The revolution of Peking opera and the revolution of other forms of theatrical art initiated and guided by her have destroyed the strongest citadel of the reactionary bourgeois and feudal art and literature, and created a number of brand new revolutionized Peking operas, ballets, and symphonies, establishing brilliant examples for the revolution of art and literature. These works are replete with revolutionary heroism of the proletariat, possess high degrees of revolutionary and artistic characteristics and a unique national style, provide good examples in developing the new by critical assimilation of the old, and are powerful ideological weapons and priceless cultural wealth of the proletariat.

On the stages in China and the world, these works have, through the heroic symbols typical of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, raised high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and dealt fatal blows at the monsters and demons of the exploiting classes.

"The minutes of the symposium of art and literary work among the units called by Comrade Chiang Ching at the request of Comrade Lin Piao" is an important document which has been amended many times by Chairman Mao. It has solved many major questions of the cultural revolution during the socialist period, crushed the foundation of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line on art and literature, and opened up a new road for the great proletarian cultural revolution in the art and literature fields.

We proletarian revolutionaries of Shanghai feel honored, for many major battles were fought in Shanghai. When the old Peking municipal party committee was controlled by the elements of Peng Chen's counterrevolutionary revisionist clique, Comrade Chiang Ching, acting on Chairman Mao's instructions, launched criticism and repudiation of Peng Chen's counterrevolutionary revisionist clique in Shanghai, kindling the raging flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution. We should carry forward such revolutionary traditions of the proletariat and forever wage an uncompromising struggle against all monsters and demons.

In commemorating the 25th anniversary of the publication of the "Talks," we must study in real earnest this great work of Chairman Mao's and his other great works on cultural revolution, and use them as our most important fighting weapons to thoroughly crush the positions occupied by the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line on art and literature politically, ideologically, theoretically, and organizationally, eliminate its poisonous influence, bring to the open all their underground activities, seize and put the leadership in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries, and thoroughly discredit the behind-the-scenes general boss of the black line of art and literature, and the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, so as to propel the revolutionary mass movement of criticism and repudiation to a new upsurge.

Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought are theories of revolution and criticism. They have always opened up the road of advance for themselves in the struggle against "left" and right opportunism and various trends of reactionary bourgeois ideas of all descriptions. Only through studying Mao Tse-tung's thought in struggle can we really master the revolutionary soul of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Only by mastering Mao Tse-tung's thought will it be possible to deal a fatal blow to the bourgeois reactionary line. In the final analysis, all our achievements in the great proletarian cultural revolution are victories of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao over the bourgeois reactionary ideology and line. Comrades of

Shanghai's proletarian revolutionaries, who are now in power, must place the study, mastery, and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought above everything else and before anything else, and attach greater importance to them than anything else. We must never forget and never stop and never let our day-to-day busy affairs take away our time for studying.

The ideological positions must be occupied by means of ideological weapons. It is impossible to destroy the bourgeois ideology by relying on fists and brutal force. Positions occupied by bourgeois ideology can only be recaptured by the proletariat using Mao Tse-tung's thought to criticize, repudiate, and fight. Only by using Mao Tse-tung's thought to conduct ideological education will it be possible for the masses poisoned and deceived by the bourgeois reactionary line to awake, consciously wipe out the erroneous thoughts in their minds, and return to the side of Chairman Mao's line. Whether the struggle can be carried out well on the ideological front is a matter which concerns the question whether we can carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

We should note that the bourgeois reactionary ideology and its representatives in the fields of ideology and culture are quite strong. The traditional influence and the force of inertia of the old society can only be gradually wiped out over a protracted period of time. The exposure of the representatives of the bourgeoisie is not tantamount to the elimination of their influence. Even after the old representatives of the bourgeoisie are uprooted, new ones may still emerge. Chairman Mao recently again reminded us: "The current great cultural revolution is only the first one, and there definitely will be many more in the future. The question of who will win or lose in the revolution can only be settled through a very long historical period. If we fail to do a good job, a capitalist restoration may happen any time, all party members and people throughout the country must not think that there will be peace and no worry after one or two, three, or four great cultural revolutions. We must be very alert and never lose vigilance." As for this emphatic and sincere instruction by Chairman Mao, comrades of our proletarian revolutionary organizations must think it over and over again, bear it in mind forever. We must never let the illusion of peace intoxicate us, render us careless, or cause us to slacken our revolutionary fighting spirit. We must not overlook the long-term nature of the struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the two roads, socialism and capitalism. The history of the class struggle has told us: Art and literature are the most sensitive nerves of the classes; every round, every rise and fall, every turn of event in the political struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism, is always reflected first in art and literature. Was it not from the criticism and repudiation of "Hai Jui's Dismissal," "The Inside Story of the Ching Court," and other big poisonous weeds that Chairman Mao led us to expose the ugly faces of the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road?

The task of criticism and repudiation in the art and literary fields must continue and go deeper. First to be criticized and repudiated, and sterilized are such revisionist art and literary theories as "a literature and art of the whole people," "the theory of writing about the middle-of-the-road people," and "the theory of human nature," the big poisonous weeds praised, supported, nurtured, and used directly by the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and the major works by the ringleaders of Soviet modern revisionism. The criticism and struggle on the art and literary front should be linked closely with the overall situation of the political struggle in the great cultural revolution, and should serve the needs of the political struggle of the proletariat.

Shanghai was the old venue of the art and literature black line of the thirties, long under the control of imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionary clique. Shanghai was the place where the largest number of the bourgeoisie and its intellectuals converged; many bad plays, bad films, and bad books were produced in Shanghai; and many major struggles broke out in Shanghai. The success and failure of the extensive criticism and repudiation in Shanghai's art and literature front will affect the question of whether he can root out the black line on art and literature, and whether we can capture every position on the cultural and educational front for the proletariat in the current great cultural revolution.

We must not take this question lightly. On the ideological front, we must mobilize the broad masses of people, grasp the major issues, and fight one battle after another. In the meantime, we should thoroughly investigate the political countenance of the bad people hiding in the cultural field.

In commemorating the 25th anniversary of the publication of the "Talks," the army of the pen and the army of the gun should be linked together better.

Chairman Mao pointed out in his "Talks": "In our struggle for the liberation of the Chinese people there are various fronts, among which there are the fronts of the pen and of the gun, the cultural and the military fronts. To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy." Chairman Mao pointed out that these two armies should be "linked together." This is an extremely important strategic concept of Chairman Mao's; we must understand it thoroughly.

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, in order to completely defeat the enemy, it is also necessary for us to depend on the good coordination and mutual support between the army of the pen and the army of the gun in their common struggle against the enemy. In other words, the meaning is to support the army and cherish

the people. We should resolutely respond to Chairman Mao's great call to support the army and cherish the people. When the army of the pen and the army of the gun are closely united under the leadership of our supreme commander Chairman Mao, we will be like a tiger who has been given wings and will be able to smash all the counterattacks of the class enemy and strive to win new and great victories.

In marking the 25th anniversary of the publication of the "Talks," we should persist in serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers as instructed by Chairman Mao and do well in the work of struggle-criticism-transformation in all spheres of literature and art. Workers of literary and art organizations should conscientiously carry out the "Decisions of the CCP Central Committee concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution in literary and art organizations." According to the current situation of the struggle, members of literary and art organizations should return to their own units and concentrate the forces to make revolution. They should at the same time carry out the struggle-criticism-transformation in their own units and create and perform modern, revolutionary literary and art works and dramas that serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers.

At present, there is still a long and arduous way to go as far as the completion of the task of struggle-criticism-transformation in the literary and art circles is concerned. The class struggle is still very acute and complicated. There will still be reversals.

The fundamental remolding in the sphere of literature and art lies in integration with the workers, peasants, and soldiers as pointed out in the "Talks." It is precisely as was pointed out by Chairman Mao: "China's revolutionary writers and artists, writers and artists of promise, must go among the masses; they must for a long period of time unreservedly and wholeheartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers, go into the heat of the struggle." "They must shift their stand; they must gradually move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat, through the process of going into their very midst and into the thick of practical struggles and through the process of studying Marxism and society."

Our literary and art creations must serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers; our literary and art ranks must remold their own stand and their world outlook through the process of integrating themselves with the workers, peasants, and soldiers. At present, we suggest that writers and artists should return to their own units to carry out the task of struggle-criticism-transformation. It is for the reason that, unless the great cultural revolution in various units is properly carried out, unless the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line on literature and art and the bourgeoisie reactionary line are thoroughly exposed and criticized, unless the handful of people in authority taking the capitalist

road is completely criticized, repudiated, and overthrown, and unless the literary and art ranks are properly straightened out and "cleared up," there can be no clear-cut line between the fronts of classes, it will be impossible for us to build a proletarian literary and art rank, and the integration with the workers, peasants, and soldiers cannot be guaranteed.

It should be pointed out: Some writers and artists and revolutionary intellectuals have integrated themselves with the workers, peasants, and soldiers, served the workers, peasants, and soldiers, disseminated Mao Tse-tung's thought, propagated the great cultural revolution, become one with the workers, peasants, and soldiers, carried out the struggle together with local proletarian revolutionaries and achieved good results, and have been warmly welcomed by the workers, peasants, and soldiers. This is the main aspect. However, there are also a very small number of people who took advantage of "exchanging experience" to create confusion and incite struggle by force in factories and rural areas; they even tried to reverse the verdicts passed on landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists. They failed to act according to Chairman Mao's "Talks" to sincerely learn from the proletarian revolutionaries among the workers and peasants and truly transform their nonproletarian thinking. On the contrary, they "regarded themselves as the masters of the masses," spread among the masses the thinking in antagonism to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and desperately created a split in the revolutionary ranks.

Is it right to say that this handful of persons should not make efforts to study the "Talks" well and cleanse their thinking accordingly?

Literature and art are the weapons for class struggle. All literary and art works produced by the proletariat are the powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and annihilating the enemies in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought. The revolutionary writers and artists in Shanghai, under the leadership of Comrade Chiang Ching, have launched heroic attacks on the citadels held by the obstinate bourgeoisie and feudalists. They have created such brilliant and exemplary revolutionary operas as "Taking the Bandit Stronghold," "In the Docks," and "The White-Haired Girl," which are representative of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda teams organized by the revolutionary literary and art workers and Red Guard fighters of Shanghai, as well as their literary and art detachments, while actively serving on the various fronts have created many outstanding short plays which show the fighting spirit. Because these plays reflect the struggle of the various stages of the present era, they are warmly acclaimed by the broad masses. You have done the right thing and have done it well!

From now on we shall make continued efforts to advance toward popularization and the raising of standards. We should have the revolutionary ambition to create more exemplary works reflecting the great proletarian cultural revolution, which is unprecedented in history, and produce more outstanding works to reflect the stormy January revolution of Shanghai! Our revolutionary musicians should produce songs and music that reflect the great revolutionary spirit of the proletarian revolutionaries! We should have our own "songs of the Red Guards"! Revolutionary writers must create the immortal images of the proletarian heroes who have emerged during the great cultural revolution! In the fields of literature and art, we should bring forth eulogies of victory that praise the victories of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and let these praises echo in the sky!

While marking the 25th anniversary of the publication of the "Talks," we must conscientiously implement the mass line in all fields, stepping up self-reformation and surmounting the various kinds of nonproletarian thinking among our ranks in accordance with the world outlook of the proletariat.

The two fundamental questions, whom to serve and how to serve, as pointed out in Chairman Mao's "Talks," have a universal meaning not only to the literary and art workers, but also to every comrade who is engaged in the work of revolution. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the focus of the struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line lies in the question of one's stand and attitude toward the masses.

Chairman Mao has repeatedly called on the revolutionary cadres to "go to the midst of the masses." Obviously, only by settling the question of stand and the question of attitude can we have a correct political orientation for our work, and only by settling the two questions can we prevent the capitalist "peaceful evolution" and the capitalist restoration. We proletarian revolutionaries definitely do not aim at serving the interests of a small organization. On the contrary, we serve the interests of the proletariat and the broad masses of revolutionaries. If a revolutionary mass organization's interests conflict with that of the proletariat and the broad masses of working people, then these partial interests should be placed in subordination to the collective interest, definitely not the other way around. All revolutionary cadres should humbly learn from the masses, enthusiastically support the initiative of the masses, wage resolute struggle against all kinds of bureaucratic practices that keep them apart from the masses, and make strenuous efforts to incessantly cleanse their minds of the dust that tarnishes their thinking and working style.

Chairman Mao teaches us in the "Talks": "All communists, all revolutionaries, all revolutionary literary and art workers should learn from the

example of Lu Hsun and be 'oxen' for the proletariat and the masses, bending their backs to the tasks until their dying day." We should use this as a criterion for self-inspection, develop the working style of hard struggle, and continuously and determinedly fight the ideas of "self-interest" so as to serve the people wholeheartedly.

In his "Talks" Chairman Mao repeatedly taught us that a clear distinction must be made between proletarian ideology and petty bourgeois ideology. He said: "There are many comrades who are still not clear what the difference is between the proletariat and the party bourgeoisie." "There is a need to launch an ideological struggle between the proletariat and the nonproletariat."

The "Talks" is a penetrating report on rectification. It is a mighty ideological weapon for the proletarianization of our thinking. Comrades of the revolutionary rebel groups in Shanghai must firmly grasp the general orientation of the struggle, consolidate and develop the revolutionary great alliance, make a conscious effort toward overcoming the pounding attacks of the petty bourgeois ideological tide, and conquer anarchism, small-group mentality, splittism, and other erroneous trends that obstruct the revolutionary great alliance. A proletarian revolutionary fighter must be expert at distinguishing the demarcation line between the proletarian world view and all sorts of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideologies and other nonproletarian thinking. They must do careful and patient ideological work, lead the masses in overcoming the influence of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideologies, and unite with them to march forward shoulder to shoulder.

Chairman Mao pointed out: Only by achieving unanimity on basic principles, and "also by setting forth the slogan of going into the masses for the workers, the Eighth Route Army, and the New Fourth Army, and thoroughly implementing it" can the objective of conquering sectarianism and uniting to face a common enemy be achieved.

In the "Talks" Chairman Mao quoted Lu Hsun: "The inability to achieve unification of our lines proves that our objective is not in accord. It is either for the individual or for the small group. If the objective is for the masses of workers and peasants, our lines will naturally be unified."

The directives of Chairman Mao have great educational significance not only for the literature and art circles, but also for the present strengthening of the alliance of proletarian revolutionaries.

We proletarian revolutionaries must aim the spearhead of struggle unwaveringly at the Khrushchev of China, the party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and the bourgeois reactionary line represented by the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road, form an alliance under the common objective of the struggle, unite the broad

revolutionary masses, march courageously forward along the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line! Carry the revolutionary mass criticism through to the end! Hold firm to the orientation of serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers! Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat! Long live the Chinese Communist Party! Long live the all-conquering Mao Tse-tung's thought! Long live our great leader Chairman Mao!

DOCKERS HAVE ASCENDED THE DRAMATIC STAGE

[Following is a translation of an article by the Revolutionary Rebel Detachment of the Workers of the 5th Loading and Unloading District, Shanghai Harbor Bureau, published in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 9, 27 May 1967, pp 36-37.]

A mighty thunderclap opens up a new world, and a thousand leagues of east wind sweep away the scattered clouds. In the surging great proletarian cultural revolution and the great struggle for the criticism and repudiation of the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, On the Docks, a revolutionary Peking opera on modern theme, has appeared on the stage with brand-new features. This is a very fine model play created under the intimate guidance of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing and is a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art. "The fragrance of the chrysanthemum is especially strong in the battlefield." We hail and applaud the Peking opera On the Docks. The opera is very good indeed!

Having seen the opera On the Docks, many of our dockers said that it never occurred to them even in their dreams that the dockers -- who were described as the "poor guys" and "stinking coolies" in the old society -- would appear on the dramatic stage.

Since we were liberated more than ten years ago, we have won our political emancipation, and the working people have become the masters of the country. However, we working people were never the masters on the dramatic stage. The top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party and the counterrevolutionary revisionists in literary and art circles frenziedly opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art, and the dramatic stage was dominated by emperors and princes, generals and ministers, gifted scholars and beauties, foreigners, dead people, and monsters and demons to shape public opinion for capitalist restoration. We of the working class could never give assent to this, and we wanted to seize back all positions usurped and occupied by them.

It was Chairman Mao who led the Chinese people to make revolution and turned the working people into the masters of the country. It was the radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought which shed light on the dramatic stage and brought about one good play after another that sang the praises of the heroic characters among the workers, peasants and soldiers. Let all kinds of historical rubbish be swept away from the stage. This is really an earth-shaking change.

After Chairman Mao saw Forced into Going Up Liangshan at the Yenan Peking Opera Theater twenty-three years ago, he had this to point out: "History is made by the people, but on the old stage (and in all kinds of old literature and art divorced from the people), the people became the dregs, and the stage was dominated by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters. Now you have reversed such reversal of history and restored truthful history. Hence, this is worthy of congratulations." Old Chairman Mao has said what we working people want to say. Having seen the opera On the Docks, we dockers find this statement of Chairman Mao's especially complaisant, and we are able to understand it more profoundly.

How well the opera On the Docks is sung! It has brought out the warm love of us dockers for the Party and Chairman Mao. The dockers from the old society keep their scores in their hearts. Without the Communist Party there would not be the world of the working people, and but for Chairman Mao, the dockers would not be what they are today.

Hark! What Kao Chih-yang -- a "stinking coolie" in the old society but a good squad leader of the dockers today -- is singing is precisely the voice deep in our hearts: "Prior to liberation, the Stars and Stripes and the US ships committed outrages on the Yangtze River and left numerous blood stains and scars on the wharves! Fortunately the big guns of the Liberation Army dissipated the fog and brought out the sun."

We can never forget what our predecessors had said and how they shed blood when the dockers sought liberation and made preparations for battle. "We must wreak vengeance, seize over the wharves and become their masters!"

Under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao, we of the proletariat conquered the country. But now a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party want to make our socialist regime change political color, and we can never permit this. We dockers must use our big hands which once held carrying poles to lay a firm grip on the proletarian seal of authority. We shall closely follow Chairman Mao to make revolution. The seas may dry up and the rocks may decay, but our hearts will never change.

How well molded the images of the proletarian heroes are in the opera On the Docks!

Nursed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, Fang Hai-chen, a coal digger in the old society and a person holding the seal in the new society -- is boundlessly loyal to and keeps a pair of sharp proletarian eyes on the revolutionary cause. She deeply understands that "one must not think that the wharf is free from storm because the port of Shanghai has always been a raging battlefield." She harbors a strong class affection for Han Hsiao-ch'iang, and through conducting class education, she helps him overcome the influence of bourgeois ideas and raise his class consciousness. Fang Hai-chen arms herself and the masses with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and leads the dockers to ride on the wind and waves.

Fang Hai-chen is one of us dockers, and those she leads are also workers. There are many Fang Hai-chens among us dockers. They creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's writings, are able to detect all monsters and demons, and they can stand firm irrespective of how stormy it is.

At the end of last year, a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party raised the counterrevolutionary evil wind of economism in order to shift the general orientation of the struggle and undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution. These fellows thought they adopted the right tactics. But the dockers opportunely exposed their plot, waged a tit-for-tat struggle against them, and thoroughly smashed their counterattack. Following this, we proletarian revolutionaries seized back power from a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party.

Kao Chih-yang has manifested the heroic bearing of us dockers on the docks in keeping the world in our minds. He displays the revolutionary spirit of "holding up ten thousand piculs of grain with his left hand and one thousand tons of steel with his right hand." He is also so broad-minded that "he sends his profound affection to every corner."

When damaged bags of wheat were known to exist, he was full of anxiety, and he organized workers to work through the night to look for these damaged bags. Later he discovered that these damaged bags had been loaded on a rice lighter, and would soon be erroneously taken aboard a foreign vessel that carried aid to a fraternal country. Ignoring his fatigue after a day of work, he led other comrades and braved the thunder storm to pursue the lighter. They ignored "the billows which dashed against their chests and the strong wind and torrential rains which whipped at their backs," and finally caught the lighter and brought back the damaged bags.

We are workers of socialist China -- workers armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Heart-stirring events occurred every day in our port of

Shanghai, and many foreign friends constantly raised their thumbs and said that the Chinese workers "are wonderful."

On one occasion, we were required to load material supplies in aid of a fraternal country, and it was originally planned that the job should take sixteen hours to complete. The workers said: "Every additional case loaded means one more shell for firing at US imperialism." We rubbed our hands and fists, made sky-rocketing effort, and took only a little more than four hours to fulfill the task ahead of schedule. A foreign friend nailed down an old squad leader and said with excitement: "The workers led by Mao Tse-tung do what they say. They are very good!"

The Peking opera On the Docks is well written and presented. When we saw the revolutionary writers and artists put the heroic deeds of our comrades-in-arms on the stage, we felt very excited and were inspired and educated. We cannot forget class misery. We think all the time of the oppressed people in the whole world and of making revolution for ever. Such a good play as On the Docks should be performed for all dockers and workers. We would not get tired of it even though we might have seen it ten times or a hundred times.

Thanks to the guidance of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing and the efforts of the revolutionary writers and artist, On the Docks, a revolutionary Peking opera with a contemporary theme, has been adapted for performance. How we hope that even more revolutionary writers and artists would come among us workers, peasants and soldiers, among us proletarian revolutionaries, and into the stormy class struggle to create a greater number of such work of literature and art as On the Docks, and mold even more heroic characters similar to Fang Hai-chen and Kao Chih-yang.

As taught by Chairman Mao, we should see to it that literature and art are really "created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use." In the great proletarian cultural revolution, in the stormy "January Revolution," how many earth-shaking heroic deeds have occurred in our port of Shanghai, and how we hope that the revolutionary writers and artists will portray them!

RAID ON THE WHITE TIGER REGIMENT IS A GOOD PLAY
MANIFESTING THE THOUGHT OF MAO TSE-TUNG

[Following is a translation of an article by Yang Yü-ts'ai (2799 5148 2088), First-Class Fighting Hero of the former Chinese People's Volunteers, published in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 9, 27 May 1967, pp 38-40.]

When the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's illustrious article, "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" was celebrated, I saw once again the model play of revolutionary Peking opera, Raid on the White Tiger Regiment, and my heart was stirring with joy. The stage of Peking opera dominated by emperors and princes, generals and ministers, gifted scholars and beauties, has now been occupied by the lofty images of the workers, peasants and soldiers. This eloquently shows that the great thought of Mao Tse-tung is so invincible that nothing can stand in its way. The people armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung are capable of thoroughly defeating US imperialism, the most ferocious enemy of the people of the whole world armed to the teeth, in the military theater of war. In the cultural theater of war they are capable of thoroughly breaching the most tenacious citadel of the old forces most strongly dominated by counterrevolutionary revisionism -- Peking opera. This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art, a great victory for the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Raid on the White Tiger Regiment has correctly portrayed Chairman Mao's thought on the people's war and graphically molded the heroic images of the revolutionary people armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. It has composed the triumphal hymn for the great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought on the Peking opera stage.

Vice Chairman Lin Piao said: "As far as our armed forces are concerned, the best weapon is not the aircraft, the big gun, the tank or the atomic bomb, but the thought of Mao Tse-tung. The greatest fighting power comes from the people armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, bravery and defiance of death." This is the greatest truth. Today, regardless

of what artistic form is used to portray the heroic characters, only through revealing the nursing of Mao Tse-tung's thought and manifesting the great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought can we mirror the true features of heroic characters and mold really striking heroic images.

When I was invited to see this play in 1965, they asked me to tell how the raid on the White Tiger Regiment was carried out. I told them that our 13 scouts depended upon the power of Mao Tse-tung's thought to win the battle. As a matter of fact, but for the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, there could not have been the great internationalist action of the Volunteers, nor could the great victory be won in the Korean theater of war.

In the opera Raid on the White Tiger Regiment Yang Wei-ts'ai sings: "The Chinese and Korean people share their adversities together and their class and national animosities are unequalled. Chairman Mao leads us to make revolution and we have vowed to turn the old world upside down."

When US imperialism used the conspiracy of sham negotiation but real fighting, real war and sham peace, to hoodwink the people, Chairman Mao's viewpoint on class and class struggle enabled us to gain a basically clear understanding of the aggressive nature of US imperialism, and see clearly its counterrevolutionary double-faced tactics of war and "peace." Everybody had a clear picture of things and was full of fight. What Yang Wei-ts'ai sings in the play has truthfully expressed the determination of our Volunteers: "Although it plays the trick of sham negotiation and real fighting, yet a wolf in sheep's clothing is still a wolf. We harbor no illusions for the enemy, and we must heighten our vigilance, cling to the gun and defeat that ambitious wolf US imperialism!"

When the enemy burned down Anp'ing Lane and massacred the Korean class brothers and we were poised for the attack, it was precisely Chairman Mao's teaching -- serve the world people wholeheartedly, dare to fight and to win -- which enabled the thirteen of us to fight with one heart and concerted effort and thrust a sharp knife direct at the heart of the enemy. Because of Chairman Mao's teaching, Yang Wei-ts'ai was able to defy death when he stepped on an enemy mine, and was ready to sacrifice himself to shield his comrades-in-arms. Because of his teaching, we were able to cut our way through enemy troops several tens of times greater than our number and brought horror to the enemy. "Our army spreads the net to bag several ten thousand enemy troops." Such a miracle could only be performed by the revolutionary fighters armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Chairman Mao's thought on the people's war has shed light on the road of victory for revolutionary war. He said: "The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them." When portraying the revolutionary war, it is necessary

to manifest correctly this great thought of Chairman Mao's and give correct publicity to the relations between the army and the people.

We are pleased to see that this question is very well dealt with in the opera Raid on the White Tiger Regiment which portrays the relations between the army and the people as those between fish and water. In the Korean theater of war, our scouts were able to sneak into and move freely in the rear of the enemy not because we were able to walk on the roof and scale the wall, but because we were in close touch with the masses, depended on them for information, and were backed, shielded and assisted by them. The masses showed us the way, brought us ammunition and food grain, saved and shielded our wounded and sick personnel, and informed us of the movement of the enemy.

Old woman Ts'ui in the play is an epitome of the revolutionary people of Korea as a whole.

In the Korean battlefield, I once braved the heavy snow and went out to execute a task. After spending a day running about in the snow which was one meter deep, all my clothes were soaked through with snow and sweat and had frozen into a hard shell. Cold and hungry, when I came to a gully in a big mountain, I could walk no more. It was old woman Ts'ui who found me and brought me to her home. My cotton-padded coat and cotton-padded shoes were so hard frozen that they could not be removed from my body. Old woman Ts'ui thawed the shoe-laces with her hot breath and removed my shoes. She also thawed the frozen buttons in her mouth and removed my clothes. She saved me and escorted me back to my troops.

The husband, son and daughter-in-law of this old woman Ts'ui had all been ruthlessly slayed by US imperialism, and only she and her granddaughter were left. She regarded the Volunteers as her relatives and she risked her life to shield them. When she saw the enemy she was fired with anger. Should she come across an American devil in the gully, she would mercilessly hack him to death.

Old woman Ts'ui in the play also represents many old women Ts'ui among the revolutionary people of Korea who had contributed every ounce of their strength toward winning the war.

In the Korean theater of war, because Chairman Mao's thought on the people's war had taken root in the brains of the commanders and fighters of the Volunteers, they wholeheartedly fought for the Korean people, established flesh-and-blood class ties with them, and were supported and cherished by them. In the raid on the White Tiger Regiment, although we had only 13 scouts, yet there were numerous Korean people fighting with us. With the help of the masses of the people, we were like tigers with wings and fish in water. We could climb up perpendicular cliffs, jump across mountain streams, and descend on the enemy as though we were troops from Heaven, thus striking terror into the enemy.

The opposite was true with the enemies. Although they were armed to the teeth, yet because they were against the people, every tree of Korea was used as ammunition for wiping them out and every piece of land there was turned into a graveyard for them. They were deaf, blind and paralyzed, and they charged into the fire like the wild bulls and were buried in the vast sea of people's war.

Chairman Mao said: "The stage for the activities of strategists is built upon objective material conditions, but on this stage, the strategists can direct many colorful and striking, awe-inspiring and militant melodramas." Chairman Mao is the greatest commander and the wisest strategist in the world. Japanese imperialism was defeated by China, the eight million strong army of the Chiang Kai-shek gang of bandits was wiped out, and US imperialism said to be without an equal in the world was beaten in Korea. All these colorful, striking, awe-inspiring and militant scenes which startled the world were personally "directed" by Chairman Mao. The victory of every battle fought by the Volunteers in the Korean theater of war, every colorful and striking scene big or small, was won or created according to Chairman Mao's strategical and tactical thinking.

Raid on the White Tiger Regiment has correctly portrayed how the fighters of the Volunteers won one victory after another in fighting under the guidance of Chairman Mao's strategical and tactical thinking, and has sung the praises of the peerless greatness and brilliance of Chairman Mao's strategical and tactical thinking. What are portrayed in this play are all facts.

Prior to making our raid on the White Tiger Regiment, we studied in real earnest Chairman Mao's thought on slighting the enemy strategically and seriously dealing with him tactically, probing the weak spots of the enemy, taking him by surprise and catching him unprepared. Chairman Mao's teaching that only raiding the enemy by surprise could insure victory was taken as our guiding thought in this battle. As we thrust deep into the enemy rear, we encountered enemy troops a number of times, but we followed Chairman Mao's mobile and flexible strategy and tactics: "Stand and fight when you can win, and when there is no chance of winning, just slip away." In this way we were able to capture enemy soldiers to obtain information, dodge the artillery position of the enemy, sneak past the enemy sentry boxes, confuse the enemy reinforcements, penetrate through one barrier after another, and make a direct thrust at the heart of the enemy -- the regimental headquarters of the White Tiger Regiment.

At that time, since we had to deal with enemies more than ten times greater than our number, how should we fight? According to Chairman Mao's thought on fighting a battle of annihilation -- "It is better to cut one of his fingers than to hurt his ten fingers," and "Strive to make the annihilation complete without letting anybody slip away" -- we brought into

play the tactical principle of making a ferocious charge to fight a battle of quick decision. With the speed of lightning we charged into the regimental command post of the enemy, and after thirteen minutes of fierce fighting, we smashed the enemy command, killed the commander of the White Tiger Regiment, the commander of the Mechanized Armored Regiment and the US advisers, and wiped out all enemies, thus transforming the White Tiger Regiment -- so-called "corp d'elite" -- into a dead tiger regiment.

The successful performance of Raid on the White Tiger Regiment has retold on the stage how the Volunteers nursed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung grew to maturity in fighting in those years. It has sung the praises of the Volunteers who heroically destroyed the enemy and performed deeds of merit under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is the greatest truth of history and is also the greatest achievement of the revolutionary Peking opera Raid on the White Tiger Regiment.

The victory of the revolution of Peking opera has smashed the pipe-dream of a handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists in literary and art circles and their backstage boss -- China's Khrushchev -- who vainly attempted to make use of the opera stage to carry out capitalist restoration. It has adjudged the counterrevolutionary revisionist line in literature and art bankrupt, and has opened up a new era for the development of new literature and art for the proletariat. Let us warmly hail the great victory of the revolution of Peking opera! Let the heroic characters of the workers, peasants and soldiers armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung forever dominate our opera stage!

WORKERS, PEASANTS AND SOLDIERS MUST OCCUPY THE ART STAGE

[Following is a translation of an article by Lü Chia-ts'ai (0712 0857 2088), of the Red Rebel Liaison Center of the Peking Machine Tool Plant No. 1, published in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 9, 27 May 1967, pp 40-41.]

With the great proletarian cultural revolution scoring a decisive victory today and at a time when the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" is warmly commemorated, five documents on literature and art written by our greatest leader Chairman Mao have been made public! These five documents have creatively developed the Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art, and have penetratingly exposed, criticized and repudiated the counter-revolutionary revisionist black line in literature and art. They are program documents for the great proletarian cultural revolution as well as the most powerful weapons for overcoming modern revisionism and all kinds of bourgeois ideas in literature and art.

For a long period of time, there has all along been a hot and sharp struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines on the literary and art front.

As early as 1944, after seeing the opera Forced into Going Up Liangshan, Chairman Mao had this to point out in a letter to the Yanan Peking Opera Theater: "History is made by the people, but on the old stage (and in all kinds of old literature and art divorced from the people), the people became the dregs, and the stage was dominated by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters. Now you have reversed such reversal of history and restored truthful history. Hence, this is worthy of congratulations. This beginning of yours will be an epoch-making beginning for the revolution of old opera. I am very pleased when I think of this, and I hope that you will write and perform more plays so as to create a vogue for promotion in the whole country!"

However, the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party directed his loyal lackeys Lu Ting-i, Chou Yang, Lin

Mo-han, Ch'i Yen-ming, Hsia Yen and a handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists to lay hold of the literary and art circles, call in capitulationists and collect renegades, and form factions for selfish ends. They carried out a thick and long counterrevolutionary revisionist black line in literature and art, and frenziedly opposed and resisted Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art and his revolutionary guideline that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. They raised the bourgeois black banner advocating "literature and art of the whole people," vociferously promoted the reactionary and decadent culture of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism, brought into play in a big way "celebrities", "foreigners" and "ancient people," and gave the green light to big poisonous weeds opposed to the Party, socialism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. They incited the monsters and demons to come out of hiding, placed the literary and art stage under the protracted domination of foreigners and dead persons, emperors and princes, generals and ministers, gifted scholars and beauties, and made a mess of the literary and art circles.

A handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists and the bourgeois reactionary "authorities" claimed that the workers, peasants and soldiers were not qualified for the stage. What are the qualifications they have in mind? Their so-called qualifications refer to the arrogance of emperors and princes, generals and ministers, and the romances of gifted scholars and beauties. These are the qualifications of the bourgeoisie and landlords, and the higher such qualifications are, the greater is the harm done to the people. By requiring us workers, peasants and soldiers to watch the low-class, depraved and disgusting awfulness of those lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters, how can we workers, peasants and soldiers -- who led the life of draft beasts in the old society but have now become the masters -- help from feeling indignant?

"The Golden Monkey wrathfully swung his massive cudgel, and the jade-like firmament was cleared of dust." Amidst the foul air of counterrevolutionary revisionism, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing -- the bravest fighter of the great proletarian cultural revolution whom we boundlessly revered and admired -- charged at the head and made the onslaught. With the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung as the weapon, she led the writers and artists to launch a violent attack against the decadent culture of the exploiting classes and the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line in literature and art. She stormed and breached the tenacious citadel which had for a long time been occupied by the counterrevolutionary revisionists, thus firing the first salvo of the great proletarian cultural revolution and creating a new era for proletarian literature and art in China.

Smashing the Bandits' Stronghold, On the Docks, Story of the Red Lantern, Sha Chia Pang, Raid on the White Tiger Regiment, Red Detachment of Women, White-haired Girl ... and other revolutionary plays on

contemporary themes were brought out one after another. Yang Tzu-jung, Fang Hai-chen, Li Yu-ho, Kuo Chien-kuang, Yang Wei-ts'ai, Wu Ch'ing-hua..., all heroic images of the workers, peasants and soldiers glittering with the radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, ascended the art stage in one leap, and history which was made by the people but had been transposed by a handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists was once again reversed. The season for a hundred flowers to come into full bloom in proletarian revolutionary literature and art had come!

Over a number of years, the class struggle in literary and art circles has been breathtaking, acute and complex! In the class struggle of literary and art circles, these five documents of Chairman Mao's serve as the compass. Like a red lantern, their unequalled radiance has lit up the brilliant prospects of the great cultural revolution. The five documents are magic mirrors, the strongest weapons for thoroughly exposing all counterrevolutionary revisionists and monsters and demons. In their presence, the poisonous weeds dressed as flowers and the wolves in sheep's clothing will reveal their true identity and have no way to hide themselves. The five documents are mobilization orders. They call on our broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers to occupy the art stage, and serve as the main force of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the masters of socialist literature and art!

"I ask the great earth and the boundless blue: Who are the masters of all nature?" We, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, are! Putting literature and art in the service of the workers, peasants and soldiers is the basic policy of proletarian literature and art. The broadest road and most far-reaching outlook of our proletarian literature and art lie in the workers, peasants and soldiers writing about themselves and putting themselves on the stage. The onflow of the great proletarian cultural revolution has pushed us workers, peasants and soldiers onto the art stage. The era has entrusted us workers, peasants and soldiers with the great mission of destroying the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line in literature and art and founding a thoroughly red new literature and art glittering with the radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Let us hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought in literature and art, firmly lay hold of Chairman Mao's powerful ideological weapons -- his "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" and the five documents recently published, and completely bury the counterrevolutionary revisionist line in literature and art. Let us strive to create a new revolutionary literature and art of the proletariat worthy of our great leader, great country, great people, great Party and great army. Let the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers forever be the masters of the literary and art front as they should and let the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought fly high and fly forever over the literary and art front.

Long live the victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art!

LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN MAO'S BOUNDLESSLY BRILLIANT
REVOLUTIONARY LINE ON LITERATURE AND ART

[Following is a translation of an article by Tu Chin-fang (2629 6602 5364), published in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 9, 27 May 1967, pp 42-47.]

At a time when splendid results have been achieved by the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by our leader Chairman Mao, the reddest red sun in our hearts, to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the publication of a programmatic document of epoch-making world significance -- "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" -- is a big, joyful event not only to the Chinese revolutionary people but also to the revolutionary people of the whole world.

In the "Talks," Chairman Mao teaches us literary and art workers thus: "All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use."

All revolutionary workers in literature and art should carry out this highest directive without reservation, going all out to represent workers, peasants and soldiers, to sing praises of their heroic deeds and project their splendid images so as to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship and push our country's socialist revolution and construction to go on moving forward with success.

The Struggle Between Two Classes and Two Lines
in Peking Opera

As long as 1944 our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: "History is made by the people, but on the old theatrical stage (in all old literature and arts divorced from the people) the people are treated as scum, and the stage is dominated by rich men and their wives as well as their sons and daughters. Such a reversal of history has been reversed by you, and the face of history has been restored. From now on the old opera has taken on a new face. This is cause for rejoicing."

However, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road directed P'eng Chen, the counter-revolutionary revisionist leader of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and Lu Ting-i, Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han, Chi Yen-ming, Hsia Yen, and T'ien Han of the old Propaganda Department of the Central Committee and the old Ministry of Culture to recruit traitors and accept mutineers, form gangs to pursue private purposes, firmly hold all positions, big and small, in the circles of Peking opera, and thus consistently resist Chairman Mao's directives. Hoisting the signboards of "digging up traditions" and "inheriting traditional schools of thought," they let loose large numbers of bad plays praising kings, emperors, generals, prime ministers, scholars and beauties and preaching feudal morality and superstitions.

Actually, what is meant by "digging up traditions" is to dig up from the graves characters representative of the exploiting classes who had for long sat on the heads of the laboring people, to write their biographies, and use their ideology to rule the laboring people. What is meant by "inheriting the traditional schools of thought" is to laud to the skies those bourgeois reactionary "authorities and "grand masters," and to force the younger generation in socialist China to kneel at the feet of the "authorities" and "grand masters" and become bourgeois successors. By using these means, these persons reactionary to the core vainly attempt to reverse the wheels of history, dreaming that one morning new China of proletarian dictatorship could be dragged back to the semi-feudal, semi-colonial road before the liberation.

In 1956, "General Yang Visits His Mother" was again staged suddenly. This play which preaches the philosophy of the traitor and the philosophy of survival had been banned since the liberation. A handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and the old Ministry of Culture, in order to extend their influences, organized a large number of "famous actors and actresses" to stage the show at the biggest opera house in Peking at the time. Moreover, record tapes were produced to be broadcast over the radio in various places. Thus, a black wind of presenting "General Yang Visits His Mother" swept across the country. At an evening party in 1959, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road personally handed down a black directive asking us to present an obscene play "The Emperor and the Waitress" which had been banned for many years. He was full of praise for the performance and proposed to present the play on a larger scale.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Just as there is no love without cause in the world, so there is no hatred without cause." The fact that the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is so fond of "The Emperor and the Waitress" fully exposes his ugly soul.

Since 1959, imperialism, modern revisionists and reactionaries of all countries rigged up a frantic anti-China big chorus. At this time,

a small handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists in the country actively coordinated with each other and first presented the play "Chiu Chiang Kou," in which the hero Chang Ting-piem who was wrongly appointed a commanding general was eulogized, to cooperate with the attack by the Right opportunists against the Party. Then, they presented "Hsieh Yao-huan" written by Tien Han, an anti-Party "grand master" in the theatrical circles; this was a play which attacked by insinuation the general line, the people's commune and the great leap forward. In the meantime, Wu Han's "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office" and Meng Ch'ao's "Li Hui-niang" were successively staged.

Thus, instantly, devils were dancing wildly. The whole stage of Peking opera was engulfed by a suffocating, dirty atmosphere. It seemed as if "dark clouds are overhanging the city, and the city is crumbling."

Chairman Mao has taught us in these terms: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. They look very dreadful, but actually they do not have any great strength."

The reactionary forces entrenched in the position of Peking opera at the time, however ferocious they might appear, were, in fact, only a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and some reactionary "authorities" who were waving banners and shouting themselves hoarse there. The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers had long ago discarded Peking opera and the broad masses of young students had basically shunned Peking opera. Peking opera art was faced with the danger of extinction. In reality, therefore, these people in authority taking the capitalist road and the reactionary "authorities" were never so isolated; they had no mass following around them, and their reactionary goods could find no market.

Under the rule of the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line on literature and art, we actors and actresses failed to see the essence of the problem. All we saw was that the box-office records were declining. This worried us all day long, but we did not know what to do.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing -- the Most Courageous
Fighter Holding High the Great Red Banner of the Thought of
Mao Tse-tung on the Literary and Art Front

At a time when the struggle in the theatrical circles between the two classes and two lines assumed the most acute form and when the broad masses of Peking opera workers had lost their bearings and did not know where to go, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, armed with Chairman Mao's highest directive and strong proletarian sentiments, came to us and personally led us to carry out a revolution in Peking opera. In an interview with us, I spoke to her about the fact that Peking opera had been shunned by theater-goers, and poured out to her our worries and anxieties. Comrade

Chiang Ch'ing intimately explained to us the policy of having literature and art serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and analyzed for us the basic reason why Peking opera had been discarded by theater-goers. It was not that the theater-goers did not want to see you, but that you had not done your work in such a way as to be consistent with Chairman Mao's line on literature and art. That was why the theater-goers did not see your plays. Moreover, she pointed out that the only correct direction for the development of Peking opera in the future was to present plays on contemporary revolutionary themes. At the same time, she recommended to us the play "Red Lantern" which had been carefully selected, and suggested that we adapt it and present it on stage. That night, I was so excited that I could not sleep. This was the first time in my life that I heard such an instruction. What Comrade Chiang Ch'ing had given us was not merely a play "Red Lantern" but also a splendid red lantern sparkling with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, which illuminated the way of advance for the reform of Peking opera.

At this time, however, a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and some reactionary "authorities," relying on their reactionary smell, had already sensed that if Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art were implemented, it could imply the destruction of their dream for capitalist restoration. Breathing through the same nostrils, they put up a stubborn resistance. They prevented Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's directives and wishes from being known to the broad sections of the cadres and the revolutionary masses. They desperately clung to the decadent corpse of the traditional play, shouting again and again that "immediately after we have presented contemporary plays, let us present classical plays." Moreover, they framed plan for internal rehearsing one classical play every month with the aim of dispersing the energies of the masses and sapping their fighting will. In addition, hoisting red flags to oppose red flags, these reactionary "authorities" rehearsed another contemporary play which preaches class reconciliation - "The Daughter of a Commune Chairman." Actually, they vainly hoped to replace "Red Lantern" with this. With the date of the opera festival approaching, the reactionary essence of "The Daughters of a Commune Chairman" was discerned the moment it reared its head. These plots went bankrupt one after another, and it was under the pressure of the objective situation that "Red Lantern" was included in the repertoire.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing not only selected a fine play for us. What is more, with a very high sense of responsibility and the greatest enthusiasm, she gave valuable instructions ranging from the structure of the play, the feelings of the characters, music, singing to artistic designs. To solve one problem, she often lay awake. She more than once emphasized that in the whole play we should first establish the lofty image of Li Yu-ho, a Communist Party member who fought the enemy heroically. Without revolutionary martyrs and without a revolutionary political party, how could we have revolutionary successors? It was inspired by the

revolutionary noble qualities of Li Yü-ho that T'ieh Mei had grown. It was no accident, therefore, that after the sacrifices of Li Yü-ho and his mother, T'ieh Mei was able to inherit the revolutionary will of her father and become a staunch successor to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

However, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and certain reactionary "authorities" opposed Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's directives in all possible ways and wilfully distorted the gist of "Red Lantern" in a vain attempt to emasculate this modern play of an revolutionary content. They deliberately placed Li Yü-ho in a secondary position, trying their might to depreciate and distort the heroic image of Li Yü-ho, a proletarian vanguard fighter.

Counterrevolutionary revisionist Lin Mo-han even went so far as to spread poison in the public. Maliciously on the excuse of telling a "story", he arbitrarily put the thought of a traitor into T'ieh Mei's mind, vainly trying to tarnish the image of proletarian heroes with the philosophy of the traitors. We know that a genuine Communist Party member will not yield before the enemy. How could the proletariat have come to power today without countless revolutionary martyrs who threw their heads and shed their blood for the interests of the people? Such malicious rumors and slanders of Lin Mo-han exactly expose his ugly features of a traitor.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing holds high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and never forgets class struggle. She carries out an uncompromising struggle against a series of destructive activities by the counterrevolutionary revisionists. She led us to rehearse "Red Lantern" with success.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has all along warmly supported and fostered the growth of new products. He himself saw and affirmed our "Red Lantern." This is the greatest concern for us! The greatest support! The greatest encouragement! It gave everyone of us unlimited strength. We all expressed determination to devote our lives to Chairman Mao, to the thought of Mao Tse-tung, to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, and to staging plays on revolutionary contemporary themes.

The success of "Red Lantern" was warmly cheered by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and young students as never before. In one circuit performance tour, we had received more than 600 letters from the audience, which, filled with revolutionary passion and from different angles, lauded the success of "Red Lantern" and put forward constructive opinions. What was most unforgettable to me was that our respected and beloved Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, with a serious attitude of responsibility, asked us to arrange these letters and send them to her for perusal. She again and again instructed us that we must not rest content with the

achievements made, and that we should humbly listen to the opinions of the broad audience, continue to sum up experience, continue to refine our skills and continue to improve ourselves. Comrade Chiang Ch'ing most faithfully defends Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art. By her spirit of utterly serving the people, her humility and prudent attitude toward work, she is a typical example for creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, an example we must emulate forever.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "The enemy will not vanish by himself. Neither the Chinese reactionaries nor the aggressive forces of American imperialism in China will withdraw from the stage of history of their own accords."

The handful of top Party people in authority taking the capitalist road will not take their defeat lying down. On the occasion of National Day 1964, after the national festival of plays of revolutionary contemporary themes, an upsurge in setting up samples of revolutionary plays on a large scale was stirred up throughout the country. However, the old Ministry of Culture asked us not to stage "Red Lantern" but to stage "Story of the White Snake" for our international friends. At a forum after the rehearsing of "Shachiapang" toward the end of 1964, P'eng Chen even ranted and raved, shouting: "Some one says 'General Yang Visits His Mother' is a paean to capitulationism. He sings their 'General Yang Visits His Mother,' but we are engaged in our socialist construction. We just love to hear that tune!" If we compare these remarks with the speech which he made on July 1 1964, when he hoisted red flags to oppose the red flag, it is difficult to believe that they came from the mouth of the same person. This fully exposes his treacherous and cunning features. Then on the eve of the great proletarian cultural revolution in 1966, in celebration of International Women's Day, the old Ministry of Culture arranged programs for the reception of foreign visitors. It still placed "Red Lantern" as a secondary item, to be sung only while placing "Stealing Magic Herbs" as the main item to be staged with the all prop necessary on the stage. These reactionaries always wanted to use the signboard of "receiving foreign visitors" to say the nonsensical remark that "foreign people can only enjoy the traditional plays." Actually, many international revolutionary friends had broken through numerous obstacles and travelled the sands of miles to China just for the purpose of seeing Chairman Mao - the reddest red sun in the people of the whole world - and studying the all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung. However, the handful of Party power holders taking the capitalist road did not let them see plays on revolutionary contemporary themes which preached the thought of Mao Tse-tung, but instead forced them to see those bad plays which praised feudal morality and preached superstitions in order to depreciate plays on revolutionary contemporary themes and oppose the thought of Mao Tse-tung. What a sinister mind they had.

Dark clouds cannot black out the sun. All desperate struggles by the counterrevolutionary revisionists cannot in the least save them from defeat. New forces will surely triumph over the decadent things. Such fine revolutionary sample plays as "Taking the Bandits' Stronghold," "Harbor," "Red Lantern," "Shachiapang" and "Surprise Raid on the White Tiger Regiment" were freed from the most stubborn fortress in the field of theatrical art - Peking opera. An end was put to the domination of the Peking opera stage by kings, emperors, generals, prime ministers, scholars and beauties. Positions for the propaganda of feudalism and capitalism were turned into positions for the propagation of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. This is a great victory for the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung, a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art.

In the course of this sharp and complex struggle between two classes and two lines, our respected and beloved Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, with striking stamina, marched ahead, overcoming all obstacles standing in her way and performing distinguished meritorious services. At a time when the counterrevolutionary revisionists entrenched themselves in important positions, abused their authority, and viciously opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art and when the broad masses of literary and art workers had lost their bearings, it was Comrade Chiang Ch'ing who, holding high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, came into the midst of the masses. At a time when the devils were dancing wildly on the stage and ghosts and monsters were let loose, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing was the first to call for establishing contemporary revolutionary plays. At a time when the decadent reactionary forces were struggling desperately and were launching a frantic counter-attack from all directions, it was Comrade Chiang Ch'ing who, armed with the four volumes of inspirational revolutionary documents, stood erect and led the broad masses of revolutionary literary and art fighters to fight bravely in a blood bath, dispell the evil mist and black wind, conquer the most stubborn fortress in theatrical art, completely over throw the rule of kings, emperors, generals, prime ministers, scholars and beauties, consolidate the proletarian dictatorship, and establish on the socialist stage a revolutionary sample play sparkling with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. And at the crucial moment when the counterrevolutionary revisionists poisoned the minds of the young literary and art workers with their "three-famous" and "three-high" idea (Three-famous means: famous actors, famous directors, and famous playwrights; and three-high means: high salary, high remuneration for plays, and high prizes), it was again Comrade Chiang Ch'ing who taught everybody to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, destroy self-interest and foster public interest, completely smash the bourgeois "star system" and feudal habit of forming guilds, who went deep among the workers, peasants and soldiers to become a true proletarian fighter in literature and art.

It should be said that in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution without precedent in history today, it is Comrade Chiang

Ch'ing who is the toughest and most courageous fighter holding the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung on the literary and art front.

Presenting Revolutionary Plays and Being
Revolutionary People

Chairman Mao has taught us: "We literary and art workers who are intellectuals have to change and reform our thoughts and sentiments if we are to make our works welcomed by the masses. Without this change and this reform, nothing can be accomplished." To present revolutionary plays, we must first be revolutionary people. In the past, the handful of Party power holders taking the capitalist road, in order to make us actors and actresses submit meekly to their orders, imposed on us the "On Self-Cultivation" of their general backstage boss. They wanted us to be their "docile tools." They opposed our study of Chairman Mao's works, racking their brains to make us leave proletarian politics. They wanted us to "cultivate" ourselves according to the method of cultivation employed by artists of the old society. Counterrevolutionary revisionist Chou Yang again and again declared: "Redness must be based on expertness. One who is only Red but not expert can be neither red nor expert." Wherever he went, T'ien Han encouraged "studying classical books, reading the poetry of T'ang and Sung Dynasties, and enjoying the great nature." Chi Yen-ming and a small band of power holders taking the capitalist road in the opera house said to me: "You must take the road of Mei Lan-fang. You must make yourself famous in several plays in your life."

They also ordered us not only to learn the skills of old artists but also to study their method of self-cultivation, devoting our spare times to classical poetry about wind, flowers, snow and moon and drawing flowers, birds, fish, and insects. As a result, apart from practicing skills in the daytime and giving performances in the evening, we had to work through half of the night playing music, reading poetry and drawing. We basically knew nothing about revolutionization of thinking and completely divorced ourselves from class struggle. The objective of our struggle was "three-famous" and "three-high."

Swayed by such thinking, I hated to act in plays which had been presented before. I thought that only thus would I not lose the position of "a famous actress." When "Red Lantern" was being rehearsed, I was abroad. When I returned home, it was already presented to the public. Should I cling to the name of "a famous actress"? Or should I put down airs, become a little pupil willingly and throw myself into the heat of struggle for reform of Peking opera? This to me was an acid test. With this question in mind, I studied the "Talks" in accordance with Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's instruction. Chairman Mao says there: "Our literary and art workers must accomplish this task and shift their stand; they must gradually move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat, through the process of going

into their very midst and into the thick of practical struggles and through the process of studying Marxism and society. Only in this way can we have a literature and art that are truly for the workers, peasants and soldiers, a truly proletarian literature and art." In the context of Chairman Mao's teachings, I analyzed my opposition to the A-B system. This was because I regarded skills as an instrument with which to hunt for personal fame and wealth. I regarded "opera" as private property. Aren't these the feelings and thoughts of the laboring people? No! They are the feelings and thoughts of the exploiting classes. This is a question of stand. I had not moved my feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers and the proletariat; I still stood on the side of the bourgeoisie. If I did not change and reform myself, did not move my feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, but represented the heroic images of the workers, peasants and soldiers with the feelings and thoughts of the exploiting classes, it was certain that I would drop out from the ranks. I began to recognize that the principal problem about myself was one of world outlook. Thus, I decided to throw myself into the thick of struggle. I took the initiative to take on the B role of T'ieh Mei as the first step in moving my feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers.

But as for reform of world outlook, just as Chairman Mao points out, "this process may involve a great deal of pain and conflict." After the actors and actresses were divided into A and B groups, a series of problems arose. It was stated, for instance, that the A group had had enough practice and that the B group must rehearse more before it could meet the audience! For another instance, it was contended that the distribution of assignments was unfair because the B group had to stage many shows in the rural areas while the A group had more chances to appear on television and perform during evening parties!

All kinds of selfish ideas again entered my mind to seize power from the "public interest" which had only been established initially. At this time, I consulted Chairman Mao's works once more. As instructed by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, I "should seriously study the 'Talks,' and creatively study and apply it in the context of one's ideas and profession The socialist opera house is a literary and art organization of the proletarian revolution. The only difference is the division of work. It is necessary resolutely to get rid of the capitalist 'star system' and the feudal habit of forming guilds. One must humbly learn from the masses and when confronted with difficult problems, seeks the answers from Chairman Mao's works."

An examination of my thoughts made me recognize that all kinds of work are the same, the only difference being in the division of work, and that I must establish the proletarian world outlook, wholeheartedly serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, be a revolutionary person all my life, and dedicate my life to revolutionary plays.

The process of playing a heroic character is also one of learning from the heroic character. To play a heroic character well on the stage, one must at the same time learn from the heroic characters off the stage. The heroic characters of three generations in "Red Lantern" have given me extremely profound education. Every time when I play T'ieh-Mei, I am profoundly moved by her proletarian revolutionary passion. When Li T'ien-mei was 17 years old, she was already able to withstand a severe test. Giving no thought to her life and death, she took over the red lantern and pledged to become a revolutionary successor. I had received Party education for so many years, yet there was a great distance between my ideological level and T'ien-mei's. In order to propagandize the thought of Mao Tse-tung well on the stage and truly play well in a revolutionary contemporary opera, I simply had to shorten the distance between myself and the proletarian heroic character in the play. The key to doing this lay with the study of Chairman Mao's works and the reform of my subjective world with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Today, when we are commemorating with deep emotions the 25th anniversary of the "Talks," we must constantly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: "You must be concerned for the important affairs of the State and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!" Armed with the sharp and powerful thought of Mao Tse-tung, we must strike down, discredit and repudiate the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the counterrevolutionary revisionists, big and small. We must completely wipe out the poison spread by the counterrevolutionary revisionist line in the literary and art circles. In the course of this large-scale criticism, and according to Vice Chairman Lin Biao's directive, we must creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, take the "three constantly read articles" as the daily reminder, make exacting demands on us according to the standard set for the successor to the proletarian revolutionary cause, and devote ourselves and our lives to being Red propagandists for the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

A NEW VICTORY OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S REVOLUTIONARY LINE
FOR ART AND LITERATURE

[Following is a translation of an article by Hsin Ping (2450 0365), Shanghai Municipal School of Dancing, published in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 9, 27 May 1967, pp 47-50.]

April 24, 1967 is the happiest and most unforgettable day in our life. On that day, the reddest, reddest sun in our minds, Chairman Mao, saw our performance of White-Haired Girl, a grand revolutionary ballet on a contemporary theme. After the performance, Chairman Mao mounted the stage, his face a-glow and his spirit high. He shook hands with us and had a picture taken together with us. That to us was the greatest concern, the greatest encouragement, and the greatest urge. O Chairman Mao, we were thinking of you day and night. Now we finally saw you. Our eyes were filled with hot tears. Our minds were infinitely excited. Time and again, we shouted aloud: Long live, long live, long long live Chairman Mao!

This year is the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Art and Literature. This glorious writing by Chairman Mao was the work of a genius which creatively developed the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theories on art and literature. It was a street lamp to revolutionary art and literary workers. We deeply appreciate that it is Chairman Mao's Talks which indicates to us the direction in which we should advance, enables us to overcome successive difficulties, and enables us to win a tremendous victory in the revolution of the ballet. It is a tremendous victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line for art and literature.

In the process of production of the ballet White-Haired Girl, there existed a life-and-death struggle between two classes -- the proletariat and the bourgeoisie -- and between two lines -- Chairman Mao's revolutionary line for art and literature and the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature.

Who should be served? Should the proletariat and the broad masses of the laboring people be served, or should the bourgeoisie be served? This is the focus of the struggle between the two lines on the art and literary front. In his Talks, Chairman Mao taught us in these terms: "THE QUESTION 'FOR WHOM?' IS A BASIC QUESTION, A QUESTION OF PRINCIPLE." "OUR ART AND LITERATURE SERVE THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE, ABOVE ALL THE WORKERS, PEASANTS, AND SERVICEMEN. THEY ARE CREATED FOR AND USED BY THE WORKERS, PEASANTS, AND SERVICEMEN."

The ballet of the past was a palace art of the Western bourgeoisie. It always was subordinated to bourgeois politics and served the bourgeoisie. It praised none but emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, fairies and demons. It completely distorted and rendered ugly the images of the laboring people. The ballet had love and death as its so-called "eternal theme." The exploiting classes used it not only as amusement but also as a tool for corrupting the souls of the laboring people and maintaining their own ruling position. At present, the Western ballet has degenerated further and fallen lower. It has been reduced to a dying reactionary art.

The broad masses of the workers, peasants, and servicemen firmly oppose such a bourgeois art. Ballets like Swan Lake, Giselle, and Notre Dame of Paris are praised by bourgeois lords as "pinnacles of art" and "classic works." But our country's laboring people declare that they are "as ugly as skinned mice." They are strongly desirous of revolutionary reform of the ballet, and of the creation of brand new ballets which praise the fiery life of struggle of the workers, peasants, and servicemen and which unveil the appearance of our great era. Such is a new topic lying in front of the revolutionary art and literary workers.

In his Talks, Chairman Mao pointed out: "YES, WE SHALL INHERIT THE RICH LEGACIES OF ART AND LITERATURE LEFT BEHIND BY CHINA AND OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE PAST, AS WELL AS THE FINE TRADITIONS OF ART AND LITERATURE. BUT IN DOING SO OUR PURPOSE IS STILL TO SERVE THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE." "IN ART AND LITERATURE, RIGID IMITATION OF ANCIENTS AND FOREIGNERS UNACCOMPANIED BY ANY CRITICISM IS THE MOST DISAPPOINTING AND MOST HARMFUL DOGMATISM." After the liberation of the whole nation, Chairman Mao further issued the combat calls: "LET ANCIENT THINGS SERVE CONTEMPORARY PURPOSES" and "LET FOREIGN THINGS SERVE CHINESE PURPOSES." Unless the contents and form of the art of ballet are thoroughly criticized and reformed, it cannot serve the workers, peasants, and servicemen or serve proletarian political ends.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line for art and literature, we began several years ago attempts at creating revolutionary ballets on contemporary themes. We rehearsed such programs as fragments from Fire Fighting by 3,000 Brave Men and White-Haired Girl. What is more, we left the school and went out to perform for the workers,

peasants, and servicemen. We were welcomed in open arms by the broad revolutionary masses.

But a small handful of intra-Party power holders who follow the capitalist road wanted to create public opinion for the comeback of capitalism in China. They stubbornly enforced the counter-revolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature and resisted Chairman Mao's revolutionary line for art and literature. They stretched their black hands into the field of ballet as well. Frantically praising the so-called "classical works" of the bourgeoisie, which were utterly corrupt and reactionary, they wanted us to "imitate" and "learn from" them. They opposed representation of workers, peasants, and servicemen. The No. 1 intra-Party power holder who follows the capitalist road said such things as, "One must not represent contemporary life willy-nilly. The ballet and foreign operas are not necessarily able to reflect it." He added, "It will be good if watching a show makes one relaxed and happy." He said, "Watching Swan Lake improves one's mood. Notre Dame of Paris, too, has a high artistic standard and can play an educational role." In this way, he tried vainly to resist the revolution of ballets. The counterrevolutionary revisionist element Lin Mo-han opposed our rehearsal of revolutionary ballets on contemporary themes. He wanted us to rehearse instead such as Liang Shan-po and Chu Ying-t'ai. A small handful of power holders in the old Shanghai Municipal Committee and in our school, who followed the capitalist road, desperately shouted, "It is by its performance of Swan Lake that the standard of a ballet company is to be judged." They tried to sabotage our revolutionary attempts. When we were rehearsing White-Haired Girl, they wanted us to rehearse Daughters of Spain instead. They sent people to learn the Dance of Four of a foreign ballet company. They plotted thus to nip the revolution of the ballet in the bud.

The proletarian revolutionaries represented by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing raised high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, broke through successive barricades set up by a small handful of counter-revolutionary revisionist elements, and, in the spirit of cutting thorny plants in the way, followed a course which none had taken before, rebelling on a large scale against "famous, foreign, and ancient" [persons] and bravely attacking feudalism, capitalism, and revisionist art and literature.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing firmly supported our rehearsal of White-Haired Girl. Comrade K'uo Ch'ing-shih, too, sharply pointed out to certain responsible persons of our school, "If you perform Swan Lake, I just won't watch it. If you refrain further from rehearsing dramas on contemporary themes, what is the use of keeping this dance school of yours?"

After an intense struggle, we began rehearsing the grand ballet White-Haired Girl. But the small handful of counterrevolutionary revisionist elements were not happy at this. They did two things. They kept from the masses many important directives from Comrade Chou En-lai, Comrade

K'o Ch'ing-shih, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, and other leadership comrades. At the same time, they tried their utmost to insert revisionist black goods into this revolutionary ballet. Thus, in a still more vicious way, they perpetrated the evil of opposing the red banner by hoisting a red banner.

In the process of creation and rehearsal of the ballet, Comrade Chang Ch'un-ch'iao promptly raised a revolutionary guiding principle: Give prominence to the red line of class struggle, give prominence to armed struggle, and give prominence to Party leadership. He also pointed out that, in order to stand our ground on this day of socialism, we must re-create this fine work of the period of the democratic revolution, and that Hsi-erh must not have the slightest servility; her resistance and struggle must be represented. But the small handful of counter-revolutionary revisionist elements was scared to death by, and utterly hated, the red line fulfilling the thought of Mao Tse-tung. They found fault with the newly rehearsed White-Haired Girl in a hundred ways. They said that "the 8th Route Army appears too often," that "the characters in White-Haired Girl are too advanced to conform with the realities of the time," and that Hsi-erh "couldn't have resisted like that." The counter-revolutionary revisionist element Lin Mo-han said even more explicitly that "the smell of gunpowder of this drama is too strong, and too much prominence is given to armed struggle," etc. They tried vainly to make the so-called love between Ta-ch'un and Hsi-erh the theme of White-Haired Girl, and thus to change our main political direction. They shouted, "If there is no love and no duet, it will be no ballet and it will be neither beautiful nor touching."

What is even more to be hated is that when, in Act VIII, in the dance to greet the sun, we could not help singing about our great leader Chairman Mao and shouting the slogan "Long live Chairman Mao!" the small handful of counterrevolutionary revisionist elements attacked us with extremely vicious language. To call a spade a spade, they did not permit us to sing the praise of Chairman Mao, the great savior of the laboring people, and did not permit us to sing the praise of the all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung. This fully exposed their ugly counterrevolutionary faces.

Chairman Mao said, "REVOLUTIONARY ART AND LITERATURE SHOULD CREATE ALL TYPES OF CHARACTERS ON THE BASIS OF REAL LIFE AND HELP THE MASSES PUSH HISTORY FORWARD." In the process of rewriting of dramas, we repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's Report on Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan and other glorious works. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, we vigorously wrote about struggles of resistance whereby the laboring people pushed history forward, and molded heroic images of the proletariat and the laboring people. Comrade Chiang Ch'ing raised high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, firmly executed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line for art and literature, and led revolutionary art and

literary workers to create a number of fine model revolutionary dramas. In such Peking operas as Storming of Weihu Mountain by Clever Tactics and Red Lantern, the towering heroic images of the proletariat gave us huge enlightenment and inexhaustible strength. Our direction became more clear, and our determination increased. From the original opera, we removed the negative scene about Yang Pai-lao and his daughter pleading tearfully with heaven and earth. We let Yang Pai-lao sacrifice himself in fights with Huang Shih-jen and Mu Jen-chih. We let Hsi-erh entertain deep hatred for the landlord class, raise high the big revolutionary banner "REBELLION IS JUSTIFIABLE," and struggle in a tit-for-tat manner against Huang Shih-jen and the landlady, so that she does not have the slightest trait of servility. In the aria in Act IV, the small handful of counter-revolutionary revisionist elements wrote these words: "I am suffering patiently . . . I am waiting for the chance. I mind not one day or one night or more. Oh, how I wait and hope!" These words smeared Hsi-erh who, persecuted by landlords, fled into the distant mountains. They represented her as a vulgar person who, so to speak, "patiently endured humiliation in order to discharge an important mission" and "suffered wrongs patiently in order to keep things intact." They openly opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary appeal "WIN THE TIME OF ONE DAY OR ONE NIGHT." In accordance with Comrade Chang Ch'un-ch'iao's instructions, we changed the words of the aria to "I am impatient to avenge myself. Oh, how I wait and hope! I am waiting for the red sun to rise in the east." These words truthfully represented the spirit of revolutionary rebellion of the poor peasants and lower middle peasants.

We made class struggle, armed struggle, and Party leadership the red line running through the entire drama. We vigorously removed tedious descriptions of love and sad parting, thus raising the images of Ta-ch'un and Hsi-erh to an unprecedented level. The small handful of counter-revolutionary revisionist elements said such things as, "It is not natural for Ta-ch'un not to look for Hsi-erh after returning to the village. The first thing he does after returning to the village should be to look for Hsi-erh." They wanted Ta-ch'un, a cadre of the 8th Route Army, who had been in the army for more than three years, to look for Hsi-erh by making his way through the young women performing the dance of the dates. He is like the prince in Swan Lake, who is looking for the white swan. This is an unbridled distortion of the heroic image of the 8th Route Army. We revolutionary teachers and students firmly opposed it. As a result, their plot was thwarted. Toward the conclusion, they tried vainly to remove the portion about uninterrupted revolution by Ta-ch'un and Hsi-erh in the first draft of the scripts. They let Hsi-erh take part in production, and let Ta-ch'un get a discharge from the army and return to farm the land, thus publicizing the theory of extinction of class struggle. This, too, was firmly opposed by us. According to Comrade Chang Ch'un-ch'iao's instruction, we changed the ending in the following way. We let Hsi-erh make up her mind to follow Chairman Mao and the Communist Party for ever and join the army gloriously, and let Ta-ch'un and warriors

of the 8th Route Army continue to march forward. In this way, we represented better the spirit of uninterrupted revolution and the great truth that THE PROLETARIAT CAN FINALLY LIBERATE ITSELF ONLY BY LIBERATING THE WHOLE OF MANKIND FIRST.

Concerning artistic treatment, the small handful of counterrevolutionary revisionist elements wanted there to be duets and body raising in White-Haired Girl, arguing that the ballet would cease to be a ballet without these. They racked their brains in trying to make us learn the techniques of Swan Lake, Romeo and Juliet, and Red Shoe. They vainly tried to sabotage the revolutionary contents of White-Haired Girl by means of artistic methods, and to turn White-Haired Girl into another version of such as Swan Lake. We pierced the cover of their plot. While retaining certain basic characteristics of the ballet, we kicked off all harmful foreign dogma and foreign frameworks. We tried boldly to make the ballet assume a revolutionary character, a national character, and a popular character. For instance, in the dances, we added harvest dances, sword dances, and spear dances which our country's revolutionary people like to watch. We absorbed certain motions from the Peking opera and make them serve the purpose of representing revolutionary contents. In music, we smashed the old conventions. Not only did we introduce national musical instruments like pan hu, pan ku, ti tzu, and san hsuan, but we added choral singing in some places to make the revolutionary atmosphere of the ballet more intense and enable the audience to understand more easily the development of the story. In costume, we adopted national costume and discarded the costume of the foreign ballet. These revolutionary reforms were given a warm welcome by the broad masses of the workers, peasants, and servicemen.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has created a brand new political situation. The political level of the masses has been greatly raised. They have consequently set a higher standard for the ballet White-Haired Girl. We studied Chairman Mao's Talks anew and further revised White-Haired Girl to make it give more prominence to the red line of class struggle, to class struggle, to Party leadership, and to the great and all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung, and reflect the mentality of broad masses of the revolutionary people who infinitely love our most most beloved great leader Chairman Mao.

The birth of revolutionary ballets Red Women's Army and White-Haired Girl has dealt a heavy counter-blow at the No. 1 intra-Party power holder who follows the capitalist road. It has declared the bankruptcy of the plot of the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature to oppose the revolution of the ballet, proclaimed the death sentence of the bourgeois ballet, and marked the beginning of workers, peasants, and servicemen becoming masters of the ballet stage. The revolutionary ballet White-Haired Girl is receiving warm welcome from the revolutionary people in China and abroad. It is a beautiful fragrant flower in the

garden of a hundred flowers of proletarian revolutionary art. We shout aloud: It is very good! It is very good!

The all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung has given new life to the old art of ballet. We will never prove unworthy of the great leader Chairman Mao's expectation. We will always listen to Chairman Mao's words, learn Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's revolutionary spirit of great fearlessness, struggle to the end against the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature, and thoroughly expose and criticize the No. 1 intra-Party power holder who follows the capitalist road. We are determined to seek increasing perfection in the spirit of uninterrupted revolution, to continue overcoming the shortcomings still present in the revolutionary ballet White-Haired Girl, and to make it more perfect. We vow that we will, in the long process of going into the midst of the workers, peasants, and servicemen and uniting with them, create more and better revolutionary ballets, render better service to the workers, peasants, and servicemen, serve proletarian political ends, and march forward bravely in the direction indicated to us by Chairman Mao's Talks.

LONG LIVE THE ALL-CONQUERING THOUGHT OF MAO TSE-TUNG
ON ART AND LITERATURE

- In Praise of the Epoch-Making Historical Significance
of Model Revolutionary Dramas -

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ical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 9, 27 May 1967, pp
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The Model Revolutionary Dramas Are Peals of Spring Thunder
for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

In commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the publication of our great leader Chairman Mao's glorious composition Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Art and Literature, the model revolutionary Peking operas on contemporary themes Storming of Weihou Mountain by Clever Tactics, The Harbor, The Red Lantern, Sha Chia Pin, and Surprise Attack on White Tiger Regiment; the model revolutionary ballets Red Women's Army and White-Haired Girl; and the model revolutionary symphony Sha Chia Pin are being staged in the capital. This is a big review with great historical significance. It unfurls a picture of prosperity, a real picture of fragrant flowers in full bloom on the proletarian artistic stage. The appearance of these eight model revolutionary dramas signifies a great victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line for art and literature.

The appearance of the eight model revolutionary dramas is the first peal of spring thunder for our country's great proletarian cultural revolution. They are creations by the hard struggle of revolutionary art and literary workers under Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's personal guidance and urge. They are the first fruits of the routing of the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature by the great thought of Mao Tse-tung on art and literature.

During the past 17 years, under the frenzied propaganda and support of the biggest intra-Party power holders who follow the capitalist road, and under the rule of the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature represented by Chou Yang, Hsia Yen, Lin Mo-han, and Ch'i Yen-ming, dramas about "famous," "foreign," and "ancient" [persons] were staged all the time, and our country's artistic stage was occupied by Chinese and foreign emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties. As Comrade Chiang Ch'ing has sharply pointed out, the entire art and literary circles "are pervaded by a foul atmosphere marked by better treatment for ancients than for contemporaries, adoration of foreigners and disparagement of Chinese, better treatment for the dead than for the living." During the three difficult years especially, among Peking operas which never reflect reality very sensitively, there appeared big poisonous weeds which, pretending to deal with ancients, criticized contemporaries -- Hai Jui Dismissed, Li Hui Niang, Hsieh Yao-huan, and Hai Jui's Petition. These frantically attacked the Party and socialism. The socialist artistic stage was turned into an advance post in the preparation of public opinion for the comeback of capitalism.

Under the personal command and initiative of the biggest intra-Party power holders who follow the capitalist road, the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature, from main bastions which were the old Peking Municipal Committee, the old Propaganda Department of the Central Committee, and the old Ministry of Culture, stubbornly resisted the execution of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line for art and literature and disseminated large numbers of systematic absurdities opposed to the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The biggest intra-Party power holder who follows the capitalist road played the role of an extremely shameless impatient vanguard.

It was he who overtly altered Chairman Mao's directive "LET A HUNDRED FLOWERS BLOSSOM TOGETHER; DEVELOP THE NEW FROM THE OLD," and explicitly shouted, "The reform of culture must be preceded by some exertion of effort. Don't 'give birth to children by sheer force.' Let a hundred flowers blossom together, and allow them to exist together," "Some old dramas have great educational significance. Don't alter them," "Don't succumb to the weakness of impatience. The reform must not be excessive," and, "The Peking opera is an art of a very high standard. Don't belittle it. Don't alter it at will."

It was he who, like a slave or a hand maid, fell on his knees before bourgeois, feudal art, and said fanatically, "Looking at Swan Lake improves one's mood. The artistic standard of Notre Dame of Paris is also very high, and it plays an educational role." He shamelessly praised Fourth Brother Visits Mother, which spread the philosophy of renegades, the philosophy of survival. He even praised as a "very successfully reformed opera" the opera Village of Ferocious Tigers, which whitewashed Wang T'ien-pa, a lackey of the feudal ruling class. He recommended

the extremely low-taste and obscene bad opera Mei Lung Chen, and wanted others to "enjoy" it.

It was he who consistently and frantically regarded revolutionary dramas on contemporary themes with hostility, and shouted loudly, "Contemporary life is not to be reflected willy-nilly. Ballets and foreign operas are not necessarily able to reflect it. If some dramas can, there are only a few of them." In 1963, Chairman Mao pointed out sharply, "MANY COMMUNISTS ARE ENTHUSIASTIC IN ADVOCATING FEUDALIST AND CAPITALIST ART BUT ARE NOT ENTHUSIASTIC IN ADVOCATING SOCIALIST ART. IS THIS NOT STRANGE?" Even after this, he continued to resist, saying, "Some people will be unhappy if none of historical dramas and foreign dramas is presented. Some may be presented. We oppose dogmatism in the field of art."

The biggest intra-Party power holder who follows the capitalist road is the biggest support and backing for the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature. He is the chief culprit who turned on the green light for emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties. He is the general backer of those who oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line for art and literature and stubbornly resist the socialist transformation of art and literature.

The counterrevolutionary revisionist element Chou Yang's pack energetically enforced his black directives in the art and literary circles. Chou Yang regarded the extensive staging of dramas about "famous," "foreign," and "ancient" [persons] as an important component part of his free market of "art and literature of the whole people." Chou Yang frantically talked about "retaining in today's art and literature as a systematic thing the ideology of past eras." He said, "Without such a condition, there cannot be any upsurge of culture." He frantically shouted, "We must not kill all ancients with one blow of the club." He said that feudal operas "have a kind of eternal beauty, a kind of eternal charm," and that not only are they already "suited to our era as it actually is" but they will remain "until Communism, until eternity." For this reason, they wanted to oppose the so-called "big slashing" of the heritage, and wanted to print in full the librettoes of all the more than 50,000 traditional dramas they had collected. Chou Yang spread words far and wide to the effect that, even though the masses do not accept them, things of the foreign bourgeoisie must be "moved in little by little, and the masses must be made to accept them gradually." He wanted to move such traditional dramas as Camelia to the Chinese stage, "popularizing them rapidly in China" and bringing about a "Chinese-Western confluence." He said nonsensically that such "confluence" is a "natural trend, certain trend."

Please look. How shamelessly these crazy persons adored the corpses of the bourgeoisie and feudalism! Is it not clear as to whom and what purpose they wanted the Chinese artistic stage to serve? That would be no

socialist artistic stage. It would be a counterrevolutionary fortress from which the bourgeoisie and feudalism attacked socialism.

In On New Democracy, our great leader Chairman Mao already pointed out clearly, "IMPERIALIST CULTURE AND SEMI-FEUDAL CULTURE ARE TWO BROTHERS VERY DEAR TO EACH OTHER. THEY FORM A CULTURAL REACTIONARY ALLIANCE AND OPPOSE THE NEW CULTURE OF CHINA. THIS TYPE OF REACTIONARY CULTURE SERVES IMPERIALISM AND THE FEUDAL CLASS. IT IS SOMETHING WHICH OUGHT TO BE OVERTHROWN. UNTIL SUCH A THING IS OVERTHROWN, NO NEW CULTURE CAN BE SET UP."

Whom the artistic stage should serve? Who is to occupy the artistic stage? This is the focus of the power struggle between the two classes and the two lines in the bastion of drama. Chairman Mao pointed this out sharply in 1944 in Letter to Peiping Opera House of Yanan After Seeing "Forced To Be Bandits." He said, "HISTORY IS CREATED BY THE PEOPLE. ON THE OLD DRAMATIC STAGE, HOWEVER (AS IN ALL OLD ART AND LITERATURE SEPARATED FROM THE PEOPLE), THE PEOPLE HAVE BECOME THE SCUM. IT IS THE SIRRS AND MADAMS, MASTERS AND MISSES WHO ARE RULING THE STAGE. YOU HAVE NOW RE-INVERTED HISTORY AND RESTORED THE REAL FACE OF HISTORY. FROM NOW ON, OLD DRAMAS ARE GIVEN A NEW FACE. CONGRATULATIONS ARE CALLED FOR. THE BEGINNING YOU HAVE MADE IS A EPOCH-MAKING BEGINNING FOR THE REVOLUTION OF OLD DRAMAS. I AM VERY GLAD TO CONTEMPLATE THIS POINT. I HOPE THAT YOU WILL COMPOSE AND PRESENT MORE DRAMAS, MAKE THEM FASHIONABLE, AND SPREAD THEM TO THE WHOLE NATION!"

This letter by Chairman Mao is a component part of the whole which is the great thought of Mao Tse-tung on art and literature, a street lamp for the proletarian transformation of old art and literature. What warm expectations our great leader once entertained about such an "EPOCH-MAKING BEGINNING"! But the counterrevolutionary revisionist element Chou Yang's pack knew well the huge power contained in this letter by Chairman Mao for the promotion of the revolutionization of Peking operas. They knew well that, when the Peking opera workers mastered this irresistibly sharp ideological weapon, and when the situation of "[new dramas] MADE FASHIONABLE AND SPREAD TO THE WHOLE NATION" appeared, things would be turned completely upside down on the artistic stage, and then their underworld palace would be destroyed, and their beautiful dream of comeback of capitalism brought about by means of bourgeois, feudal art would be shattered. That was why they sealed off this glorious thought of Chairman Mao throughout the 17 years after the liberation.

The fog, no matter how thick, cannot obscure the dazzling red sun. Nor can the low clouds stop the peals of spring thunder resounding across the wide sky. New things will always defeat rotten things. In the unusual year of 1964, the forward march bugle of the great proletarian cultural revolution was sounded. Those Peking opera workers who wanted and desired reform eventually fought their way through successive barricades with the energetic support and under the guidance of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, who

raised high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Inverted history was re-inverted. The sirs and madams, the masters and misses, who had been occupying the Peking opera stage for hundreds of years, were driven away. The heroic images of workers, peasants, and servicemen, who were filled with revolutionary noble sentiment, began to mount the Peking opera stage.

In July, 1964, at the forum of persons taking part in the Festival of Peking Operas on Contemporary Themes, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing gave a talk entitled "A Talk on the Revolution of Peking Operas." In simple language, she concisely expounded the glorious thought of the letter Chairman Mao wrote to the Peiping Opera House of Yenan. She gave a profound discourse on the necessity of revolution of Peking operas.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing solemnly pointed out, "On the socialist motherland's stage, it is inconceivable that the principal positions are held not by workers, peasants, or servicemen, not by these real creators of history, not by these real masters of the country."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing sharply demanded to know: "Artists eat the food grown by peasants, wear clothes made by workers, and live in houses built by workers, and the People's Liberation Army is guarding the front line of national defense for us. But they are not represented. Ask yourselves. Which class' stand are the artists taking? Where is the 'conscience' of artists which you often talk about?"

Revolutionary art and literature must serve the workers, peasants, and servicemen. The socialist motherland's stage must be occupied by images of workers, peasants, and servicemen, who are masters of the time.

The revolution of Peking operas, with the force of a thunderstorm, cleansed the socialist artistic stage of all rubbish, and it promoted the revolution of other types of art, such as the revolution of the ballet, the revolution of the symphony, and the revolution of sculpture. The proletarian revolutionaries of the art and literary circles raise high the red magic book of Chairman Mao, and, by means creating model revolutionary dramas, they have launched a fierce offensive on the counter-revolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature.

The Model Revolutionary Dramas Are a Steel Dagger Piercing the Bowels of Black Line for Art and Literature

The revolution of the Peking opera, the revolution of the ballet, the revolution of the symphony -- are these merely a question of presentation of dramas on contemporary themes? Are they merely a question of change of dramas on the artistic stage? No, certainly not. They are a life-and-death power struggle between two classes and two lines in the ideological realm. Comrade Ch'en Po-ta put it well: "The history of art

and literature is full of intense conflicts. The conflicts between the new and the old, the conflicts between the contemporary and the ancient, are conflicts reflecting society's class struggle." Letting "famous," "foreign," and "ancient" [persons] continue to occupy the socialist artistic stage is precisely an insidious means by which the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature struggles against the proletariat, sabotages the socialist economic base, and prepares public opinion for the comeback of capitalism.

For this reason, in order to build proletarian revolutionary art and literature, it is necessary to demolish bourgeois art and literature on a large scale. Without struggling firmly against bourgeois, revisionist art and literature, we cannot bring proletarian art and literature into being. "WITHOUT DEMOLITION, THERE IS NO CONSTRUCTION. WITHOUT CHOKING, THERE IS NO FLOWING. WITHOUT STOPPAGE, THERE IS NO WALKING." The great thought of Mao Tse-tung for art and literature is set up and continuously developed in the course of struggle for large-scale demolition of bourgeois, revisionist art and literature.

The creation of model revolutionary dramas and the seizure of power over the artistic stage constitute a grave class struggle. The enemies will certainly not be glad to be driven out of the stage. Even though they may prove to be insects which foolishly seek to stop a cart, they will play the part of historical clowns for once. We need only recall the acute and complex struggle during the 1964 Festival of Peking Operas on Contemporary Themes before we will understand how intense the life-and-death battle between the two lines is. In that life-and-death decisive battle, the pack of P'eng Chen, Chou Yang, and Lin Mo-han desperately tried to maintain their shaken rule. They colluded with one another, did one thing overtly and another thing covertly, used both force and guile, showed two faces, held three knives, resisted Chairman Mao's directive, and sabotaged the revolution of the Peking opera.

Example 1. During the festival of revolutionary dramas on contemporary themes, P'eng Chen, counterrevolutionary revisionist head of the old Peking Municipal Committee, made reports in day time, in which he talked all the time about revolutionary dramas on contemporary themes. At night, however, he returned to his "palace of ease" and let actors perform for them many old dramas about emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, in a vain attempt to entice actors to return to the old road.

Example 2. Under the sole manipulation and conspiratorial scheming of Lin Mo-han, chieftain of the black line for art and literature, a frantic attack was launched in the press on Storming of Weihai Mountain by Clever Tactics, the first successful revolutionary opera on a contemporary theme. He tried in this way to mislead people and discredit it, strike against the proletarian revolutionaries in Shanghai, and thus achieve the criminal objective of sabotaging the revolution of Peking operas.

Example 3. As soon as the Festival had ended, they spread words around to the effect that traditional dramas would be rearranged and their presentation resumed. They even forbade students of schools of operas to rehearse Red Lantern and Sha Chia Pin. They thus tried vainly to demoralize advocates of the revolution of Peking operas.

An even more serious struggle took place in the process of creation and improvement of model revolutionary dramas.

The Peking opera, the ballet, and the symphony are the so-called "pinnacles of art" of the feudal or capitalist era. They have developmental histories of up to a hundred years or several hundred years, and they have all the time been praised for their unattainably high standards by revisionists who adore the West and want to restore ancient things. What is more, many individual dramas have histories of up to a hundred years. For this reason, their reform and conquest artistically require very care-demanding and very difficult efforts.

In order to wage this acute and complex battle for storming a fortress, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing did two things. She called on proletarian revolutionaries to belittle the enemy strategically. "Concerning the matter of presentation of revolutionary Peking operas on contemporary themes, our confidence must be firm." She also warned proletarian revolutionaries that they must give due recognition to the enemy tactically, be determined and dogged, and storm the bastion after prolonged, repeated practice.

Well then, what form was this battle for storming the fortress to assume? Comrade Chiang Ch'ing creatively applied the great thought of Mao Tse-tung on art and literature. She raised high the big banner of the model revolutionary drama and firmly occupied the bastion of art and literature by means of creating pace-setters.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing was well aware that the struggle was an arduous one, one entailing the removal of many thorny plants. But as the saying goes, "Nothing ventured, nothing gained." "IF YOU WANT TO KNOW THE TASTE OF A PEAR, YOU MUST CHANGE THE PEAR BY TAKING A PERSONAL BITE AT IT." The revolution for seizing power over the stage must be waged firmly and the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature must be removed thoroughly. For this purpose, a steel dagger must be plunged into its bowels. An intense fire must be made to burn in the bastion where its rule was the most severe. The criminal activities of the small handful of counterrevolutionary revisionist elements must be exposed. The broad masses of the hoodwinked must be aroused to rebel.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing and the proletarian revolutionaries creating the model revolutionary dramas expended a tremendous amount of energy on every model revolutionary drama. Over the theme and the creation of characters, over artistic form and artistic skill, and even over costume and lighting, a firm struggle was waged against the chieftains of the black line for art and literature and against their agents. In the struggle for continuously sorting out and getting rid of the black goods they brought in, the influence of their reactionary thought on art and literature must be criticized and eliminated.

The process of creation of the model revolutionary dramas was a process of raising high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, struggling against the black line for art and literature, criticizing all kinds of reactionary absurdities of the black line for art and literature, and eliminating its influence. This struggle ran like a thread through the thought behind the creation of the model revolutionary dramas.

The black line for art and literature advocates the reactionary "theory of realistic writing," theory of "wide path of realism," and theory of "deepening of realism" as means of smearing and distorting the socialist society. The model revolutionary dramas which are created reflect our brilliant realities by vigorous application of the method of creation which is a combination of revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism.

The black line for art and literature advocates the theory of "confluence of the spirit of the time" of all classes. The model revolutionary dramas which are created richly represent the stormy spirit of time of the proletariat.

The black line for art and literature advocates the theory of opposing "determination of topics." The model revolutionary dramas which are created pay special attention to the selection of major topics, discard the bourgeois low-taste treatment of household affairs and romances between boys and girls, and prominently reflect the epic of brave struggles of the masses under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

The black line for art and literature advocates the theory of "people in the middle." The model revolutionary dramas which are created extensively set up the images of proletarian revolutionary heroes. Such as Yang Tzu-jung and Shao Chien-po in Storming of Weihai Mountains by Clever Tactics, Li Yü-ho and his family of three generations in Red Lantern, Kuo Chien-kuang and Sister A-ch'ing in Sha Chia Pin, and Wu Ch'ing-hua and Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing in Red Women's Army are such towering heroic types that they really have the effect of educating the masses and encouraging them to advance.

The black line for art and literature advocates the theory of opposing "smell of gun powder" and theory of "departing from the classics, rebelling against the doctrines." It points the spearhead directly at Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and opposes representation by art and literature of proletarian revolutionary wars and of political power growing out of the gun barrel. In a tit-for-tat manner, the model revolutionary dramas that are created deal direct blows at such counterrevolutionary theories. They profoundly represent Chairman Mao's great strategic thought on people's war. Of the eight model revolutionary dramas, seven praise revolutionary armed struggles. In particular, Storming of Weihu Mountain by Clever Tactics deserves to be called a most complete and most profound hymn to Chairman Mao's thought on people's war.

The appearance of model revolutionary dramas has pushed the struggle between two classes and two lines on the art and literary front into a new stage, namely, the stage of integration of "struggle, criticism, and reform" and of thorough power seizure on the artistic stage. In the reform, struggle and criticism have been carried out. In the struggle and criticism, reform has been effected. This is completely in accordance with the revolutionary dialectics of "NO DEMOLITION, NO CONSTRUCTION." It is a distinguished creation by vanguards of the creation of model revolutionary dramas in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings in the great proletarian cultural revolution. It has wide, far-reaching significance.

Model Revolutionary Dramas Are Good Examples of Fulfillment of Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line

The creation of the model revolutionary dramas deeply enlightens us on two important matters of principle.

One is that we must raise high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and apply the thought of Mao Tse-tung to commanding everything, examining everything, and reforming everything.

The other is that we must trust the majority of the masses and rely on the majority of the masses.

The creation of model revolutionary dramas has been undertaken throughout under the illumination of the infinitely bright thought of Mao Tse-tung.

When formulating the revolutionary line for art and literature, Chairman Mao clearly pointed out, "THE BROADEST MASSES OF THE PEOPLE -- THE PEOPLE WHO ACCOUNT FOR MORE THAN 90 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION -- ARE WORKERS, PEASANTS, SERVICEMEN, AND URBAN PETTY BOURGEOISIE." "OUR ART AND LITERATURE SERVE THE BROAD MASSES OF THE PEOPLE, FIRST OF ALL THE WORKERS, PEASANTS, AND SERVICEMEN. THEY ARE CREATED FOR AND USED BY THE WORKERS, PEASANTS, AND SERVICEMEN."

It is Comrade Chiang Ch'ing who consistently and relentlessly defends Chairman Mao's direction of art and literature serving the workers, peasants, and servicemen. During years when poisonous weeds flourished and demons danced, it was Comrade Chiang Ch'ing who sounded for revolutionary art and literary workers the alarm: "When the direction is not clear, try earnestly to discern the correct direction." Comrade Chiang Ch'ing pointed out home-drivingly, "In our country, there are between six and seven hundred million workers, peasants, and servicemen. Apart from them, there are a small handful of people who are landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, rightists, and bourgeois elements. Are we to serve these small handful of people or the between six and seven hundred million people? This question must be considered not only by Communist Party members, but also by all art and literary workers with patriotic thought." The creation of the model revolutionary dramas has set up examples for proletarian revolutionary art and literature which really serve the workers, peasants, and servicemen.

Chairman Mao has taught us that whether one trusts the masses and depends on them or not, and whether one dares to mobilize the masses boldly or not, constitute the dividing line between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook; and that, if we trust the masses, depend on them, and mix as one with them, "THEN, ANY DIFFICULTY CAN BE OVERCOME, AND NO ENEMY CAN OVERWHELM US. HE WILL ONLY BE OVERWHELMED BY US."

The success in the creation of model revolutionary dramas is just a brilliant victory of Chairman Mao's mass line. Comrade Chiang Ch'ing dared to plunge a steel dagger into the bowels of the black line for art and literature and carry out "struggle, criticism, and reform" in the bastion where its rule was the tightest, because she firmly believed that the broad masses stood on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. She firmly believed that it was the request of the broad revolutionary masses -- and an urgent need by the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship -- that these fortresses of bourgeois and feudal art should be stormed.

This is what in fact happened. The moment they appeared, the model revolutionary dramas won the approbation of the broad masses of the workers, peasants, and servicemen, and were given a tremendous welcome. The success of the model revolutionary dramas was a result of depending on the masses, coming from the masses, going to the masses, prolonged, repeated practice, and seeking of increasing perfection.

The model revolutionary dramas not only defeated the enemy ideologically, and stormed the stubborn fortresses -- such as the Peking opera and the ballet -- where feudalism and the bourgeoisie had lodged their roots the most deeply and which they had been occupying for the longest

time. They also aroused a tremendous revolution of the artistic form and created a new life for rigid classical artistic forms.

Chairman Mao pointed out long ago that, concerning classical artistic forms, we must "DEVELOP THE NEW FROM THE OLD." He said, "WE DO NOT REFUSE TO MAKE USE OF FORMS OF ART AND LITERATURE OF PAST EPAS. BUT IN OUR HANDS THESE OLD FORMS ARE REFORMED AND GIVEN NEW CONTENTS. IN THIS WAY, THEY, TOO, BECOME THINGS WHICH ARE REVOLUTIONARY AND WHICH SERVE THE PEOPLE."

Such glorious thoughts of Chairman Mao were all the time resisted by the counterrevolutionary revisionist line for art and literature, which adored Western things and wanted to restore ancient things. They were not put into practice. In September-December, 1963, Chairman Mao issued four directives successively, sharply rebuking the reactionary rule of the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature. Chairman Mao pointed out, "THE SOCIAL ECONOMIC BASE HAS CHANGED. THE DEPARTMENT OF ART, PART OF THE SUPERSTRUCTURE SERVING THIS BASE, IS STILL A BIG PROBLEM TO THIS DAY. THIS MUST BE ATTENDED TO SERIOUSLY, BEGINNING WITH INVESTIGATION AND RESEARCH."

But, protected and supported by the biggest intra-Party power holder who follows the capitalist road, the counterrevolutionary revisionist element Chou Yang's pack not only securely sealed off Chairman Mao's directives from the masses, but overtly publicized opposite views and denied their crimes.

At the critical moment of the acute struggle between two lines, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing boldly came out. She raised high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, went deep into the front line, firmly executed Chairman Mao's directives, painstakingly and fully conducted investigation and research in the art and literary circles, paid close attention to the revolution of Peking operas, the ballet, and the symphony, and sounded the forward march bugle for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In the process of creation of model revolutionary dramas, the vanguards dared to regard the so-called "pinnacles of art" with contempt, dared to carry out demolition and construction on a large scale on the pinnacles and struggle firmly against servility marked by adoration of Western things and restoration of old things, and dared to set up socialist new things and proletarian novelties. In accordance with Chairman Mao's principles "LET ANCIENT THINGS SERVE CONTEMPORARY PURPOSES" and "LET WESTERN THINGS SERVE CHINESE PURPOSES," they critically inherited the fine artistic forms and artistic characteristics of China and other nations in the world.

The model revolutionary dramas have put to shame the feudalist and bourgeois art and literature of China and foreign countries, whether modern or several thousand or several hundred years old. Proletarian revolutionary art and literature have been made to shine brightly. They are good model examples of the fulfillment of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

The great man Lu Hsun several decades ago entertained the following warm expectation: "Without pioneers who are to break through all traditional ideas and methods, China will not have real new art and literature," and, "There should have been a brand new field of literature long before this! There should have been several brave pioneers long before this!" Lu Hsun raised high the big anti-imperialist, anti-feudal banner, raised high the big banner of militant left-wing literature, insisted on thorough revolution on the cultural front, insisted on Chairman Mao's correct line, and became a pioneer who broke through all traditional ideas and methods and the greatest and bravest ensign for the cultural new army.

Our great leader Chairman Mao systematically and integrally formulated the proletarian revolutionary line for culture. But because the chieftains of the black line for art and literature of the 30's were still occupying leadership positions in our country's propaganda and cultural departments, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line for culture was never seriously implemented. On the contrary, it was the black line for art and literature which dictated to us.

The appearance of model revolutionary dramas in the 60's signifies true implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line for culture. And this brand new revolution of art and literature has been carried out under the concrete leadership of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing.

Today Lu Hsun's wish has come true! Our socialist motherland is beginning to have a brand new field of literature. Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, who created the model revolutionary dramas, deserves to be called "a pioneer who breaks through all traditional ideas and methods" in the 60's. She deserves to be called the strongest and bravest warrior on the cultural front.

* * *

The appearance of model revolutionary dramas is a tremendous victory of the proletariat over feudalism and capitalism in the ideological realm.

Chairman Mao said, "IN OUR COUNTRY THE ISSUE OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM IN THE IDEOLOGICAL FIELD WILL STILL TAKE A CONSIDERABLE LENGTH OF TIME TO DECIDE. THIS IS BECAUSE THE INFLUENCE OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND OF THE INTELLECTUALS WHO HAVE COME FROM THE OLD SOCIETY

WILL CONTINUE TO EXIST IN OUR COUNTRY FOR A LONG TIME. AS A CLASS IDEOLOGY, IT WILL STILL EXIST IN OUR COUNTRY FOR A LONG TIME."

During the past 17 years, our great leader Chairman Mao personally started and led successive important ideological struggles. From the criticism of Inside Story of Ch'ing Court to criticism of Hai Jui Dismissed, he beat back bourgeois attacks time and again and captured one bastion after another. The great proletarian cultural revolution, which began with the revolution of Peking operas, is a general offensive on bourgeois ideology and on representatives of the bourgeoisie. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature represented by Chou Yang has been thoroughly smashed. Their general backer -- the biggest intra-Party power holder who follows the capitalist road -- has been unearthed. This is a great victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

We believe that, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and as a result of the present big revolution and big criticism, revolutionary dramas on contemporary themes and revolutionary works of art and literature will mushroom and grow strong. In our country's proletarian art and literature, there is bound to appear a situation of prosperity where a hundred flowers will vie in beauty and flourish.

May the great historical accomplishments of the model revolutionary dramas be immortal!

Long live the all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung for art and literature!

* * *

- END -

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FOREWORD

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LIU CHIH-MING--GENERAL MANAGER FOR THE WHOLE-
SALE OF THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY
"FEBRUARY OUTLINE"

Following is a translation of an article, by the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters, in the Chinese-language newspaper Wen-i Ko-ming (Literature and Arts Revolution), Peking, No 2, 11 June 1967, page 2. This source is published in Peking by the Wen-i Ko-ming Editorial Board of the above-mentioned General Headquarters.]

On 18 February 1966 the counterrevolutionaries Hsu Li-ch'un (6079 4539 5028), Deputy Director of the former Propaganda Department of the Central Committee, and Hu Shun (5170 4939), on orders from P'eng Chen (1756 4176), called a meeting of the Peking academic circles and responsible publishers of newspapers and periodicals totaling about 80, at which the counterrevolutionary "February Outline" and P'eng's black directives were transmitted. It was shouted, "There should be destruction before there can be construction;" "There should be flexibility in dealing with political questions, and the handling of the case of Wu Han (0702 2498) should not be confined to the political question, to deducing a political conclusion concerning him;" "Before truth everyone is equal, and there should be persuasion by reason alone, and not oppression by force, as in the case of academic roughriders;" etc.; etc. The rumor was also created that Chairman Mao had concurred in the outline. It was really a highly criminal act.

After the meeting four discussion groups were created. Teng T'o (6772 2148), the bigwig of San-chia-ts'un (Three-family Village fame, was designated as convener of Group No 1, and the

counterrevolutionary revisionist Lu P'ing (7120 1627) was one of the conveners for Group 2. The chairman of the Group on Literature and Arts was Liu Po-yu (0491 4101 5038), and its vice chairmen were Liu Chih-ming (0491 5347 2494) and Ho Ch'i-fang (0149 0366 5364). Later the chairmanship of this group was vacated as a result of Liu Po-yu's departure for other anti-party activities, whereupon Liu Chih-ming stepped into his shoes.

The counterrevolutionary revisionist Liu Chih-ming, Secretary of the party committee of the head office of the Beethoven Club, the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles, is the black vanguard of these circles for the implementation of the counterrevolutionary "February Outline." He is the general manager for the wholesale distribution of this black outline to the Federation and to the various associations.

At first he gathered together the black chiefs of the various branches of the Beethoven Club (the various associations of the Federation), institutes of literature, and institutes of foreign literature--Wang Ch'ao-wen (3769 2600 5113), Liu Hou-sheng (0491 0624 3932), Mao Hsing (3029 2502), Feng Chih (7458 5267), and Feng Mu (7458 3668)--to discuss the black outline of P'eng Chen. Five or six meetings were held, at which the participants went extensively into so-called "purely academic" discussion; opposed the prominent position to be given to proletarian politics, but believed that it should be given to bourgeois politics; advocated the practice of bourgeois liberalization represented by "flexibility" in connection with political questions; and under the pretext of preventing the rise of "academic roughriders," attacked the leftists of the proletariat while protecting the bourgeois rightists. These counterrevolutionary revisionists and bourgeois reactionary "academic authorities" were very active in preaching their fallacies and showed "profound" comprehension of P'eng Chen's black outline. At the meetings Liu Chih-ming claimed credit by saying that the Group on Literature and Arts had had a larger number of discussions than the other groups and that these had gone on very well. After each discussion briefings had been made with the Palace of the King of Hell to curry favor.

Immediately afterwards Liu Chih-ming called together Yuan Wen-shu (5913 2429 2992), Wang Ch'ao-wen, Lu Chi (0712 7535), and Li Chih-hua (2621 0037 5478) to study how to implement P'eng Chen's black outline among the various associations under the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles. At the meeting Liu Chih-ming made a great many statements, including the following: "This document is very important as an

outline for the Cultural Revolution, and it is not only very good, but very timely." "Though it is a short document, it gives very clear guidance on the current movement, its thinking is lucid, and it has pointed the direction for the development of the movement." He even talked such nonsense as this: "The 'February Outline' is important politics facing us."

At that time the various associations of the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles were expanding the study of prominent political questions. On the contrary Liu Chih-ming went so far as to assert that the study of prominent political questions should yield to the implementation of the "February Outline." There were others who made the outcry at the meeting, "If the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles should not have a firm grip on this question and get something out of it, it would commit a very serious mistake." To "get something out of it," these fellows made active plans at the meeting for the calling of report sessions and organizing forums, for studying such "academic questions" "in common" as "conscientious and corrupt officials," "moral succession," and the "appraisal of historic figures," and for "stimulating academic thinking." There were some who advocated that the records be sent to the provincial and municipal branches, so that the poison could be spread all over the country. Liu Chih-ming directed the establishment of specialized leadership groups and the organization of offices, the collection of academic material, the organization of writing units, and especially the invitation of Lin Mo-han (2651 7817 3211), King of Hell No 3, to make the summary report.

Under the unified direction of Liu Chih-ming, the various associations under the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles commenced its counterrevolutionary implementation of the "February Outline." Liu Chih-ming got so busy running around that he even went hungry many a time and lost a great deal of sleep. He went personally to preside over a series of so-called "Academic Discussion Meetings" at the Drama Association. At the meeting under his direction for the so-called "criticism and judgment" of T'ien Han (3944 3352), he said with an ulterior motive, "T'ien Han is an individualist," thus making a special effort to defend the "three-anti" crimes of T'ien, an old anti-Communist hand. Liu is especially devoted to the writing of "academic reports" relating to the "theory of moral succession," inducing the writing units to produce articles containing pseudo-criticisms and judgments. He also wrote personally three long and repulsive "academic theses" on the question of Hai Jui Pa-kuan (Dismissal of Hai Jui from Office), trying his best to downgrade the important political significance of the article by Comrade Yao Wen-yuan

(1202 2429 0337), and saying that Yao had "only basically clarified the central question which has for many years been a controversy among historical, literary and art, and philosophical circles--viz., the class essence of an incorrupt official," and that "the lesson taught by Hai Jui Pa-kuan has to do with the necessity for the difficult, minute, creative, revolutionary re-editing of historical and traditional plays destined to bring socialist transformation;" and seeking by all means to cover up the counterrevolutionary crux of Hai Jui Pa-kuan and defend the anti-party crime of Wu Han. He also said, "Comrade Wu Han, in Hai Jui Pa-kuan, has merely sung the praise of Hai Jui and made no criticism and judgment," and "He has only written about the progressive nature of Hai Jui, and not about his reactionary nature." He went on to say that the question about Wu Han only lay in the fact that "neither his politics nor his thinking nor his theoretical scholarship was superior." In his articles Liu Chih-ming even pardoned P'eng Chen by asserting that "Mistaken statements are shared by all," and he pointed his spearhead at the revolutionary leftists.

Liu viciously attacked Comrade Kuan Feng (7070 6912) by claiming that his criticism and judgment of Wu Han had committed "a mistake of principle, a mistake of eclecticism," a "distortion of classical authors and Chairman Mao." Liu even shouted that the six political standards brought forward by Chairman Mao in his article "On the Question of Correctly Handling the People's Internal Contradictions" had become outmoded, and that "a new standard is required for the excellent culture of the people in former times, to determine which was chaff and which the fine grain." Liu was so bold and also could so arrogantly criticize the ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung, just because he had the support of P'eng Chen and Liu Shao-ch'i. Their chief aim is to strangle the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally launched and led by Chairman Mao and to restore capitalism in China.

The great historic document personally approved and adopted by our great leader, Chairman Mao--the "Public Notice" of the Chinese Communist party Central Committee dated 16 May 1966--announced the death sentence of the "February Outline," and sounded the bugle call for the forward march of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. At last the revolutionary masses have succeeded in dragging out the Khrushchev of China and all kinds of demons and monsters, and the proletarian revolutionaries have also succeeded in dragging out Liu Chih-ming. This is a great victory for the ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung. However, the counterrevolutionary revisionists who have been overthrown will never be willing to admit their defeat and will necessarily use every means to engage in

activities looking to their restoration. We shall therefore permanently maintain a high degree of vigilance and fight valiantly for the protection of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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GHOST FIRE SET BY LIU AND P'ENG AND POISON
SPREAD EVERYWHERE BY LU CHI

Following is a translation of an article, by the Revolutionary Rebel Committee of the China Music Publishing Agency and the East Is Red Commune of the Chinese Revolutionary Music Association, in the Chinese-language newspaper Wen-i Ko-ming (Literature and Arts Revolution), Peking, No 2, 11 June 1967, pages 2-3. This source is published in Peking by the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters' Wen-i Ko-ming Editorial Board.7

In February last year two diametrically opposed documents were issued by two headquarters. In the musical circles Lu Chi (0712 7535), the vigorous lieutenant of the black gang of Chou Yang (0719 2254), standing stubbornly on the counter-revolutionary revisionist battle line of the Khrushchev of China, did his best to implement the "February Outline" of P'eng Chen, frantically boycott the "Summary Minutes of the Forum of the Armed Forces on Literature and Arts Called by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing (3068 7230) at the Behest of Comrade Lin Piao (2651 1753)," destroy the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, protect all the leadership and battleground which he had usurped in the musical circles, and resist stubbornly till the death with a view to the subversion of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Planning of the Black Gang and Distribution
of the "Outline"

On 18 February the tentacle of P'eng Chen, Hsu Li-

ch'un (6079 0500 5028), transmitted the black "outline" to the big and small chiefs of the black gang of the Palace of the King of Hell. Lu Chi was fully carried away when he heard this news. He was so extremely frantic that after shouting, "The 'Outline' is very good," he immediately called together members of the black party of the Music Association, Chou Wei-shih (0719 1550 1492), Chao ~~Illegible~~ (6392), Ma K'o (7456 0668), Li Yuan-ch'ing (2621 0337 1987)--formerly Director, Chinese Music Institute--, and P'an Ch'i (3382 1142)--formerly President, Music Publishing Agency--, who had all got into the party by improper means from the ranks of the bourgeoisie, to conspire and plan for the distribution of the black "outline" in the musical circles.

At the meeting Lu Chi said, "After the Cultural Revolution we should go left without let-up," and "We should not be afraid because we spread poison in the past and because of the rectification of 1964." He viciously attacked two directives of Chairman Mao on literature and arts, seeking to reverse the cases of crimes against the party and socialism. He distorted without any restraint or reservations the party's aims concerning flexibility, removed the class content, and shouted to his subordinates, "We should have all-round flexibility. There should be flexibility in "songs" and "folk music." The Music Publishing Agency should be flexible, and popular reading matter and teaching material may also be flexible," going deeply into bourgeois liberalization. He naturally got the readiest response from his subordinates, who followed him in shouting, "Formerly we lacked understanding regarding the aim of flexibility," "After the Cultural Revolution one flower will bloom with flexibility," and "We should be flexible now, even in sending out poison." Evidently these rightists felt that in the past there had not been enough poison spread around, and so they took advantage of the black wind of the "outline" to attack the party.

At the meeting Lu Chi and his group, under the pretext that there was great need for "caution" and the avoidance of "crudity," abused the proletarian leftists, saying that their "literary men are not literary" and "are brutal and rigid in the use of language," that "they can only put on airs instead of being skillful in making scientific analysis" and "can only quote classical works instead of making concrete analysis." All these vicious abuses have fully exposed the ugly faces of the big party bosses and academic roughriders, who are practicing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie among musical circles.

Lu Chi also widely spread these statements: "The question of the musical circles is principally that of ideology;"

"There is no such key point as that of Wu Han;" "Academic criticism and judgment come first;" "All units have a great many academic questions;" and "It is not so much the criticism and judgment of any one individual as of a certain ideology;" seeking to incorporate the serious political struggle in the musical circles into the so-called "purely academic" discussion of the bourgeoisie. So their subordinates vied with one another in making suggestions and in bringing up all kinds of topics for "academic discussion," including the "question of massification," the "question of lyric songs," the "question of community and individuality," the "question of the format of revolutionary songs," the "question of whether technique has its class nature," and the "question of how classical music should be handed down." It was even shouted, "The discussion of the Central Musical Group on the symphonic composition Sha-chia-pin can be released and debated." The intent was to attack Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, who was holding aloft the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and her style of drama. It was a conspiracy to strike at the leftists and give protection to the rightists, to protect themselves and stage a counterattack.

During the black meeting Lu Chi and P'an Ch'i went to the palace of the King of Hell to give a briefing. King of Hell No 3, Lin Mo-han, said viciously that publications should not "repeat what others had said." In truth what was opposed was the propagandization of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It was claimed that in the musical circles "there is no key point, and it is not necessary to go out of the way to seek for one," and that "If scientific criticism and judgment are wanted, what should be affirmed should be affirmed; one should be divided into two." Thus the political struggle among musical circles was totally disregarded. With this black directive issued to him, Lu Chi felt confident enough to go about it in a big way.

"Academic Criticism and Judgment" and Use of Offense as Defense

At the end of 1963 the forum of the Capital's music and dance workers began its discussions on revolutionization, nationalization, and massification. In fact these discussions were intended to boost the "new musical traditions" of the thirties and whitewash the status quo of the musical circles, so as to oppose Chairman Mao's directives relating to literature and arts. Later Comrade Chiang Ch'ing pointed out with great precision that this slogan could very well have been brought up by the bourgeoisie, which also had its revolutionary side. But Lu Chi turned a deaf ear to the view of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, and said frantically, "The discussions of revolutionization, nationalization, and massification have a very

great influence abroad and have taken on an important international significance." For the purpose of opposing Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, King of Hell Lin Mo-han let Lu Chi write a personal summary of the discussions in question. Forthwith the latter organized the staff required for the job and issued this directive: "The question of the musical circles cannot be linked with the class struggle of the time." Furthermore he spread the rumor created by P'eng Chen: "It is still a moot question whether Hai Jui Pa-kuan involves a political or academic question."

On 26 March last year Lu Chi's well-conceived summary of the debate on the questions of revolutionization, nationalization, and massification was published in Kuang-ming Jih-pao, asserting that the discussion had solved the question of orientation. It purported to emphasize bourgeois and oppose proletarian thinking, to protect the rightists and oppress the leftists, and to oppose the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This was the counterrevolutionary substance of their theory that "There must first be destruction before there can be construction."

After an article was published in Shanghai holding the view that the teaching of piano must be reformed, Lin Mo-han opined that "the viewpoint is too one-sided" and let Lu Chi write a special article in reply. The latter went over to the Piano Department of the Central Music Institute and held a forum, at which he shouted frantically, "We should take a wider road as we go along. It's not right for the younger generation to know nothing about foreign productions. Those who learn to play the piano are simply ignorant if they leave Bach all alone. Things on the opposite side should be learned too. There should not only be the ability to criticize contrary teaching material, but to play it well. Only thus can there be persuasive power." Here he was doing his level best to boost bourgeois revisionist music.

Lu designated a teacher to write an article dealing "all-roundedly" with the reform of teaching, and set a time-limit for its completion, letting people be "free from apprehension and fear," and fanning an attack on their part against the party. He also directed the periodical Jen-min Yin-yueh (Folk Music) to the effect that "articles containing general and academic criticism and judgment should all be published." Moreover, he organized with great scheming discussions on so-called "lyric songs," seeking to cause the waters to be muddled. He sought also to shield Li Ling (2621 0407), saying "I would like to give him an opportunity. Since he was subjected to criticism and judgment, he has never expressed his attitude. It is time now." So Jen-min Yin-yueh, No 2, 1966,

published an article on the "Study of Chiao Yu-lu (3542 5940 4389)," written by Li Ling and Chao [illegible] in their respective capacities as "Secretary and League Chairman, x x party committee" and "Secretary, party committee, and Vice President of the Institute," the object being to glorify the rightists openly and boldly and to turn things upside down.

The above were the crimes committed by Lu Chi and his group in accordance with the directives contained in Liu and P'eng's black "outline" for the destruction of the Great Cultural Revolution.

Boycott of "Summary Minutes," Stubborn Resistance

In February last year the headquarters of the proletariat represented by Chairman Mao issued the revolutionary decree of the proletarian revolutionaries--"Summary Minutes of the Forum"--and ordered them and the broad revolutionary masses to launch the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and put down the handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists. The "Summary Minutes" hit Lu Chi and his group hard. Before they recovered from this attack, they struck back, even to the extent of suggesting the revision of the "Summary Minutes." In criticizing a statement in the "Summary Minutes" to the effect that theoretically it was in fact Belinsky, Lu said, "The words 'in fact' are somewhat too strong, it seems. It would be better to change them to 'principally' or 'basically,' because there was the side of Marxism-Leninism." He also said, "In the musical circles there is no question of the thirties," and "We cannot destroy, but can construct. We can perform certain work on the side of construction." Thus he was persistent in his opposition to the revolution.

On 15 May Lu again called together Chao [illegible], Ma K'o, Chou Mei-shih, Sun Shen (1327 1957), and Kuan Ho-t'ung (7070 7729 4547) at a black meeting, nominally for the study of the historical material of Nieh Erh (5119 5101), but in fact for the conspiracy of laying down the counterrevolutionary plan of boycotting the "Summary Minutes." At the meeting Lu talked this nonsense: "It is a mistake in cinema to take as opposites the thirties and the Chairman's literary and art line, and so we have not acted thus." In fact it was Lu Chi who then suggested "music for national defense," and after the liberation he continued to boost with all his might the "new musical traditions" of the thirties, thus solidifying his position as the forerunner of the musical circles. It was also Lu Chi who insisted on the revisionist literary and art line of Wang Ming (3769 2494) and Chou Yang and boycotted the revolutionary literary and art line of Chairman Mao. In doing so Lu's object was to prove that the "Summary Minutes," which "use Mao Tse-

tung's thought to answer many important questions on the Cultural Revolution in the socialist period" is inapplicable to the musical circles, and to boycott the "Summary Minutes" and create public opinion for the destruction of the Great Cultural Revolution in the musical circles.

Lu Chi, being a faithful slave of Chou Yang's, has for many years consistently followed behind his lord and committed many counterrevolutionary offenses. Now he has finally been dragged out by the revolutionary masses. The important task of the musical circles' proletarian revolutionaries at present is to unite in the thorough criticism of Lu Chi and his group till they smell and in the elimination of the poison of revisionist music from the masses.

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YUAN WEN-SHU'S PROTECTION OF THE BLACK OUTLINE

Following is a translation of an article by the China Motion Picture Association Revolutionary Rebel Committee in the Chinese-language newspaper Wen-i Ko-ming (Literature and Arts Revolution), Peking, No 2, 11 June 1967, page 3. This source is published in Peking by the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters' Wen-i Ko-ming Editorial Board.7

With the appearance of the black counterrevolutionary "February Outline" of Liu Shao-ch'i and P'eng Chen, the counterrevolutionary revisionist Yuan Wen-shu of the China Motion Picture Association, in compliance with the wishes of the palace of the King of Hell and in mad joy, immediately organized its transmission and study, and, contrary to their usual practice, personally read and re-read this counterrevolutionary outline. With a view to protecting the black counterrevolutionary line and himself and suppressing the exposure by the masses of the crimes of the counterrevolutionary revisionists, he did his best to stress the two points that "before truth everyone is equal" and "one should excel one's opposite number in scholarship." This demonstrates that Yuan Wen-shu is even more cunning than before.

As early as 1962 he viciously attacked the criticism and judgment by the revolutionary masses of the poison-weed motion pictures and the reactionary fallacies contained therein as "crude and violent," "striking someone dead with a single blow," "forced," and "influenced by vulgar sociology and dogmatism." All these statements are naked, but he is more sinister and clandestine than before.

With a view to covering up the counterrevolutionary conspiracy of restoration on the part of Liu Shao-ch'i and P'eng Chen and shielding the counterrevolutionaries, he has shifted the necessary manpower to organize the so-called "co-operative" for writing articles for the purpose of criticism and judgment, playing the tricks of pseudo-criticism and true protection. This can be seen from Tien-ying Yi-shu (Motion Picture Art), No 3, 1966, in which three smoke screens were laid.

One of the articles, entitled "Let Us All Be Concerned with and Participate in This Great Debate," had to do with Hai Jui Pa-kuan. This poisonous weed basically did not take up the political question involved in the play, but instead frantically opposed Chairman Mao's wise directive to the effect that the crux of Hai Jui Pa-kuan was his dismissal from office. By every possible means Yuan sought to guide the criticism of this play into the channel of an "academic controversy." He personally arranged the setting for this article, pointing out that he intended to report on the discussion--which was claimed to be of a purely academic nature--of the questions of incorrupt officials, moral succession, and the creation of historical plays; and to delve into the questions of historical and musical motion pictures.

Another article, on the "History of the Development of the Motion Picture in China," covered up the political question involved in this development, which formed the subject of the second poisonous weed. Indeed in this connection Yuan had to put in a lot of "thought." In his "cooperative" he threw out first of all an "Outline of Criticism and Judgment" written by himself, in which the first item had to do with the "criticism" of the "anti-historical-materialism" of the "history of the motion picture." Thus a work which had been intended to be a reversal of the case against Wang Ming's opportunist line and directly coordinated with Liu Shao-ch'i's conspiracy to restore capitalism was lightly interpreted as a question of ideological method. Later Yuan made certain comments on another contributed article, saying that "it was for the sake of 'claiming credit' that the 'history of the motion picture' connected by force Chairman Mao's thought on literature and the arts with the thirties," and that "as a result the epoch-making significance of the 'Talk' before the Yen-an Forum was denied." Here the counterrevolutionary political question became also a question of "claiming credit." It was only because of the attempt to "claim credit" that "as a result the epochmaking significance of the 'Talk' was denied." Thus the political question was avoided by all possible means, and a strenuous effort was made to conceal their counterrevolutionary countenance.

In the course of writing this article Yuan tried time and again to transmit the black intention of King of Hell No 3, Lin Mo-han, who stressed the importance of "positively appraising" the motion pictures of the thirties. In fact the intention was to do some affirmation first and then to deal haphazardly with the limitations involved. Though some of the comrades at the lower level felt that this was not right and suggested that this section be deleted, Yuan flatly refused without even giving the matter any consideration. Especially on 7 April, after Lin Mo-han made a black report entirely distorting the "Summary Minutes" (a very important step by P'eng Chen's counterrevolutionary clique in its resistance to the Great Cultural Revolution), Yuan immediately followed up. Having heard the report at the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles in the forenoon, he transmitted in the afternoon to the editor writing the article the material relating to the thirties, asking the writer to include it in the article and to emphasize the fact that in the productions of the thirties "there was Marxism" and "there was progress," etc.

Came 16 April, and the situation turned more and more unfavorable for this group of counterrevolutionary revisionists. They themselves sensed that their days were numbered, and for this reason they became more frantic in their resistance. At noon that day Lin Mo-han suddenly sent for Yuan, who did not even have time for his lunch, and had an intimate talk with him for two hours. It was decided to publish as soon as possible this article containing a pseudo-criticism and judgment and to emphasize once more that the motion pictures of the thirties "should not be denied totally, as no one has denied them," the idea being to boost the thirties again. Under this scheming an article containing a pseudo-criticism and judgment of the "history of the motion picture" while according it true protection was turned out.

The third article was one which contained a pseudo-criticism and judgment of Tien-ying Lun-wen Chi (Collection of Works on the Motion Picture) by Hsia Yen (1115 5888), which in fact gave it protection, while covering up the crimes of the author against the party, socialism, and Mao Tse-tung's thought. The writing of this article was also accomplished under the direction of Yuan Wen-shu, who employed with dexterity all his counterrevolutionary tricks. The article had been hatched after the pseudo-rectification undertaken by the various associations under the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles, and it had taken as long as 14 months with the preparation of ten drafts.

At first Yuan's intention was to procrastinate. Under

the pretext that he had not read Hsia's book with care, Yuan tried to put off the matter as much as possible, so that it took much longer to "review" the book than to write the article. When the time came for the expression of his views, he put on the airs of an academic roughrider and declared in a highly critical and severe manner, "How he seeks to overpower his readers with his airs and stop them from speaking!"

Even more viciously he opposed the use of the weapon provided by the brilliant "Talk" of our great leader, Chairman Mao, to criticize and judge the black counterrevolutionary revisionist line practiced by Hsia Yen. He attacked this method by asserting that the use of this weapon was a "generalized" "principle known to everyone," shouting that only by studying many theories (of the 19th-century bourgeoisie) on literature and the arts could writing be done with depth. He even marked with red all the quotations from Chairman Mao and noted that they were "irrelevant." He merely resorted to the means of suppression and obstruction without touching the substance of Hsia Yen's counterrevolutionary revisionism.

But after the appearance of the "February Outline" Yuan felt much stronger and he changed his attitude of procrastination to one of positive action. He said that the question of Hsia Yen differed from that of T'ien Han (3944 3352), in that the principal point involved was the failure to transform the bourgeois world outlook after long duration, the denial of the guidance of the world outlook to creation, the mistake about the succession to the heritage of the thirties, and the inability of amateurs to lead experts. So, he refused to permit the criticism of Hsia Yen's poison-weed articles and reactionary views outside of his "Collection of Works on the Motion Picture;" the coordination of the situation of the class struggle in and out of the country; the mention of the question of seizure of power (in fact only Hsia's "seizure of leadership from the party for the bourgeoisie" was mentioned, and even this low tone was denied); the criticism and judgment of Hsia's reactionary fallacy that the three great red flags had not "produced any effect;" and Hsia's criticism that penetration into the life of workers, peasants, and soldiers was concern with merely one department, which was dismissed by Yuan in his notes with the remarks, "Let it go" and "unclear."

Not contented with the cover-up of the political question as an ideological and academic question, Yuan added to his comments this passage: that Hsia Yen should "under the party's leadership actively correct his mistakes and return to the party's correct literary and art line." He insisted on calling Hsia his "comrade," seeking to whitewash him.

The "Public Notice" of 16 May sounded the bugle call for the advance of the forces of the Great Cultural Revolution. Thereupon Yuan was greatly panic-stricken, and in his desperation sought to whitewash himself and pass the responsibility to those below him. Moreover he did his best to preserve the rule of the palace of the King of Hell for his own sake.

At that time, after the publication of these articles in Tien-yin Yi-shu, No 3, which contained the pseudo-criticism of the counterrevolutionary revisionists but actually shielded them, the revolutionary masses were greatly enraged and contributed articles and wrote letters to voice their criticisms. For the same reason the revolutionaries of the Editorial Board were also bitterly angered and vehemently demanded the publication of the correct criticisms of the revolutionary masses.

Sensing this most alarming situation, Yuan went over to the Editorial Board and sought to resort to his habitual suppression. Picking up the cudgel provided by the statement of P'eng Chen that "mistakes are shared by everyone," he threatened the masses, "Tien-ying Yi-shu has made a mistake, but don't say that you were not there and lay the blame on others. When there were honors involved, did you ever pass them to others? Even if you want to, you can't pass a mistake to others."

In addition, he made use of his counterrevolutionary weapon of "revision" to alter the contributions of the masses. For example, it was correctly pointed out in these contributions that the "object" of the pseudo-criticism and judgment "was to divert attention and direct this serious political struggle into the channel of purely academic discussion;" "to insist on the bourgeois attitude, seeking to cross the barrier by improper means and achieve restoration in the surging tide of this Great Cultural Revolution;" and that "The time has come for the thorough liquidation of Tien-ying Yi-shu, and we shall never let you go." Yuan deleted the expressions "to divert attention," "to cross the barrier by improper means," "achieve restoration," and "we shall never let you go." Putting on the airs of an academic roughrider, he said, "Even without the concurrence of the writers, the Editorial Board has the power of deletion and revision." Thus he frantically opposed the pertinent exposures and criticisms of the revolutionary masses.

However, in seeking to impede the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Yuan Wen-shu is like the mantis trying to

stop a chariot with its feelers. The great revolutionary storm has scattered the counterrevolutionary smoke screen and exposed the conspiracies of the counterrevolutionaries. We proletarian revolutionaries must drag out all worms harmful to us and criticize and judge them until they smell and collapse.

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LOOKING AT LAN-CHOU UNIVERSITY FROM THE
STANDPOINT OF TSING HUA
(REPORT ON IMPLEMENTATION OF BOURGEOIS REACTIONARY
LINE ON CADRE QUESTION BY LAN-CHOU UNIVERSITY,
KANSU PROVINCE, JUNE & JULY 1966)

Following is a translation of an article by an investigator of the General Headquarters of Revolutionary Rebels, Lan-chou University, in the Chinese-language newspaper Wen-ko T'ung-hsun (Cultural Revolution Report), Lan-chou, No 27, 11 May 1967, pages 1-2. This source is published in Lan-chou by the Wen-ko T'ung-hsun Publishers of the Lan-chou University "7 June".

"Irrespective of their merits all cadres are excluded and put down. This is what several persons in support of the bourgeois reactionary line have advocated, and they have acted accordingly. The top person in authority in the party taking the capitalist road is the one at whom the spearhead of our criticism and judgment of the bourgeois reactionary line is pointed."--from the editorial of the Jen-min Jih-pao (People's Daily) on "Why the constituent Parts of the Bourgeois Reactionary Line Advocating 'Attack on the Large Mass and Protection of the Handful' Should Be Criticized with Stress"

I

On 1 June 1966, after Chairman Mao personally decided to broadcast the first Marxist-Leninist large-character poster to the whole country, the Cultural Revolution in Lan-chou University at once stirred up a new high tide, and the broad masses of the revolutionary faculty, students, and cadres pointed the spearhead of their struggle directly at the party

persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the reactionary academic "authorities."

On 4 June the Chinese Communist party Central Committee made public its decision to reorganize the old Peking municipal party committee. On the same day the provincial party committee sent a working group, composed of four (later increased to seven) persons and headed by Chang (1728) x, to be stationed at Lan-chou University to control the situation there.

On 7 June a revolutionary incident broke out at Lan-chou University, which shook the entire province. The broad masses of the revolutionary faculty, students, and cadres launched a resolute struggle against the implementation of the bourgeois reactionary line by the working group of the provincial party committee after its entry into the university. They also adopted such slogans as "Use Mao Tse-tung's Thought to Gauge the Provincial Party Committee," and pointed the spearhead of their struggle directly at the handful of provincial party members in authority taking the capitalist road. On that same evening the provincial committee held a whole-night session and decided to dub the "7 June" incident as a "counterrevolutionary Incident" and to send a working group composed of as many as 150 to be stationed at Lan-chou University and suppress the "counterrevolution."

At 2:00 a.m., 8 June, the provincial committee's working group, headed by Lung (7893) x, a member of the Political Department of the provincial military area, entered Lan-chou University. At 8:00 the group called a mass meeting of the faculty, students, staff members, and workers of the whole university and issued a "proclamation," which disregarded the facts and suppressed the broad masses of the revolutionary faculty and students and the broad masses of the revolutionary cadres, announcing the take-over of all party and political leadership and authority in the university. Thenceforth 70 days of white terror, scarcely seen in the whole country before and frightening to the highest degree, commenced in Lan-chou University.

II

Originally Lan-chou University had four leading cadres (a Secretary of the party committee serving concurrently as President of the university, a Deputy Secretary, and two Vice Presidents) and 44 medium-grade cadres ranking above the secretary of the league committee (including a Deputy Director of the party committee, a Secretary of the general party branch, a Deputy Director of the Administrative Department, and vice

chairmen of departments). The school also had 139 cadres ranking above ad hoc departmental directors (including a Deputy Secretary of the faculty and workers' party branch, a Deputy Director of the Instruction and Study Group, a Deputy Chief of the Administrative Section, and a Secretary of the general league branch, an ad hoc post), 38 Political Counselors to the Faculty, and 42 Political Counselors to the students. The total number of cadres was thus 267.

After its entry into the school the working group, in compliance with the directives of the handful in authority taking the capitalist road, attacked the broad revolutionary masses and dubbed them as "counterrevolutionaries," and carried out the reactionary policy of "attack on the large mass and protection of the handful," dubbing the good and comparatively good cadres as "demons and monsters," the "black gang," and "counterrevolutionaries," and inflicting on them cruel political persecution and spiritual and physical tortures.

The persecution of the cadres by the working group can be divided into two stages:

(1) From 7 June to 25 June, the working group ordered almost all cadres to stand aside and adopted the methods of militant struggle and extortion of testimony, forcing them to clarify their relations with the "7 June" incident, seizing hold of such "counterrevolutionaries" as opposed the provincial party committee and the working group, and carrying out the policy of "attack on the large mass and protection of the handful."

(2) From 26 June to 29 July, it was a period in which the dissolution and removal of the working group took place. Under the pretext of "sweeping away all demons and monsters," the group massively got after the "rightists" among the students, faculty, and staff members, crossed the rectification of cadres with that of the masses, and provoked the struggle of cadres with the masses, and that of the latter with the former.

After the removal of the working group the active counterrevolutionary Li Kuei-tzu (2621 6311 1311), consistently boosted by the provincial party committee, monopolized the control of the preparatory committee, and, on the question of cadres, continued to implement the bourgeois reactionary line of "attack on the large mass and protection of the handful."

The concrete behavior of the working group was as follows:

lows:

(1) Class analysis not made of cadres, all of whom were excluded and put down.

After its entry into the school it spread the following assertions among the masses everywhere: "Chiang Lung-chi (3068 7127 1015) is a chief of the black gang, and the various levels of the organization in Lan-chou University are all rotten;" "Lan-chou University is the black headquarters of revisionism;" "It is the Chiang dynasty's base;" and "It is the palace of the King of Hell." Members of the Physics Department working group said to the school's students, "This movement is just the opposite of what happened before. Those who were good are all bad this time." Some even went so far as to assert, "The party and league organizations of Lan-chou University have a black root and a black line, which are to be reflected in party and league members themselves." Others shouted, "Drive out the rank and file that came with Chiang Lung-chi lock, stock, and barrel;" "Not one of the political counselors has not committed an evil;" and "Before they are put down, we cannot raise our heads."

Under the guidance of these reactionary theories the great majority of cadres and party and league members became targets of attack. On 25 June the director of the former preparatory committee, Chu (2612) x, and others pasted a drawing showing the "Ugly Group of the Liu Branch of the Chiang Black Den" (Liu 0491 being the present Secretary of the Physics Department general party branch), dubbing the 30 party and government cadres and 16 student party members of the department as "bosses of black dens," "emperors' fathers," "dog's head advisers," "tigers with smiling faces," "clowns jumping the beams," "spiritual aristocrats," and "ass-head crown-princes," all targets of rectification.

On 15 June Ch'eng P'ing (4453 5493), Deputy Secretary General of the provincial committee, issued the directive, "Active elements" "have the absolute leadership" "in the Cultural Revolution," and "this is called the dictatorship of the proletariat." Thereupon members of the party committee, departmental and division directors, section chiefs were in the great majority of cases ordered to stand aside; and all secretaries of the general party branch in the school were at the same time members of the working group or appointed by it, the appointees being all "leftists" enjoying its favor.

The Deputy Director of the preparatory committee, Li Kuei-tzu, though not a member of the party, regularly attended the conferences of the party and league party committees and

those of departmental and bureau heads called by the provincial council. On 14 August he also attended the conference of the Standing Committee of the provincial council. He regularly read the party's documents. Membership dues paid by all party members in the school were also handled by the preparatory committee.

What is more, the x x department even let the son of a reactionary military officer and a teacher, who were neither party nor league members, preside over an enlarged conference of the general party branch. Hsueh (5641) x x (coming from a large landlord and bogus official family, though he himself belongs to the masses) engaged massively in class restoration, receiving the appreciation of the working group, which let her assume the leadership authority in two instruction and study groups.

(2) Confusion of right and wrong, and distortion of the facts, as well as "attack on the large mass and protection of the handful."

No sooner had the working group entered the school than it adopted the attitude of the "7 June" incident and massively got after "counterrevolutionaries."

On 25 June P'ei Meng-fei (5952 1322 7378), Secretary of the former provincial party committee, said at Lan-chou University, "The targets of the attack do not merely involve a percentage of the teachers, but a hundred percent of them."

Said Ch'eng P'ing, "The targets of the attack constitute 5% in the whole province, but so far as one school is concerned, they cannot be accounted for in this way."

Lung x x, head of the working group, said, "The targets of the attack this time are in important cases those party persons who are in authority."

The head of the working group of the Political Department, x x x, said, "The Political Department is the headquarters of Chiang Lung-chi's revisionism, and the contradictions between our enemies and ourselves in the Political Department amount to 20-30%, and not merely 5%."

So a large number of good and comparatively good cadres were struggled with and attacked, and some who had committed mistakes but who had not yet become three-anti elements were put down.

Of the 44 medium-grade cadres in the whole school 43

or 98% were struggled with; 48 or 97.9% of the 49 members of the general party branch; 90 or 78.3% of the 115 members of the party branch; 34 or 89.5% of the 38 Political Counselors to the faculty, staff members, and workers; 38 or 90.5% of the 42 Political Counselors to the students; 186 or 55.5% of the 338 party members among the faculty and workers; and 104 or 75.5% of the 135 party members among the students.

On the afternoon of 17 June more than 70 were struggled with at one stroke, almost all the important cadres in the various departments of the school being given dunce-caps to wear and beaten up. Afterwards P'ei Meng-fei went so far as to say, "This method of procedure is very good. We should get ready to tell all the working groups later."

For the warning of cadres who were dubbed as "demons and monsters," couplets, threats, and admonitions were pasted on their doors.

On the door of a political counselor of the Chemistry Department no fewer than 12 couplets were pasted in succession, one of which read: "Those who seek to drive away the working group have wicked faces; they can come back to life again only after bowing their heads to confess and quickly handing over."

"Warnings" issued to the attacked "demons and monsters" by the Political Department contained eight items.

(a) To fall into line after work and not to stop on the way.

(b) To report and ask for leave for going to the latrine and obtaining water.

(c) Not to get out of the conference room during intermission.

(d) Demons and monsters not to converse or laugh with one another.

(e) To stay home for the consideration of problems and not to go out on Sundays.

(f) To clean up the conference room twice a day.

(g) Change the quotation concerning the enemy and hang it up in the conference room every day or every other day.

(h) To write in triplicate a confession of one's own

crimes.

Liang (2733) x x, a political counselor of the Chemistry Department, was compelled to kneel down every day and read the following:

"O, Nieh (5119) x x, my father. O, Chiang Lung-chi, my grandfather. The foundation of Lan-chou University is very firm, and x x will not waver in holding to my calling." (Note: Nieh x x is Secretary of the Chemistry Department general party branch)

On the other hand, the provincial party committee's handful in authority taking the capitalist road, headed by Wang Feng (3076 6912), with a view to protecting themselves and the handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, extended their effective protection to certain persons in the former university party committee, without letting the masses expose and criticize them.

On 9 June Wang Feng sent the following telegraphic directive from Sian to the secretaries of the provincial party committee: "Let Ch'en (7115) x x and Chen (3914) x x expose questions." Later he directed, "Let Ch'en x x preside over party committee meetings."

On 10 June P'ei Meng-fei and Ch'eng P'ing directed the Lan-chou University working group as follows: "The party committee should protect Chen x x and Ch'en x x."

On 21 June P'ei Meng-fei sent this directive to the working group, "Absorb Chen x x as a member of the preparatory committee and let him join the working group party committee." Ch'eng P'ing said with special stress, "Chen x x is an old revolutionary and should be protected. Students should organize an inspection team to protect him."

On 21 June, when Chen x x was "going downstairs" from the party committee meeting, he was suddenly greeted with some "good news." With great fanfare the preparatory committee of Li Kuei-tzu brought the good news to Chen and put a big red flower on him, which surprised the latter very much. At the same time the preparatory committee of Li Kuei-tzu pasted out a large number of large-character posters, which declared, "Chen x x is a proletarian revolutionary," and "Whoever dares to touch even a hair on the proletarian revolutionary Chen x x will die without a decent burial-place." But those who had pasted large-character posters for Chen x x--teachers and students alike--were forced to "give themselves up," confess and check, and even be struggled with.

(3) Everyone among basic cadres to be enabled to "surmount barriers" and "lay down their bundles."

Said P'ei Meng-fei, "In attacking a fortress mop up the outside first. In struggling with the landlord in land reform, strike the dogs' legs first," and "Before the landlord is put down the dogs' legs must be struck down."

Some in the working group said, "Don't imagine that the black line is always threaded downward. Sometimes it is threaded upward."

Some others in the working group said, "The movement this time is aimed at the thorough skinning of the party and league cadres." Also, "Lan-chou University is the sworn partner of Chiang Lung-chi and consists of none other than reactionaries."

In accordance with these fallacies, the working group has forced the basic cadres, except the very small minority of so-called "active elements," to stand aside. These cadres were divided into three varieties: First, the so-called "counterrevolutionaries" against the party, socialism, and Mao Tse-tung's thought and "demons and monsters" were subjected to a long-term struggle and not permitted to surmount the barriers. This was called the practice of the dictatorship. Secondly, those cadres who have committed serious mistakes were subjected to the struggle for a time, but in accordance with their performance, permitted to cross the barriers. This was called "liberation." Thirdly, those cadres who have committed general mistakes had to check and confess and then surmount the barriers. This was called "laying down their bundles." Like Tsing Hua University, Lan-chou University had "a large mass of struggle meetings, a large number of processions, and a large batch of reformers at labor." "There were struggle meetings every day," and "street processions and public exhibitions" were the vogue. In one street procession staged by the Chemistry Department on 23 June alone, there were more than 30, including almost all the party and political cadres in that department.

The basic cadres "liberated" by order of the working group had to make thorough confessions and felt that they had been entrapped. Chai (5049) x x of the working group of the Geology and Geography Department said, "You should write as much as possible in making your confessions; otherwise you would not be able to achieve liberation."

So-called entrapment meant that it was necessary to recognize, "The denial of the working group is the denial of

the provincial party committee; the denial of the provincial party committee is the denial of the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee; and the denial of the Northwest Bureau is the denial of the party Central Committee." It also meant the recognition of the necessity for "the self-conscious implementation of Chiang Lung-chi's revisionist line" and "the self-conscious opposition to the party, to socialism, and to Mao Tse-tung's thought."

Almost all the basic cadres and party and league members had to "surmount the barriers" and "lay down their bundles." So, someone said, "Everything is turned upside down now. Those who were good before are bad now." Also, "In Lan-chou University party members are not equal to league members, who are not equal to the masses, and active elements are not equal to backward elements." Some said with "jubilation," "Fortunately we have not joined this 'revisionist' party. We haven't thought that you (referring to party members and cadres) would have this day."

(4) Militant struggle with the cadres.

Said P'ei Meng-fei, "In beating up people it is, first, necessary to support, and, secondly, to educate."

On the afternoon of 17 June, after a militant struggle with more than 70 cadres in Lan-chou University, Ch'eng P'ing frantically shouted, "The temperature was not high enough. It should have reached 100 degrees, to blow off the lid."

On 17 June Lung x x, head of the working group, said, "In effect a revolutionary movement cannot make use of a moderate struggle. There is no room for such stability."

Someone in the working group also said, "Why the talk about moderate and militant struggle?" It was asked, "Without beating up people how can you mobilize the masses?"

Under the guidance of these fallacious theories given out by the provincial party committee and working group, the struggles that took place at Lan-chou University were almost all militant. There were many varieties of such militant struggles, such as cruel beating, kneeling, wearing of dunce-caps, black badges, "relay races," street processions and public exhibits, "frying beans," "masks," "mounting the tiger stool," etc. When a cadre was subjected to struggle, accusations were brought against him first, he was forced to make written confessions, and these were sealed to serve as evidence.

Owing to the cruel militant struggle, many cadres have

... all are being classified, and some have been forced even to do so. For example, Liang Hsiang-shan, a political philosopher of the Ching Dynasty, was actually changed to "Liang Hsiang-shan" as a result of a movement to change all spiritual names to X. L. Security Chief, Mass Section, during the struggle at Hsiang-shan, was able to clean up the books after a thorough search, and his neck was seriously cut after being wrung around a steel pole. He was compelled to drink himself.

(3) Cadres deprived of their political rights and restricted in their personal freedom.

Deprivation of political rights:

(a) Quotations from Chairman Mao not distributed to cadres except as "demons and monsters."

(b) Cadres only permitted to study certain articles assigned from Chairman Mao's works, such as "Whether the Nanking Massacre is a Crime," "Message to Lu Yu-ning (2629 5124 2+9+), etc., "On the Dictatorship of the People's Democracy," "Report on the Investigation of the Peasant Movement in China"--parts on "Very Bad" and "Very Good."

(c) Prohibition at meetings of the slogan "Long Live Chairman Mao," his portrait, his quotations on boards, and the singing of songs containing quotations from him.

(d) Prohibition of participation in mass meetings for "Solidarity to Vietnam and Opposition to the U.S." and for the "Introduction of Experiences in the Study of Chairman Mao's Works."

(e) Party members not permitted to live an organized life or read the party's publications, and even the payment of their party membership fees interfered with.

(f) Not permitted to write or telegraph to the party Central Committee or Chairman Mao.

Limitation of personal freedom: In addition to the confiscation of their personal belongings, including their diaries and private correspondence, cadres dubbed as "demons and monsters" were subjected to different restrictions, which can be summarized as follows:

(a) Confiscation of the school badge and job identification and refusal to issue swimming passes.

(b) Late class attendance and premature departure not permitted, compulsory falling into line coming and going, bowing of the head and bending of the waist while walking required, looking idly around and reading of large-character posters prohibited.

(c) Leave to be asked for taking a drink of water or going to the latrine, and entry in the "Register of Demons and Monsters" required when ascending and descending from upstairs.

(d) Prohibition of going home secretly and going out on Sundays.

(e) Prohibition of whispers and greetings among "demons and monsters" and their contacts with the outside.

(f) Every night briefing with "active elements" on the day's ideological activities and handing in of "confession material" for the day required.

(6) So-called "Demons and Monsters' Labor Reform Teams" organized, to engage massively in "reform at labor."

In the whole school 36 medium-grade cadres, or 82%, were subjected to reform at labor, including 100% of the cadres of six departments. Of the basic cadres 80 or 57.8% were in this category; 26 political counselors to teachers or 68.5%; and 29 political counselors to students or 69%.

A female comrade in the Department of Mathematics and Mechanics (a member of the Propaganda Department of the general party branch) had a miscarriage as a result of excessively heavy work in reform at labor. During the movement of socialist education a political counselor was dubbed as a "tentacle of Chiang Lung-chi" and, after a struggle, was subjected to reform at labor with landlord, rich-peasant, reactionary, and bad elements.

The length of time for reform at labor was indefinite. It lasted more than 100 days for the Mathematics Department between July and the middle of October.

On 29 July the Provincial party committee announced the abolition of the working group. But by relying on the preparatory committee of the counterrevolutionary Li Kuei-tzu, the working group continued to practice the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the cadres until 21 August, when Li's preparatory committee finally collapsed. At the beginning of September, with the establishment of the "Provisional Cultural Revolution Group" headed by Chu (2612) x, the bourgeois reac-

tionary line of "attack on the large mass and protection of the handful" continued to be implemented against the cadres, until it finally came to an end by the end of October.

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COMRADE LO KUANG-PIN (5012 1639 2430)
IN PAI-KUNG-KUAN PRISON

[Following is a translation of an article by Cheng Yeh-jui (6774 2814 3843) in the Chinese-language newspaper Tung-fang Hung Pao (East Is Red News), published by the Tung-fang Hung Pao Editorial Board of the Peking Institute of Geology, Peking, No. 41, 30 May 1967, page 3.]

In February of this year, I went to Chungking on business, and as soon as I stepped onto the Hung-kang dock, I saw a wall newspaper, the headline of which read: "What kind of man was Lo Kuang-pin?"

"Is it possible that there are still some people who doubt Comrade Lo Kuang-pin's history?" I thought.

In order to get the details straight, I read the wall newspaper from top to bottom, but the more I read, the angrier I became, for the newspaper actually maligned Comrade Kuang-pin as a "traitor," a "spy," a "political pickpocket," said that while Lo Kuang-pin was in the Chung-mei-so concentration camp he was allowed to play basketball, play chess, and take a sedan into town to bathe and go to restaurants, and even that the U.S. - Chiang agents let him out on purpose, etc.

The wall newspaper left a deep impression on me, which was that those in power in Chungking taking the capitalist road and their underlings had already degenerated to such a level that there was no evil which they would not commit. It was quite possible that they had committed some malicious deeds in regard to Comrade Kuang-pin. Viewing the situation thusly, I decided to take time to find Comrade Kuang-pin

for a chat and tell him to be more alert (at the time, I didn't know that he had already been kidnapped and held for ransom). It was unfortunate that as soon as I went out the next day, the bad news passed around that "Lo Kuang-pin committed suicide by jumping from a building."

"Lo Kuang-pin would never have committed suicide. He never killed himself in such bad surrounding as those in Pai-kung-kuan; why would he kill himself now? There's certainly something questionable about all this."

Comrade Lo Kuang-pin's death was a premeditated political murder. The rumor-spreading wall newspapers appearing in Chungking in actuality were for the purpose of preparing public opinion for Comrade Kuang-pin's murder, and I am convinced that the murderer will be seized before long.

Now I would like to talk only of Comrade Kuang-pin's true situation in Pai-kung-kuan Prison.

I was locked up with Lo Kuang-pin in Cell No. 2 (in the prison, it was called room "P'ing-erh") for almost half a year, slept on the same floor as he, covered myself with the same ratty prison blanket, and ate the same prison food. I deeply understand everything about his stay in Pai-kung-kuan, and can use facts seen with my own eyes to pulverize Li Ching-ch'uan's (2621 0064 3123) and his running dogs' malicious slandering of Comrade Kuang-pin.

Comrade Kuang-pin was originally held in Cha-tzu-tung Prison and then transferred to Pai-kung-kuan. First he was put in a cell upstairs, and then in the summer of 1949 he was put into Cell No. 2 downstairs. Our cell-mates included Liu Kuo-chih (0491 0948 1807), Ch'en Jan (7115 3544), Wang P'u (3769 2613), Ting Ti-p'ing (0002 0966 1627), and others, twelve comrades in all. All were considered by the Chiang bandit agents to have "committed serious crimes."

The prisoners in Pai-kung-kuan were originally let out of their cells for exercise twice each day for half an hour at a time. Later this was changed to once a day, and the time was shortened to fifteen minutes. After October, the exercise periods were completely abolished, and only one person was allowed out of the cell once each day to empty the toilet pail. As far as I know, regardless of what happened to Comrade Kuang-pin either before or after he was put in Cell No. 2, he received the same harrassment and mistreatment as the other imprisoned comrades. If it be

said that the enemy gave him special treatment, it was that they kept him under stricter surveillance and persecuted him even more. Because the agents relied solely on an inmate's "behavior" to determine his "attitude," the reason why Comrade Kuang-pin was transferred from Cha-tzu-tung to Pai-kung-kuan, according to what one of the guards revealed, was that his "behavior" was bad. When he was locked up upstairs, he passed messages back and forth with the comrade in the next cell, so the enemy said that he still wasn't "honest." After he was moved to Cell No. 2, the enemy always regarded him as the most disobedient inmate, and always watched him. If he was only the least bit careless, he would receive a reprimand and punishment. I remember there was one time during our exercise period (each cell was let out one at a time in turn; when one cell had finished, another would begin) when Comrade Kuang-pin said a few words to Comrade Hsuan Hao (1357 3493), who was in Cell No. 4 opposite (after the Liberation, a letter written by Comrade Hsuan Hao to Comrade Kuang-pin before he was killed was found under the floor of the cell, and in the letter he fully expressed his admiration and respect for Comrade Kuang-pin) and was seen by the chief guard, Yang Chin-hsing (2799 6651 5281), who immediately cursed him violently and announced that his exercise periods would stop. He said, "If you are dishonest again, I'll put you in leg irons and lock you up in the latrine." The enemy's harrassment and threats did not really make Comrade Kuang-pin "honest"; all the time he was in Pai-kung-kuan he never ceased to struggle. And so he was always one of the inmates under "close custody." Those who slander Comrade Kuang-pin say that when he was in prison he was allowed to play basketball and chess and take a sedan into town, etc., but that is really the most shameless and vulgar rumor-spreading.

Pai-kung-kuan was surrounded by high walls and electrified fences, and within the walls there was only a light well some ten kilometers wide. There was no basketball court, and I never saw anyone playing basketball. We heard that in Cha-tzu-tung there was a basketball court for the sole use of the guards, and Comrade Kuang-pin had told us that after a struggle the comrades there finally got to play basketball once on New Year's Day in 1949, but that was the first and last game.

Comrade Kuang-pin never once played chess in Pai-kung-kuan, and he never even mentioned that he knew how to play.

No sedans ever came to Pai-kung-kuan, and the comrades imprisoned in Pai-kung-kuan regarded cars as most inauspicious and cruel objects, because there were only two kinds of cars that came to Pai-kung-kuan. One was trucks filled with "criminals," and the other jeeps with guards all sitting in rows. When the first kind came, it always meant that new "criminals" were being brought in, or that someone already there was to be taken out and shot; when the second kind came, it was certain that a comrade was to be dragged out and severely tortured to obtain a confession, or that stern measures were to be taken against all of the comrades in the prison. Those who say that Comrade Kuang-pin was allowed to take a sedan into town each week are stretching their exaggerations to the utmost!

That Comrade Kuang-pin came from a bureaucratic family was well known by all of the comrades in the prison. But we seldom found in him any traces indicating that he was the son of a bureaucrat. He loved to labor, loved to study, and loved to help his comrades; he clearly differentiated between love and hate, and was filled with faith in the Revolution and with optimistic morale.

The comrades in Pai-kung-kuan originally had a system of taking turns sweeping and cleaning up, but Comrade Kuang-pin never followed this system. More than half the time it was he who fought to empty the toilet pail and scrub the floor, and whenever he had the chance, he would help his comrades wash and mend their clothing.

Why did he do such things? In his own words, it was because "I'm in better shape physically, and I ought to do a little more." He also said that "men were born to work and to serve the people."

Comrade Kuang-pin was a student at the auxiliary middle school of the former Southwest University, and was also one of those responsible for the student movements there. He had relatively high political and cultural standards, but nevertheless he wasn't satisfied, and fiercely pursued his studies. In order to study current events, he risked great danger by getting news materials from General Huang Hsien-sheng (7806 7359 5116) (second in command of the Northeast Army; at the time, he was the only one in Pai-kung-kuan permitted to read the "Central" Daily News [Chung-yang Jih-pao]), who was in a cell on the floor above, by means of a secret passage. As there were no materials for the study of Chairman Mao's works, the method of mutual teaching and mutual

study was employed. Each person memorized a portion, and after each recited what he had memorized, discussions were held. In Cell No. 2, Comrade Kuang-pin and Comrade Liu Kuo-chih were the ones who could recite more of Chairman Mao's works than anyone else; he [Lo Kuang-pin] could recite the entire text of "Oppose Liberalism" from memory, and could also recite many of the chapters and lead sentences of articles on rectification published at that time. He also studied the history of philosophy with Comrade Liu Kuo-chih. He had put it thusly: "If we can break out of this living hell, the building of the New China will need us to go and do much work, and the political consciousness and cultural standards which we now have will fall far short of being able to meet demands. We must study more intensively, and welcome victory." It seems that this was the reason why he so dearly loved to study.

Comrade Kuang-pin completely betrayed his bureaucratic family and gave himself to the proletarian revolution. There was one time when his father, after pulling all sorts of strings, sought to get him out of prison on bail. He was taken away by agents for negotiations. They wanted him to cease his revolutionary activities after they released him, but he answered frankly: "I can't do that. You might as well send me back to Pai-kung-kuan!" His father was fuming with anger, but Comrade Kuang-pin said quietly: "Our political paths are not the same. I hope that you will no longer regard me as your son." Thus he was brought back. That night, as he was telling us about what happened, one comrade said jokingly, "Here you have to sleep on the floor and eat prison food; if you go, you can sleep on an innerspring mattress and have all kinds of delicacies and good food to eat. Your influential big brother might even give you a commission in the army. Why don't you go?" He said angrily, "I don't even consider that I have such a father and brother. Only a pig cares solely about whether he gets enough to eat and sleeps well."

Comrade Kuang-pin felt special enmity toward the enemy. Once, when everyone was talking about the traitor Liu Tsung-i (0491 1350 4135) (Liu Kuo-ting [0491 0948 1353]), who was the colonel in charge of the guards at that time, and Jan I-chih (0373 4135 1807), he said furiously: "After we are liberated, I am going to personally try them and execute them." In Cell No. 2 there originally was a man named Li Tzu-li (2621 5261-4539), a student at the New Nan-ch'uan Technical School, who was jailed for participating in a student movement. His behavior was very poor: at first, he

was afraid that he was going die; then he became unstable. Comrade Kuang-pin, seeing that he would become a traitor, reported the situation in the cell to the guards, warned him severely in no uncertain terms, and together with the comrades, negotiated with the prison officials until they removed this unstable element from Cell No. 2.

After breakfast on 28 October 1949, we were just cleaning up when the head guard Yang Chin-hsing suddenly ran up and hollered for Ch'en Jan and three other comrades to change into their own clothing (in the prison we all wore uniforms with distinctive markings), as they were to go into town immediately. Yang said that Director Hsu (i.e., Hsu Yuan-chu [1776 6678 5282], head of the agents in Southwest China) wanted to talk to them. But everyone knew what was happening, and so they all looked silently at the few who were about to leave. They quietly changed their clothing, and shook hands with everyone. Comrade Liu Kuo-chih took off his own jacket, and Comrade Kuang-pin took off his own flannel shirt. They gave them to Wan P'u and Ch'en Jan, saying, "It's cold out; you wear them." Shaking Comrade Kuang-pin's hand; Ch'en Jan said, "There's no need; there are more comrades in the prison, and there's still a good bit of this cold winter left. You must take proper care of yourselves and keep up the fight. Tomorrow is ours!" Many of the comrades were crying, and Comrade Kuang-pin, swallowing his hot tears, said decisively, "Alright, then. I'll remember what you have said. We must fight on until tomorrow."

Someone once remarked that Chung-mei-so was hell on earth, but Pai-kung-kuan was a hell in hell. There was little chance that those incarcerated in Pai-kung-kuan would leave it alive, unless they escaped. Whenever they heard the sound of a car, someone was taken out and shot, and whenever the agents and military judges arrived, someone would ride the "Tiger Bench," be tortured with electric shocks, or made to swallow water laced with hot pepper. In this dreadful 18-story hell, Comrade Kuang-pin was never pessimistic or shaky. He was warm and optimistic, and filled with faith in the revolution. He used an opportunity during an exercise period to get a lump of clay from the edge of the pond next to the latrine, and with some cotton wadding from his quilted coat, made it into a chess set. Later, using some thin rice gruel, toilet paper, and cigarette packages as raw material, he fashioned a deck of cards. With these two implements of cultural recreation, Cell No. 2 became quite a bit more joyful. He taught everyone to sing the revolutionary songs

popular at that time, to dance the rice-planting dance. His optimism infected each comrade in the cell, and although our life was bitter, we were spiritually contented. We studied and engaged ourselves in cultural and recreational activities at set times each day -- it was really like a revolutionary club.

In October 1949 we learned of the formal declaration of the establishment of the People's Republic of China in Peking, and of Chairman Mao's raising of the first five-star red flag at T'ien-an Men. This news caused all the comrades in the prison to seethe in unrest. Hot tears spilled from everyone's eyes, and no threats on the part of the guards could quell the wild joy of the comrades or the dancing and singing. Comrade Kuang-pin tore up a bed quilt and sewed it into a rather misshapen five-star red flag, saying, "We will break out of Chung-mei-so Prison with this red flag flying."

At the end of November 1949, the People's Liberation Army was pressing close upon Chungking, but the utterly despicable and evil Chiang bandits created the appalling "11.27" [27 November] massacre on the eve of their total destruction.

At breakfast time on 27 November, a criminal called Li Yu-sheng (2621 5148 3932) who worked in the mess (he was seized by the agents by mistake, but as the custom at Pai-kung-kuan was that no-one got out once he was in, they did not release him, permitting him to move around only within the walls of Pai-kung-kuan to take food to the other prisoners) told me that a few days before, a large number of guards were digging holes near the prison, and it was said that they were to be graves. On the basis of this news, we figured that it wouldn't be long before the massacre would begin. We discussed the question of escaping after breakfast by means of Comrade Kuang-pin's relations with Cell No. 4 (the main thing was how to coordinate our actions with Cha-tzu-tung in order to avoid reprisals being taken against the prisoners at one place for the actions of those at the other). But we never expected the great massacre to begin on that very day.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, Huang Hsien-sheng and Li Ying-i (2621 5391 3015), who were upstairs, were the first to be taken out of Pai-kung-kuan. Then began the wholesale slaughter. When Li Yu-sheng brought dinner, he said that three groups of prisoners from upstairs had

already been done away with, and that they would start on the prisoners downstairs that night. Then a guard called Yang Ch'in-tian (2799 2953 0368) (Ch'en Jan and the other comrades had worked for him for a long time; at that time, he had realized that the Chiang bandit gang had already lost their power, and that death was inevitable if he did not meritoriously redeem himself) revealed to us all that with the exception of Liu Kuo-chih, Lo Kuang-pin, Jen Ho-feng (0117 0149 7685), Ting Ti-p'ing, and T'an P'u (6223 2613), who would not be killed for the time being, everyone else would be executed that evening. Actually, this was unreliable news obtained from a guard, because in less than half an hour they began to take groups of prisoners from downstairs, and Liu Kuo-chih and Ting Ti-p'ing were in the first group taken out. When his name was called, Liu Kuo-chih pretended to be urinating, and lingered inside the door for many minutes. He was arranging a poem, "We Die Unashamed," the one which he recited in a loud, clear voice when he was killed.

The comrades were taken out in groups of three or five and shot, and before the comrades in each group left, they quietly shook hands with those remaining behind and bid them goodbye. Some said, "You take the first step, and we shall follow." Others said, "This is a sign that the entire country has been liberated." The sounds of gunfire came from beyond the wall, and the sounds of slogans, and inside the walls, each cell spontaneously began singing the Internationale. This was the symphony before the dawn, the most tragic and the most heroic song in the world. It made the murderers tremble and shake, and made the comrades' hot blood boil and the fires of hatred burn.

Around eight o'clock that evening there were only 19 comrades left in all of Pai-kung-kuan. Just then, word suddenly came that the 40 or so comrades in Cha-tzu-tung who had not yet been killed had escaped from their cells and were rioting. The head guard, scared and confused, hastily transferred Pai-kung-kuan's entire contingent of "mobile personnel" to aid in suppressing the outbreak. This created the best possible chance for escape. Comrade Kuang-pin negotiated once again with Yang Ch'in-tian, the guard who had been won over, and he finally turned over the keys to the cell doors. In Cell No. 2, the sixteen comrades downstairs immediately began to discuss a way of breaking out. Then they decided that Comrade Lo Kuang-pin would be commander-in-chief, and that Mao Hsiao-ch'u (3029 2556 0443) and I would assist. We first released a woman and two children who were upstairs, and then split up into two groups and broke out through one

of the side doors in the wall around Pai-kung-kuan. During our escape, one comrade was careless and pushed over a bamboo fence next to the kitchen. The guards posted on the highway heard the noise and fired a volley of bullets, but because they were far away and because it was night, no-one was wounded.

It was an entire night after the escape before we got away from the restricted Chung-mei-so area on the barren slopes below Ko-le-shan.

Throughout our escape, Comrade Kuang-pin completely fulfilled all of the responsibilities which a Communist Party member should fulfill. After we ate that night, some unreliable news was passed around, which was that he might have been recaptured and taken to Taiwan. When the rest were executed, they all told him their wills, and wanted him to forward them to the Party and to their relatives. Writing down everybody's wills, he said sternly, "If we're to die, then let us die together; if we're to live, then let us think of a way to be together in order to complete the requests of our comrades who have already died, and in order to reveal to the people of the world the enormous evil of the U. S. - Chiang pirates. We must make one final effort and find a way to break out. We must put all our efforts into getting one man out, and must not entertain any other fantasies."

A member of the Democratic Party called Chiang Tsai-li (1203 6528 4539) was so frightened during the massacre that he asked for pardon from the enemy, and Comrade Kuang-pin angrily cursed him.

While he was in prison, Comrade Kuang-pin was determined and optimistic, and during the break-out he was brave and quick-witted. He led the singing of the Internationale, the shouting of slogans, and the break out of Pai-kung-kuan. The nineteen comrades who escaped from the danger of Pai-kung-kuan Prison can attest that he did not besmirch the glorious title of Communist Party member, that he was a good son of the Party. If any still has doubts in regard to this point, let him come and inquire of those of us who were there!

(18 May 1967)

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DOWN WITH THE ARCH RENEGADE AND COUNTER-
REVOLUTIONARY REVISIONIST TENG CHIEH

Following is a translation of an article by the Drag Out the Renegades Army Corps (Ch'iu P'an-tu Ping-tuan) in the Chinese-language publication Man Chiang Hung (Red Fills the River), Peking, No 2, 17 May 1967, p 2. Man Chiang Hung is published in Peking by the Central Industrial Arts College Tung-fang Hung Commune of the Capital Red Guard Congress.

The great proletarian cultural revolution unleashed personally by our greatest leader Chairman Mao has entered the stage of decisive war and decisive victory. In the storm of the great "January Revolution," fighters of our Tung-fang Hung (East Is Red) Commune and the revolutionary workers and cadres of the Second Ministry of Light Industry broke through diverse obstacles to ferret out the arch renegade and counter-revolutionary revisionist Teng Chieh (6772 3381) who, for 40 years, has hibernated in our party. (Teng is vice minister of the Second Ministry of Light Industry and concurrently president of the Central Industrial Arts College.) This is a great victory of Mao Tse-tung's ideology and another great achievement of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The arch renegade Teng Chieh is the black hand of the black commander Liu Shao-ch'i stretched toward the industrial arts circle and the handicraft industrial system. He has, for the past one decade or more, canvassed a batch of bourgeois reactionary academic authorities, "specialists" and "scholars" of industrial arts circle to restore what is ancient and to worship what is foreign, thus openly and boldly resisting Chairman Mao's directive that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and engaging massively in capitalist

restoration. When the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the Red Guard fighters throughout the nation are unleashing a general offensive on the Liu-Teng black command headquarters, to ferret out Teng Chieh who is a subaltern of the Liu-Teng headquarters, a counter-revolutionary revisionist and an arch renegade cannot but be a serious blow to the handful of the top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

Teng Chieh hails from a big landlord family. He wormed his way into the Socialist Youth League in 1922 and in 1923 he entered the Chinese Communist party. In 1926, he was sent by the party's Northern Bureau to Dairen in the Northeast as secretary of the local committee; at the 5th Congress manipulated by Ch'en Tu-hsiu, he was appointed secretary of the Man-chou provincial party committee, being in charge of establishing the Manchurian provincial committee. In 1927, at a crucial moment in the advance of the northern expeditionary war, the Kuomintang reactionaries betrayed the revolution under the instigation of imperialism and began a large-scale massacre of Communists and workers and peasants to create an unprecedented white terror. It was in July that year that Teng Chieh (then alias Teng Ho-kao) was arrested by Japanese aggressors. This filial scion of landlords, after three or four times of torture by the enemy, confessed his duties in the party and also betrayed the entire Dairen local committee as well as its 30 branches, totalling some 200 underground party members. He even betrayed some of the fringe organizations in the Northeast, thus causing serious damages to revolutionary enterprises in the Northeast as well as the tragic massacres of the fine children of our party. Nonetheless, Teng Chieh managed to preserve his own life, serving as the executioner for Japanese imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries in suppressing China's revolution.

However, as Chairman Mao has said: "The Chinese Communist party and the people of China have not been intimidated, conquered or annihilated. They crawled up from the ground, cleaned the blood on their bodies, buried their comrades, and continued their combat. They held high the big banner of revolution, organized the People's Government, implemented land reform, created a people's army--the Chinese Red army, preserved and developed the revolutionary strength of the Chinese people."

Following the "September 18" incident of 1931, Japanese imperialism occupied the entire Northeast and encroached North China step by step. In October 1934 when the Chinese Red army was marching northward to resist Japanese aggression, the Japanese aggressors released Teng Chieh ahead of schedule.

After Teng Chieh the arch renegade whose hands were stained

with the blood of the martyrs left the Port Arthur prison, he went to Hangchow. Through Lin Feng-mien (2651 7364 4177), a bourgeois academic "authority" of the fine arts circle who was president of the National Fine Arts College where Teng had been a student, he met Yang Han-sheng (7122 5060 4563, renegade, counter-revolutionary revisionist, then alias Hua Han), Lu Ting (6424 0002, alias Wang Yao-shan, counter-revolutionary); also in the spring of 1935 he met Chou Yang the "father" of counter-revolutionary revisionism in the literature and arts circle. (Chou was then known as Chou Ch'i-ying and was working in the cultural committee of the party Central Committee.) Teng Chieh had then written a report on the destruction of Dairen's party organization to Chou Yang in which there was this black poem:

"Rivers and mountains should understand me if they sympathize, for I am shocked by my greying hair; I see that the rivers and mountains differ from the old, being fraught with blood and agonies. How can I apply my merit to offset my guilt, I will only be more guilty in this way; I lament what has happened in the first half of my life, and I will see how I can endeavor in the latter half."

Nonetheless, this report, which avoided what was serious, to highlight what was trivial, was suppressed by Chou Yang to protect this arch renegade. This enabled him to resume his party relationship and he wormed into the party once more, infiltrated the league of leftist writers, and climbed to the post of director of organization department of the General Alliance of Chinese Cultural Movement. In February 1936, the "CCP Shanghai Temporary Work Committee" was formed in Shanghai and Teng was appointed to the important post of secretary.

At that time, a counter current of laying siege on the great Communist fighter Lu Hsun emerged in Shanghai's cultural circle. Enemies of proletarian revolution, imperialist cultural agents and Trotskyists who had infiltrated the party released one poisonous arrow after another on Lu Hsun, thus attempting to strangle the rising Chinese revolutionary culture in its cradle.

Chairman Mao, in his article On New Democracy, said: "During the new revolutionary period from 1927-1937...at that time there were two kinds of counter-revolutionary 'sieges:' military 'siege' and cultural 'siege.' There were also two kinds of revolutionary intensification: intensification of rural revolution and intensification of cultural revolution. In these two kinds of 'siege,' under the instigation of imperialism, the counter-revolutionary strengths of China and of the world were mobilized, the period was extended to a decade, the cruelty was unprecedented. Several hundred thousand Communists and young students were slaughtered

and millions of workers and peasants were ravaged. From the standpoint of those involved, it would seem that Communism and the Communist party could be 'suppressed and annihilated.' The result was just the opposite. Both kinds of 'siege' resulted in tragic debacles...What is most strange is that in all cultural organs in the Kuomintang-ruled area, the Communist party was entirely powerless to resist. Why is it that the cultural 'siege' also was routed? Is not this then most thought-provoking? However, the Communist Lu Hsun has become the giant of Chinese cultural revolution in this 'siege.'"

Who, after all, caused the Communist party to occupy a status totally incapable of resistance in all cultural organs in the Kuomintang-ruled areas? Who took part in "besieging" the giant Lu Hsun of Chinese cultural revolution?

It was the counter-revolutionary revisionists Chou Yang, Hu Ch'iao-mu; it was the right opportunist Ch'ien Chun-jui; it was their paws Hsia Yen, T'ien Han and Yang Han-sheng; it was the counter-revolutionary revisionist and arch renegade Teng Chieh.

Chou yang and Teng Chieh, in collusion with Hu Ch'iao-mu, then in charge of propaganda and student work in Shanghai's underground provisional party committee, and Ch'ien Chun-jui, in charge of cultural work and the anti-Japanese and national salvation movement, based on Wang Ming's right opportunist and capitulationist line, used the pretext of enlarging the anti-Japanese united front to suspend the activities of the eight leagues under the General League of Chinese Cultural Movement (including the leftist writers' league, socialist league, educational league, music league, drama and motion picture league ...). This was tantamount to disbanding the organization and abandoning the front of struggle, thus causing the party to lose its position of resistance in all cultural organs. It was also these fellows who, based on Wang Ming's right opportunist line of surrender, advanced the rightist surrendering slogan of "national defense literature" in literature and arts as the party slogan to oppose Lu Hsun's slogan of "national revolutionary mass literature."

Teng Chieh was not only the executioner of the Kuomintang's ruthless massacre of the fine children of Chinese people under imperialist instigations, but was also a muscleman in the cultural "siege" staged by the counter-revolutionary strengths of China and the world over to attack Lu Hsun, the great Communist and the leading general of China's cultural revolution, thus causing our party's cultural revolution in the Kuomintang area to suffer immense losses.

In July 1936 this arch renegade was once more arrested; he again betrayed and confessed, thus becoming an ignominious renegade. Three months later, the Kuomintang released this important political criminal. In 1937 Teng Chieh was notified by the arch rightist Feng Hsueh-feng to proceed to Yen-an. From then on he wormed into the leadership organ of the party Central Committee. Harbored by the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, including Liu Shao-ch'i and his hirelings, this counter-revolutionary revisionist and arch renegade has been concealed for a long period of time.

Teng Chieh's master Liu Shao-ch'i has time and again ignominiously tried to exonerate the criminal conduct of the renegades by saying that "renegades who have been tested protractedly and have established merits can be readmitted to the party." He even openly proposed that "those who have confessed their change of allegiance may also be elected as members of the Central Committee" and advocated that "politically one should have complete confidence" in the renegades." In his black Cultivation he suggested "where possible the party should pay regard to and protect the indispensable individual interests of the party members...in areas under reactionary rule and wherever necessary, one may give up some of the party work in order to preserve the comrades," thus massively proselytizing the philosophy of renegadism and survivalism.

The arch renegade Teng Chieh who observed the wish of his boss Liu Shao-ch'i with his shameful renegade conduct, has succeeded to hibernate in the party for 40 years without incurring any punishment.

Even when he was dragged out by the revolutionary masses this time, he said tearfully that they could imprison him or put him through labor transformation, if only they would only spare his life from death!

Here we can see how filthy and despicable is the soul of this veteran counter-revolutionary who has never changed his landlord character.

Comrade Ch'i Pen-yu has pointed out that if one has surrendered and changed his allegiance, then the longer is the history of struggle and the higher is the revolutionary post, the problems also become more serious. This implies that a revolutionist has become a counter-revolutionary because he could not stand the test.

Teng Chieh is such a despicable person who "could not stand the test and became a counter-revolutionary," thus

deteriorating into a heap of dog's dung! We recall our revolutionary martyrs who, during the arduous years, waged desperate struggles with the enemy. They were undaunted by the enemy's brutalities; they shed their blood for the liberation of the people of China and of the world; they never lost their heroic style of proletarian revolutionaries; when the last moment came, they went into martyrdom gracefully and arrogantly. How many fine children of the party have contributed their precious lives for the revolution. When we think of them, we cannot repress our incomparable hatred toward the soft bones who betrayed the revolution and sold out revolutionary interests.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the three-anti element Liu Shao-ch'i was ferreted out, the Liu renegade net had been dug out, large and small time bombs within the party have been eliminated. This is an important merit of the revolutionary masses of China for the revolutionary enterprise of both China and the whole world.

Chairman Mao said: "Thousands and tens of thousands of martyrs have, for the interests of the people, bravely sacrificed themselves; let us hold high their banner and forge ahead along the trace of their blood!"

"We are ambitious because we want to sacrifice; we dare change the sun and moon to create a new heaven!" We are Chairman Mao's Red Guards; Chairman Mao is our red commander; at this stage of decisive battle and decisive victory in the great cultural revolution, we must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's ideology, forge Lu Hsun's revolutionary spirit of hating to hit the dog that has fallen into the water, rout the Liu renegade net by killing all of them, and thoroughly struggle the arch renegade and counter-revolutionary revisionist Teng Chieh until he falls and becomes odious!

END

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YANG-CHOU-JIH PAO -- WHOSE NEWSPAPER IS IT?

[Following is a translation of an article by the Observer of the Chinese-language newspaper Yang-chou Hung Wei-ping (Yang-chou Red Guard) in its issue No 41, 2 June 1967, pages 1-4. This source is published in Yang-chou by the Political Department of the Yang-chou General Head-quarters of the Mao Tse-tung's Thought Red Guards.]

The Highest Directive

"We must insist on truth, which must have a clear banner. We Communist party members have always regarded the concealment of our viewpoint as shameful. The newspapers run by our party and all propaganda work carried out by it should be vivid, clear, sharp, and in no way hesitant. This is the combat personality that we of the revolutionary proletariat should have."

A. The Foregoing Remarks

Since its type was changed into the black style, Yang-chou Jih-pao not only has failed to cheer aloud for the broad masses of revolutionary rebels, but has run counter to the teaching of Chairman Mao contained in the statement that "We must insist on truth, which must have a clear banner." The banner of the newspaper has been extremely unclear, and both subjectively and objectively it has served as a vanguard for the restoration of capitalism. It is quite natural that the broad masses have made a criticism and judgment of this condition, but certain people have condemned this under various pretexts.

"You have pointed your spearhead at the army control." No. This has been replied very well by "A letter from the editorial board of the Yang-chou Jih-pao to its Readers," which has been circulated like something as valueless as toilet paper and which is to the effect, "The review of contributions and the study and arrangement of plans on reporting are the responsibility of the rebel comrades of the Editorial Board." In other words, whether the newspaper has been satisfactorily run has absolutely nothing to do with the comrades of the Liberation Army.

"You have shifted the main direction." No. Without entering in the criticism and judgment of the bourgeois reactionary line in the local district, it is impossible to criticize Liu Shao-ch'ang thoroughly until he smells. Lenin taught us that "The struggle against imperialism, if it is not intimately coordinated with that against opportunism, is merely empty talk that deceives people..." The failure to criticize Yang-chou Jih-pao, if continued, will seriously affect the program of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in our area.

Let us now pick out and read only the issues of Yang-chou Jih-pao from 1 April to 20 May with some patience.

B. A Clear Struggle Away from Reality, Covering Up the Flamboyant Line Struggle and Revolting Against the Proletariat's Dictatorship

At present, as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution enters its decisive stage in Yang-chou, the complicated, tortuous, and violent class struggle demands that the local newspaper play the role that it should. How we have hoped that Yang-chou Jih-pao can have a clear banner, adopt a firm attitude, and with its propaganda guide the masses to use Mao Tse-tung's thought to carry on the realistic struggle! How we have hoped that the newspaper can play "the roles of organization, inspiration, stimulation, criticism and judgment, and pushing ahead" in the Great Cultural Revolution!

However, our hopes have been greatly disappointed by Yang-chou Jih-pao. Like a blind man, it does not see the direction of the present struggle in Yang-chou, and like a deaf man, it does not hear the roaring thunder of this struggle. It does not see the reality of the class struggle, and it does not hear the roaring thunder of this struggle. It does not see the reality of the class struggle, and it does not hear the roaring thunder of this struggle. It does not see the reality of the class struggle, and it does not hear the roaring thunder of this struggle. It does not see the reality of the class struggle, and it does not hear the roaring thunder of this struggle.

make people feel that Yang-chou Jih-pao hardly exists at all. After reading in it the news about documents issued by the Central Committee, which appear in all large newspapers, the only item of Yang-chou Jih-pao, which seems to give any interest, is the "weather forecast."

That is to say, Yang-chou Jih-pao does not dare to say anything, and it can do nothing but "reproduce" (It is said, this policy is adopted because it is "unassailable"). In fact serious mistakes are also possible in the necessary and important reproductions. But Yang-chou Jih-pao would rather issue two editions than feature the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Yang-chou.

On the thorough criticism and judgment of Liu, Teng, and T'ao, how many articles has the newspaper published? None.

On the great alliance and three-way alliance of the revolution, how many good experiences has it introduced? None.

On the great criticism and judgment associated with the criticism, struggle, and transformation in each unit, how many valuable reports has it made? None.

In the countercurrent of the arrogant restoration of the capitalist counterrevolution that has emerged, how many sharp steel knives has it provided? None as yet.

On the question of how middle- and primary-school students have tried to have a revolution in the resumption of their classes, the newspaper has not said a single word.

When an attempt has been made in society to denigrate the little Red Guard heroes and the proletarian revolutionaries, it has not said a single word.

Though units like automobile repair and parts plants have acquired rich experiences in the great alliance and three-way alliance of the revolution, it has not said a single word in such a long while.

While a large-scale militant struggle has taken place in T'ai Hsien, the newspaper has watched it as a bystander and refrained from saying a word.

Before 25 April it did not even dare to mention such a thing as "those in authority in the Yang-chou local district and municipal party committees taking the capitalist road." Not only was the issue of 5 April like this, but when we open those of 9, 11, 22, 24, 25...of the month, we find that from

the combined reports on the criticism and judgment of Liu, Teng, and their group and their tentacles in Yang-chou, the crimes of Hu Hung (5170 1347) and his group were all expurgated. A bold and open attempt was made to whitewash Hu Hung and his group and enable them to cross the barrier by deceit.

The article by the Commentator on 20 May was typical in dodging the issue of the struggle between the two lines. While bearing the flag of "unity," this article disregarded the the struggle between the two lines within the ranks of the revolutionary rebels, advocated unprincipled "unity," and peddled contraband mixed with mud, to boycott the correct road to unity through struggle. Similarly, the "unity between the military and civilians" was not subjected to analysis on the basis of the struggle between the two lines.

Let us look at the Wen Hui Pao. The forward editors of this newspaper have really been outspoken. From beginning to end they have stood in the forefront of the battle, and faced with the struggle, they have made hard hits continuously with all weapons at their disposal: editorials, expository comments, articles, and reports. In the one month of April alone the newspaper published more than 20 editorials of high caliber, which have given good guidance to the movement.

On the other hand there has not been a single editorial in Yang-chou Jih-pao in the last 50 days. There have been three short comments, one of which is a big poisonous weed and another copied and rehashed from a large newspaper, without any relevance to actual conditions in Yang-chou. The editors have added three new features in their newspaper, "Selections from Revolutionary Rebel Newspapers," "Selections from Blackboard Newspapers," and "Selections from Large-Character Fosters," just to facilitate them in their task of copying from other sources pure and simple. Not only do the editors themselves write nothing, but they do not even dare to publish the writings of others. Indeed they offer no comparison to their counterparts in Wen Hui Pao, who have displayed their clear banner and have had the courage to publish such a thing as "A Message to All the People of Shanghai Municipality."

Chieh-fang Chun Pao (Journal of the Liberation Army) pointed out, in an editorial, "The question of the line is concerned with the question of whether there should be the dictatorship of the proletariat and the important question of the direction and future of the revolution. If it is not the East Wind that prevails over the West Wind, it is the West Wind that prevails over the East Wind. On the question of the line there is absolutely no room for reconciliation."

Everywhere Yang-chou Jih-pao is dodging and not giving prominence to the struggle between the two lines, not using it as a basis, a basis for its comments and reports on various questions. In effect the newspaper is obscuring the line of demarcation between the proletarian revolutionary and bourgeois reactionary lines and has brushed aside the question of the substance of the Great Cultural Revolution's class struggle.

Yang-chou Jih-pao has not dared to touch the question of the substance of the counterrevolutionary current of the restoration of capitalism, which has objectively existed in the local district of Yang-chou.

The newspaper has not dared, nor has it been able, to touch a single hair of the persons in authority in Yang-chou taking the capitalist road, headed by Hu Hung. It can only demonstrate that it still entertains some illusions regarding its old chiefs, secretly flirts with them, and seeks to let Liu Shao-ch'i once more stretch his black hand over Yang-chou and show his power there.

There is basically no struggle between the two lines in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution for Yang-chou Jih-pao to speak of. Without the seizure and maintenance of power on the part of the proletarian revolutionaries, though the newspaper may be filled with abstract phraseology having to do with the class struggle, such deceitful talk is away from the reality and can be accepted even by the bourgeoisie. Its substance is contrary to the dictatorship of the proletariat and does not speak for its introduction.

This is a serious question of standpoint.

This is a mistake in direction and in the line to be taken.

Liu Shao-ch'i once held the strong view that newspapers "should learn to keep in touch with the practical and also to keep at a given distance from it, without revolving around the present reality." What Yang-chou Jih-pao is doing unwittingly fits into the "directives" of the Khrushchev of China. Does this not exactly explain why the counterrevolutionary journalistic outlook of Liu Shao-ch'i has assumed a ruling position in this newspaper? that this newspaper wishes to take the "perfectly level and safe" road of an "all-people newspaper"?

If we do not cut off the black hand of Liu Shao-ch'i stretched over the newspaper world, who will?

C. "Grasping the Revolution and Promoting Production" in Name
But Grasping Production and Suppressing the Revolution in
Fact, Boosting Production as the Basis of All Good Things

"Grasp the Revolution and Promote Production" is the call issued by our great leader, Chairman Mao, which represents a plan that has great strategic significance and that the proletarian revolutionaries are carrying out most resolutely.

However, the plan of Chairman Mao has been cunningly taken over by a handful of rotten eggs, who have distorted it, borne the "red flag" to oppose the red flag, used the great flag as a tiger skin to protect themselves, frightened others, and suppressed the revolution. In this respect Yang-chou Jih-pao has been one of the most outstanding of these.

With its eloquent pleas Yang-chou Jih-pao has placed "production" in command and relegated the "revolution" to the background.

Please read the first item on page 4 of the 6 April issue of Yang-chou Jih-pao, with the headline "Various Levels of Cadres of Hung-wu Commune Out to Lead Spring Planting," where it is openly asserted that the way for cadres who had committed mistakes to correct them was to "work courageously and redeem their faults by making contributions." The report went on to call on the comparatively good cadres to "contribute all their strength to the betterment of production in the spring cultivation," which was described as the concrete manifestation of uninterrupted advance. But not a word was said about how to carry out the Proletarian Cultural Revolution in rural areas and the struggle of the two lines there. The stand was taken that those who had committed mistakes could return to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line by improving production.

Please read in the 8 April issue of Yang-chou Jih-pao the article entitled "It is Ever-victorious to Act in Accordance with Mao Tse-tung's Thought." One of the passages describes how the masses have inclined to the rebels, as a result of which the latter have united with the great majority. It is said, "In those days our proletarian revolutionaries in some cases continued to work night shifts after finishing their work in the daytime. In thus working day and night, without fear of hardship or fatigue, with a red heart devoted to the revolution, and with all their effort for production, they ultimately succeeded in obtaining an output for the last third of the month of January exceeding that of both the first and second thirds..." In this way the editors convinced the people that the rebels succeeded in uniting with the great ma-

majority through the betterment of production. Not a single word was said about the uniting of the great majority through struggle.

Please read the issue of 12 April. On the front page the news appeared in a prominent position that "x x Company actively supported industrial and agricultural production by improving its work behavior." There was also the report about "the production of large batches of paper for large-character posters." But an important article entitled "'Cultivation' Is a Big Poisonous Weed against Mao Tse-tung's Thought" was relegated to the second and third pages, and the experience of Tsingtao State-Operated Cotton Mill No 2 in "uniting with the great majority and attacking the handful in the struggle between the two lines" to the fourth page. The great criticism and judgment is the most important of all work, and yet it received such frivolous treatment. On the contrary such unimportant news as the production of paper for large-character posters was given such prominence. How utterly unfair! But in thus reversing things the ulterior motive of Yang-chou Jih-pao is crystal-clear.

Please read the issue of 17 April. There the minor item about "the much improved small sprout cultivated by x x Brigade" was printed on the front page, whereas the story of how Jung-ch'eng, Shantung, acquired the important experience of wielding its power was relegated to the second page.

Finally please read the issue of 19 April, which reported on the front page the news of certain materials for the spring cultivation rushed out by the freight functionaries and workers of x x Company, but which pushed back to the third page the account of the experience of the Finance Department of Shantung Province in realizing the three-way alliance for the revolution.

Was all this accidental negligence? No.

Yang-chou Jih-pao could leave out reports and comments entirely or reduce them on the struggle between the two lines, the great criticisms and judgments in the revolution, the struggle, criticism, and transformation in the local district, and the three-way revolutionary alliance. But, even with its limited space, it could devote columns and columns to boosting such trifles as the following: "New Record Set by x x Plant," "High Yield Achieved by x x Plant's DDT Output," and "Total Destruction of Small Wheat Worms Launched by x x Commune." We cannot help marveling at the extraordinary attitude of Yang-chou Jih-pao in wasting its valuable space.

Is Yang-chou Jih-pao especially attached to "Grasping the Revolution and Promoting Production"? If indeed it were so, we would have much to be thankful for.

It should be recognized that the masses armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are the greatest work force. "Political work is the lifeline of all economic life." With politics and revolution in our hands, we have the basis within our grip. It is pointed out in the 16 Points, "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a strong motive force for the development of our country's productive capacity." Without grasping the revolution, how can we better our production?

Of course contributions on "Grasping the Revolution and Promoting Production" should be published, and carefully published. Where there is experience, it should be summarized as well as popularized. There should be loud cheers for the great achievements of the revolutionary rebels in the realm of grasping the revolution and promoting production.

However--

How can the true content of "Grasping the Revolution and Promoting Production" be distorted?

How can contributions with other contents be discarded?

How can we get away from the present flamboyant struggle between the two lines, the violent Great Cultural Revolution, and confine ourselves to the question of production?

How can we go against Mao Tse-tung's thought, reverse the relations between the revolution and production, and use production to take command over the revolution?

How can we convert production into a "panacea," seek the great revolutionary alliance through "production," and brush aside the great criticisms and judgments in the revolution?

On this point we can cite an example readily. In the issue of 11 May Yang-chou Jih-pao published the news about "the promotion of production by x x Plant in Yang-chou through the great criticisms and judgments in the revolution." Just see, what a great exposure of their reactionary viewpoint! It is a revelation to know that the ultimate object of their great criticisms and judgments in the revolution was to promote "production." They wanted all of us to forget politics and bury ourselves in our business, thus losing our direction and getting astray.

In our view the great criticisms and judgments in the revolution have an important meaning in world history. They are for the opposition to and prevention of revisionism, the forestalling of any change in our country's color, and the shining light of Mao Tse-tung's thought all over the world. In the present revolution the great criticisms and judgments can facilitate the great and three-way revolutionary alliance. However, Yang-chou Jih-pao has openly and boldly played a tune opposed to that of the Central Committee. Is this because it does not stand high enough to see far enough? No. It is a reflection of its "suppression of the revolution by means of production."

In the same article we find this sentence: "In criticizing and judging the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road, the functionaries and workers have never forgotten at any time the grasp of the revolution and promotion of production." Here it does not mention at all the coordination of the criticism and judgment of Liu, Teng, and T'ao with the struggle, criticism, and transformation in the local district, the newspaper itself, and the department concerned. On the other hand, it bears the "red flag" to oppose the red flag, and under the pretext of "not forgetting the grasp of the revolution and promotion of production," prohibits in fact the struggle, criticism, and transformation in the local district, the newspaper itself, and the department concerned.

There was the fact of suppression of the revolution by means of production in rural areas and the restoration of capitalism by "Directorate of Han-chiang Hsien on the front line in grasping the revolution and promoting production." There was also the fact of suppression of the mass movement by means of production, attack on the revolutionary rebels, and restoration of the "royalist" organization by some so-called "plain-clothes men of the Liberation Army." In this counterrevolutionary current of restoration, Yang-chou Jih-pao tacitly gave its collaboration and promptly helped prepare public opinion for it. Was all this not thought-provoking?

D. Slander on and Opposition to Great Criticisms and Judgments in the Revolution and Diversion of the Main Direction of the Struggle by All Means

As solemnly pointed out by an editorial of Wen Hui Pao, "At present the thorough criticism and judgment of the Khrushchev of China, the thorough criticism and judgment of the bourgeois reactionary line represented by him, and the thorough criticism and judgment of the handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists constitute a life-and-death struggle between the two classes, the two roads, and the two lines, the greatest

enslavement; in the correct treatment of the masses; in the criticism and judgment of the view of the "harmony of the public and the private; in the condemnation of the fallacy of "bearing small losses for the sake of big gains;" in the observation of the true countenance of the "Cultivation" from the historical background; how many weighty and profound articles, articles reflecting the criticism and judgment of the struggle of the two lines, has Yang-chou Jih-pao published? Moreover, it has basically made no criticism or judgment in certain respects. As compared with the performance of Wen Hui Pao, it has left much to be desired.

What is especially worth mentioning here is that Yang-chou Jih-pao has openly publicized the Liu-Teng reactionary line, seeking to revive the two chief exponents.

Let us cite an example. A report appearing in the 4 May issue of the newspaper contained this passage: "The municipal production leadership group, composed mainly of the municipal people's armament department, promptly sent certain comrades from the Liberation Army and a batch of cadres to help communes and teams to establish their 'three-way alliance' production leadership groups. No sooner were these established than they received the support of the broad masses of commune members, the relations between the cadres and the masses became more harmonious, the democratic behavior was greatly enhanced, and the commune members self-consciously obeyed the leadership and observed the labor discipline." Likewise an article dated 8 April had this to say: "A general notice has been issued, calling on the masses to support them (the cadres) in their work and obedience to the leadership." In these passages we do not even see a shadow of the Great Cultural Revolution. We only see the concealment of the class struggle except in contending with us; the diffusion of the reactionary view of "docile tools;" the advocacy of enslavement and blind obedience to superiors, even if they may carry out a mistaken leadership; opposition to independent thinking; strangulation of the revolutionary spirit of rebellion; and the binding of the leftists hand and foot. It is merely sought to make people accept the Khrushchev style of leadership, which has crept into the "three-way alliance" of the revolution.

Jen-min Jih-pao tells us, "In our criticism and judgment of the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road, we must coordinate closely with the tasks of struggle, criticism, and transformation in the various local districts, departments, and units."

However, if we open Yang-chou Jih-pao, we do not find a single news dispatch, a single comment, and a single report

coordinating the criticism and judgment of Liu and Teng with the struggle, criticism, and transformation in the local district of Yang-chou. We regard the good performance of the struggle, criticism, and transformation in the local district, the department, and the unit concerned as basic work in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. If we mean to make the movement of the great criticism and judgment a penetrating one, we must, on the basis of the prevailing conditions, turn the criticism and judgment of the handful of highest party persons in authority taking the capitalist road toward the struggle, criticism, and transformation in our own unit gradually. But Yang-chou Jih-pao has totally neglected this truth and openly broken with Jen-min Jih-pao.

Please read the articles and reports connected with this criticism and judgment, appearing in the 9 and 11 April and 11 May issues, and compare them with those appearing in Wen Hui bao. It will not be difficult for readers to discover that Yang-chou Jih-pao has adopted an attitude of indifference toward the poison spread by the bourgeois reactionary line in the various fields between the economic foundation and superstructure. The object of the newspaper has merely been to oppose the criticism and judgment in a more penetrating manner of the poison spread on the various fronts by the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road, and the amputation of Liu Shao-ch'i's black hand stretched all over. The newspaper has disregarded the red-hot struggle between the two lines and guided it onto the irregular road of academic discussion.

The attitude adopted by Yang-chou Jih-pao regarding the great criticisms and judgments in the revolution tells us what line is taken by the newspaper. As the facts are all there, it is futile to bluff.

2. Modification of the Principle of the Great Revolutionary Alliance, Loss of the Soul of the Three-Loy Revolutionary Alliance, with the Newspaper Serving Objectively as the Tool for the Restoration of Capitalism

The class enemies tremble with deadly fear before the great alliance of the revolutionary rebels and hate it bitterly. Yang-chou Jih-pao has also performed a dishonorable role in this connection.

What is the necessity for the great alliance? An editorial of Jen-min Jih-pao said, "Only when the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionary rebels is really realized can the struggle for seizure of power be successfully carried out," and "The crux lies in the great alliance."

But what is the object of the great alliance according to Yang-chou Jih-pao? An article on page 2 of the issue of 13 April said, "Despite the day-and-night busy effort made by our rebel comrades to turn around the condition of confusion, production has not yet gone up. At the struggle meetings, after endless speaking we are still the only ones there...and so we have decided to unite with the majority of the masses..." You can see that Yang-chou Jih-pao was here giving some lessons, with a view, first, to increasing production and, second, to increasing the number of speakers at the meetings. If these were indeed the reasons for the great alliance, we could see to what extent the party's aims have been vulgarized.

Then how should the great alliance be realized? through what channel and by what method should the great alliance be brought about? In this connection Wen Hui Pao has successively published five articles, with a correct viewpoint and a clear banner, to the effect that the great alliance should be pushed ahead in the course of the great criticisms and judgments. This is the road that the party Central Committee has affirmed.

But our "beloved" Yang-chou Jih-pao has taken a different course. It has openly overthrown the revolutionary viewpoint of Wen Hui Pao. In disregard of the Central Committee's directives Yang-chou Jih-pao is seeking to make Yang-chou secede from the country and take another road--Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist road. There are iron proofs in black and white.

On the first page of the issue of 5 April, Yang-chou Jih-pao put into the mouth of Shih Chiu-yu (4258 0046 0151) of the municipal people's armament department the following: "How should the great revolutionary alliance and the three-way revolutionary alliance be realized? The proletarian revolutionaries should make use of the ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung to launch the movement of rectification, proceed from the interests of the revolution, wipe out the doctrine of small groups, anarchism, and the show-off doctrine--all of which are impediments to ideology--, strengthen further the revolutionary, scientific, and organizational-disciplinary nature of the proletariat, and cause the revolutionaries to be more revolutionized and attuned to the combat in ideology, behavior, and organization. On this foundation we can learn from the experiences of Shanghai, Kweiyang, and Tsingtao and realize the great alliance in each department, unit, and system, especially by setting up the Kweiyang Cotton Textile Mill, whose experiences have been personally recommended by Chairman Mao, as the model for the realization of the great revolutionary alliance.

We have consistently maintained that our great alliance is the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries. The ranks of the proletarian revolutionaries are always developed and swelled in the course of the struggle. The movement of the great criticisms and judgments and the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries are one and the same thing and in no way different. Only by thoroughly criticizing and judging the party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois reactionary line and eliminating their poison can the great alliance of the revolution be realized. Yang-chou Jih-pao, however, has not said a single word about the promotion of the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries through the great criticism and judgment of, and the great struggle with, the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of revisionists. The vicious ulterior motive is clear. The absence of the great criticism and judgment can only lead to great division, with the class enemies taking away their spoils and bringing about the restoration of capitalism.

Of course this is not all to show the "loveliness" of Yang-chou Jih-pao. It also has its extraordinary views on the "three-way revolutionary alliance."

We are now passing through the stage in which the chief impediment to the realization of the great revolutionary alliance and three-way revolutionary alliance is clearly the bourgeois reactionary line of "attack on the large mass and protection of the handful," so far as the question of cadres is concerned, and in which we should thoroughly criticize and judge this line. This is also the stage for shaping up the "three-way revolutionary alliance."

However, in its article entitled "How We Should Realize the Three-Way Revolutionary Alliance," published in the issue of 11 April, Yang-chou Jih-pao basically made no mention of the criticism of the "attack on the large mass and protection of the handful," so far as the question of cadres is concerned. On the contrary it vaguely referred to the "grasp of creative thinking" and the "correct appraisal of the cadres." It openly boosted the "experience" of the impossibility of having construction without destruction, singing a tune diametrically opposed to Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Likewise, on 5 April and 8 April, Yang-chou Jih-pao openly spread the fallacy of "the three-way alliance for the sake of the three-way alliance."

In this connection it was necessary to stress the question of cadres. Because on the staff of Yang-chou Jih-pao

there are certain people who are extraordinarily sensitive to and interested in this question, they could pluck up enough courage to say more than others, and consequently also spread more poison.

In its issue of 11 April the newspaper was bold enough to publish an Editor's Note to an article unprecedentedly, which said, "...Of all the cadres of brigades and 36 production teams, not one lay down without working, and all of them could take lead in the major production work of the present spring cultivation. This was fully in accord with the requirements of the new revolutionary situation and tasks, and their experiences were comparatively good." We feel that the "new situation and tasks" consist of the exposure of the handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, the thorough criticism and judgment of their set of revisionist merchandise, the struggle with them for seizure of power until they smell and collapse, and the realization of the three-way revolutionary alliance and the revolutionary alliance in the course of the great criticisms and judgments in the revolution. Would it be enough to "take lead in the major production work of the present spring cultivation"? What kind of cadres would be these cadres? Can it be said that this is the result of the implementation of Chairman Mao's cadre policy? This is the greatest slander of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We wonder how it was possible for Yang-chou Jih-pao to say with all solemnity but shamelessly that "their experiences were comparatively good."

Similarly, in another article, the newspaper boosted certain cadres who had "shown off," and intimated that "they should be promptly united with, to work together for production."

Away from the struggle of the two lines, away from the great criticisms and judgments in the revolution, and away from the struggle, criticism, and transformation in each unit, how can we speak of the "show-off" of cadres and the "three-way alliance" in the revolution? We are afraid that finally we can only merge two into one, and that personages of the Khrushchev style will creep into the revolutionary leadership, a fact which is clearly in evidence.

Yang-chou Jih-pao has thrown out a whole set of anti-party fallacies on the policy, plan, object, and meaning of the great revolutionary alliance and the three-way revolutionary alliance. This is the great counterattack of the bourgeois reactionary line, the frantic attack on the headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, and the reflection in information circles of the current of counterrevolutionary restoration. This

is a typical example of the adoption of Chairman Mao's revolutionary slogan in a distorted form and its use for the suppression of the revolution.

F. Denigration of the Liberation Army, Disregard of Historic Achievements of Little Red Guard Heroes and Revolutionary Zealots, Helping "Royalists," and Hatred for Revolutionary Great Movement

The attitude toward the treatment of the Chinese People's Liberation Army is a touchstone for testing the attitude toward the treatment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Yang-chou Jih-pao has badly denigrated the People's Army personally created by Chairman Mao and personally led by Deputy Commander-in-Chief Lin. In its article of 20 May, by the Commentator, the newspaper made the open attack that the People's Liberation Army "lacks experience," "is unfamiliar with conditions," and "has committed this or that mistake and has this or that defect." This is a typical case of the "bombardment of the Central Committee's Military Affairs Commission" in fact.

The truth is, however, that the Chinese People's Liberation Army has had a rich experience in revolutionary struggle, held highest of all the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and made immortal contributions to the Great Cultural Revolution. Of course there are certain individuals in the People's Liberation Army who, in their support of the left wing, have committed certain mistakes and had certain defects, but can this be confused with the entire People's Liberation Army? Can it be said in this connection that "mistaken views are spread by everyone"?

No wonder that while Yen-min Jih-pao has reproduced the article by comrades Liang (1965), Li (1965), and Li (1965), entitled "How we should support the proletarian revolution-aries," published in Yen-min Jih-pao (Red Flag), Yen-min Jih-pao totally ignored it.

No wonder that while the experience of the various forces of the proletarian revolution, which has been the outcome of the struggle of the proletarian revolution-aries, was fully publicized in the Yen-min Jih-pao (Red Flag), Yen-min Jih-pao totally ignored it.

Why was the newspaper so afraid of the great accomplishment of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works that it sought by every possible means to diminish its political influence and high prestige and discourage the propaganda on the great experience acquired by it from the struggle? Was it not because the newspaper was not placed in a proper position?

Since it stood on bourgeois reactionary ground, it was not surprising that Yang-chou Jih-pao could only slander and defame the Liberation Army and the little revolutionary heroes.

When a current of the counterrevolutionary restoration of capitalism rides high in a society, it is but natural for a handful of rotten eggs to denigrate the little Red Guard and revolutionary heroes by making them appear "'leftist' in form but rightist in fact." Even in the face of this situation Yang-chou Jih-pao has remained unmoved and said nothing that justice demanded.

Only our most esteemed and beloved leader, Chairman Mao, has given the strongest support to the newborn Red Guard. An editorial, entitled "The Correct Treatment of the Little Revolutionary Heroes," was published by Jen-min Jih-pao, making a headlong attack on the counterrevolutionary current. In publishing the reactions of the people of the whole country to this editorial, Jen-min Jih-pao pointed out, in its headlines, "The negation of the little revolutionary heroes is that of the Great Cultural Revolution." In reproducing this news account, Wen Hui Pao said in its headlines, "With their appreciation of the main direction of the struggle, anyone harming them with trumped-up charges will certainly not be excused by us." On the other hand, while forced to reproduce all this, Yang-chou Jih-pao deliberately refrained from similar statements in its headlines, but adopted a vacillating attitude, without even hinting at the support of the little revolutionary heroes.

Another comparison can be made. On the one hand Wen Hui Pao expressed deep class feeling for the little revolutionary heroes by publishing important articles cheering for the newborn Red Guard. On the other, Yang-chou Jih-pao had only hatred for the Red Guard. The contrasting attitudes adopted by the two newspapers fully reflect the struggle between the two lines.

Here, even at the risk of repetition, let us cite another example. In the article of 11 April, Yang-chou Jih-pao

gave this description of the attitude of the rebels toward the "three-way alliance:" Some were made to say, "It is all right to have the 'three-way alliance,' but let us get into it one by one slowly; otherwise if we were all in it at once, there would be no one to struggle with. Let us retain some to struggle with and gradually form the alliance." Others were made to say, "Having got busy for quite a while, we hand over the power to them." Some cadres had this to say, "I work as long as they want me to work; once they do not, I go home. Even if I get old and sick and cannot do much work, by scraping up ten ching of dogs' manure, I can still get along. Why should I worry about a living?" Others said, "I have been a cadre since the time of the higher producers' cooperatives. In a revolution we should carry it through to the end, and then we can stand some stormy weather." Here Yang-chou Jih-pao went wildly into the denigration of our rebels, bombarded the Great Cultural Revolution, and described the revolutionary peasants and rural cadres as a group of vulgar people, with low ideological cognition and old thinking and feeling. The motive of the newspaper was merely to brush aside with one stroke of the pen the rich fruits of the Great Cultural Revolution, the dramatic progress made in the spiritual face of the whole country since the launching of the movement, and the great power of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The newspaper has pointed its spearhead directly at the great directive that "the scale of this movement is very large, and it has really mobilized the masses." All it seeks to do is to copy the example of Chou Yang and his group in "exposing the people," defame them, and pour dirty water on the faces of the revolutionary rebels. It is a mystery why Yang-chou Jih-pao has such an interest in all this.

What is even more unbearable is that the newspaper put into the mouth of a "rebel fighter" the things which it and the "royalists" had wanted to but did not dare to say: "...Always snatching the revolutionary cadres without letting them go is subjectivism and individualism." The newspaper has helped its end long a great deal and exonerated them from their criminal responsibility. This is a great slender made on the revolutionaries, because it is not we, but the handful in authority taking the capitalist road, that have "snatched the revolutionary cadres. History proves that not only have we not "snatched the revolutionary cadres," but we have dared to protect them. The offense of "attack on the large mass and protection of the handful" cannot be laid at our doors, no matter how loudly Yang-chou Jih-pao shouts. The distortion on the part of this newspaper is not a casual trick.

At the same time the experiences made public by the newspaper in the name of the proletarian revolutionaries and

ascribed to a certain plant and brigade are all poisonous weeds, genuine poisonous weeds against Mao Tse-tung's thought. The newspaper has spared no effort to distort these local experiences by removing from them their revolutionary content and adding to them its own poison. In so doing, it has sought to carry out its double-dealing of guiding the movement into the off-the-track road by damaging the reputation of the proletarian revolutionaries in the locality on the one hand, and, on the other, keeping the real experiences from being diffused, thus spreading its poison.

"Being writers and artists of the bourgeoisie, you cannot sing the praise of the proletariat, but have to sing the praise of the bourgeoisie." While Yang-chou Jih-pao harbors its hatred for the proletarian revolutionaries, it is attached to the black conservatives. From their dark corner the iron conservatives persisting in the bourgeois reactionary line, the commanders of brigades of the "main" force, the black-type "Red Guard" and "Red Guard Unit"...have all crept out. They have all proudly ascended the tribune of Yang-chou Jih-pao and waxed eloquent. They have expressed their deep gratitude to Yang-chou Jih-pao, because they have found in it a "lawful" platform.

Any love or hatred in the world cannot be without reason. From its attitude toward the treatment of the masses, cannot the hatred of Yang-chou Jih-pao for the revolutionaries and its love for the "royalists" fully explain its persistence in the bourgeois reactionary line?

In addition, the newspaper's use of the black type for quotations from Chairman Mao and its publication of a photo of Chairman Mao with a horse's head make us very angry. We do not wish to go any deeper, but we hope that the newspaper will give some thought to the matter and consider carefully the nature of the questions involved.

G. Is Yang-chou Jih-pao A Party Newspaper?

On the question of whether Yang-chou Jih-pao is a party newspaper, it has itself made a fair and objective appraisal.

What is a party newspaper? It is a newspaper with proletarian revolutionary criticisms and judgments, which must regard Mao Tse-tung's thought as its soul. The following are some criteria which determine whether a newspaper is a party organ: (1) whether it implements Chairman Mao's line on the mass operation of a newspaper; (2) whether it publicizes and defends Mao Tse-tung's thought as the highest combat task of the newspaper; (3) whether it insists on the correct class

standpoint and holds aloft the clear combat banner; and (4) whether comrades on its staff can make the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and promote the revolutionization of thought. Can Yang-chou Jih-pao be said to fulfill any of these requirements? In accordance with these standards, can Yang-chou Jih-pao without embarrassment put on its head the cap of a "party newspaper" and at the same time keep on damaging the reputation of a party newspaper?

What needs clarification is the relationship between a party newspaper and a rebel newspaper. There is no contradiction between the two.

The soul of Mao Tse-tung's thought has to do with criticism and judgment, struggle, and revolution. Let us ask, "Is there any party newspaper which does not dare to rebel against imperialism, revisionism, and the reactionaries of all countries? Is there any party newspaper which does not dare to rebel massively against the handful in authority taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois reactionary line? Is there any party newspaper which does not dare to rebel massively against the old society? Is there any party newspaper which is devoid of the revolutionary rebellious spirit and would the lack of this spirit justify the name 'party newspaper'? Can any newspaper be called a party newspaper which cannot use Chairman Mao's revolutionary line to guide the movement? Can any newspaper be called a party newspaper which cannot reflect the party's aims and policies?"

Whoever puts a party newspaper in opposition to a rebel newspaper either to make it a rebel newspaper or to make it a party newspaper is an ulterior motive. The essence of this attitude is to attack and negate our party's revolutionary spirit, to attack and negate our party's revolutionary line, to attack and negate our party's revolutionary struggle, to attack and negate our party's revolutionary goals, and to attack and negate our party's revolutionary spirit.

Whoever puts a party newspaper in opposition to a rebel newspaper is an ulterior motive. The essence of this attitude is to attack and negate our party's revolutionary spirit, to attack and negate our party's revolutionary line, to attack and negate our party's revolutionary struggle, to attack and negate our party's revolutionary goals, and to attack and negate our party's revolutionary spirit.

"How is it possible that there is such a party newspaper that regards production as its first task and opposes the revolution?"

"How is it possible that there is such a party newspaper that opposes the great criticisms and judgments in the revolution and destroys the great revolutionary and the three-way revolutionary alliance?"

"How is it possible that there is such a party newspaper that frantically bombards Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and seeks to revive the bourgeois reactionary line?"

"How is it possible that there is such a party newspaper that is timid and tries to smooth over things and deal with the world in as obliging a manner as possible?"

How humorous! If Yang-chou Jih-pao could call itself a "party newspaper," what kind of "party" this would be!

Let us prohibit Yang-chou Jih-pao from stealing the good name of a party newspaper and disgracing it.

H. Words That Are Not Yet Concluded

Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought are uninterruptedly being developed in the irreconcilable struggle between them and all kinds of mistaken thought.

Chairman Mao has taught us thus: "...Without struggling with these harmful tendencies prejudicial to the revolution's war against counterrevolution and thoroughly overcoming them it is impossible to win the victory of the construction of the correct line and the revolutionary war." It should be objectively recognized that Yang-chou Jih-pao is inadequate in its heredity and unbalanced in its subsequent development. Without destruction there can be no construction. It is a crime against history to let mistaken thought, poisonous weeds, demons and monsters have a free sway without criticizing and judging them, struggling with them, and rebelling against them.

Our great leader, Chairman Mao, has conferred the literary power in the Yang-chou district on the Editorial Board of Yang-chou Jih-pao. It is up to the personnel running this newspaper to live up to this trust. But they have attached no importance to this literary power and have not treasured it, thus disappointing the hopes of Chairman Mao.

The military control unit of Yang-chou Jih-pao has

had such confidence in the Editorial Board, respected and relied on it so much that no review of the contributions is made at all and the exclusive power is placed in the Board's hands. On the other hand the action of the Board has entailed losses on the military control unit and given its comrades a great many troubles. Do the personnel not feel at all that they have let down the party and the people? Their attitude is no doubt responsible for the tragic condition in which the newspaper is found. It is now a faithful organ of the bourgeois reactionary line. Do the personnel not feel that they have denigrated the comrades of the military control unit and let down this group?

Of course we believe that the Editorial Board of Yang-chou Jih-pao (the personnel of the old Yang-chou Jih-pao and the black conservatives of certain outside units) cannot be so shameless and mean as to be angry after losing the argument, as not only to have no repentance for their own mistakes, but to lay the blame at the doors of the military control unit, which has neither reviewed the contributions nor studied the plans on reporting and which has had nothing to do with their mistakes, thus avoiding their own responsibility and falsely accusing the "little Red Guard heroes" of "bombarding the Liberation Army."

However, even if all this comes true, we are in no way afraid. The decayed tongues of the bourgeois reactionary line, filled with festering blisters, will all be cut off without any consideration and thrown into the garbage heap of history.

Faced with the repeated crimes of Yang-chou Jih-pao, should we make a thorough criticism and judgment or adopt an attitude of reconciliation and compromise? We have followed the first line, and we shall not waver in carrying it through to the end, without yielding to any hindrance to our decision.

Behold, the dawn of the new party newspaper for the Yang-chou area can faintly be seen. Lift both hands as high as possible and usher in this new ray of hope.

History is made by the proletariat. The literary power should be held by none other than our proletariat.

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FORWARD, HEROIC FIGHTERS

Following is a translation of an article by Hsin K'uang-jen (2450/3693/0086 -- New Madman) in the Chinese-language newspaper Chung-hsueh Feng-pao (Middle School Storm), Peking, No. 1, 27 May 1967, page 1.

A mighty clap of thunder startles the heavens, the powerful east wind sweeps away the remaining clouds.

The time has arrived, the great tide throughout the world surges even more rapidly! The gates of Tung-t'ing Lake are shaken, and then open. The billowing revolutionary tide has already flooded along both sides of the Hsiang River. May it continue to flood and never ebb.

At present there is an excellent situation in the middle schools. The April 3rd revolutionary little generals are holding high the banner of rebellion; they have rebelled against everything not in accord with the thought of Mao Tse-tung and have dismantled all platforms for "three assemblies." We can only cry out: Well done, well done! The revolution is without blame, rebellion is right.

The appearance of the April 3rd thought was an inevitable law in historical development; it was inevitable in the development of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in middle schools. In the previous stage of the movement in middle schools the atmosphere was one of indifference and faltering; it was as though the struggle between the two paths had been concluded, and the Great Cultural Revolution in the middle schools was to die an early death. But the true proletarian revolutionaries there firmly recalled Chairman Mao's teaching of "Carry the Revolution Through to the End." With regard to the present situation, they had long ago felt interest. "One hears startling thunder in a still place," and the development of contradictions had reached an extreme. When the chief of the "April 3rd" spoke, it was like seeing a tracer bullet, and the middle schools exploded. Crying aloud the slogan that the revolution is blameless and rebellion is correct, the revolutionary little generals came out. The basic difference between the little generals and the various shades of opportunists and bourgeois reformers was that of whether the revolution was to be carried through to the end

or whether it was to be halted half way.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "The basic question of the revolution is a question of political power." He also taught us: "Without seizing political power, the revolution cannot be launched, nor protected, nor completed." The essence of the present struggle in the middle schools is also a question of who has the power. In the previous period, while effecting unity and setting aright the Red Guard organizations, some schools did not raise fresh banners, nor persevere in struggle, prepare conditions, and be careful of methods; rather they used the methods of having all the people select the Red Guards and of dispersing the rebel organizations so as to effect a merging of two into one. These methods met the resolute resistance of middle school rebels. They well understood in their hearts that unity is only a means and that proletarian seizure of power is the goal. Lenin has taught us: "Without political power all laws and organs for election are equivalent to zero." But the opportunists and bourgeois reformers all hold that unity is the goal, that solidarity is everything. For this end they lose their standpoints and their principles. They secretly cast interested glances at the joint action group (Hien-tung -- 5114 0520) and preferred to collaborate with them in attacking the little revolutionary generals of the "April 3rd", rather than join with the little generals and attack the joint action people. They used their own newspapers and, using the pretext of opposing anarchy, viciously attacked the complete revolutionary spirit of the little generals of April 3rd. They solely used a microscope to search out their defects, magnifying what they found; their only fear was that the April 3rd group would not collapse. How vicious were their motives! They blockaded the government, ignored the instructions from the center, and refused to admit many revolutionary rebels to the Red Guard Congress. They took those who came in and "re-registered" them out. In actuality, they are the greatest anarchists and splitters.

The power in middle schools must be seized by the rebels. This is absolutely reasonable and rational. We must not yield as regards this power; we must be resolute and determined. We do not care how they revile us for being too far left or not far enough; we will in any case firmly grasp this power. We will not yield one inch to the conservatives; we will have all the power no matter how you curse us, satirize us, criticize us, or attack us. Our faith will not be shaken in the least, because we well know that we are not doing this for ourselves; we are seizing power for the proletariat, for the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao.

As regards the present struggle in the middle schools: will it take the struggle between the two lines as primary, or will it obliterate this struggle? Will it firmly criticize the reactionary thought of the joint action groups, or will it compromise with, and surrender to, them? Will it effect a great unity and the three combinings, or will it go in for chaotic meetings and three mergings? Will it carry the revolution through to the end, or will it halt half way there? In the final analysis it is still the struggle between the two lines. Chairman Mao has taught us: "If the east wind does not prevail over the west wind, the west wind will prevail over the east wind. There is no room for

reconciliation between the lines." Since this is the struggle between the two lines, we will never yield or retreat. "Upright generals bravely pursue the bandits; they do not seek fame through becoming tyrants." We vow that we will carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end; we will persevere until the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao has achieved final victory.

Fighters of April 3rd, we must strive! We must push forward! Our golden world, our brilliantly shining world lies in front of us! At this critical time for safeguarding Chairman Mao, we have no room for compromise. There must be no compromising, no reconciliation, no reform, no sentimentality; we want none of that. Fighters of April 3rd, although we have this sort of that sort of shortcoming, phoenixes are still phoenixes, and chickens are still chickens. Although at times the chicken may appear to fly higher than the phoenix, it can never fly as high as the phoenix. We would rather be high-flying eagles for one day than be ordinary crows for a lifetime. History marches forward, and the little generals of the April 3rd are growing up. Any fink who tries to obstruct the movement of the wheel of history will be ground to pieces by it.

Comrades, there are green ripples and a dangerous way in smashing over the pass; scarlet flames shoot up towards the heavens and our determination soars. Forward! Forward!

6722
CSO: 3577-D

REVOLUTIONARY LITTLE GENERALS LOVE THE PEOPLE'S
LIBERATION ARMY

[Following is a translation of an article in
the Chinese-language newspaper Chung-hsueh
Feng-pao (Middle School Storm), Peking, No. 1,
27 May 1967, page 2.]

The People's Liberation Army, founded by our most beloved red commander, Chairman Mao, and directly led by deputy commander-in-chief Lin, is a proletarian revolutionary corps which whole-heartedly serves the Chinese people and the oppressed peoples of the world. It is completely loyal to our great thought of Mao Tse-tung; it is the strong right arm of the proletarian revolutionaries. Looking back on the past, the great PLA, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, expended its own fresh blood to win our land of today. Today there are enough red hearts around to safeguard the people's empire.

When the movement in the middle schools had reached a crucial point, our great leader, Chairman Mao, issued mobilization orders that "the PLA should actively support the leftist masses" and that there should be "military and government training." The officers and proletarian revolutionaries of the PLA strove to learn, to implement loyally, to safeguard bravely, and to propagandize enthusiastically this most high directive of the Chairman.

The great Chinese People's Liberation Army closely obeyed the Chairman. They took their ardent feelings about the works of Chairman Mao, their three-eight work style, their four firsts ... and gave them to us. They conveyed the Chairman's ardent concern to the millions of revolutionary little generals. They thoroughly supported the struggle to seize power on the part of the revolutionary rebels; they resolutely beat back the adverse current of capitalist restoration. They resolutely backed the proletarian revolutionaries in everything, and ruthlessly suppressed the counter-revolutionary organization, the "joint action" group (Iien-tung -- 5114 0520). But due to the sharpness and complexity of the class struggle, due to the officials within the military following the capitalist path, some problems have temporarily appeared in the military political work. The masses of officers have a high sense of responsibility towards the revolutionary cause, they are filled with

deep class feelings for the works of Chairman Mao and with deep sentiment for the proletarian revolutionaries; they have summed up experiences, corrected shortcomings, and firmly stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionaries. Their actions have been very good, and their general direction is correct.

The revolutionary little generals well understand: "Without a people's army there would be nothing for the people." The revolutionary little generals deeply love the great PLA and will not tolerate any attempt to slander it. The masses of little generals are determined to protect Chairman Mao to the death and to carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end. They actively support and back up the revolutionary actions of the officers of the PLA and they will take the initiative in helping the PLA in the military political training. As regards the leftist work of the PLA, they put forward criticism in good faith and in the spirit of seeking the truth from the facts. This all stems from the high sense of responsibility of the little generals for the revolution; this is the greatest help and concern for the PLA. It is just as comrade Lin Piao has said: "To achieve political firmness, we must struggle against incorrect things; if we do not, we will discover that the enemy is escaping from us, that we are abandoning our camp. This is an important standard for judging if a person is responsible towards the revolution." The revolutionary little generals and the PLA have a common revolutionary goal; their standpoints are firm, and they are not afraid to be true proletarian revolutionaries.

But there is a handful of persons who have used the methods of praise and flattery to ignore the revolutionary interests and to follow their own; they have carried out liberalism and have collaborated by means of ingratiation. They have confused black and white and have labelled the revolutionary little generals as being opposed to the PLA. They vainly hope to roil the relations between the revolutionary little generals and the PLA, pointing the spearhead against the PLA, and thus to weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat. These persons will simply pick up a stone only to drop it on their own feet. The proletarian revolutionaries will certainly recognize their skulduggery and smash their plots.

We will fight to the end whoever attacks the PLA!

"Ai-chun" (Love-army)

6722

CSO: 3577-D

MINUTES OF A KWEICHOW MILITARY DISTRICT MEETING
ON SUPPORTING LEFTISTS

[Following is a translation of an article in
the Chinese-language newspaper Chung-hsueh
Feng-pao (Middle School Storm), Peking, No. 1,
27 May 1967, page 2.]

Chairman Mao said: We Shoult Dispatch the PLA to Support the Leftist
Masses.

Recently, the Kweichow Military District held a discussion meeting
to do research on the experiences and lessons of the military in suppor-
ting the leftists; it put forward several methods.

1. What are the signs of supporting conservatives?

If there is incorrect support in military training, there is
immediately an emergency in the particular area; letters describing the
situation and militant telegrams variously fly towards the leadership
organs. At this time, the leadership of the particular military unit
frequently is in the situation of "inner turmoil and considerable con-
fusion." Its spirit has been touched, and the ideological struggle is
sharp.

2. Why is there support for conservatives?

The basic question is the manifestation of the world view of
the bourgeoisie; the concrete reason involves ten points:

(1) Many details are seen, but the main direction is not. As
regards the methods of struggle of the revolutionaries, the defects in
strategy, and erroneous approaches, they think it is a question of
principle. The question of direction is not seen.

(2) Much stress is put on the question of maintaining the peace;
little is placed on the struggle of the lines. Since in the past the army
did not involve itself, it is not deeply aware of the harm of the reac-
tionary line, nor does it clearly understand the struggle between the
two lines. Thus it easily sympathizes with the enemy; from the angle
of dictatorship it one-sidedly collects problems concerning the revolu-
tionaries.

(3) There are close relations with the local leadership, but

not close contacts with the masses. In military sub-districts there are too many leadership cadres in armed units and too many local cadres; their relations are close. The dependents of military cadres are mainly conservative, and thus they primarily listen to their reports. They do not understand and do not believe the opinions of the masses.

(4) Much concern is lavished on the conservatives, while there is little contact with the revolutionaries. They feel that the conservatives obey well, while the revolutionaries do not; thus they don't like them.

(5) There is too much stress on the theory of components only, and too little concern about present political manifestations. Some use the conditions of raising an army to measure who is a revolutionary. They hold that if there are many party members in the conservative group, then the component is good. If the ranks of the revolutionaries are not pure, then they are controlled by bad persons. Some even use the element of investigation to serve as the main aspect for differentiating the leftists.

(6) There is too much subjectivism and too little scientific analysis. They consider rumors to be reality, and take appearances to be actuality. The accidental becomes the constant, the singular the general. The past (errors already corrected) becomes the present. It is almost as though truth need not be tested by practice.

(7) There is too much stress on old ways and methods and not enough acceptance of new things. People always want to follow the time-tested way, and they do not like the innovating of the revolutionaries; they react strongly.

(8) There is too much consideration of revolutionary motivation, and not enough thought about revolutionary objects. People think that since they are old revolutionaries, they are natural leftists. Some don't advance at all in four areas: They don't study the works of Chairman Mao with specific questions in mind; they don't disseminate the instructions of their superiors; they don't listen to the criticism of the masses; they don't study the experiences of others.

(9) People are too fearful and too little daring. Some well know that the conservatives are wrong, but they are afraid that the rebels are not pure; they are afraid to take risks and don't dare to uphold the truth. Some even say: "It is better to support the conservatives than the 'counter-revolutionaries'." Some are for reconciliation and the developing of a "third force."

(10) There is too much concern with the self and not enough with the public. The basic problem is that people put themselves first; they fear to commit errors and very seldom consider whether or not the country is changing.

3. What do we do about incorrect past support?

(1) Go among the masses, gain a thorough understanding.

As regards errors committed during mass movements, it is not easy to correct them by simply relying on the leadership. The best method is to follow the teaching of the Chairman: "Go among the masses."

The concrete method is "to go out and invite others in." Before going out, one should first study the works of the Chairman and the documents of the Central Committee. One should correct his attitude, make his standpoint clear, become clear about major differences, and then form joint investigation teams (jointly composed of cadres sent from above, cadres of the local military units, and revolutionary students brought in from outside). These should investigate the primary questions. Generally they should use three or four days to get the hang of things, to distinguish right from wrong. The majority of the opinions which oppose the leftists is without any foundation. Countless facts prove that whoever most contacts the masses will evolve the most rapid. The thinking of the members of the investigation teams often is first liberated, and their banners are most vivid. It is only by going among the masses that revolutionaries develop warm feelings; on contacting the masses, many questions are immediately solved.

As regards inviting others in, this is primarily to have representatives of revolutionary organizations, outside students, and revolutionary generals come into the military units for discussions, for making people acquainted with conditions, for the analysis of situations, and for levelling of charges against the reactionary bourgeois line. Originally the cadres of many units did not respect the students, thinking that they were merely beardless youths. Later they invited revolutionary students to come serve as teachers of a sort; they offered penetrating analyses, developed warm class feelings, gave straightforward criticisms, and the military units' cadres were very much surprised. They unanimously admired the young people brought up on the thought of Mao Tse-tung; they level was high, higher than their own. For example, some held that "there were no good people from the ti-hua (0966/0553) places." In discussions these representatives raised many doubts. After hearing reports, many cadres were moved to tears, and they took the initiative to shake hands with the representatives; they exclaimed: Learn from the revolutionaries.

(2) The education of the units must be tightened.

After the thinking of the leadership cadres and organs is on the right path, education in the units must be strengthened. There must be a detailed explanation of the reason for changing the objects of support; there must be suitable examinations, otherwise chaos will develop. This education will consist mainly of education of the lines and education in discipline. The method of education is going among the masses. For example: Some military sub-districts have invited revolutionary representatives to report to various hsien, and the results have been good.

(3) Be steadfast in "supporting the left," publicly manifest one's attitude.

After the leadership thinking is clarified, they must immediately manifest their attitudes and resolutely support the leftists. They must be informative about the situation, their attitudes must be clear and striking. If attitudes had been clearly manifested in the past,

then a series of past contradictions could have been rapidly resolved, and errors immediately eliminated. After the military sub-districts had made their attitudes clear, after they had publicly let it be known that they wanted to investigate, the revolutionaries thought that these were internal questions which they did not need to examine, and old accounts were settled just like that. Responsible persons among the revolutionaries took the initiative in supporting the military sub-district government committees. They sent articles of commemoration which were very moving. When some of the revolutionary masses heard that the army's viewpoints were identical with their own, they couldn't sleep all night long.

When this critical point is handled correctly in the military, the situation immediately changes for the better. The masses are fervently excited, celebrating all night long, pasting up posters of congratulations all over the city. The units continuously report the good tidings and they are very moved. It is only at this time that the soldiers come to have feelings for the revolutionaries, that they stand together. Doubting Thomases then start to give in.

(4) Educate the leftists, solidify the majority.

When support is resolutely rendered to the leftists, the situation rapidly changes. A great number of deceived persons among the conservatives throw down their weapons, put on the true insignia, admit their crimes to Chairman Mao, and surrender to the truth.

At this time we must educate the leftists to give heed to distinguishing and uniting the majority. We must not seek a tooth for a tooth and use methods of beating, destroying, or seizing.

As regards questions among the leftists, these must be honestly pointed out in a straightforward manner. After military sub-districts have pointed out that the leftists have problems among them, they must immediately purge the bad persons.

(5) Conservatives must be educated to surrender to the truth.

The army must work towards the conservatives by means of the leftists. First of all, they must educate the armed cadres and militia to withdraw from the conservative organizations; this has had a very good result as far as undermining conservative organizations goes.

(Selected from: Center for Exchanging Revolutionary Experiences of the Science and Technology College.)

6722

CSO: 3577-D

CRITICISM OF ANARCHY IN MIDDLE SCHOOLS

Following is a translation of an unsigned article in the Chinese-language newspaper Chung-hsueh Feng-pao (Middle School Storm), Peking, No. 1, 27 May 1967, page 3.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the middle schools has already entered the crucial period of the struggle between the two classes, the two paths, and the two lines. At this critical point, anarchy is seriously obstructing the developing of this movement. We revolutionary rebels certainly cannot sit idly by and watch this; we must take positive action and specifically oppose this anarchy.

Opportunism is anarchism;

Slavery is anarchism;

Reconciliation and compromise are anarchism;

Lack of organization and lack of discipline are anarchism.

.....

In short, the harm in anarchism lies in not wanting to have class struggle, in not wanting the dictatorship of the proletariat, in not wanting proletarian politics, in not wanting the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

At the present time there has arisen in the middle schools the black wind of specific opposition to the "43 group", of opposition to the thought of "April 3rd." They take the criminal labels of "opposition to the PLA," of "opposition to military training," of "opposition to the Red Guard Congress" and pin them on the heads of the little generals of April 3rd. They force them into the channel of the adverse current, make them into anarchists. Do they mean to say that providing the PLA and military training with sharp, well-meaning criticism is anarchy? Do they mean to say that rebelling against the "three gatherings" and "three mergings" is anarchy? Do they mean to say that rebelling against the Red Guard Congress when it is not in accord with the thought of Mao Tse-tung is anarchy? Do they mean to say that criticizing the joint-action (lien-tung -- 5114/0520) thought and suppressing a handful of persons in this group is anarchy? No it is not, it definitely is not!

In that case, what is anarchism?

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the middle schools the top party officials following the capitalist path and their henchmen have formulated a reactionary bourgeois line. They exert themselves in spreading the superficially "left", but actually rightist reactionary black goods of "doubting everything, rejecting everything, destroying everything." They label the revolutionary cadres and masses as a "black gang," "the talons of the black gang," as "counter-revolutionaries," as "rightists", and the like. They cruelly suppress the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Similarly, the joint-action group, which is the loyal henchman and servile tool of the reactionary bourgeois line of Liu and Teng, has accepted the charge from Liu and Teng. They have attacked and destroyed the public security bureaux of the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat; they have in particular opposed the Cultural Revolution of the Central Committee. They have pointed the spearhead directly against our red sun, Chairman Mao. They have smashed resolute revolutionary leftist organizations such as the third headquarters; they have beaten the revolutionary masses, and have even killed revolutionary rebels, seriously undermining the dictatorship of the proletariat and the democracy of the proletariat. These are the greatest anarchists.

The revolutionary rebels of the middle schools and the reactionary anarchists, who disregard proletarian authority and the thought of Mao Tse-tung, are engaged in a vigorous struggle. However, those persons who shout that "the April 3rd group consists of reactionary anarchists" do not detest the top party officials following the capitalist path, do not criticize the "cultivation" of the black Mr. Liu, do not make a resolute struggle against the counter-revolutionary joint-action organization. They do not rebel against the greatest anarchists; they rather apply and level charges against the "April 3rd group." They attack the small points and ignore the rest. In large meetings they attack; in small meetings they revile. They demonstrate and paste up slogans and are even not loathe to sacrifice revolutionary principles and ideas. They pull together conservative organizations and publicly reject directives of the heads of the Central Committee. They equate their own slogans and those of the enemy. In actuality, it is just as the Jen-min Jih-pao (People's Daily) said: "At certain times people who are seriously infected with anarchist thought may rise up and criticize anarchism. However, they only criticize the anarchism of others, not their own. Today they criticize the anarchism of others while tomorrow they will engage in their own anarchy." In their minds the authority of the Cultural Revolution of the Central Committee and of the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao does not exist. It is precisely these anarchists who take their own small groups to be the government; they set themselves up as authorities. Taking the individual as the foundation, they impose the liberation of the individual and the small group on the head of the liberation of all of mankind. Their slogan is "everything for the individual." They completely violate the Marxist teaching of "everything for the masses." Although they savagely attack the bourgeoisie, they still stand on the side of the bourgeoisie.

It is not easy to stand truth on its head; who can confuse right and wrong? The label of anarchism cannot be put on the little revolutionary generals of the "April 3rd." Woe betide those persons who grasp this slogan of "great and particular opposition to anarchism", extract its class content, insert their own special significance, and use this to attack the little revolutionary generals. We warn those confused persons: you are aiming in the wrong direction; you are off base. Comrades who want to be revolutionary, wake up! Point the weapons in the other direction, turn your spears about. Assault Liu and Teng, assault the joint-action group and destroy true anarchism, including your own anarchism!

6722
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"JOINT-ACTION" IS GREATEST VICTIM OF MR. LIU'S
CULTIVATION

[Following is a translation of an article in
the Chinese-language newspaper Chung-hsueh
Feng-pao (Middle School Storm), Peking, No. 1,
27 May 1967, page 3.]

Chairman Mao said: "We must be particularly vigilant against the Khrushchev-style conspirators and plotters; we must prevent this type of bad person from seizing the leadership of the party and the state."

The old revisionist Liu Shao-ch'i, the top party official following the capitalist path, is the greatest Khrushchev-style conspirator and plotter in China. His work Lun Kung-ch'an Tang-yuan-ti Hsiu-yang (How To Be A Good Communist), is a great revelation of his philosophy. Raising the dignified banner of Marxism-Leninism, this book peddles the reactionary philosophy of bourgeois individualism under the guise of elegant phrases. This is used in the minds of the degenerate to prepare public opinion for the effecting of a capitalist restoration in China, for the training of Khrushchev-style inheritors. A handful of reckless followers in the joint-action group (lien-tung -- 5114-0520) are loyal disciples of Mr. Liu's black work. This is the generation which Liu Shao-ch'i has raised for himself for the restoration of capitalism in China; they consist of a handful of Khrushchev-style plotters among the youth of China.

The offspring of some unreformed cadres, due to their special living position and environment along with the support of a handful of party members following the capitalist path and the control of the top party officials following the capitalist path, has long ago abandoned thought reform. They have claimed as their own the merits of their fathers. By relying on petty reputations and so-called "wide and extensive knowledge" they have gained the applause of the masses. These persons have taken Liu Shao-ch'i's theories of "the party permits the party member to establish and develop his own interests when they do not violate party interests!" and "we should consider the accomplishments and victories of the party as our own accomplishments and victories" and they have used these to peddle the notions that "we are the natural-born

inheritors of the revolutionary cause" and "our interests are the party's interests." This is obviously ambition climbing its way up. This is to say that because my origin is good, I represent the interests of the proletariat. In order to preserve its position of power, it pushes the idea that I have studied hard for the proletariat's seizing of the fortress of theory and science. In order to start out from the angle of "self" which harms the party's policies, they push the theory that "the public and private have merged" due to our fathers' warm class feelings. With this pretext they manage to avoid difficult thought reform -- because the fathers are heroic and the offspring are good fellows, and the offspring of cadres are all "leftists." Under this guise they outrageously suppress mass movements and undermine the great democracy in the dictatorship of the proletariat. And this is because their fathers represent the proletariat and rebellion to the proletariat ought to be suppressed.

Originally, objectively existing contradictions could be denied by no one; originally, the two sides in the struggle of contradictions could never be merged; what is bourgeois individualism they are now claiming to be the highest morality of communism. In this merging of the public and the private a hundred contradictions will appear. Before the Great Cultural Revolution or in its early stages it may well have been that the basic interests and special privileges of this group were not touched, and they were still able to peddle their selfish goods under the guise of public good. However, after the great revolutionary army led by Chairman Mao directly assaulted the black lair of Liu and Teng and thoroughly criticized capitalism, their positions of special privilege became more and more prevarious. Then they themselves manned the battle stations, cast aside their outer garments of serving the public, and emerged in fighting spirit. They frantically attacked Vice-chairman Lin, the Cultural Revolution of the Central Committee, and Premier Chou. They continued where their old leader "Liu K'o-ssu (0491/0344/1835)" had left off; they outrageously proclaimed that 20 years later they were the "premiers" of China. The counter-revolutionary elements Lin (0122/2651) and Ti Hsi (3321/6007) frantically attacked Vice-chairman Lin and one of their despicable goals was to seize China's second "chiao-i" (0074/2783) for them. This old dog Liu Shao-ch'i shamelessly allowed Liu P'ing-p'ing (0491/1627/1627) to make ideological preparations to be the state chairman. He himself had been involved in the revolution for more than 40 years and had caused it extensive damage. He had caused China to verge on the path of capitalism, but he was still not satisfied. He exerted himself in training inheritors to restore capitalism, and he developed a new class of special privilege. His only fear was that our young people would follow the path pointed out by our great leader, Chairman Mao, the path of joining together with the workers and peasants. He was afraid that we would be like Chang Ssu-teh (1728/1835/1795) and Norman Bethune and come to serve the people whole-heartedly. What he

wanted was Khrushchev-style persons who yearned for individual fame and fortune, who shook with ambition. What he wants is revisionist sprouts who will become officials and old lords to ride on the heads of the people. What he wants is precisely the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionist elements in the joint action group. Chairman Mao said: "All revolutionary struggles in the world are for the purpose of seizing and consolidating political power." The history of the Great Cultural Revolution tells us: Those who depart from the viewpoint of the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat to survey things are extremely confused. In August there was large-scale debating. In December there were frantic attacks on the Cultural Revolution of the Central Committee, on Vice-chairman Lin, and on the Premier; on top of this was the focus on the few shortcomings of the revolutionary rebels and the disregarding of the rest in the outrageous political activities of political thugs: all these were for the purpose of seizing power. For a long time Liu Shao-ch'i has been carefully nurturing a bunch of revisionist sprouts, also for the sake of seizing power, for the sake of effecting a restoration, for the sake of protecting Liu and Teng. Just as the reactionary bourgeois line of Liu and Teng was on the verge of collapse, they hysterically leapt out. Their organizational principles involved the offspring of cadres with absolutely no class analysis; their militant goals were to protect their mothers and fathers and themselves, to protect their special privileges, and the method they chose was bloody fighting. What they believed in was the revanchism of the fascist Nazis; their slogan was "we'll see who laughs last" and the settling of accounts is coming after the fall. Their devious means are to raise red banners to oppose red banners. Their ultimate goal always is to protect the special power of Liu and Teng, to protect their privileges. They well know that it is Liu and Teng who can protect their special privileges in China. They vociferously shout: "Long live Liu X X." They viciously revile the sub-committee of the Cultural Revolution of the Central Committee; they draw a bead on the headquarters of the proletariat, beat up the revolutionary masses, wipe out the revolutionaries. These boastful revisionist elements have completely revealed the degenerate bourgeois kingdom in their hearts, completely torn off the masks of "cultivation" covering their faces, nakedly revealed their evil countenances of being loyal servants to the landlords, the rich, the counter-revolutionary, the rotten, the rightist Liu and Teng. All these plots, all these wolves in sheep's clothing have been revealed in the brilliance of the noonday sun. The establishment of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee has signalled that the proletarian revolutionaries have seized power; it has further sounded the death knell for the black headquarters of Liu and Teng; it has marked the demise of the counter-revolutionary organization, the joint-action group. Power must forever be firmly held in the hands of the proletarian revolutionary leftists. Let those obedient sons of Liu and Teng follow their black headquarters into the dustbin of history; let them go to meet their Maker!

Today our struggle with the joint action group is the struggle,

sharp and complicated, between the two paths in China. If we don't drive back the tide of their thinking, if we don't thoroughly criticize the thought of the joint action group, then, even if we get rid of Liu and Teng, new Lius and Tengs will appear. If we allow those Khrushchev-style persons to gain power, then China will act out the tragedy of the Soviet restoration of capitalism. Our comrades would do well to consider, wasn't Khrushchev a youth 50 years ago? Fourty years later he usurped power, became dictator over a hundred million laborers, and brought about a restoration of capitalism in the homeland of the Great October Revolution. Should we not take warning from this lesson?

We must definitely destroy the joint action group, thoroughly criticize its thought. We are the new generation which will continue what has been started; the future of China is entrusted to us. Starting with this generation, we must thoroughly eradicate the spreading poison of revisionism, smash the hothouses where the sprouts of revisionism grow; we must never allow China to degenerate.

Thoroughly smash the joint action group!

Down with the special privileges strata!

Down with Liu Shao-ch'i!

Long live the victory of the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao!

Long live Chairman Mao!

("Beat the Dog Fallen into the Water")

- END -

6722

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MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT ILLUMINATES THE ROAD
FOR OUR PARTY'S VICTORIOUS ADVANCE

- Commemorating the 46th Anniversary of the
Founding of the Communist Party of China -

[Following is a translation of an editorial in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 2-6]

Forty-six years have elapsed since the founding of the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China. We commemorate this glorious day with great pride at a time when the great proletarian cultural revolution has won tremendous victories.

Under the guidance of the great leader Chairman Mao, the Chinese Communist Party, by heroic struggle, bloodshed and sacrifices, has turned the scarred and battered and poor and backward semi-feudal, semi-colonial old China into a great, prosperous and vigorous socialist state. Holding high the great banner of proletarian revolution and of internationalism in the struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries, our Party has defended Marxism-Leninism and given powerful support to the revolutionary movements of all peoples, thereby becoming the mainstay of the international communist movement.

Why has the Chinese Communist Party been able to win such great victories? It is because our Party was founded and trained by the great leader Chairman Mao himself and built up in accordance with the revolutionary theory and style of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Mao Tse-tung's thought marks a new stage in the development of Marxism. In the present era, if we depart from Mao Tse-tung's thought, we will be departing from the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, and it will be impossible to build a genuine Marxist-Leninist political party. It is precisely Mao Tse-tung's thought which has illuminated the road for our Party's victorious advance. All our Party's victories are great victories of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

During the stage of democratic revolution, Chairman Mao blazed the trail for the Chinese revolution by criticizing and repudiating Right and "Left" opportunism and by integrating Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Led by Chairman Mao, our Party held high the great banner of armed struggle, encircled the cities from the rural areas and finally defeated Japanese imperialism and U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, after decades of bloody war and founded the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "The development, consolidation and Bolshevization of our Party has proceeded in the midst of revolutionary wars; without armed struggle the Communist Party would assuredly not be what it is today."

After the victory of the democratic revolution, Right opportunists in the Party spread all sorts of fallacies and tried to halt the revolution and put capitalism into practice. At that vital moment, Chairman Mao set the course right by criticizing and repudiating the Right opportunist line and led our Party in advancing from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution without interruption. In just a few short years, the 500 million peasants were guided on to the broad road of socialist collectivization, and the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce and the handicrafts was basically completed.

With the coming to power of the Khrushchov clique of renegades in the Soviet Union, the Soviet Communist Party which had been founded by Lenin himself changed into a revisionist party and the first socialist state became a state under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This has also occurred in a number of other socialist countries.

After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was in the main completed in our country, an undercurrent for the restoration of capitalism also occurred in our Party. How could our country avoid changing political color? How could our Party avoid becoming a revisionist party? These were the most important questions, questions of the greatest concern, put to us by the proletariat and revolutionary people throughout the world. The great Chinese Communist Party is able to answer these questions and solve the problems involved. This is because we have our leader of genius Chairman Mao and we have the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

When the seas are in turmoil, heroes show their true mettle. Our great leader Chairman Mao has scientifically summarized the experience of the class struggle in our socialist society, the historical experience of the dictatorship of the world proletariat, and particularly the deplorable and painful lessons of the usurpation of the leadership of the Party and state by the Khrushchov revisionist clique, and has advanced an overall set of theories and policies for preventing our Party and country from changing political color.

Chairman Mao has expounded the theory of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society in a comprehensive, systematic and scientific way. He pointed out: "During this [socialist] historical stage, classes, class contradictions and class struggle continue to exist, the struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism goes on and the danger of a capitalist restoration remains. It is necessary to recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. It is necessary to heighten our vigilance. It is necessary to undertake socialist education. It is necessary to have a correct understanding of the problems of class contradictions and class struggle and to handle them correctly, to distinguish between the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves on the one hand and those among the people on the other and to handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite, it will degenerate, and there will be a comeback."

In order to prevent the usurpation of the Party leadership by revisionism and the restoration of capitalism, Chairman Mao urged that class struggle be carried out in a deep and comprehensive way throughout the Party and the country and that the three great revolutionary movements [class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experimentation] be unfolded. He advocated the socialist education movement and the reorganization of the revolutionary class ranks in order to repulse wild attacks by the capitalist and feudal forces. He advocated the cultivation and training of tens of millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat in the storms and waves of class struggle.

In the last few years, Chairman Mao has further developed the theory of making revolution under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He pointed out that the revolution's main target under this dictatorship is the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The theory, line, principles and policies formulated by Chairman Mao for the great proletariat cultural revolution and a series of his other writings and directives constitute a milestone in the development of Marxism. They indicate that Marxism has developed to a completely new stage -- the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself is a great revolution aimed at solving the problem of preventing the dictatorship of the proletariat from turning into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the problem of preventing the proletarian political party from degenerating into a revisionist political party.

The most striking characteristic of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat is that the class enemies strive to usurp Party and government leadership through the handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road who have sneaked into our Party, and through them to change the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and change the Communist Party into a revisionist party. The handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road are the most dangerous

enemy. It is possible to prevent our country and our Party from changing political color only by launching the great proletarian cultural revolution, overthrowing the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, eliminating their pernicious influence within the Party and state organs, actively smashing bourgeois ideology and fostering proletarian ideology, and establishing the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought in the whole Party. Only by carrying out the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution can our Party develop, grow stronger and become consolidated in the new stage of the socialist revolution. This is a great truth.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, who was exposed by the revolutionary masses during the great proletarian cultural revolution, has all along been opposed to the great, invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and has been trying with might and main to change our Party into a revisionist party, a bourgeois party.

During the years when the War of Resistance Against Japan was raging, this top Party person indulged in empty talk about "self-cultivation" of Communists while making no mention of armed struggle or the seizure of political power. After the victory of the anti-Japanese war, he openly preached the parliamentary road, urging our Party to turn its army over to the Kuomintang and to become "officials" in the Kuomintang parliament and reactionary government. If we had followed his advice, our Party would have degenerated into a revisionist party like that of Thorez or Togliatti and become a tool in the pay of the bourgeoisie.

After nationwide victory, he went all out in publicizing the theory that "exploitation has its merits." He talked loudly about "allowing the capitalists to exist and develop for several decades more" and advocated the vigorous development of the "three horses, one plough and one cart" type of rich-peasant economy, in order to enforce this reactionary political line, he shamelessly urged Party members to take the lead in hiring labor and in exploiting others. He talked such nonsense as: "Those who exploit can still be socialists," Party members who become rich peasants can "retain their Party membership," "there is no harm if there are 10,000 rich-peasant Party members in northeast China" and "the Party regulations and constitution permit individual farming and hiring of hands, and it is dogmatic to forbid exploitation."

This was out-and-out betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is clearly stipulated in our Party's general program that "the Communist Party of China is the vanguard of the Chinese working class" and that its aim is to "uproot the system of exploitation" in China and "the achievement of . . . communism." If rich peasants and other exploiters were eligible for Party membership and Party members took the lead in exploiting others, as the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road urged, then would not our Party become a party of rich peasants and the exploiting classes? There have never been "regulations and a constitution" of a proletarian political party which permit its members to hire hands and exploit

others. Only the "regulations and constitution" of bourgeois political parties permit their members to do so.

When the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in China was basically completed, this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road talked a lot about the dying out of class struggle. He alleged that "domestically, the major class struggle has basically come to an end" and that "the question of which will win, socialism or capitalism, has now been settled." Like Khrushchov, he attempted to turn the Communist Party into a "party of the entire people." He advocated pulling a number of representatives of the bourgeoisie into the Party and openly declared that if capitalist "joined the Party, it would be all the better." He also said that "the most important task of the state is to organize the life of society" and that "the main task of the Party is to expand the productive forces at the quickest possible rate."

The "party of the entire people" is pure nonsense aimed at deceiving people. Like the state, a political party is an instrument of class struggle. As long as the Communist Party exists, it cannot possibly be of the entire people. A so-called party of the entire people is in fact an out-and-out bourgeois political party. The central task of the Communist Party can only be to engage in class struggle, enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat and strengthen it. Otherwise, it is not a genuine Communist Party. Any talk of "organizing the life of society" or "expanding the productive forces," while negating the class nature of the state and society, is just a fraud of the old-line revisionists. These ideas of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road are the same as what Khrushchov advertised: to place "the economic and production problems . . . at the center of the activities of the Party organizations" and make them "the cornerstone of all their work." If we acted in this way, then our Marxist-Leninist Party would surely become a revisionist party as in the Soviet Union and all of China would change color.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, we have exposed and overthrown the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, smashed the counter-revolutionary revisionist line he pursued and shattered his scheme to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and to transform our Party into a revisionist party. This is a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought, a great victory for Party-building which takes Mao Tse-tung's thought as its guide.

Our Party had the fortitude and courage to launch the great proletarian cultural revolution and has stood the stern tests of this great movement. This is eloquent proof that our Party is the strongest Marxist-Leninist Party at the highest level.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The supersession of the old by the new is a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe." Through the great

proletarian cultural revolution, we have got rid of the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, the masses of Party members have tempered themselves in the revolutionary fire, and new blood has been infused into the Party. This has made our Party healthier and more vigorous and given it greater fighting strength. To consolidate our Party in the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution marks a new era in the building of a proletarian political party.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has purified the proletarian headquarters and greatly strengthened Party leadership. The handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road declared that this revolution meant "discarding Party leadership." This is a complete calumny. This revolution has been carried out under the direct leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by the great leader Chairman Mao. This is the strongest and greatest Party leadership. What the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road meant by "Party leadership" was their issuing orders and giving commands. That is absolutely impermissible! The great proletarian cultural revolution is aimed precisely at dismissing them from office, seizing power from them and overthrowing their "leadership."

The great proletarian cultural revolution has proved that the vast majority of our Party members are good or comparatively good. Those persons in authority taking the capitalist road who sneaked into the Party are just a handful. The vast majority of Party members are resolute in following Chairman Mao's teachings, in taking the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and in struggling against that handful. This is the mainstream and the most fundamental fact.

In commemorating the 46th anniversary of the founding of the Party, the whole Party and the people throughout the country should respond warmly to the call of Comrade Lin Piao, the close comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao, to bring about a new upsurge in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works.

Comrade Lin Piao holds highest the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, studies Chairman Mao's works with the best results and applies them most effectively. For several decades, he has consistently carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line most faithfully, firmly and thoroughly. The method advocated by Comrade Lin Piao of studying Chairman Mao's works with specific problems in mind, studying and applying his works in a creative way, combining study with application, studying first what must be urgently applied so as to get quick results, and of striving hard to apply what one is studying has proved effective and universally suitable and should be further popularized throughout the country. In the fires of the great proletarian cultural revolution, every member of the Communist Party should use Mao Tse-tung's thought to remould himself, make great effort to destroy the bourgeois world outlook and establish the proletarian world outlook, eliminate self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest, and establish in his mind the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We should

resolutely carry out everything that conforms to Mao Tse-tung's thought, and resolutely resist and oppose anything that runs counter to Mao Tse-tung's thought, so as thoroughly to repudiate and smash the landlord and bourgeois slavishness advocated by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. Proletarian revolutionaries who have not yet joined the Party should set still stricter demands on themselves, take Mao Tse-tung's thought as their guide at all times, constantly remould their ideology and make progress, and strive to join the ranks of the Chinese Communist Party led by Chairman Mao.

In commemorating the Party's 46th anniversary, every Communist Party member should gain a deeper understanding and a better grasp of the theories and policies concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution advanced by Chairman Mao, modestly learn from the masses, keep in close contact with them and, with them, carry this revolution through to the end. We should keep firmly to the general orientation of the struggle, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, eliminate their pernicious influence on all fronts, actively promote the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, carry out the tasks of struggle, criticism and transformation effectively in our organizations; observe proletarian revolutionary discipline and make serious efforts to carry out the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production." Communist Party members should play a leading role and set examples in all these aspects. Those Party members who were deceived by the bourgeois reactionary line, duped by the book on "self-cultivation" and joined conservative organizations, should quickly return to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, draw lessons from all this and strive to be Communists worthy of the name.

In commemorating the Party's 46th anniversary, every Communist Party member should firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings, always maintain the Party's style of plain living and hard work, and guard against attacks by the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie. Among the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road who were exposed in the great cultural revolution, there are some who degenerated precisely because they could not resist corruption by bourgeois ideology. The overturning of the chariot in front should serve as a warning for the chariot behind. Party members holding leading positions in revolutionary committees and revolutionary mass organizations at all levels in particular should heighten their vigilance because once in power, their status has changed and they are confronted with new, rigorous tests and are under the constant attack of the sugar-coated bullets of bourgeois ideology.

We are proud beyond measure to have the greatest leader of genius like Chairman Mao. Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era. In the past 46 years, he has led our Party in defeating one enemy after another and bypassing one hidden shoal after another, and built our Party into a fully mature Marxist-Leninist Party. It is the

highest honor for the entire Party and the greatest happiness for the entire Party and the people of the whole country that our Party has a great leader like Chairman Mao. We are tremendously proud to be members of the great Chinese Communist Party. Every member should value this honored title, live up to Chairman Mao's expectations of us, make new contributions to the people, and be a true Communist Party member.

Long live the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live Chairman Mao, the great teacher, leader, supreme commander and helmsman!

CSO: 3530-D

THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF NE WIN, THE CHIANG KAI-SHEK OF
BURMA, IS BOUND TO FAIL! THE PEOPLE ARE BOUND TO WIN!

- Speech by Thakin Ba Thein Tin, First Vice-Chairman of the Central
Committee of the Communist Party of Burma, at the 5 July
Peking memorial rally for martyr Liu Yi -

[Following is a translation of the text of a speech in the
Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking,
No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 7-13]

Comrades, comrades-in-arms and friends:

On behalf of the Burmese people, the Communist Party of Burma and Com-
rade Thakin Than Tun, the Chairman of our Party, I speak at the memorial rally
for Comrade Liu Yi today.

I want first of all to say that Comrade Liu Yi was an expert sent to
Burma to work for Burmese economic construction in accordance with the Sino-
Burmese Economic Aid Agreement.

He served the Burmese people with a high degree of proletarian inter-
nationalist spirit. He was killed by thugs instigated by the reactionary Ne
Win military government while performing the tasks assigned him by his coun-
try, and died a heroic death.

His death and bloodshed contributed to the establishment of Chinese-
Burmese friendship. The Burmese people will never forget this. They will
always remember him.

The Burmese people and the Communist Party of Burma feel great sorrow
at Comrade Liu Yi's heroic death. I express our sympathy with the Chinese
people and the relatives of Comrade Liu Yi.

Now, I want to say that the struggle waged by the young overseas Chi-
nese students and the overseas Chinese brothers in Burma is entirely just
and correct.

Their just struggle is bound to win.

The reactionary Ne Win military government can never crush their just struggle.

The combined pressure of Ne Win's masters -- U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist leading clique -- cannot crush their just struggle either.

Why?

Because they have grasped the thought of Chairman Mao, the great leader of the world, and their struggle is just; the glorious 700 million Chinese people are with them, the broad masses of the Burmese people are with them.

I want to reiterate at this rally that our Communist Party of Burma wholeheartedly supports the just struggle of the overseas Chinese, and vehemently protests against the fascist atrocities of the Ne Win military government in massacring the overseas Chinese.

We fully support the 29 June statement of the Government of the Chinese People's Republic protesting against the Ne Win military government.

Martyr Liu Yi, overseas Chinese student martyrs and overseas Chinese martyrs gave their lives and shed their blood for this struggle.

Many more were wounded, arrested and persecuted. It has been learnt that, up to the present, in Rangoon alone overseas Chinese have been killed by the hundreds and overseas Chinese students and overseas Chinese have been arrested by the thousands.

This is an outrageous crime that can never be erased from the history of Burma! The blood debt incurred by the Ne Win military government, including that owed Comrade Liu Yi and other martyrs, must be paid in blood. We declare here that our Party and the people of Burma, together with the Chinese people, must demand payment for it.

Next, I want to talk about why the Ne Win military government carried out this massacre.

It was by no means accidental that the reactionary Ne Win military government opposed China.

Burma's anti-China incident is not divorced from the anti-China drive in Indonesia, India, Hongkong and in other countries and areas; it is part of the adverse current of opposition to the Communist Parties, the people, the revolution and China. All this shows that class struggle throughout the whole world is very sharp and that the world revolutionary movement has entered a new stage and reached a new height.

This incident was planned beforehand, arranged and carried out in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists, reactionaries of all countries and the Kuomintang gang.

The anti-China outrage instigated by the Ne Win military government is an outcome of the anti-communist, anti-popular policy of civil war which it has followed for a long time, and an outcome of its reactionary foreign policy of further dependence on and collusion with imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries in all countries, and has been decided by its class nature.

The Ne Win military government has carried out this massacre at a time when it is facing total bankruptcy, militarily, politically and economically.

I would like first to talk about its military bankruptcy.

The armed struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party of Burma headed by Chairman Thakin Than Tun has been going on for 19 to almost 20 years.

Ne Win and his gang are the chief culprits who started the reactionary civil war.

They set off the unjust war, and burnt down thousands of villages.

They have turned a large number of villages into concentration camps like those in south Vietnam.

Tens of thousands of peasants have been killed and arrested, many women raped and many Communists massacred.

Aided by U.S. imperialism and assisted by Britain, Israel, West Germany, Japan, India and other imperialists and reactionaries, the Ne Win military government has launched wild attacks on the Burmese people's democratic revolution.

It has received much aid from Khrushchov, Kosygin, Brezhnev, Tito and other modern revisionists.

Ne Win also received great help from China's Khrushchov.

Nevertheless, the Burmese armed struggle has not collapsed. At present, we are dealing the Ne Win military government harsh blows. Under the banner of the national democratic united front, the armed units have scored victory after victory. The people of the Shan, Kachin, Karen, Kayah, Mon and Pa-o nationalities are also engaged in armed struggle against the Ne Win military government. The revolutionary armed forces have now grown so strong that they are capable of taking medium-sized and small towns and have occupied them for a time. According to incomplete statistics, more than 400 battles were fought in 1966. Our Party's armed forces have increased by half. Our guerrilla bases have been expanded and consolidated. The area in which we are fighting accounts for more than 60 per cent of the country's total area.

Last October, our armed units attacked a position only two miles from Ne Win's mansion. In November, they captured the goods of a co-operative shop on the outskirts of Rangoon. These battles gave the Ne Win government a shock. The U.S. and British press sum up our present military situation as follows: The revolutionary armed forces are forming a crescent around Rangoon and although the Burmese Government can control two-thirds of the country by day it can only control one half at night. U.S. imperialism is worried that Burma may become a second Vietnam within two or three years.

The Ne Win military government has fired the first shot against Chinese nationals. Since it has fired the first shot, it is with good reason that we should hit back.

Now that Ne Win has fired the first shot in opposing China, the armed struggle in Burma will certainly develop by leaps and bounds and reach a still higher stage. This is because the present situation is that the Burmese armed struggle is enjoying the full sympathy and support of the 700 million Chinese people and the overwhelming majority of the Burmese people, who are against Ne Win, and will unite still more closely.

The situation to be looked forward to is that the Burmese armed struggle will display greater might and spread further, and more troops of the Ne Win government will be wiped out. This is how Ne Win is digging his own grave.

It is because we have taken Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought as our guide that we have been able to persevere in carrying on armed struggle for nearly 20 years. The brilliant victories we have won in the military field are the victory of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

It is because we have established in our minds Chairman Mao's idea that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" that we have been able to persevere in struggle. We have been able to do so because we have used guns and opposed the ideas and program of China's Khrushchov and of the Soviet revisionist leading clique which urge us to co-operate with Ne Win and be his disciples.

Our armed struggle arose out of our mastery of Chairman Mao's thought. As already mentioned, we have not only accepted the guidance of the completely correct idea, namely, "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," but we also carry on our fight in accordance with Chairman Mao's theory on protracted war, relying on the countryside as our base area and encircling the cities from the countryside. Our practice has proved that, given a Party armed with the thought of Chairman Mao, and given that this Party is able to rely first of all on the peasants, protracted war can be carried on even in a small country like Burma.

However, as a result of the disruptive activities of China's Khrushchov, the Burmese revolution and the Chinese people have been turned from close friends into distant relatives.

China's Khrushchov has a soft spot for Ne Win, but harbors no such good intention towards the Communist Party of Burma. This is not fortuitous; there is a reason. As far back as 20 years ago, our Party was a Party loyal to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is only natural that China's Khrushchov, who is opposed to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, should treat us badly.

In spite of the fact that China's Khrushchov has not liked us, we have followed Chairman Mao's teachings, persevered in self-reliance and carried on struggle for more than 19 years.

Burma's revolution has proved that as long as the people of various countries really act according to Chairman Mao's teachings on self-reliance, then the oppressed people of these countries can decide their own destiny in the spirit of self-reliance. Our Party is now undertaking a vigorous study of Chairman Mao's works. It has also been stressed that everyone undertake a creative study and application, in the course of struggle, of "Long Live the Victory of People's War!", written by our respected and beloved Vice-Chairman Lin Piao.

We regard Chairman Mao's works as an invaluable treasure.

Ne Win and his like also study Chairman Mao's works according to their understanding. But the purpose of their study is to discredit Chairman Mao and the Chinese people, to discredit the Burmese people and oppose the Burmese Communist Party.

The enemy is afraid of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Ne Win, the revisionists of all countries and China's Khrushchov are all in mortal fear of Mao Tse-tung's thought. That is why we must double our efforts to study Mao Tse-tung's thought which the enemy fears.

As I have already said, because of the rapid development of the armed struggle in Burma, the military crisis of the Ne Win military government has become more serious.

Class struggle is very acute in Burma. The reactionary Ne Win military government is facing crisis all along the line. This crisis is a bomb that is about to explode.

In these circumstances, the Ne Win military government directs its spearhead at the Communist Party of Burma. It has decided to launch another wild military offensive against the Party.

Externally, it still regards the People's Republic of China as the main danger. It made a public statement to this effect at the Burma Socialist Program Party Conference convened last November.

From these facts people can clearly see that the Ne Win military government is the enemy of the Burmese people and the enemy of the Chinese people as well.

This Ne Win military government has worked more flagrantly than ever in collusion with U.S. imperialism, Israel, Thailand and the "Malaysian" reactionaries.

Prior to the massacre of the overseas Chinese, it held talks with Adam Malik, representative of the Indonesian fascist government.

I would now like to say something about the political crisis of the Ne Win military government.

Ne Win openly declared that his political line was one of non-acceptance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and of non-acceptance of the leadership of the proletariat.

He said his government would give the peasants privileges, but in reality its foundation is the landlords and rich peasants.

It virtually transferred the right to resolve the peasant problem to the reactionary village heads, bureaucrats and military officers.

What it preached about the "laboring people" in effect refers to the bureaucratic exploiting class and reactionary military officers who are slaughtering the peasants. The real workers serve only as the object of their exploitation and oppression.

As in the case of Yugoslavia, Ne Win accepts aid from all imperialist and revisionist countries.

He suppresses the Communist Party by means of unjust war.

This is what the "Burmese program for socialism" has meant.

Even now the Soviet modern revisionists still proclaim that the road Ne Win takes is a non-capitalist one.

China's Khrushchov also directly told Ne Win that it was necessary to learn from Ne Win's program for socialism.

But the Burmese people have a real understanding of their own. They see with their own eyes that Ne Win's "Burmese program for socialism" has brought about the massacre of tens of thousands of people.

Under the Ne Win military government rule, even bourgeois democracy was got rid of. Four months after the military government came to power, more than 100 university students were killed and over 300 students injured on 7 July, in Rangoon, the capital of Burma.

In November 1963, after shamelessly sabotaging peaceful negotiations, the Ne Win military government abolished all legitimate parties and arrested more than 1,000 well-known progressive people. From that time till now, it has continued to arrest workers, peasants, students, writers and owners of enterprises. What do all these facts show? They show that Ne Win, who is carrying out military dictatorship in the country, is Burma's Chiang Kai-shek.

The people have clearly realized that the Ne Win military government is incapable of resolving any problem, no matter whether it concerns culture, public health, or the economy. Things are going from bad to worse.

Therefore, the people have seen that Ne Win's "Burmese program for socialism" is false. Ne Win cannot deceive anyone! And, therefore, Ne Win has exposed his true features to the Burmese people, as did Khrushchov, Kosygin and Brezhnev. China's Khrushchov has also shown his true countenance.

Comrades, this is perfectly clear to us.

We never thought that socialism could be established by relying on "aid" from U.S. imperialism. However, the group of people like Ne Win, Khrushchov and China's Khrushchov said it was possible and experimented in Burma.

I would also like to say a few words about the economic crisis of the Ne Win military government.

Ne Win's "program for socialism" in Burma long ago plunged the whole country into a serious economic crisis. At present, there is an extreme lack of food and medicine, the price of commodities is very high and speculating merchant cliques and black markets are so numerous that Ne Win has been helpless in dealing with them. The reason is that his officers and officials have all taken part in black market activities.

With regard to the situation of the material shortages, I would like to cite a few examples to explain it.

At present, Burma is extremely short of cooking oil and there has been none for use in preparing dishes. The ordinary people call those dishes with no cooking oil, or very little, "Ne Win dishes."

Famine in Burma is now extremely serious.

Burma is one of the world's biggest rice-producing countries. Even during World War II, when the whole country had been turned into a battlefield, there was no famine in Burma because of the self-reliant efforts of the Burmese people.

In pre-war days, apart from domestic consumption, three million tons of rice were exported annually. But now the amount exported has been only six hundred thousand tons, and the sale of rice domestically has to be measured by the milk bottle.

Famine has been brought on under Ne Win's rule. The Government has declared that Burma will possibly be without grain before November and December of this year. It therefore asks the people to practice economy in grain consumption. However, famine has already begun. Workers have left the factories because they have nothing to eat; peasants are unable to work in the fields because they have insufficient food. People are eating roots and bark. Diseases are spreading because of malnutrition.

Demonstrations and struggles have occurred aimed at securing a solution to the grain problem. In some places the seizure of rice has taken place. In Rangoon it is only possible for a person to buy one milk bottleful of rice daily. Over 1,000 residents in the Thaketa quarter held a demonstration in front of a grain shop because they had no rice for their evening meal. In Rangoon some restaurants have no rice to serve.

The people of the whole country are highly indignant at the Ne Win military government.

In order to shake itself free of political, military and economic crisis and consolidate its rule, the Ne Win military government has adopted despicable measures. It has stirred up a conflict between China and Burma in an attempt to divert into a national conflict the fierce anger of the Burmese people that has burst forth like a volcano.

It is well known that the Ne Win military government started by ruthlessly massacring overseas Chinese students and other overseas Chinese. At first, it manufactured rumors and incited national hatred, and then provoked national conflict. Its despicable schemes may succeed perhaps for the time being. However, the friendship between China and Burma that has been formed for such a long time is firm and nobody can undermine it. No force on earth is capable of sabotaging this friendship. Whoever attempts to do so is a madman, just banging his head against a brick wall.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet" is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind. In the final analysis, their persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale." By his opposition to China, Ne Win is lifting a rock only to drop it on his own feet.

Before World War II, the British imperialists provoked a conflict between China and Burma. Apart from this, China-Burma friendship has been firm. It is a flesh and blood friendship. The Burmese call the Chinese

paukphaw meaning kinsmen. Of course, Ne Win also calls China's Khrushchov paukphaw. The latter is a paukphaw of partners-in-cime, and not that between the people. It is merely paukphaw of a supreme master and a disciple.

Therefore, we are convinced that, guided by the spirit of genuinely consolidated friendship between China and Burma, and not by the hypocritical rubbish of Ne Win and China's Khrushchov, the overseas Chinese in Burma will certainly win victory.

There is another matter I would like to refer to.

The reactionaries of all countries say that there are two kinds of Communist Parties. They say that they do not fear the Communist Parties of Khrushchov, Kosygin and Brezhnev and that they can make friends with such Communist Parties. They take the same attitude towards Communists like China's Khrushchov. But they are frightened out of their wits by the Communist Party of Mao Tse-tung.

This analysis of the enemy is very important. We should all be Communist Parties of Mao Tse-tung.

The overseas Chinese in Burma, who are struggling by holding aloft Chairman Mao's teaching "a great life, a glorious death," will certainly win.

The Burmese people will surely end this massacre soon and unite as one in opposition to Ne Win.

The Ne Win military government which is opposing the Chinese and Burmese peoples will certainly be defeated.

China's Khrushchov, who has suppressed the great proletarian cultural revolution and the Red Guards in China, has been discredited among the masses. The Ne Win military government, which is suppressing overseas Chinese for fear both of the influence of China's great proletarian cultural revolution and of the revolutionary forces in Burma, is bound to fail.

China's Khrushchov, who opposed the thought of Chairman Mao, has bitten the dust; the Ne Win military government, which has insulted Chairman Mao, will also certainly be defeated.

Together with the Chinese people, we will certainly carry the struggle against the Ne Win military government, the struggle against revisionism and the struggle against the reactionaries of all countries through to the very end.

We will definitely strengthen the struggle against the Ne Win military government in our practical work.

Let the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists give more aid to the Ne Win military government!

However great the sacrifice we have to suffer, no matter how long the struggle continues, we will certainly carry on our fight.

We have waged a military struggle over a period of nearly 20 years. We say that we are not afraid of any kind of enemy, because we have Chairman Mao's thought as our guide.

We will overthrow the Ne Win military government and bring about a lasting peace, a happy and completely independent Burma and set up a people's democratic united front government conforming to the people's wishes.

Let us unite, fight and triumph together under the banner of Chairman Mao's thought!

We fully support the fraternal overseas Chinese in Burma in their revolutionary, valiant and just struggle! No one can destroy the friendship between China and Burma!

The reactionary Ne Win military government is bound to fail!

The people's democratic revolution is bound to triumph!

Long live the unity of the Burmese and Chinese peoples!

Long live the unity of the Communist Parties of Burma and China!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live China's great proletarian cultural revolution personally led by Chairman Mao!

Long live Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought!

U.S. imperialism is bound to fail!

Modern revisionism headed by the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is bound to fail!

To the good health of Comrade Thakin Than Tun, Chairman of the Communist Party of Burma!

Long live Chairman Mao, the great leader of the world's people! Long, long life to him!

CSO: 3530-D

PEOPLE OF INDONESIA, UNITE AND FIGHT TO OVERTHROW THE FASCIST REGIME

[Following is a translation of an editorial in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 14-17]

After staging the counter-revolutionary 1965 coup d'etat, the Suharto-Nasution Right-wing military clique, faithful lackey of U.S. imperialism and anti-communist ally of Soviet revisionism, established a fascist dictatorship of unprecedented ruthlessness in Indonesia.

For the past year or more, it has followed an out-and-out traitorous, dictatorial, anti-communist, anti-China and anti-popular counter-revolutionary policy.

It has imposed a white terror in Indonesia on an unprecedented scale, slaughtered several hundred thousand Communists and revolutionary people and thrown into prison several hundred thousand more fine sons and daughters of the Indonesian people. All Indonesia has been turned into one vast hell. By engaging in bloody suppression, it attempts in vain to wipe out the Indonesian Communist Party and stamp out the Indonesian revolution.

This clique cherishes an inveterate hatred for socialist China, which resolutely supports the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people. It has repeatedly carried out serious provocations against the Chinese people, whipped up anti-China, anti-Chinese campaigns and practiced inhuman racist persecution against overseas Chinese. It has vainly tried to sabotage the traditional friendship between the Chinese people and the overseas Chinese in Indonesia on the one hand and the Indonesian people on the other, and to prevent the Chinese people from supporting the Indonesian people's revolution.

In the final analysis, the many kinds of persecution against the Indonesian Communist Party and the Indonesian people by the Suharto-Nasution Right-wing military clique will only serve to speed the upsurge in the Indonesian revolution and hasten its own doom. The heroic Indonesian Communists

and people can neither be cowed, suppressed, nor wiped out. The determination of the Indonesian people to make revolution is unshakable; and so is the Chinese people's determination to support their revolution. No reactionary force on earth can obstruct this.

At present, the Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people are regrouping their forces for a new battle. The 17 August 1966 "Statement" of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party and the "Self-Criticism" it endorsed in September, which were published by the magazine Indonesian Tribune not long ago, are a call to the Indonesian Communists and the Indonesian working class, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and all anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary forces to unite and engage in a new struggle.

The two documents of the Political Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party are a telling blow at U.S. imperialism and its flunkies, the Suharto-Nasution fascist military dictatorial regime, and the revisionist leading clique of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and a tremendous encouragement to the revolutionary people of Indonesia.

In these two documents, the Political Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party has summed up the experience and lessons of the Party in leading the Indonesian people's revolutionary struggle, has criticized the Right opportunist errors committed by the leadership of the Party in the past, pointed out the road for the Indonesian revolution, and laid down the principles for future struggle.

The documents point out that Indonesia is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. The Suharto-Nasution military fascist dictatorship is a regime of the most reactionary classes in Indonesia: the comprador bourgeoisie, the bureaucrat-capitalists and the landlords. It is the primary task of the revolution in its present stage to overthrow this counter-revolutionary regime and the reactionary rule of imperialism and feudalism in Indonesia, to establish the people's democratic dictatorship and build a completely independent, democratic, new Indonesia.

The documents emphatically point out: "To achieve its complete victory, the Indonesian revolution must also follow the road of the Chinese revolution. This means that the Indonesian revolution must inevitably adopt this main form of struggle, namely, the people's armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution which, in essence, is the armed agrarian revolution of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat."

The Political Bureau has criticized the revisionist line of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., and pointed out that this counter-revolutionary line caused serious damage to the Indonesian Communist Party and brought tremendous losses to the Indonesian people's revolutionary movement. Modern revisionism, with the leadership of the C.P.S.U. as its center, is the greatest danger to the international communist movement and to the Indonesian Communist Party as well. The bloody lesson of the loss of hundreds of thousands

of lives in Indonesia shows once again that the revisionist road of "peaceful transition" advocated by the leadership of the C.P.S.U. is the road to burying the revolution, the road to exterminating the Party and the people.

The documents hold that the leadership of the Party in the past deviated from the Marxist-Leninist theory on the state and one-sidedly stressed the possibilities of the so-called peaceful road and parliamentary road. It claimed that Indonesian bourgeois state power had two aspects, the "pro-people aspect" and the "anti-people aspect"; it hoped to bring about a fundamental change in state power by peaceful means through developing the "pro-people aspect." This is a sheer illusion of "peaceful transition."

The documents criticize and repudiate the theory of "combining the three forms of struggle," namely, guerrilla warfare in the countryside, the workers' movement in the cities, and work among the enemy's armed forces. They point out that, concerning the "three forms of struggle," the leadership of the Party in the past, instead of having led them along the road of revolution, led each along the "peaceful road" and thereby virtually gave up the armed struggle. The documents emphasize that the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must resolutely abandon this erroneous theory, hold high the banner of the people's armed revolution, establish revolutionary base areas in accordance with the experience of the Chinese revolution, and turn the backward villages into strong, consolidated military, political, and cultural bastions of the revolution.

The Political Bureau regards as an important task of the Party the establishment of a broad anti-imperialist and anti-feudal united front led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. To carry this out, the Party must have a correct program, correct principles and tactics and, what is particularly important, must grasp that form of armed struggle in which it integrates with the peasants and wins their support.

The documents criticize the slogan of "national cooperation with the 'Nasakom' as the core" and hold that such a statement obscures the class content of the united front. In its effort to establish a united front with the national bourgeoisie, the Party leadership in the past abrogated the independent role of the proletariat and turned it into an appendage of the national bourgeoisie. In the past it put the three components of Marxism on a par with the "three components of Sukarno's teachings" and in an unprincipled way recognized Sukarno as "the great leader of the revolution." The Party's erroneous attitude towards Sukarno is a major manifestation of its loss of independence within the united front.

They point out that an arduous task lies ahead in the building up of the Indonesian Communist Party. It must be built into a Marxist-Leninist Party free from all forms of opportunism, one that resolutely opposes legalism, subjectivism and modern revisionism.

The documents say that on the question of Party building the main mistakes in the past have been "liberalism and legalism." They criticize the

Party for its tendency to blindly seek numerical strength in recruitment, and point out that the mass character of the Party is expressed first of all not in a vast membership but in close ties with the masses, in its political line defending the interests of the masses and in the overall application of the mass line.

In order to build a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary Party, the Political Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party calls upon the whole Party to improve its education in Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, to sum up the historical experience of the Party and carry out a rectification campaign.

The documents point out: "The experience of the struggle waged by the Party in the past has shown how indispensable it is for the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists, who are resolved to defend Marxism-Leninism and to combat modern revisionism, to study not only the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, but also to devote special attention to studying the Thought of Mao Tse-tung who has succeeded in inheriting, defending and developing Marxism-Leninism to its peak in the present era."

After summing up the historical experience of the Indonesian revolution, the "Statement" and the "Self-Criticism" of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party come to this important conclusion:

"To win victory for the people's democratic revolution, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must hold aloft the Three Banners of the Party, namely:

"The first banner, the building of a Marxist-Leninist Party which is free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism.

"The second banner, the armed people's struggle which in essence is the armed struggle of the peasants in an anti-feudal agrarian revolution under the leadership of the working class."

"The third banner, the revolutionary united front based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class."

The conclusion drawn by the Political Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party concerning the "Three Banners" conforms with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and will play an important guiding role in the Indonesian revolution.

The road pioneered by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for the Chinese revolution is the road by which "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," the road of relying on the peasants, establishing rural revolutionary bases, encircling the cities from the rural areas and finally capturing the cities.

Summing up the experience of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "We have had much valuable experience. A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party -- these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy. They distinguish us from our predecessors. Relying on them, we have won basic victory."

In the course of leading the Chinese people's struggle to seize political power, the Chinese Communist Party has had great victories in the revolution as well as serious defeats. The Party's defeats and victories, its retreats and advances, its shrinking and growth, its development and consolidation, are all closely linked with whether or not the Party's political line correctly handles the questions of armed struggle and the united front. Armed struggle and the united front are the two basic weapons for conquering the enemy. The united front is a united front for carrying out armed struggle. The Party organization is the heroic fighter wielding these two weapons. Such is how these three are interrelated.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "Having a correct grasp of these three questions [the united front, armed struggle and Party building -- Tr.] and their interrelations is tantamount to giving correct leadership to the whole Chinese revolution."

At present, a severe white terror continues to reign over Indonesia. The Indonesian Communist Party is faced with an extremely difficult and complex task. The Party's struggle is undergoing a major change: a switch from the cities to the countryside, from peaceful struggle to armed struggle, from legal to illegal, from open to secret. For a Party, whose main work over a long period of time was open and legal activity in the cities, this change is not easy indeed. It is bound to meet many difficulties. But the objective realities of the revolutionary struggle compel people to make the change and compel them to learn armed struggle, and there is no alternative for them but to master it. In fact, as long as they are resolute and surmount all difficulties, there is no doubt that they can do so.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "A revolutionary war is a mass undertaking; it is often not a matter of first learning and then doing, but of doing and then learning, for doing is itself learning. There is a gap between the ordinary civilian and the soldier, but it is no Great Wall, and it can be quickly closed, and the way to close it is to take part in revolution, in war."

We are convinced that the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists, guided by the invincible Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, will surmount obstacle after obstacle, effect this historic change and lead the Indonesian people on to the long march for winning victory in the revolution.

The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people constantly have the fight of the Indonesian Communist Party and the Indonesian people in

mind. Our hearts are closely linked with the hearts of our class brothers in Indonesia. We stand unflinchingly on the side of the Indonesian Communist Party, on the side of the Indonesian revolutionary people, and firmly support the Indonesian Communist Party in leading the Indonesian people's struggle to overthrow the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime and establish a completely independent and democratic new Indonesia.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says, "The unbridled violence of all the forces of darkness, whether domestic or foreign, has brought disaster to our nation; but this very violence indicates that while the forces of darkness still have some strength left, they are already in their death throes, and that the people are gradually approaching victory."

As the documents of the Political Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party well express, the present military dictatorship of the Right-wing generals and the U.S. imperialists, who support this reactionary regime, are all paper tigers. In appearance, they are terrifying, but in reality they are weak.

Dark clouds cannot long obscure the sun whose resplendent light will surely shine over the whole of Indonesia. Final victory will certainly belong to the Communist Party of Indonesia and to the Indonesian people.

CSO: 3530-D

STATEMENT BY THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE INDONESIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

(Excerpts)

17 August 1966

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 18-23]

A statement issued by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia (P.K.I.) on 17 August 1966 appeared in the first issue of the Indonesian Tribune published in November last year. It was entitled "Take the Road of Revolution to Realize the Tasks Which Should Have Been Accomplished by the 1945 August Revolution." Excerpts of the statement follow. -- Ed.

The Indonesian people observe the 21st anniversary of the outbreak of the 1945 August Revolution in a situation when the counter-revolutionaries headed by the Right-wing army generals Suharto and Nasution rule over the country. During this period of almost one year, modern Indonesian history has never witnessed such a rampant counter-revolutionary terror, whose barbarism is comparable only to that of Hitlerite Naxism, as has been unleashed by the forces headed by the reactionary generals in the army. Nevertheless, no matter how vicious and barbarous the counter-revolutionaries have run amok, they will never succeed in suppressing the revolutionary elan of the working class, the peasantry and other driving forces of the revolution.

Step by step, the revolutionaries and the democrats are reorganizing themselves and waging a resistance struggle against the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals led by Suharto and Nasution. All of this has been accomplished under the most difficult and grave conditions, under the threat of incessant terror. How unbreakable is the revolutionary spirit of the Indonesian people!

The P.K.I., which by virtue of historical necessity occupies the position as vanguard of the working class and all revolutionary forces in Indonesia, not only is rebuilding its organization from the serious damage it has suffered, but due to the practising of criticism and self-criticism within the leadership and within the whole Party, it is returning to the correct road, the road of revolution which is illuminated by Marxism-Leninism.

Why Has the August Revolution of 1945 Failed To Achieve Its Objective Goal?

Based on objective conditions, Indonesia at the time of the outbreak of the revolution was a colonial and semi-feudal country, and therefore the 1945 August Revolution has the character of a bourgeois-democratic revolution having the double tasks, to drive away imperialism from Indonesia, in order to liberate the whole nation, and to realize democratic reforms, that is to say, to liquidate entirely the remnants of feudalism, in order to liberate the peasants from the feudal oppression of foreign and native landlords.

The 1945 August Revolution is part of the world proletarian socialist revolution. It was a new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution. The complete victory of a new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution will provide the conditions for socialist revolution. Consequently, the perspective of the 1945 August Revolution is socialism and communism.

The driving forces of the 1945 August Revolution are the working class or the proletariat, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie outside the peasantry. The anti-imperialist character of the 1945 August Revolution, which manifested itself very clearly at the start of the revolution, has made it possible for the mobilization of the very broad strata of the Indonesia population. Apart from the national bourgeoisie which, to a certain degree, adopted an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal stand, other patriotic elements, including even patriotic landlords, had taken part in or contributed to the war of independence against the Dutch imperialists.

The experience of the 1945 August Revolution has shown that the P.K.I. as the vanguard of the Indonesian working class did not succeed as yet in taking up its place as the leader of the struggle for emancipation of the Indonesian people. The P.K.I. entered the 1945 August Revolution without adequate preparations. Its serious shortcoming in theory and its lack of understanding of the concrete conditions of Indonesian society had resulted in its inability to formulate the nature of the revolution, its tasks, its program, tactics and slogans, as well as the correct principles and forms of organization. The high reputation the P.K.I. enjoyed in the eyes of the Indonesian people had been earned through its heroism in fighting imperialism during the time of Dutch colonial domination and of the fascist Japanese occupation. Nevertheless, this high reputation of the P.K.I. had failed to establish the P.K.I. leadership in the August Revolution of 1945.

This theoretical shortcoming and inability to make a concrete analysis of the concrete situation of the world and of Indonesia had resulted in that

the P.K.I. was unable to make use of this highly favorable opportunity given by the August Revolution of 1945 to overcome its shortcomings. The P.K.I. did not consistently lead the armed struggle against Dutch imperialism, did not develop guerrilla warfare that was integrated with the democratic movement of the peasants, as the only way to defeat the war of aggression launched by the Dutch imperialists. On the contrary, the P.K.I. even approved of and itself followed the policy of reactionary compromises of Sjahrir's Right-wing socialists. The P.K.I. did not establish the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and did not lead the anti-feudal struggle in the countryside, and did not establish, on the basis of such a worker-peasant alliance, a united front with all other democratic forces. The P.K.I. did not consolidate its strength, on the contrary, it even relegated to the background its own role. These are the reasons why the August Revolution of 1945 did not proceed as it should, did not achieve the decisive victory, and finally failed in reaching its objective goal.

The Main Problem of Every Revolution Is the Problem of State Power

It is an absolute condition for every revolutionary, and even more so for every Communist, to grasp the truth that "the main problem of every revolution is the problem of state power."

The oppressed classes, in liberating themselves from exploitation and oppression, have no other way but to make a revolution, that is to say, overthrowing by force the oppressor classes from state power, or seizing state power by force. Because, the state is an instrument created by the ruling classes to oppress the ruled classes.

But, for a genuine people's revolution in the present modern era, it is not enough just to wrest the power from the hands of the oppressor classes, and to make use of the power that has been wrested. Marx has taught us that the destruction of the old military-bureaucratic state machine is "the prerequisite for every genuine people's revolution" (Lenin, State and Revolution. A genuine people's revolution will achieve decisive victory only after it has accomplished this prerequisite, while at the same time sets up a completely new state apparatus whose task is to suppress by force and mercilessly the resistance put up by the overthrown oppressor classes.

What Should the August Revolution of 1945 Have Done With Regard to the State Power?

As a prerequisite, the August Revolution of 1945 should have smashed the colonial state machine along with all of its apparatuses that had been established to maintain colonial domination of Indonesia, and not merely transferred the power to the Republic of Indonesia. The August Revolution of 1945 should have established a completely new state, a state jointly ruled by all the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes under the leadership of the working class. This is what is to be called a people's democratic state.

Due to the absence of the working class leadership, the Republic of Indonesia was inevitably a state ruled by the bourgeoisie, despite the participation of the proletariat. A state with such a class character can never become an instrument of the 1945 August Revolution. Without the dictatorship of people's democracy, the August Revolution of 1945 did not have an instrument to defeat its enemies, and consequently was unable to accomplish its tasks, namely the complete liquidation of imperialist domination and the remnants of feudalism.

The voluntary withdrawal of a cabinet led by the Communists in 1948 had opened up the broadest opportunity for the reactionary bourgeoisie led by Muhamad Hatta to make the state power fall into its hands. This reactionary bourgeoisie then betrayed the August Revolution by unleashing white terror, the Madiun Affair, as a prelude to the restoration of the Dutch imperialist interests through the conclusion of the despicable agreement of the round-table conference, which turned Indonesia into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country.

The resurgence of the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people in continuing the fight against imperialist domination and the remnants of feudalism after the round-table conference, had gained certain political victories of partial and reform nature, which had led to the lessening of the anti-democratic character of the bourgeois power.

It was a great mistake to assume that the existence of such a government signified a fundamental change in the class character of the state power. It was equally incorrect to assume that the above-mentioned facts marked the birth and the development of an aspect representing the interests of the people, or of a pro-people aspect, within the state power.

Such an error, that was formulated in the "theory of two aspects in state power," led to the erroneous conclusion that within the state power of the Republic of Indonesia there existed two aspects, the anti-people aspect consisting of comprador, bureaucrat capitalist and landlord classes on the one hand, and the "pro-people aspect" composed mainly of the national bourgeoisie and the proletariat on the other hand.

According to this "two-aspect theory," a miracle could happen in Indonesia, namely that the state could cease to be an instrument of the ruling oppressor classes to subjugate other classes, but it could be made an instrument shared by both the oppressor classes and the oppressed classes. And the fundamental change in state power, that is to say, the birth of a people's power, could be peacefully accomplished by developing the "pro-people aspect" and gradually liquidating the "anti-people aspect."

Hoping for a fundamental change in state power, to usher the people into the position of power, through the victory of the "pro-people aspect" over the "anti-people aspect" in line with the "theory of two aspects in state power," was but a pure illusion. The people will be able to gain power

only through an armed revolution under the leadership of the working class to overthrow the power of the comprador bourgeoisie, the bureaucrat capitalists and the landlords which represent the interests of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism.

The "theory of two aspects in state power" has in practice deprived the proletariat of its independence in the united front with the national bourgeoisie, dissolved the interests of the proletariat in that of the national bourgeoisie, and placed the proletariat in a position as a tail-end of the national bourgeoisie.

To return the proletariat to its position of leadership in the liberation struggle of the Indonesian people, it is absolutely necessary to rectify the mistake of the "theory of two aspects in state power," and to do away with the erroneous view with regard to Marxist-Leninist teaching on state and revolution.

The Road to a Completely Independent and Democratic New Indonesia

After the August Revolution of 1945, Indonesia has not become a completely independent country, but is still a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. The power is not in the hands of the people, but in the hands of the upper stratum of the bourgeois and landlord classes. Only a handful of Indonesians from among the ruling classes have enjoyed the fruits of independence, while the people, especially the workers and the peasants who paid the greatest sacrifices during the 1945 August Revolution, still live under the exploitation and oppression by imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, and therefore are still far away from independence and liberation.

The rule of the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals led by Suharto-Nasution and their accomplices, a rule of the bureaucrat-capitalist, the comprador and the landlord classes, far from reducing the exploitation of the Indonesian people by imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, will only intensify this exploitation further.

As facts have proven, in order to establish their dictatorship over the Indonesian people, the Suharto-Nasution clique of Right-wing army generals is completely relying on the "aid" from the imperialist countries headed by the United States. In Indonesia, under the rule of the military dictatorship of Right-wing army generals, headed by Suharto-Nasution and their accomplices, and with the help of international imperialism headed by the United States, neo-colonialism is now being built up.

The main contradiction in the present Indonesian society is still the same with what existed at the outbreak of the August Revolution of 1945, that is to say imperialism and the remnants of feudalism are involved in a contradiction with the masses of the people who desire full independence and democracy.

Thus the target of the revolution remains the same: imperialism and the remnants of feudalism. Classes which are the enemies of the revolution, in the main, are also the same: imperialism, the compradors, the bureaucrat capitalists and the landlords. The driving forces of the revolution, too, are still the same: the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie.

After the imperialists no longer directly hold political power in Indonesia, their political interests are represented by the comprador bourgeoisie, the bureaucrat capitalists and the landlords who are holding the state power in their hands. Therefore, only by overthrowing the power of the domestic reactionary classes can the overthrow of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism be concretely realized. This is the primary task of the present stage of the Indonesian revolution.

Today, the Indonesian people are faced by the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, headed by Suharto-Nasution and their accomplices, which is the manifestation of power of the most reactionary classes in our country.

The absence of democracy for the people, and the suppression by force of arms of every revolutionary and democratic movement, inevitably compel the whole people to take up arms in order to defend their rights. The armed struggle of the people against the armed counter-revolution is unavoidable and constitutes the chief form of struggle of the coming revolution. Only by taking the road of armed struggle, the Indonesian people will succeed in overthrowing the power of the armed counter-revolutionaries, as a precondition to realize their aspiration for which they have fought for scores of years: independence and liberation.

The armed struggle to defeat armed counter-revolution, as a revolution, must not be waged in the form of military adventurism, in the form of a putsch, which is detached from the awakening of the popular masses.

Since the present stage of the Indonesian revolution is essentially an agrarian revolution by the peasantry, the armed struggle of the Indonesian people, too, essentially will be the armed struggle of the peasants to liberate themselves from the oppression by the remnants of feudalism. The armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution can never be lasting and in the end will surely be defeated, unless it is essentially an armed struggle of the peasants in realizing the agrarian revolution. And the armed struggle of the peasants to realize the agrarian revolution will only succeed in achieving a complete victory, and in really liberating the peasantry from the oppression by the remnants of feudalism, only when it is waged under the leadership of the proletariat, and when it is not limited to just overthrowing the power of the landlords in the countryside, but is aimed at smashing the entire power of the internal counter-revolutionaries who are now represented by the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, headed by Suharto-Nasution, and their accomplices.

Conclusions

By studying once more the problems of the August Revolution of 1945, we can draw some conclusions which are of the greatest importance for the Indonesian proletariat and its vanguard, the P.K.I., in facing their future task.

1. The August Revolution of 1945, as a new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution whose mission is to completely liquidate the domination of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, would have achieved victory only if it was led by the proletariat. In order to establish its leadership in the new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution the proletariat should, above all, form an alliance with the peasantry, and on the basis of this worker-peasant alliance that is led by the working class, establish a revolutionary united front with all other revolutionary classes and groups. The proletariat can fulfill its mission as the leader of the revolutionary united front only when it has correct program and tactics which are acceptable to its allies to be the guidance for the revolution, only when it has a strong organization, and only when it gives an example in the realization of national tasks. As for the correct program, it is of the utmost importance to have a revolutionary agrarian program to forge the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. As for the correct tactics, it is of the utmost importance to master the chief form of struggle, namely the armed struggle which relies on the support of the peasantry. All of this can be realized only when the proletariat has its own political party, the P.K.I., which is entirely guided by the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory, and free from all kinds of opportunism.

2. The pre-condition for the complete realization of the task of the 1945 August Revolution instead of merely seizing the state power from foreign imperialism and transferring it to the Republic of Indonesia, should be the smashing of the whole machinery of the colonial regime and establishment of a completely new state, namely the dictatorship of people's democracy, the joint power of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes under the leadership of the working class. The dictatorship of people's democracy, as an instrument of the new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution, should suppress by force of arms and mercilessly all the enemies of the revolution, and ensure for the people the broadest democratic rights.

3. The emancipation of the Indonesian people from exploitation and oppression by imperialism and the remnants of feudalism can be attained only through the road of revolution which will surely take place once again, a revolution that has the same character as the 1945 August Revolution, that is to say a new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution. The primary task of the coming revolution is the destruction of the power of the internal counter-revolutionaries who are now represented by the military dictatorship of the Right-wing generals, Suharto-Nasution, and their accomplices, through an armed struggle. The armed struggle to defeat the armed counter-revolution will be victorious only when it is essentially an armed struggle of the peasantry to realize the agrarian revolution. And the armed struggle of the peasantry to

realize the agrarian revolution will be victorious only when it is waged under the leadership of the proletariat and is aimed at smashing the power of all internal counter-revolutionary forces.

4. The tasks faced by the Party for leading the people's democratic revolution to victory are:

First: To continue to rebuild the P.K.I. along the Marxist-Leninist line, to be a Party which is free from all kinds of opportunism and is consistent in fighting against subjectivism and modern revisionism, while at the same time to continue to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses, especially the workers and the peasants.

Second: To be ready to lead a protracted armed struggle which is integrated with the agrarian revolution of the peasants in the countryside.

Third: To form a united front of all the forces that are against the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, headed by Suharto-Nasution, a united front that is based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat. These are the Three Banners of the Party in the people's democratic revolution.

The international proletariat, and all the people who are fighting against imperialism, are the ally of the coming Indonesian revolution. U.S. imperialism, the ringleader of the world counter-revolution, despite the help rendered by the Khrushchovite modern revisionists, is facing an ignominious and inevitable defeat in Vietnam.

Let us, with the firmest determination and by wholeheartedly dedicating our strength and ability, meet the call of the coming task, to overthrow the rule of the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, Suharto and Nasution, the leaders of the internal counter-revolutionaries, in order to pave the way towards the new Indonesia which is free from the domination of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism.

CSO: 3530-D

SELF-CRITICISM BY THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE INDONESIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

(Excerpts)

September 1966

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 24-35]

Indonesian Tribune published in its January issue (No. 3), the self-criticism adopted by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party (P.K.I.) in September 1966. The self-criticism is entitled "Build the P.K.I. Along the Marxist-Leninist Line to Lead the People's Democratic Revolution in Indonesia." -- Ed.

The self-criticism says that the disaster which has caused such serious losses to the P.K.I. and the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people after the outbreak and the defeat of the 30 September Movement has lifted up the curtain which for a long period has hidden the grave weaknesses of the P.K.I.

The Political Bureau is aware that it has the greatest responsibility with regard to the grave weaknesses and mistakes of the Party during the period under review. Therefore, the Political Bureau is giving serious attention to and highly appreciates all criticism from cadres and members of the Party given in a Marxist-Leninist spirit, as well as honest criticism from Party sympathizers that have been expressed in different ways. The Political Bureau is resolved to make self-criticism in a Marxist-Leninist way, putting into practice the teaching of Lenin and the example of Comrade Musso in unfolding Marxist-Leninist criticism and self-criticism.

The self-criticism says that under the situation where the most vicious and cruel white terror is being unleashed by the Nasution-Suharto military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, it is not easy to make as

complete criticism and self-criticism as possible. To meet the urgent necessity, it is necessary to point out the main issues in the ideological, political and organizational fields, in order to facilitate the study of the weaknesses and mistakes of the Party during the current rectification movement.

With all modesty and sincerity the Political Bureau presents this self-criticism. The Political Bureau expects all members to take an active part in the discussions of the weaknesses and mistakes of the Party leadership, critically analyse them, and do their utmost to improve this self-criticism of the Political Bureau by drawing lessons from their respective experiences, collectively or individually. The Political Bureau expects all members to take firm hold of the principle: "unity -- criticism -- unity" and "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and curing the sickness to save the patient, in order to achieve the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades." The Political Bureau is convinced that, by holding firmly to this correct principle, every Party member will take part in the movement to study and surmount these weaknesses and mistakes with the determination to rebuild the P.K.I. along the Marxist-Leninist line, to strengthen communist unity and solidarity, to raise the ideological, political and organizational vigilance, and to heighten the fighting spirit in order to win victory.

The Main Weaknesses in the Ideological Field

The serious weaknesses and mistakes of the Party in the period after 1951, the self-criticism says, certainly had as their source the weaknesses in ideological field, too, especially among the Party leadership. Instead of integrating revolutionary theories with the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution, the Party leadership adopted the road which was divorced from the guidance of the most advanced theories. This experience shows that the P.K.I. had not succeeded as yet in establishing a core of leadership that was composed of proletarian elements, which really had the most correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism, systematic and not fragmentary, practical and not abstract understanding.

During the period after 1951, subjectivism continued to grow, gradually became greater and greater and gave rise to Right opportunism that merged with the influence of modern revisionism in the international communist movement. This was the black line of Right opportunism which became the main feature of the mistakes committed by the P.K.I. in this period. The rise and the development of these weaknesses and errors were caused by the following factors:

First, the tradition of criticism and self-criticism in a Marxist-Leninist way was not developed in the Party, especially among the Party leadership.

The rectification and study movements which from time to time were organized in the Party were not carried out seriously and persistently, their results were not summed up in a good manner, and they were not followed by the appropriate measures in the organizational field. Study movements were aimed more at the rank and file, and never at unfolding criticism and self-criticism among the leadership. Criticism from below far from being carefully listened to, was even suppressed.

Second, the penetration of the bourgeois ideology along two channels, through contacts with the national bourgeoisie when the Party established a united front with them and through the bourgeoisification of Party cadres, especially the leadership, after the Party obtained certain positions in governmental and semi-governmental institutions. The increasing number of Party cadres who occupied certain positions in governmental and semi-governmental institutions, in the center and in the regions, created "the rank of bourgeoisified workers" and this constituted "the real channels for reformism." Such a situation did not exist before the August Revolution of 1945.

Third, modern revisionism began to penetrate into our Party when the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Fifth Congress uncritically approved a report which supported the lines of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., and adopted the line of "achieving socialism peacefully through parliamentary means" as the line of the P.K.I. This "peaceful road," one of the characteristics of modern revisionism, was further reaffirmed in the Sixth National Congress of the P.K.I. which approved the following passage in the Party Constitution: "There is a possibility that a people's democratic system as a transitional stage to socialism in Indonesia can be achieved by peaceful means, in parliamentary way. The P.K.I. persistently strives to transform this possibility into a reality." This revisionist line was further emphasized in the Seventh (Extraordinary) National Congress of the P.K.I. and was never corrected, not even when our Party was already aware that since the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., the leadership of the C.P.S.U. had been following the road of modern revisionism.

The self-criticism stresses that the experience of the P.K.I. provides the lesson that by criticizing the modern revisionism of the C.P.S.U. leadership alone, it does not mean that the P.K.I. itself will automatically be free from errors of Right opportunism, the same as what the modern revisionists are doing. The experience of the P.K.I. provides the lesson that modern revisionism, the greatest danger in the international communist movement, is also the greatest danger for the P.K.I. For the P.K.I., modern revisionism is not "a latent but not an acute danger" but a concrete danger that has brought great damage to the Party and serious losses for the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people. Therefore, we must not in any way underestimate the danger of modern revisionism and must wage a resolute and ruthless struggle against it. The firm stand against modern revisionism in all fields can be effectively maintained only when our Party abandons the line of "preserving the friendship with the modern revisionists."

It is a fact that the P.K.I., while criticizing the modern revisionism of the C.P.S.U. leadership, also made revisionist mistakes itself, because it had revised Marxist-Leninist teachings on class struggle, state and revolution. Furthermore, the P.K.I. leadership not only did not wage a struggle in the theoretical field against other "revolutionary" political thoughts which could mislead the proletariat, as Lenin has taught us to do, but had voluntarily given concessions in the theoretical field. The P.K.I. leadership maintained that there was an identity between the three components of Marxism: materialist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism, and the so-called "three components of Sukarno's teachings." They wanted to make Marxism, which is the ideology of the working class, the property of the whole nation which includes the exploiting classes hostile to the working class.

The Main Errors in the Political Field

The self-criticism says that the mistakes of Right opportunism in the political field which are now under discussion include three problems: (1) the road to people's democracy in Indonesia, (2) the question of state power, and (3) the implementation of the policy of the national united front.

One of the fundamental differences and problems of disputes between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism lies precisely in the problem of choosing the road to socialism. Marxism-Leninism teaches that socialism can only be achieved through the road of proletarian revolution and that in the case of colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries like Indonesia, socialism can only be achieved by first completing the stage of the people's democratic revolution. On the contrary, revisionism dreams of achieving socialism through the "peaceful road."

During the initial years of this period since 1951, our Party had achieved certain results in the political struggle as well as in the building of the Party. One important achievement of this period was the formulation of the main problems of the Indonesian revolution. It was formulated that the present stage of the Indonesian revolution was a new-type bourgeois democratic revolution, whose tasks were to liquidate imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism and to establish a people's democratic system as a transitional stage to socialism. The driving forces of the revolution were the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie; the leading force of the revolution was the working class and the principal mass strength of the revolution was the peasantry. It was also formulated that the national bourgeoisie was a wavering force of the revolution who might side with the revolution to certain limits and at certain periods but who, at other times, might betray the revolution. The Party furthermore formulated that the working class, in order to fulfill its obligation as the leader of the revolution, must forge a revolutionary united front with other revolutionary classes and groups based on worker-peasant alliance and under the leadership of the working class.

However, there was a very important shortcoming which in later days developed into Right opportunism or revisionism, namely that the Party had not yet come to the clearest unity of minds on the principal means and the main form of struggle of the Indonesian revolution.

The Chinese revolution, the self-criticism says, has provided the lesson concerning the main form of struggle of the revolution in colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, namely, the people's armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution. In line with the essence of the revolution as an agrarian revolution, then the essence of the people's armed struggle is the armed struggle of the peasants in an agrarian revolution under the leadership of the working class. The practice of the Chinese revolution is first and foremost the application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of China. At the same time, it has laid down the general law for the revolutions of the peoples in colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries.

To achieve its complete victory, it stresses, the Indonesian revolution must also follow the road of the Chinese revolution. This means that the Indonesian revolution must inevitably adopt this main form of struggle, namely, the people's armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution which, in essence, is the armed agrarian revolution of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat.

All forms of legal and parliamentary work should serve the principal means and the main form of struggle, and must not in any way impede the process of the ripening of armed struggle.

The experience during the last fifteen years has taught us that starting from the failure to reject the "peaceful road" and to firmly hold to the general law of revolution in colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, the P.K.I. gradually got bogged down in parliamentary and other forms of legal struggle. The Party leadership even considered this to be the main form of struggle to achieve the strategic aim of the Indonesian revolution. The legality of the Party was not considered as one method of struggle at a given time and under certain conditions, but was rather regarded as a principle, while other forms of struggle should serve this principle. Even when counter-revolution not only has trampled underfoot the legality of the Party, but has violated the basic human rights of the Communists as well, the Party leadership still tried to defend this "legality" with all their might.

The "peaceful road" was firmly established in the Party when the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Fifth Congress in 1956 adopted a document which approved the modern revisionist line of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. In such a situation, when the revisionist line was already firmly established in the Party, it was impossible to have a correct Marxist-Leninist line of strategy and tactics. The formulation of the main lines of strategy and tactics of the Party started from a vacillation between the "peaceful road" and the "road of armed revolution," in the process of which the "peaceful road" finally became dominant.

Under such conditions, the General Line of the P.K.I. was formulated by the Sixth National Congress (1959). It reads, "To continue the forging of the national united front, and to continue the building of the Party, so as to accomplish the demands of the August Revolution of 1945." Based on the General Line of the Party, the slogan "raise the Three Banners of the Party" was decided. These were: (1) the banner of the national front, (2) the banner of the building of the Party, and (3) the banner of the 1945 August Revolution. The General Line was meant as the road to people's democracy in Indonesia.

The Party leadership tried to explain that the Three Banners of the Party were the three main weapons to win the people's democratic revolution which, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, were "a well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party."

Thus the second main weapon means that there must be a people's armed struggle against armed counter-revolution under the leadership of the Party. The Party leadership tried to replace this with the slogan "raise the banner of the 1945 August Revolution".

In order to prove that the road followed was not the opportunist "peaceful road," the Party leadership always spoke of the two possibilities, the possibility of a "peaceful road" and the possibility of a non-peaceful road. They held that the better the Party prepared itself to face the possibility of a non-peaceful road, the greater would be the possibility for a "peaceful road." By doing so the Party leadership cultivated in the minds of Party members, the working class and the masses of the working people the hope for a peaceful road which in reality did not exist.

In practice, the Party leadership did not prepare the whole ranks of the Party, the working class and the masses of the people to face the possibility of a non-peaceful road. The most striking proof of it was the grave tragedy which happened after the outbreak and the failure of the 30 September Movement. Within a very short space of time, the counter-revolution succeeded in massacring and arresting hundreds of thousands of Communists and non-Communist revolutionaries who found themselves in a passive position, paralyzing the organization of the P.K.I. and the revolutionary mass organizations. Such a situation surely would never happen if the Party leadership did not deviate from the revolutionary road.

The Party leadership declared, says the self-criticism, that "our Party must not copy the theory of armed struggle abroad, but must carry out the Method of Combining the Three Forms of Struggle: guerrilla warfare in the countryside (especially by farm laborers and poor peasants), revolutionary actions by the workers (especially transport workers) in the cities, and intensive work among the enemy's armed forces." The Party leadership

criticized some comrades who, in studying the experience of the armed struggle of the Chinese people, were considered seeing only its similarities with the conditions in Indonesia. On the contrary, the Party leadership put forward several allegedly different conditions that must be taken into account, until they arrived at the conclusion that the method typical to the Indonesian revolution was the "Method of Combining the Three Forms of Struggle."

To fulfill its heavy but great and noble historical mission, to lead the people's revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninist must firmly reject the revisionist "peaceful road," reject the "theory of the Method of Combining the Three Forms of Struggle," and hold aloft the banner of armed people's revolution. Following the example of the glorious Chinese revolution, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must establish revolutionary base areas; they must "turn the backward villages into advanced, consolidated base areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution."

While working for the realization of this most principal question we must also carry out other forms of struggle; armed struggle will never advance without being co-ordinated with other forms of struggle.

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The line of Right opportunism followed by the Party leadership was also reflected in their attitude with regard to the state, in particular to the state of the Republic of Indonesia, the self-criticism says.

Based on this Marxist-Leninist teaching on state, the task of the P.K.I. after the August Revolution of 1945 failed, should have been the education of the Indonesian working class and the rest of the working people, so as to make them understand as clearly as possible the class nature of the state of the Republic of Indonesia as a bourgeois dictatorship. The P.K.I. should have aroused the consciousness of the working class and the working people that their struggle for liberation would inevitably lead to the necessity of "superseding the bourgeois state" by the people's state under the leadership of the working class, through a "violent revolution." But the P.K.I. leadership took the opportunist line that gave rise to the illusion among the people about bourgeois democracy.

The climax of the deviation from Marxist-Leninist teaching on state committed by the Party leadership was the formulation of the "theory of the two aspects in the state power of the Republic of Indonesia."

The "two-aspect theory" viewed the state and the state power in the following way:

"The state power of the Republic, viewed as contradiction, is a contradiction between two opposing aspects. This first aspect is the aspect

which represents the interests of the people (manifested by the progressive stands and policies of President Sukarno that are supported by the P.K.I. and other groups of the people). The second aspect is the aspect that represents the enemies of the people (manifested by the stands and policies of the Right-wing forces and die-hards). The people's aspect has now become the main aspect and takes the leading role in the state power of the Republic."

The "two-aspect theory" obviously is an opportunist or revisionist deviation, because it denies the Marxist-Leninist teaching that "the state is an organ of the rule of a definite class which cannot be reconciled with its antipode (the class opposite to it)." It is unthinkable that the Republic of Indonesia can be jointly ruled by the people and the enemies of the people.

The Party leadership who wallowed in the mire of opportunism claimed that the "people's aspect" had become the main aspect and taken the hegemony in the state power of the Republic. It was as if the Indonesian people were nearing the birth of a people's power. And since they considered that the forces of the national bourgeoisie in the state power really the "people's aspect," the Party leadership had done everything to defend and develop this "people's aspect." The Party leadership had altogether merged themselves in the interests of the national bourgeoisie.

By considering the national bourgeoisie the "people's aspect" in the state power of the Republic, and president Sukarno the leader of this aspect, the Party leadership erroneously recognized that the national bourgeoisie was able to lead the new-type democratic revolution. This is contrary to historical necessity and historical facts.

The Party leadership declared that the "two-aspect theory" was completely different from the "theory of structural reform" of the leadership of the revisionist Italian Communist Party. However, the fact is, theoretically or on the basis of practical realities, there is no difference between the two "theories." Both have for their starting point the "peaceful road" to socialism. Both dream of a gradual change in the internal balance of forces in the state power. Both reject the road of revolution and both are revisionist in character.

The anti-revolutionary "two-aspect theory" glaringly exposed itself in the statement that "the struggle of the P.K.I. with regard to the state power is to promote the pro-people aspect so as to make it bigger and dominant, and the anti-people force can be driven out from the state power."

The Party leadership even had a name for this anti-revolutionary road; they called it the road of "revolution from above and below." By "revolution from above" they meant that the P.K.I. "must encourage the state power to take revolutionary steps aimed at making the desired changes in the personnel and in the state organs." While by "revolution from below" they meant that

the P.K.I. "must arouse, organize and mobilize the people to achieve the same changes." It is indeed an extraordinary phantasy! The Party leadership did not learn from the fact that the concept of president Sukarno on the formation of a co-operation cabinet (the old-type government of national coalition), eight years after its announcement, had not been realized as yet. There was even no sign that it would ever be realized, despite the insistent demands. Let alone a change in the state power!

The self-criticism stresses that to clean itself from the mire of opportunism, our Party must discard this "theory of two-aspect in the state power" and reestablish the Marxist-Leninist teaching on state and revolution.

The 5th National Congress of the Party in the main had solved theoretically the problem of the national united front. It formulated that the worker-peasant alliance was the basis of the national united front. With regard to the national bourgeoisie a lesson had been drawn on the basis of the experience during the August Revolution that this class had a wavering character. In a certain situation, the national bourgeoisie took part in the revolution and sided with the revolution, while in another situation they followed in the steps of the comprador-bourgeoisie to attack the driving forces of the revolution and betrayed the revolution (as shown by their activities during the Madiun Provocation and their approval of the Round Table Conference Agreement). Based on this wavering character of the national bourgeoisie, the Party formulated the stand that must be taken by the P.K.I., namely, to make continuous efforts to win the national bourgeoisie over to the side of revolution, while guarding against the possibility of its betraying the revolution. The P.K.I. must follow the policy of unity and struggle towards the national bourgeoisie, the self-criticism says.

Nevertheless, since the ideology of subjectivism in the Party, particularly among the Party leadership, had not yet been eradicated, the Party was dragged into more and more serious mistakes, to such an extent that the Party lost its independence in the united front with the national bourgeoisie. This mistake had led to the situation in which the Party and the proletariat were placed as the appendage of the national bourgeoisie.

A manifestation of this loss of independence in the united front with the national bourgeoisie was the evaluation and the stand of the Party leadership towards Sukarno. The Party leadership did not adopt an independent attitude towards Sukarno. They had always avoided conflicts with Sukarno and, on the contrary, had greatly over-emphasized the similarities and the unity between the Party and Sukarno. The public saw that there was no policy of Sukarno that was not supported by the P.K.I. The Party leadership went so far as to accept without any struggle the recognition to Sukarno as "the great leader of the revolution" and the leader of the "people's aspect" in the state power of the Republic. In many articles and speeches, the Party leaders frequently said that the struggle of the P.K.I. was based not only on Marxism-Leninism, but also on "the teachings of Sukarno" that the P.K.I. made such a rapid progress because it realized Sukarno's idea of Nasakom

unity, etc. Even the people's democratic system in Indonesia was said to be in conformity with Sukarno's main ideas as expressed in his speech "The Birth of Pantjasila" on 1 June 1945.

The self-criticism repudiates the erroneous view that "to implement the Political Manifesto in a consistent manner is the same as implementing the program of the P.K.I."

The statement that consistently implementing the Political Manifesto meant implementing the program of the P.K.I. could only be interpreted that it was not the program of the P.K.I. that was accepted by the bourgeoisie, but that, on the contrary, it was the program of the national bourgeoisie which was accepted by the P.K.I., and was made to replace the program of the P.K.I., it points out.

The abandonment of principle in the united front with the national bourgeoisie had developed even further in the so-called "General Line of the Indonesian Revolution" that was formulated as follows: "With the national front having the workers and peasants as its pillars, the Nasakom as the core and the Pantjasila as its ideological basis, to complete the national democratic revolution in order to advance towards Indonesian Socialism." This so-called "General Line of the Indonesian Revolution" had not even the faintest smell of the revolution. Because, from the three preconditions to win the revolution, namely, a strong Marxist-Leninist party, a people's armed struggle under the leadership of the Party, and a united front, only the united front was retained. Even then, it was not a revolutionary united front, because it was not led by the working class, nor was it based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the working class, but on the contrary it was based on the Nasakom.

The Party leadership said that "the slogan for national co-operation with the Nasakom as the core will by no means obscure the class content of the national united front." This statement is incorrect. The class content of the Nasakom was the working class, the national bourgeoisie, and even elements of the compradors, the bureaucrat-capitalists and the landlords. Obviously, putting the Nasakom in the core not only meant obscuring the class content of the national united front, but radically changing the meaning of the revolutionary national united front into an alliance of the working class with all other classes in the country, including the reactionary classes, into class collaboration.

This error must be corrected. The Party must throw to the dust-bin the erroneous "General Line of the Indonesian Revolution" and return to the correct conception of a revolutionary national united front based on the alliance of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class.

The abandonment of principle in the united front with the national bourgeoisie was also the result of the Party's inability to make a correct and concrete analysis of the concrete situation, the self-criticism says.

Ever since the failure of the August Revolution of 1945, except in West Irian, the imperialists did not hold direct political power in Indonesia. In Indonesia, political power was in the hands of compradors and landlords who represented the interests of imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism. Besides, there was no imperialist aggression in Indonesia taking place. Under such a situation, provided that the P.K.I. did not make political mistakes, the contradiction between the ruling reactionary classes and the people, would develop and sharpen, constituting the main contradiction in Indonesia. The primary task of the Indonesian revolution at the present moment is the overthrow of the rule of the reactionary classes within the country who also represent the interests of the imperialists, in particular the United States imperialists. Only by fulfilling this task, can the real liquidation of imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism be realized.

By correcting the mistakes made by the Party in the united front with the national bourgeoisie it does not mean that now the Party need not unite with this class. On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class, our Party must work to win the national bourgeois class over to the side of the revolution.

The Main Mistakes in the Organization Field

The self-criticism says that the erroneous political line which dominated the Party was inevitably followed by an equally erroneous organizational line. The longer and the more intensive the wrong political line ruled in the Party, the greater were the mistakes in the organizational field, and the greater the losses caused by them. Right opportunism which constituted the wrong political line of the Party in the period after 1951 had been followed by another Right deviation in the organizational field, namely, liberalism and legalism.

The line of liberalism in the organizational field manifested itself in the tendency to make the P.K.I. a party with as large a membership as possible, a party with a loose organization, which was called a mass Party.

It says that the mass character of the Party is not determined above all by the large membership, but primarily by the close ties linking the Party and the masses, by the Party's political line which defends the interests of the masses, or in other words by the implementation of the Party's mass line. And the mass line of the Party can only be maintained when the prerequisites determining the Party's role as the advanced detachment are firmly upheld, when the Party members are made up of the best elements of the proletariat who are armed with Marxism-Leninism. Consequently, to build a Marxist-Leninist Party which has a mass character is impossible without giving primary importance to Marxist-Leninist education.

During the last few years, the P.K.I. had carried out a line of Party building which deviated from the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the organizational field.

This liberal expansion of Party membership could not be separated from the political line of the "peaceful road." The large membership was intended to increase the influence of the Party in the united front with the national bourgeoisie. The idea was to effect the gradual change in the balance of forces that would make it possible to completely defeat the die-hard forces, with a Party that was growing bigger and bigger, in addition to the policy of unity with the national bourgeoisie.

The stress was no longer laid on the education and the training of Marxist-Leninist cadres to prepare them for the revolution, for work among the peasants in order to establish revolutionary bases, but on the education of intellectuals to serve the needs of the work in the united front with the national bourgeoisie, and to supply cadres for the various positions in the state institutions that were obtained thanks to the co-operation with the national bourgeoisie. In the light of this policy, the slogan of "total integration with the peasants" had become empty talk. What was being done in practice was to draw cadres from the countryside to the cities, from the regions to the center, instead of sending the best cadres to work in the rural areas.

To raise the prestige of the P.K.I. in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, and to make it respected as the party of intellectuals, the 4-Year Plan stipulated that all cadres of the higher ranks must obtain academic education, cadres of the middle ranks high school education, and cadres of the lower ranks lower middle school education. For this purpose the Party had set up a great number of academies, schools and courses. So deep-rooted was the intellectualism gripping the Party leadership that all Party leadership that all Party leaders and prominent figures of the popular movements were obliged to write four theses in order to obtain the degree of "Marxist Scientists."

The deeper the Party was plunged into the mire of opportunism and revisionism, the greater it lacked organizational vigilance and the more extensively legalism developed in the organization. The Party leadership had lost their class prejudice towards the falsehood of bourgeois democracy. All the activities of the Party indicated as if the "peaceful road" was an inevitable certainty. The Party leadership did not arouse the vigilance of the masses of Party members to the danger of attacks by the reactionaries who were constantly on the look for the chance to strike. Due to this legalism in the organizational field, within a short span of time counter-revolution has succeeded in paralyzing the P.K.I, organizationally.

Liberalism in organization had destroyed the principle of internal democracy in the Party, destroyed collective leadership and had given rise to personal leadership and personal rule, to autonomism.

In a situation when liberalism dominated the organizational line of the Party, it was impossible to realize the Party's style of work "to combine theory and practice, to keep close bonds with the masses and to conduct

self-criticism." It was equally impossible to realize the method of leadership whose essence is the unity of the leadership and the masses; to realize it the leadership and the masses; to realize it the leadership must give an example to the rank-and-file.

Thus, in general the wrong political line which ruled in the Party was followed by the wrong line in the organizational field which violated the principles of a Marxist-Leninist Party, destroyed the organizational foundation of the Party, namely, democratic centralism, and trampled on the Party's style of work and method of leadership.

To build the P.K.I. as a Marxist-Leninist Party, we must thoroughly uproot liberalism in the organizational field and its ideological source. The P.K.I. must be rebuilt as a Lenin-type Party, a Party that will be capable of fulfilling its role as the advanced detachment and the highest form of class organization of the Indonesian proletariat, a Party with a historical mission of leading the masses of the Indonesian people to win victory in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-bureaucrat-capitalist revolution, and to advance towards socialism. Such a Party must fulfill the following conditions: Ideologically, it is armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, and free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism; politically, it has a correct program which includes a revolutionary agrarian program, has a thorough understanding of the problems of the strategy and tactics of the Indonesian revolution, masters the main form of struggle; namely the armed struggle of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat, as well as other forms of struggle, is capable of establishing a revolutionary united front of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class; organizationally, it is strong and has a deep root among the masses of the people, consists of the most trustworthy, experienced and the most steeled Party members who are models in the implementation of the national tasks.

Today, we are rebuilding our Party under the reign of unbridled counter-revolutionary white terror which is most cruel and ferocious. The legality of the basic human rights of the Communists have been wantonly violated. The Party has to work under completely illegal conditions and the organizational structure of the Party must, therefore, be adjusted according to the new conditions. While working in complete illegality, the Party must be adept at utilizing to the full all possible opportunities to carry out legal activities according to circumstances, and to choose ways and means that are acceptable to the masses with the aim of mobilizing the masses for struggle and leading this struggle step by step to a higher stage.

In rebuilding the P.K.I. along the Marxist-Leninist line, the greatest attention should be devoted to the building of Party organizations in the rural areas, to the establishment of revolutionary bases.

The task to rebuild a Marxist-Leninist Party as has been stated above requires arduous and protracted work, and is full of danger, and consequently it must be carried out courageously, perseveringly, carefully, patiently and persistently.

The Way Out

The self-criticism says that once we know the weaknesses and mistakes of the Party during the period after 1951 as have been explained above, obviously what we have to do is to realize the most urgent tasks faced by the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists at the present time, the first one being the rebuilding of the P.K.I. as a Marxist-Leninist Party which is free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism.

To rebuild the P.K.I. as such a Marxist-Leninist Party, Party cadres of all levels and then all Party members must reach a unanimity of mind with regard to the mistakes made by the Party in the past, as well as concerning the new road that must be taken.

In order to reach unanimity of mind, a rectification movement must be carried out in the whole Party. Through this rectification movement we will remould the erroneous ideas of the past into correct ideas. In order to advance along the new road, it is absolutely necessary to abandon the wrong road.

Under the present situation, it will not be easy to come to unanimity of mind concerning all past mistakes down to the minutest details. But, what is absolutely necessary is unanimity of mind regarding the fundamental problems raised in this self-criticism.

The opportunist and revisionist mistakes in the political and organizational fields made by our Party which have been subjected to this criticism were not merely the outcome of the social and historical conditions during the last decade, but could be traced farther back in the social and historical conditions since the founding of our Party. We must therefore get rid of the notion that everything will be all right once we have made the present criticism and self-criticism. So long as the ideology of subjectivism is not completely eradicated from the Party, or worse still, if it is still to be found among the Party leadership, then our Party will not be able to avoid other mistakes of Right or "Left" opportunism because, if such is the case, our Party will not be able to analyse the political situation correctly, and consequently will not be able to give the correct leadership. It is above all the task of the leadership and the central cadres, and then of the regional leadership and cadres at all levels to combat subjectivism persistently and wholeheartedly.

Subjectivism can be effectively combated and liquidated when the ability of the whole Party to distinguish proletarian ideology from the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie is raised, and when criticism and self-criticism is encouraged. To raise the ability of the whole Party to distinguish proletarian ideology from the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie will be possible only by intensifying the education of Marxism-Leninism. The Party must educate its members to apply the Marxist-Leninist method in analysing the political situation and in evaluating the forces of the existing classes, so that subjective

analysis and evaluation can be avoided. The Party must draw the attention of the members to the importance of investigation and to the study of social and economic conditions, in order to be able to define the tactics of struggle and the corresponding method of work. The Party must help the members to understand that without an investigation of the actual conditions they will get bogged down in phantasy.

The experience of the struggle waged by the Party in the past has shown how indispensable it is for the Indonesian Marxist-Leninist, who are resolved to defend Marxism-Leninism and to combat modern revisionism, to study not only the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, but also to devote special attention to studying the Thought of Mao Tse-tung who has succeeded in inheriting, defending and developing Marxism-Leninism to its peak in the present era.

The P.K.I. will be able to hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, only when it takes a resolute stand in the struggle against modern revisionism which today is centered around the leading group of the C.P.S.U. The fight against modern revisionism cannot be consistently carried out while, at the same time, preserving the friendship with modern revisionists. The P.K.I. must abandon the wrong attitude it held in the past with regard to the question of the relations with the modern revisionists. Loyalty to proletarian internationalism can only be manifested by a merciless stand in the struggle against modern revisionism, because modern revisionism has destroyed proletarian internationalism, and betrayed the struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed people all over the world.

In rebuilding the Party, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must devote their attention to the creation of the conditions to lead the armed agrarian revolution of the peasants that will become the main form of struggle to win victory for the people's democratic revolution in Indonesia. This means that the greatest attention should be paid to the rebuilding of Party organizations in the rural areas. The greatest attention must be paid to the solution of the problem of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the peasants in an anti-feudal agrarian revolution. The integration of the Party with the peasants, in particular with farm laborers and poor peasants, must be conscientiously carried out. Because, only through such an integration, will the Party be able to lead the peasantry, and the peasantry, for their part, will be capable of becoming the invincible bulwark of the people's democratic revolution.

As a result of the attacks of the third white terror, Party organizations in the rural areas in general have suffered greater damage. This fact has rendered it more difficult and arduous to work in the countryside. But this does not in any way change the inexorable law that the main force of the people's democratic revolution in Indonesia is the peasantry, and its base area is the countryside. With the most resolute determination that everything is for the masses of the people, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists will certainly be able to overcome the gravest difficulties. By having the

most wholehearted faith in the masses and by relying on the masses, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists will certainly be able to transform the backward Indonesian villages into great and consolidated military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution.

The Indonesian peasants are the most interested in the people's democratic revolution. Because, only this revolution will liberate them from the life of backwardness and inequality as a result of feudal suppression. It is only this revolution that will give them what they have dreamt all their lives and which will give them life: land. That is why the peasants will surely take this road of revolution for land and liberation, no matter how arduous and full of twists and turns this road will be.

Obviously, the second task of the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists at present is the creation of the necessary conditions for the armed agrarian revolution of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat. Provided that the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists succeed in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the peasants to carry through an anti-feudal agrarian revolution, the leadership of the working class in the people's democratic revolution, and the victory of this revolution, are assured.

However, the Party must continue the efforts to establish a revolutionary united front with other anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes and groups. Based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat, the Party must work to win over the urban petty bourgeoisie and other democratic forces, and must also work to win over the national bourgeoisie as an additional ally in the people's democratic revolution. The present objective conditions offer the possibility for the establishment of a broad revolutionary united front.

The military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals led by Nasution-Suharto is the manifestation of the rule by the most reactionary classes in the country, namely, the comprador-bourgeoisie, the bureaucrat-capitalists and the landlords. The internal reactionary classes under the leadership of the clique of Right-wing army generals exercise the dictatorship over the Indonesian people, and act as the watch-dogs guarding the interests of imperialism, in particular United States imperialism, in Indonesia. Consequently, the coming into power of the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals will certainly serve to intensify the suppression and exploitation of the Indonesian people by imperialism and feudalism.

The military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals represents the interests of only a very small minority who suppresses the overwhelming majority of the Indonesian people. That is why the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals will certainly meet with resistance from the broad masses of the people.

Thus, the third urgent task faced by the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists is to establish the revolutionary united front with all anti-imperialist and

anti-feudal classes and groups based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class.

Thus, it has become clear that to win victory for the people's democratic revolution, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must hold aloft the Three Banners of the Party, namely:

The first banner, the building of a Marxist-Leninist Party which is free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism.

The second banner, the armed people's struggle which in essence is the armed struggle of the peasants in an anti-feudal agrarian revolution under the leadership of the working class.

The third banner, the revolutionary united front based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class.

The tasks faced by the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists are very arduous. They have to work under the most savage and barbarous terror and persecution which have no parallel in history. However, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists do not have the slightest doubt that, by correcting the mistakes made by the Party in the past, they are now marching along the correct road, the road of people's democratic revolution. No matter how protracted, tortuous and full of difficulties, this is the only road leading to a free and democratic New Indonesia, an Indonesia that will really belong to the Indonesian people. For this noble cause, we must have the courage to traverse the long road.

The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries on the basis of their own experience in struggle, do not have the slightest doubt about the correctness of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis that "the imperialists and all reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance they are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful." The military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals which is now in power is also a paper tiger. In appearance they are powerful and terrifying. But in reality they are not so powerful, because they are not supported but on the contrary are opposed by the people, because their ranks are beset by contradictions, and because they are quarrelling among themselves for a bigger share of their plunder and for greater power. The imperialists, in particular the United States imperialists who are the mainstay of the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, are also paper tigers. In appearance they are powerful and terrifying, but in reality they are weak and nearing their complete downfall. The weakness of imperialism, in particular the United States imperialism, is vividly demonstrated by their inability to conquer the heroic Vietnamese people and to check the tide of the anti-imperialist struggle waged by the people all over the world, including the American people themselves, who are furiously dealing blows at the fortresses of imperialism.

From a strategic point of view, the imperialists and all reactionaries are weak, and consequently we must despise them. By despising the enemies strategically we can build up the courage to fight them and the confidence to defeat them. At the same time we must take them all seriously, take into full account of their strength tactically, and refrain from taking adventurist steps against them.

Today, we are in an era when imperialism is undergoing its total collapse, and socialism is marching forward triumphantly all over the world. No force on earth can prevent the total downfall of imperialism and all other reactionaries, and no force can block the victory of Socialism throughout the world. The military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, as the watch-dog guarding the interests of imperialism in Indonesia is also unable to avert its destruction. The vicious and savage massacre and torture against the hundreds of thousands of Communists and democrats which they are still continuing today, will not be able to prevent the people and the Communists from rising up in resistance. On the contrary, all the brutalities and cruelties will only serve to intensify the tit-for-tat resistance struggle of the people. The Communists will avenge the death of their hundreds of thousands of comrades with the resolve to serve still better the people, the revolution and the Party.

The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists will spare neither efforts nor energy to fulfill the best wishes of the world Marxist-Leninists by resolutely defending Marxism-Leninism and struggling against modern revisionism, by working still better for the liberation of their people and country, and for the world proletarian revolution.

The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists who are united in mind and determined to take the road of revolution, by putting their wholehearted faith in the people, by relying on the people, by working courageously, perseveringly, conscientiously, patiently, persistently and vigilantly, will surely be able to accomplish their historical mission, to lead the people's democratic revolution, to smash the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals and to set up a completely new power, the people's democratic dictatorship. With the people's democratic dictatorship, the joint power of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes and groups under the leadership of the working class, the Indonesian people will completely liquidate imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism, build a free and democratic new society, and advance towards Socialism where the suppression and exploitation of man by man no longer exists.

Let us unite closely to take the road of revolution which is illuminated by the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, the road leading to the liberation of the Indonesian people and proletariat, the road leading to Socialism.

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IT IS NECESSARY TO TOPPLE SELF-INTEREST
IN ORDER TO REALIZE THE GREAT ALLIANCE OF REVOLUTIONARIES

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 36-39. The article was originally printed in the Hai-chiang Chan-pao (Seaport Battle News), Shanghai, with revisions made by Hung-ch'i.]

Hung-ch'i Editor's Note:

The great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries is a most important condition for carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. In the process of realizing the great alliance of revolutionaries, the inside of the proletarian revolutionary organization is penetrated with the struggle between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook, that is, the struggle between public interest and self-interest. The article "It is Necessary to Topple Self-interest in Order to Realize the Great Alliance of Revolutionaries" reproduced by this magazine has vividly demonstrated this.

The experience of the proletarian revolutionaries of the 6th loading and unloading district of the Shanghai Port Bureau tells us that self-interest is the great ideological enemy to the great alliance of revolutionaries. Only by eradicating and toppling self-interest to make room for public interest can we put the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung in command and realize and consolidate the great alliance of revolutionaries.

We recommend this article in the hope that all revolutionary organizations will sum up their own experiences in a good way and drive forward the great alliance of revolutionaries.

In November last year, the proletarian revolutionaries of the 6th loading and unloading district of the Shanghai Port Bureau broke through numerous barriers of resistance and "fought" their way out. Following this, eight revolutionary mass organizations, including the Rebel Battalion of the 6th District of the Port, the "East Is Red" Rebel Detachment, the Rebel Corps, the Red Flag Corps, and the Column of the 6th District of the Port of the Red Riot Corps, were set up one after another.

These revolutionary mass organizations, in their fight to smash the new counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line, in their launching a counterattack against the converging attack of the conservative organizations manipulated by a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Municipal Committee, and in their struggle to curb the evil wind of counterrevolutionary economism, lived or died together, shared adversities, and united and fought together, thus forming a revolutionary on-flow.

The alliance of these revolutionary mass organizations began in January this year. Up to the formation of the united revolutionary organization -- the Revolutionary Rebel Committee of the 6th District of the Port of Shanghai -- this time, they had gained and learned profound experiences and lessons from the great alliance which they had formed on three different occasions.

The First Great Alliance

When the great storm of the "January Revolution" swept through the whole seaport, the proletarian revolutionaries of the 6th district also seized over Party, political, financial and cultural powers in the whole district and courageously shouldered the two heavy loads of revolution and production. Eight revolutionary mass organizations formed the first alliance and set up the revolutionary production group.

With power seized, the standing of the proletarian revolutionaries also changed. Under the new situation, some persons relaxed their self-reforming and did not act according to Comrade Lin Piao's instructions.

Comrade Lin Piao pointed out: "We must regard ourselves as part and parcel of the revolutionary force and must at the same time continuously regard ourselves as the target of revolution. Revolution also calls for the revolutionization of self. Without the revolutionization of self, a success cannot be made of such revolution."

But some comrades among the revolutionaries put self-interest above everything else. Proceeding from the interests of the small group, they laid hold of some side issues of each other, got entangled in them, and conducted endless debated. Seeing that this was an opportunity they could take advantage of, some persons with an ulterior object in view fanned the evil wind

for the revolutionary committee of the 6th district. Later, this was expanded to become the preparatory committee for the revolutionary committee, and in this way there was for the first time a command post for grasping revolution and stimulating production.

Following the formation of the preparatory committee, the various revolutionary mass organizations of the 6th district were organizationally united. However, because they had not satisfactorily carried out the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings, delved deep into the soul and eradicated self-interest to make way for public interest, but had placed fear above everything else -- they feared that the conservative force might avail of the opportunity to launch a counter-attack, that other people might lay hold of their shortcomings and make endless use of same to topple them, that there might be an internal split and that "civil war" might break out once again -- instead of carrying out open-door rectification, the campaign was carried out behind a closed door or with the door ajar. In the course of rectification, they directed more criticisms against other people and sometimes what they said stung, but they set no strict demands for themselves. As a result, only the relationships between the various organizations were straightened and problems were laid on the table. The "civil war" was waged not with wall posters but across the table. The contradictions and differences between and within organizations had not been solved ideologically in the real sense.

At that time, some conservative organizations spread rumors and slanders saying that "the general orientation of the rebels of the 6th district in their seizure of power is wrong." They even openly clamored in front of the door of the Rebel Battalion that "only the Left is permitted to rebel, but the Right is not allowed to upset the world," thus directing the spearhead at the proletarian revolutionaries. Following this, the "provisional Party committee" singlehandedly concocted by the work group carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line restored activities along the old lines and openly sang a tune that ran counter to the preparatory committee, thus bringing another setback to the great proletarian cultural revolution of the 6th district. After the responsible comrades of the Municipal Revolutionary Committee came to the district to participate in labor and carry out investigation and study, the "provisional Party committee" was ordered to suspend all activities.

This setback has taught us a profound lesson: Self-interest in the minds of the proletarian revolutionaries is the obstacle to the realization of the great alliance. In order to realize and consolidate the great alliance of revolutionaries and the "threeway alliance," to seize and exercise power well and to make good use of power, the proletarian revolutionaries must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, delve deep into their own souls, and eradicate self-interest in order to establish public interest in a big way. Otherwise, setbacks will appear in the movement.

and kindled the ghostly fire. They enlarged the contradiction in order to create a split.

The unprincipled "civil war" among the various revolutionary mass organizations started in this way. Especially prominent were two organizations which had "fought" their way out at an earlier date -- the Rebel Battalion of the "Worker's General Headquarters" and the "East Is Red" Rebel Detachment of the "Workers General Headquarters." They were unable to see eye to eye with each other, and each claimed that the general orientation of the other side was wrong. Wall posters were pasted all over the district to carry out the "civil war."

In this way, with self-interest playing havoc in the minds of the proletarian revolutionaries who had just come into power, coupled with the sabotage of some persons with an ulterior object in view, there started a "civil war" which upset the class front and shifted the general orientation of the struggle. The alliance lasted about one month and the revolutionary production group died a premature death.

The Second Great Alliance

The "civil war" which lasted several weeks brought unworthy losses to the revolution, and everybody was exhausted. They felt that if the "civil war" were not called off, they would disappoint Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee and the revolutionary masses.

At that crucial juncture, the "CCP Central Committee's letter to revolutionary workers and cadres of industrial and mining enterprises all over the country" was published. The Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee made decisions in regard to the current situation and task of the great cultural revolution in Shanghai and opportunely sent them Chairman Mao's latest directive. They further studied Chairman Mao's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," "Rectify the Party's Style of Work," "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" and other illustrious works in the light of their way of thinking. As a result, both sides saw light and were able to sit down and calmly think over problems.

The eight mass organizations of the 6th district are all revolutionary organizations and class brothers. In the past the general orientation of the struggle was at all times consistent, and they united, fought and won together. Why was it that after seizing power each of them would sit on top of its own mound and could not form an alliance? After study, they preliminarily understood that self-interest was the mischief-maker in their minds, and unless self-interest was overthrown and a great alliance was formed by the proletarian revolutionaries, they would make big mistakes.

Consequently, an agreement was reached on 21 March, and the representatives of the proletarian revolutionaries, the revolutionary leading cadres and the armed force and public security personnel formed a preparatory group

The Third Great Alliance

They have learned many lessons and gained much experience from the failure of their alliance on two occasions. They have come to understand that it is necessary to topple self-interest and build the great alliance on the foundation of Mao Tse-tung's thought in order to consolidate the great alliance of the revolutionaries. An alliance in form but not in thought is most undependable and has no foundation. Because of this, the masses are of the opinion that such alliance is "parliamentary alliance" and that the preparatory committee is a "quarrelsome club." Now profound and pungent their criticism is:

When the movement ground to a halt at the 6th district, our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao sent out the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The PLA followed Chairman Mao's teaching that "all conclusions come after and not before an investigation of the situation," and it conducted penetrating and painstaking investigation and study. Its men moved in and out of production sites all day long, and where there were difficulties, there were PLA men. Late at night they chatted with workers on the night shifts, and under the burning sun, they went aboard ships to load and unload cargoes and were as lively as dragons and tigers. Whenever the masses talked about the PLA, everyone raised his thumb and said: "It really has set a good example for us!"

What was more important was that the PLA brought with it the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Helped by the PLA comrades, the workers of the whole district used the "five big ways" to launch the movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings. The "five big ways" are to study Chairman Mao's writings in a big way, to explain Chairman Mao's writings in a big way, to recite Chairman Mao's writings in a big way, to sing songs based on quotations from Chairman Mao in a big way, and to apply the thought of Mao Tse-tung in a big way. Many comrades "recited the three old articles," read quotations while they worked, and checked their work against such quotations after work.

On the basis of studying Chairman Mao's writings in a big way, the 6th district whipped up a surging tide of criticism and repudiation, and all revolutionary workers vehemently criticized the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party and his "Self-Cultivation."

Simultaneously with making criticism and repudiation in a big way, they also organized cadres at the intermediate level to carry out study. Because the large-scale criticism and repudiation had uncovered the class struggle, many cadres who had been deceived woke up and examined their own mistakes. They disclosed their minds saying: "Prior to this, our attitude had been unsatisfactory principally because we feared that we would be purged, toppled and relieved of our office." The majority of the cadres sensed their own mistakes and they returned to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

After one month of study, the issue returned to the question of great alliance. How should the great alliance be formed? The masses had this to say to those responsible for the revolutionary organizations: "We must form a great alliance, and the sooner the alliance is formed the better it will be. The key is now in the hands of you leaders." Some comrades said: "Regardless of whether or not you want to form an alliance at the higher level, we of various departments must form an alliance at the lower level." An old worker said meaningfully: "I am a communist and I had suffered enough in the old society. Now a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party want us to retrace our steps. We firmly reject this idea, and we must form an alliance in struggle against them. Why don't we unite? What are the things which we cannot discard?" This old worker has said the right thing. In order to insure that our country will not change political color and for the sake of the world revolution, have we anything which we cannot discard? What reason have we in not forming a great alliance?

Chairman Mao taught us: "Numerous revolutionary martyrs have sacrificed their lives for the interests of the people, and all of us who are still living feel very sad whenever we think of them. Can it be said that there are still personal interests which we cannot sacrifice and mistakes which we cannot forsake?" Since the situation of the revolution and the revolutionary cause of the proletariat needed us to form a great alliance, the masses held great expectations for the great alliance and the PLA comrades had made every effort to help us form the great alliance, the situation for the great alliance of the revolutionaries in the 6th district of the Shanghai Port Bureau was very good indeed!

On 2 June the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee adopted the resolution, "Fight for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat." The proletarian revolutionaries of the 6th district organized the study of this resolution. On 14 June, a PLA comrade delivered three guiding reports on studying the "three old articles" to those responsible for the various revolutionary mass organizations. He thoroughly explained the great significance of the study of the "three old articles," and the things he covered ranged from "entirely," "thoroughly" serving the people to the correct attitude adopted toward making criticism and self-criticism and accepting criticism, from why it was necessary to eradicate self-interest and establish public interest to how to eradicate self-interest and establish public interest. The audience was greatly moved by his reports and their way of thinking quickly changed. Some comrades said: "Why is it that while we were not afraid even of death when we 'fought' our way out from White Terror, we cannot now free ourselves from the entanglement of self-interest?"

The study of the "three old articles" opened the door to the great alliance and touched everybody to the soul. Everybody said that no matter how great the contradiction of the mass organizations was, it was no greater than the contradiction with a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. They unanimously were of the opinion that the great alliance brooked no further delay and that a united revolutionary organization should be set up at once.

After the meeting, the various organizations all held meetings. Those of the Rebel Battalion discussed the matter all night. They made self-criticism with reference to Chairman Mao's writings and examined their own shortcomings and mistakes. They resolutely guaranteed that they truly wanted to realize the great alliance of revolutionaries.

Following this, the various revolutionary mass organizations also carried out a rectification campaign. They also had launched rectification campaigns in the past, but such campaigns were directed against other people. This time, the campaign was directed, not against other people, but at self-interest in their own minds, and they were required to make vehement self-criticism. In the past, they shook their heads whenever they heard other people state their views, but now they were afraid that other people would not state their views. In the past, they would argue heatedly whenever pungent views were advanced, but now they only feared that the views advanced by other people would scratch the surface and fail to touch them to the soul. In the past they felt tense whenever self-criticism was mentioned, but now they felt relaxed because they had brought their minds to light. At meetings people bared their minds without any sense of shame and cut off their appendixes without complaining of pain.

Those of the "East Is Red" Detachment bared their minds and said: "We were unable to see eye to eye with the Rebel Battalion and always thought that our level was higher. We held fast to their mistakes and put them on the agenda again and again. Although it was clear to us that they were wrong in some questions, we did not tell them but went the other way to bombard them. We thought that it was their business to make mistakes, and so long as we did the right thing, we would be better known. As we made our self-examination now, we know this is wrong."

The comrades of the Rebel Battalion said: "We were not humble enough, and because of our 'mountaintopism' we looked down upon our fraternal organizations. After crushing the 6th Corps, although we also made a self-examination, yet that self-examination was a superficial one. In our letter of apology we only said that theirs was a mass organization but refused to describe it as revolutionary so that we might crush it again in the future. Now as we think of this we really feel ashamed."

They all said: We are all victims of the bourgeois reactionary line. Under the reign of White Terror, we lived and died together, shared adversities, and "fought" our way out together. We clung close to each other when we fought against the conservative organization. Why can't we form an alliance now?

They were unanimously of the opinion that when dealing with fraternal organizations, they must proceed from the revolutionary interests of the proletariat, but should never take the interests of a small group as the point of departure. The differences between the various revolutionary organizations were contradictions among the people which must be settled with the method

of unity -- criticism -- unity as taught by Chairman Mao, and no antagonistic attitude should be adopted. They discussed their experiences, disclosed their minds and felt that there were no contradictions which could not be settled.

Apart from holding meetings to carry out the rectification campaign, they also adopted the method of carrying the rectification campaign to the door. They felt that because of the "civil war" which had been going on for a period of time, many estrangements had developed among them; and that in order to make a success of the great alliance, such estrangements must be thoroughly eliminated and all organizations and individuals must bare their minds to each other and sincerely carried out self-examination. Therefore, the Rebel Battalion went to the "East Is Red" Detachment to deliver its self-examination to the door. The "East Is Red" Rebel Detachment wrote on a big blackboard: "We welcome the criticism of veteran comrades-in-arms." One went to the other to make self-criticism, while the other called for the criticism of other people. They rushed forward to tell their own shortcomings, and the more they discussed things, the more harmonious things became.

Through creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings and carrying out the open-door rectification campaign, the consciousness of the proletarian revolutionaries was greatly raised. As a result, the workers' revolutionary rebel committee of the 6th district of the Shanghai Port Bureau was born.

The birth of this united organization is a victory for the overthrow of self-interest, and is in the final analysis a great victory for the thought of Mao Tse-tung. We owe all this to the great leader Chairman Mao and the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

CSO: 3530-D

RELY ON THE MASSES AND REALIZE A GREAT REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE

[Following is a translation of an article by Mao Tse-tung's Thought Propaganda Team of a certain air force unit of Peking armed forces, PLA, in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 40-42.]

The Dyeing and Weaving Mill No. 3 of Tientsin city, controlled by a handful of power holders taking the capitalist road within the Hopei Provincial Party Committee and Tientsin Municipal Party Committee, had long followed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line. In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, those leaders following the bourgeois reactionary line in the mill, in order to shift the target and protect themselves, branded the revolutionary masses as "counter-revolutionary," inciting the masses to struggle against each other and thus causing grave antagonisms between the mass organizations.

Inspired by the "January revolution" storm in Shanghai, the rebel brigade, a revolutionary organization in the mill, seized power on 29 January. However, as the bourgeois reactionary line had not been completely criticized and liquidated, the Rebel Brigade, following its seizure of power, was supported by only one out of the other eight mass organizations. Other mass organizations were keen on fighting a "civil war." This had impeded the grasping of revolution, promotion of production, and the realization of the revolutionary great alliance.

A broad revolutionary great alliance with the Left as the core must be realized. But who are the Leftists? After our Mao Tse-tung's Thought Propaganda Team had entered the mill on 12 March, the leading members of various mass organizations and the broad masses of workers one after another reported the condition to us and urgently asked us to express our attitude. They also pointed out which organization was a Leftist and which was a conservative organization.

To judge who are the revolutionary Leftists is a problem that must be first solved in the work of supporting the Left. Some think that since

Chairman Mao has dispatched the Liberation Army to support the broad masses of the Leftists the Liberation Army is "of course the judge." Such an understanding on the part of the masses stems from their genuine trust of the Liberation Army. We are the servants of the people, their pupils. If we regard ourselves as the "superior of the masses" and the "judges," that would be a grave mistake.

The question of how to correctly handle the masses is one of stand and of world outlook. Chairman Mao teaches us: "The masses are the true heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ridiculous." Only by firmly trusting the masses and relying on them can we correctly execute Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The worker masses are the main force of the great proletarian cultural revolution. They are all clear about what the various mass organizations have done. Having mastered the thought of Mao Tse-tung, they are able to define various organizations. That is why, when we entered the mill, we did not feel anxious to express our attitudes. Instead, through various ways we studied Chairman Mao's works with the broad masses and the Party's principles and policies for the great proletarian cultural revolution. We mobilized the masses freely and launched discussions on the general orientation of the movement and the two lines.

The process of study and discussion is also a process of investigation and study. In the course of investigation, we did not confine ourselves to some isolated facts and superficial phenomena. Instead, starting with political thinking, we investigated and studied the organizational state of various organizations, their histories of struggle, and their attitudes in major events. To grasp political thinking, it is essential to grasp tightly the class struggle and the struggle between two lines as the key and define clearly who really stand on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. It is necessary to directly grasp the essence of the problem, avoid being entangled by side issues, and see clearly who grasps the general orientation of struggle. Above all, it is necessary to establish ideological ties with the masses, to carry out political and ideological education in an appropriate manner, listen to all kinds of opinions, and conduct investigations, discussions, and studies and improve ourselves simultaneously.

The process of study is also a process of mobilizing the mass organizations and cadres to carry out rectification campaigns. In the course of discussions, some organizations think that since their general orientation is correct, it does not matter much to have some shortcomings. Some organizations think that since they themselves have behaved properly, the question of whether their general orientation is correct or not does not arise. Some cadres do not understand, and complain against, the mass movement. With deep class sentiments and in view of these living ideas, we help them study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively, while guiding them to conduct open-door rectification campaigns so as to correctly recognize themselves as well as others.

Through study, discussions and open-door rectification campaigns, the broad masses of workers have elevated their understanding. The revolutionary organizations have not only affirmed their own general orientation, but they have criticized their own shortcomings and mistakes. People with conservative thinking felt the more the wrongness of their general orientation the more they studied. Some cadres also came to understand the wrongness of passive conservatism and that they should come forward to join the masses in making revolution. More and more people have understood gradually that the Rebel Brigade is a revolutionary Leftist organization.

On 17 April, the mill convened a mass meeting to indict the bourgeois reactionary line. At it, the Rebel Brigade criticized the bourgeois reactionary line and at the same time made a summary report on the conditions of its rectification campaign and the shortcomings and mistakes which it found in work. Responsible members of organizations with conservative tendencies also indicted the poisons of the bourgeois reactionary line and recognized that they had joined the wrong side in the great cultural revolution. They expressed their determination to return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and resolutely supported all revolutionary actions of the Rebel Brigade. Some cadres also denounced "On Self-Cultivation" for poisoning their minds, indicating that they would, along with the revolutionary masses, follow Chairman Mao in making revolution. At this mass meeting we publicly indicated to the revolutionary workers of the whole mill that we were firmly behind the Rebel Brigade.

Chairman Mao has exhorted in these words: The proletariat must not only liberate itself, but it must also liberate the whole mankind. Without liberating the whole mankind, the proletariat cannot ultimately liberate itself. As dictated by Chairman Mao's teachings, we helped the Rebel Brigade to further readjust its views on the mass organizations which had made conservative mistakes and the hoodwinked masses, take the initiative to carry out political and ideological work, and realize a revolutionary great alliance.

Some members of the Rebel Brigade, as a result of their persecution by the bourgeois reactionary line and as a result of the fact that the change in their position has caused pride and complacency in them, entertained some incorrect notions about the revolutionary great alliance. They believed that those people with the conservative thinking "cannot be changed," that they lied when they admitted their mistakes and that they must not "sit with them on the same bench." In view of these living ideas, we asked the comrades of the Rebel Brigade to join us in studying seriously Chairman Mao's "On the Correctly Handling of Contradictions," "three constantly read articles," "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," and other splendid works. We thus helped them to take Chairman Mao's works as a weapon to eliminate self-interest and foster devotion to public interest and overcome the selfish and impure ideas in their minds. They examined such mistaken ideas as the "seeking the limelight" mentality, the "small group" mentality, individualism, and conceit and complacency. They realized that the contradiction between the

broad masses and the handful of the Party power holders taking the capitalist road is the principal contradiction and that the masses who joined conservative organizations were likewise the victims of the bourgeois reactionary line. The contradiction between the revolutionaries and the hoodwinked masses is a contradiction among the people. We should therefore warmly help them, unite with them, and should not discriminate against and exclude them. Every small bit of progress which the hoodwinked masses make must be welcomed with enthusiasm. As regards a small number of people who are temporarily unable to return from the evil road, we should also patiently wait for them and help them change.

So, many members of the Rebel Brigade took the initiative to call on their fraternal brothers for heart-to-heart talks, examine their own shortcomings and mistakes, humbly solicit the opinions of the other side, and welcome the other side in making revolution. These actions have moved a large section of the cheated masses. They poured out their hearts, saying: "We originally thought that the Liberation Army, after expressing its attitude, would wag its tail and look down upon us. We did not expect that you became even more modest than before."

At the same time, together with the broad masses of workers, the Rebel Brigade launched a big campaign to criticize and condemn the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, refuting the "exploitation is a merit" theory and crushing the spiritual shackles of the "docile tool." On the basis of joint struggle against the enemy, they further eliminated the ideological antagonisms and barriers and enhanced their mutual class friendship.

"Policy and tactics are the lifeline of the Party." In order to strive in a better way to unite with the majority of the masses and cadres, in line with Chairman Mao's teachings we along with the Rebel Brigade conducted concrete analyses of the mass organizations with conservative propensities. We held that conservative organizations must be concretely analysed and dealt with discriminately. Without discrimination there would be no policy. It is wrong to deal with all on the same basis. Here, we must not only separate the masses of the conservative organizations from those who direct these organizations behind the scenes, but must also deal with different mass organizations with conservative tendencies discriminately. After study, the Rebel Brigade divided the seven mass organizations with conservative tendencies into three categories and adopted different methods to deal with them. In two of these organizations, after positive education, their responsible members and the masses both recognized that their organizations had made the mistake of orientation and one after another announced their withdrawal from them. The result was the dissolution of these organizations by themselves. In another two of the organizations, the intermediary level cadres as the mainstay, who were taken as the mainstay, after knowing their mistakes, felt that they should go into the midst of the masses to eliminate the antagonisms between the cadres and the masses. They too automatically dissolved their organizations. As for yet another three organizations, they were detached from the original conservative organizations; they neither were satisfied with the

original conservative organizations nor agreed with certain views of the Rebel Brigade. Together with these organizations the Rebel Brigade undertook a creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, helped readjust their orientation and correct their mistakes. They then united together on the basis of uniformity of orientation.

As we and the Rebel Brigade pursue a policy of dealing discriminately with the organizations with conservative tendencies, the mill has set up a united revolutionary command headquarters with the Rebel Brigade as the nucleus and five revolutionary mass organizations participating. Thus, a great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries was brought about in the whole mill.

Now, the Dyeing and Weaving Mill No. 3 is confronted with a favorable situation. The movement is presently developing in breadth and depth. The broad revolutionary masses, with concerted efforts, combine the large-scale criticism against the handful of the top Party people in authority taking the capitalist road with the struggle, criticism and reform in their own units. The poisons of the bourgeois reactionary line is being eliminated, and a revolutionary, representative "three-way combination" organ of power vested with proletarian authority is about to be established. The broad masses of workers are actively responding to Chairman Mao's great call for "grasping revolution and promoting production." The workers' production enthusiasm has soared as never before. The labor discipline has been further strengthened. The organizational structure has been readjusted and the proletarian authority of the new production leadership group has been further consolidated. Taking part in labor, the cadres have demonstrated a higher enthusiasm for work. The production efficiency has been markedly improved as compared with the preceding period and production is steadily increasing.

Through this period of work, we have profoundly realized that to make a success of the work of supporting the Left, we must give prominence to the thought of Mao Tse-tung, arm our minds with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, mobilize the broad masses to join us in identifying the supporting the Leftists before we shall be able to correctly recognize and resolutely implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. On the surface, doing this may prolong the process of identifying the Leftists, but actually, it speeds up the work of supporting the Leftists and make it more realistic. This will also be favorable to winning over and uniting with the majority of the masses and cadres, to a more rapid realization of the revolutionary great alliance, and to the promotion of the revolutionary "three-way combination."

Definite achievements have been made in our work of supporting the Left. But our understanding in this regard is still crude, and our experience is still far from profound. In the future, we must make a more creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, take the class struggle as the classroom, and the worker masses as the teachers, transform the subjective world while transforming the objective world and do a better job of the task of supporting the Leftists.

CSO: 3530-D

REALIZE THE GREAT ALLIANCE OF REVOLUTIONARIES,
RETURN TO SCHOOL TO MAKE REVOLUTION

[Following is a translation of an article by a certain unit of the Navy of the Chinese People's Liberation Army attached to the Military Training Group of the 89th Middle School in Peking in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 43-46.]

In response to Chairman Mao's call, a certain unit of our Navy came to the 89th Middle School of Peking Municipality to help give military training in March this year. It also participated in work bearing on reopening the school, overhauling the organization, setting up a leadership organ based upon threeway alliance, and carrying out struggle, criticism and reform. After we came to the school, we first investigated and studied things, and made penetrating and painstaking effort to find out the situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution in this school. We carried out a lot of politico-ideological work and helped them realize the great alliance of revolutionaries and the "threeway alliance", and return to school to make revolution.

Draw Clearly a Dividing Line Between the Enemies and Ourselves,
Grasp the General Orientation of the Struggle

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, because the former Party branch and work group of this school carried out the bourgeois reactionary line, confused the class front, encircled and suppressed the revolutionaries, and incited the masses to fight against the masses, there were serious estrangement and antagonism between the teachers and students, and between different sectors of teachers and students.

Before we came to the school, the revolutionary teachers and students also had criticized and repudiated the bourgeois reactionary line. However, because the general orientation of the struggle had not been grasped, some teachers and students who had been persecuted had this to say: "Those who have carried out the bourgeois reactionary line should be criticized and

repudiated." "Where there is pus, that place must be punctured." Those teachers and students who had carried out the bourgeois reactionary line were ill affected, and some of them said: "Granted that we did make mistakes, we are still better than they are." Because of this, the antagonism between them grew more serious. The "civil war" went on day after day, but the enemies were left aside.

In view of this state of affairs, we organized them to study Chairman Mao's "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society," "Our Study and the Current Situation" and other articles. Chairman Mao taught us: Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution, and is also a question of the first importance for the great cultural revolution. We must strictly distinguish and correctly handle the two kinds of contradiction of different character, unite our friends and attack the real enemies.

On the basis of general study and discussion, we separately went deep into classes to hold conversation with the broad masses of teachers and students. According to those we talked with and their state of thought, we carried out painstaking persuasion and education to enable those teachers and students who had been persecuted to cherish a genuine desire for unity and those who had carried out the bourgeois reactionary line to show real sincerity in making self-examination.

In order to raise further the class consciousness of the teachers and students, deepen their understanding of the bourgeois reactionary line and clarify the general orientation of the struggle, we organized the teachers, students and their guardians to expose, criticize and repudiate the crimes of the old society and the bourgeois reactionary line. As they recalled the miserable past and made accusations, they presented facts, listed the crimes, discussed the dangers, unearthed the root causes, sharpened their eyes, and gained a clear picture of the substance of the bourgeois reactionary line. The bourgeois reactionary line sought precisely to subvert our proletarian dictatorship, enforce capitalist restoration and make us retrace our steps to our past miserable life once again. Everybody linked the bourgeois reactionary line with the miserable life of the old society, the old animosities with the new ones, and concentrated all animosities on a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party.

Through a series of work, the broad masses of the revolutionary teachers and students learned to distinguish the enemies from ourselves ideologically. They knew that the contradictions between the persecuted masses and the deluded were those among the people, and that they should be correctly settled with the method of "unity -- criticism -- unity" as taught by Chairman Mao. It was wrong to leave the enemies aside and wage the "civil war." With the general orientation of the struggle clarified, the "civil war" ground to a halt.

There was a teacher who had been branded as a "monster" at the early stage of the movement because he wrote a wall poster against the former Party branch. In the past he bore grudges against those deluded teachers and students who had encircled and attacked him. After he received a course of class education, he said with excitement at an accusation meeting: "Those teachers and students who have encircled and attacked me are also victims of the bourgeois reactionary line. We should join hands to attack our common enemy."

A teacher who had participated in the encirclement and attack of the revolutionary masses said remorsefully: "When I examined my own mistakes in the past, although I set higher and higher principles and made bigger and bigger accusations on each occasion, yet I failed to straighten my thought. Now that I have straightened my thought, I cannot sit tight without making self-examination."

Many deluded students also said: "The bourgeois reactionary line has done us much harm by disuniting us and making us fight the 'civil war.' We hate it and the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party to the bone." They fought back in a big way, made a clean break with the bourgeois reactionary line, and returned to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. With the goal coinciding and with the estrangement eliminated, the political foundation for realizing the great alliance of revolutionaries was laid.

Eradicate Self-interest To Make Way for Public Interest,
Realize the Great Alliance of Revolutionaries

Chairman Mao taught us: "We must be good at guiding the petty-bourgeois ideas among our ranks to the orbit of proletarian revolution. This is a question holding the key to the great proletarian cultural revolution."

Before we came to the school, several attempts to form a great alliance had been made in that school, but every time the attempt failed basically because self-interest was making trouble. Therefore, it is necessary to get rid of self-interest to make way for public interest in our minds, eradicate bourgeois ideas and promote proletarian ones in a big way before we can tightly grasp the general orientation of the struggle, realize the great alliance of revolutionaries, and promote on a large scale the criticism and repudiation of the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, and struggle, criticism and reform in one's unit.

Bold steps must first be taken to expose thought in order to get rid of self-interest and promote public interest. At first, quite a number of persons among the masses harbored three kinds of fear for exposing thought: first, they feared disgrace and pain; second, they feared that others would find fault with them; third, they feared sarcastic ridicule. With these fears, everybody hid up his ideological problems. Without exposing self-interest how could it be eradicated?

One of our comrades who was an activist in the study of Chairman Mao's writings gave others a concrete account of his various ideological activities after coming to the school, and told them how he ceaselessly eradicated self-interest and promoted public interest through creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings. Other PLA comrades also told their personal experience in promoting ideological revolutionization through eradicating self-interest to make way for public interest.

Our making a clean breast of ourselves in this way created a great shock among the teachers and students. They said: "The PLA men refuse to overlook any budding self-interest, and they insist on bringing it to light and openly fighting it in front of the masses. We also must follow the example of the PLA."

With their misgivings removed, the masses came forward one after another to bare their minds. One comrade said: "I want to be a leader and it is my fear that should the great alliance swallow up my fighting detachment, I would cease to be its leader." Another said: "I love to lead a free life and am afraid that the great alliance would restrict my freedom." Yet another said: "I am fond of finding fault with other people and I am antagonistic to those who oppose me." A teacher said: "I do not want to work in this school and also have no desire to work as a teacher. I am ready to leave." The cadres who had been persecuted by the bourgeois reactionary line also came forward to bare their minds.

In view of these living ideas, we guided them to solve these ideological problems through making creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings. The broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students ardently love Chairman Mao and are best able to heed what he says. Chairman Mao has said: "Numerous revolutionary martyrs have sacrificed their lives for the interests of the people, and we feel very sad whenever we think of them. Can it be said that there are still any personal interests which we cannot sacrifice and any mistakes which we cannot forsake?" The overwhelming majority of the students in this school are children of the working people. Chairman Mao's words have aroused their class feelings and made them understand that all kinds of self-interest are in contravention to the people's interests and are therefore wrong. They have expressed that they will act according to Chairman Mao's instructions.

We also helped the students carry out such ideological mutual-aid activities of a mass character as one helping another to form a red pair. We guided them to learn to make criticism and self-criticism and correctly handle contradictions among the people. Since the great cultural revolution, some students had become antagonistic to each other and were not on speaking terms. After studying Chairman Mao's writings, they made self-criticism to eliminate estrangement, and many former "opponents" have become red pairs. They study Chairman Mao's writings together, criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line together, chat and perform good deeds together. There are ever more activities based upon one helping another to form a red pair every day.

Groups for studying Chairman Mao's writings have evolved on the basis of chatting and conducting mutual-aid activities. These study groups are actually militant groups of the masses for conducting ideological revolutionization through eradicating self-interest to make way for public interest. The masses with ideological problems bring up same in their respective groups for self-education. They make use of the sharp weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought to sweep away assorted bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas and clear the way of ideological stumbling-blocks for realizing the great alliance of revolutionaries.

The young revolutionary fighters of one class in the third year grade scored prominent success in eradicating self-interest to make way for public interest, and a great alliance was first realized in the whole class. We summed up their experience for popularization in the whole school. At the end of April, the whole school realized the great alliance of revolutionaries with the Left as the core and the teaching classes as the foundation. Following this, the "4 May" Corps, a united organization of the Red Guards of the whole school, was formed, and detachments were set up in various teaching classes. The alliance of classes and grades led to the alliance of various revolutionary organizations, and the alliance of various revolutionary organizations also consolidated the alliance of classes and grades. On 9 May, the revolutionary "threeway alliance" was brought into realization and the revolutionary committee was formed at the 89th Middle School.

Respond to Chairman Mao's Call, Return to School To Make Revolution

On the basis of realizing the revolutionary great alliance and "three-way alliance," the teachers and students of the whole school were in high spirits, and they drove the great proletarian cultural revolution of the school to the new stage of returning to school to make revolution.

How to reopen school for making revolution? The masses put forward many questions. The teachers were dominated by fear. They feared that the students would lay a bulldog's grip in them should they make some mistakes in teaching. They feared that the students would not submit to discipline and there would be no way to hold class. Quite a number of students wanted to roam around to exchange experience and were unable to sit tight. Some teachers and students had the misgivings that should mathematics, physics and chemistry be taught all day long as in the past, the reopening of class would come into conflict with the revolution.

We were of the opinion that the presence of these ideological problems among the teachers and students was in the final analysis due to their inadequate understanding of the great significance of reopening school for making revolution, their underestimation of the ideological revolutionization of man brought about by the great proletarian cultural revolution, and their inability to eliminate self-interest from their minds. We repeatedly propagated among them the great significance of Chairman Mao's call for reopening school

to make revolution, and organized them to study Chairman Mao's pertinent articles, "The CCP Central Committee's View on Launching the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Middle Schools" and other documents. We rectified some blurred knowledge and erroneous ideas so as to make them understand that reopening school for making revolution was integrated with promoting on a large scale the criticism and repudiation of the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, and with the practice of struggle, criticism and reform in one's unit, and that reopening school meant resumption of class for the class struggle, the great cultural revolution, and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. With these ideological problems resolved and consciousness raised, reopening school for making revolution was also underway.

"The masses are real heroes." Reopening school for making revolution must depend on the teachers and students themselves to create experience in practice.

The revolutionary teachers and students of the eight classes of the first year grade were the first to reopen class. They eradicated the old teaching methods in a big way, set up a new teacher-student relationship and teaching order, and converted the classroom into a center for propagating the thought of Mao Tse-tung. They closely integrated the large-scale criticism and repudiation of the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party with the practice of struggle, criticism and reform in the school. The method adopted by the eight classes of the first year grade gave an impetus to various classes, and a surging tide in reopening class for making revolution quickly came into shape throughout the school.

Guided by the ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung, the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students took up pens in lieu of swords and guns, and they directed the spearhead of struggle at a handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. They exposed, criticized and repudiated the crimes of the latter in promoting the counter-revolutionary revisionist educational line and cultivating bourgeois successors. The teachers and students made use of their personal comprehensions to level accusations against the counterrevolutionary revisionist educational line which had harmed them in various ways.

For quite a number of years, there was circulated among the students the saying that "marks determine the life of students, while examinations and tests are the teachers' magic weapons." Materials of instruction were laden with feudalist, capitalist and revisionist stuff, and the "Self-Cultivation" of China's Khrushchev was also inserted into a middle school textbook for spreading its harmful influence among the youths. From the numerous surprising facts revealed, the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students learned a profound lesson in regard to the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines.

Chairman Mao has taught us that "there is no construction without destruction, no flow without damming, no motion without rest." We have eradicated bourgeois ideas and promoted the thought of Mao Tse-tung in a big way.

In the past, groups of this or that kind were organized in the school, but no group had been organized for studying Chairman Mao's writings. Pace-setters of this or that kind were established, but no pace-setters had ever been established in regard to the study of Chairman Mao's writings. In the course of reopening school for making revolution, the revolutionary teachers and students have organized 97 groups for studying Chairman Mao's writings and cited activists in the study of such writings. Quite a number of study groups have made effort to insure the fulfillment of four concrete provisions in regard to study content, attendance, time table and result. Some groups also draw up weekly plans, make arrangements every day, and organize exchange of experience every week. Many students come to school half an hour earlier every day in order to find more time for studying Chairman Mao's writings. After study, the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students have shown a deeper affection for Chairman Mao's writings, the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the great leader Chairman Mao.

The 89th Middle School has changed its looks, and the spiritual features of its teachers and students as well as its human relationships have also changed profoundly. The past antagonistic relationship between the teachers and students has gradually changed into a new type of relationship in which the students honor their teachers and the teachers cherish their students. The 89th Middle School which was once enslaved and poisoned by revisionism has gained a new lease of life under the sunshine of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and a new generation is gaining strength and growing up.

Since the school has just reopened for making revolution, there is still much work to be done. We must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, guard against arrogance and rashness, make greater achievement, surmount shortcomings, and win a new victory.

CSO: 3530-D

FOREVER PRESERVE THE REVOLUTIONARY COLOR OF THE PROLETARIAT

[Following is a translation of an article by Red Flag Brigade of Peking Clock and Watch Factory in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 47-48.]

In the world-shaking storm of the "January revolution," the proletarian revolutionaries of our factory seized the power from a handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road inside the factory. After the seizure of power, the political status of the proletarian revolutionaries has basically changed, and from the oppressed "nobodies" they have become people in power. As the revolution and production continue to win new victories, our prestige has soared higher and higher. Every word and deed of ours exerts an increasing influence among the broad masses. Under this new situation of struggle whether we can continue to preserve the revolutionary color of proletarians is a severe test to us.

The practice of the class struggle has made us deeply realize that, following the seizure of power, the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, between the public and private interests is still continuing. The handful of power holders taking the capitalist road inside the factory vainly attempted to make us change the way they had, and the capitalists too came out to flatter us, nod their heads and bend their backs on seeing us, and even shamelessly called us "brigade leaders". Within the ranks of the proletarian revolutionaries, on the other hand, some comrades, entertaining non-proletarian ideas, failed to grasp the study of Chairman Mao's works firmly enough, nor did they struggle in a positive way. Instead they worked sluggishly and became arrogant in words. Under such a situation, if we did not take heed of the enemy's attack of sugar-coated bullets and prevent the corrosion of bourgeois ideology, that would be very dangerous indeed.

To check the corrosion of bourgeois ideology and hold and exercise power well, we must abide by Chairman Mao's teaching: "Serve the people wholeheartedly, and do not divorce yourself from the masses for a single moment."

After the seizure of power, we were very busy in work, but some comrades suggested that we have several more people detached from production. We did not do so, however. This was because we knew that participation in collective production labor was definitely not a small matter, but "a basic, important matter under the socialist system, for it is helpful to overcoming bureaucratism and the prevention of revisionism and dogmatism." In the factory, to be detached from production is tantamount to being detached from the front of struggle. Only by going deep among the broad masses and studying, struggling and working with the masses can we have more chance to hear the opinions of the masses, maintain constant and close ties with the masses, and preserve a high revolutionary spirit.

The responsible members of our Red Flag Brigade have basically not detached from production after seizing power. As regards the group in charge of the revolution, with the exception of one who is detached from production in order to attend to the daily routines and two who take part in labor for half day every day, the other four comrades do not detach themselves from production but are still working in the workshops as ordinary laborers. With regard to the group in charge of production, every week they devote half a day to study of production problems, and the rest of the time to production at the front. In this way, problems in production can be discovered in time and solved in good time. In the past, owing to the large number of cadres and the overlapping of organs, problems discovered were like "balls to be kicked around." Now the administrative machinery has been streamlined and the style of work changed. Offices have been moved to the workshops, and the triple combination of workers, leadership and technicians realized. Where problems could not be solved for a month in the past, now they can be solved in a few days. This has greatly promoted the development of production. For the past several months the volume of output has been increasing rather steeply. Between February and June this year, the average monthly output shows an increase of 26 per cent compared with the corresponding period of last year.

To preserve forever the revolutionary color of the proletariat, it is necessary to continuously develop the ideological struggle, to be good at listening to different opinions, and accept the criticism and supervision of the masses.

The responsible members of the Brigade have given constant attention to the development of criticism and self-criticism, to promoting the democratic style of work, and modestly listening to the criticism and opinions of the masses. After the seizure of power, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching of trusting, relying on and freely mobilizing the masses, we conducted an open-door rectification campaign. We mobilized the masses to past big-character posters to criticize us and we held discussion meetings to solicit the opinions of the masses. In the course of the rectification campaign, the masses raised many well-intentioned criticisms. Some old worker-masters said significantly: "You young people are daring in thinking and action, and have the courage to break through. We have no worry at all when we hand over the power to you. You must obey Chairman Mao's order. It is impermissible to drive away the old bureaucrats only to have the young bureaucrats."

However, some comrades found the sharp criticism of certain masses unacceptable. They said that these people who raised the opinions did not understand us or even that these people wanted to topple us. After finding out this problem, we immediately organized everyone to make a creative study and application of the "three constantly read articles," "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," "Adjusting the Party's Style of Work," and other glorious works. Chairman Mao's teachings enabled us to understand that the fact that we dared not accept the criticism of the masses was, in the final analysis, accounted for by the trouble made by self-interest in our heads, and that it was necessary to wage a fierce struggle against self-interest. If we did not struggle against it fiercely, self-interest would not vanish, we would not dare to accept the sharp criticism of the masses, and the revolution would fail.

On the basis of unified understanding, the rectification campaign was developed smoothly. The masses criticized each and every one of us. By far the greater part of these criticisms was appropriate. And we all examined ourselves. The result was that the masses were very satisfied with this and got closer to us and united with us every more closely. Our ranks have swollen as never before. After the first rectification campaign, we issued a circular making the rectification campaign as an important system. Whenever problems are discovered, a rectification campaign will be set in motion. Moreover, discussion forums of old workers are to be called regularly so that the masses may exercise greater supervision and provide more assistance to us.

In order to preserve forever the revolutionary color of the proletariat, we must identify ourselves with the masses in the matter of livelihood, and we must not have any special privileges. The matter of livelihood is not a small one. A breach is always caused in the small matter of livelihood by corrosion of bourgeois ideology. In the past, the handful of power holders taking the capitalist road sat in their office, paid attention to nothing but their food and clothing, and obtained subsidies without working. 'Now we have come to power and we will, in strict accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching that "all our working cadres, whatever their ranks, are the servants of the people," put exacting demands on ourselves. We continue to work in the groups of workers as ordinary workers, and apply to the group leader for leave when we have to attend to personal affairs. We continue to perform night duties with the militiamen. We must be concerned for the masses and must not take advantage of the authority we hold. If we have theater tickets, we first let the masses have them. We will take a ticket only when there are enough tickets to go round, and let others have tickets that will give them good seats.

Having come to power, in order to strengthen our ties with the masses, we still sit with the masses as ordinary workers at a conference; normally we do not go to the rostrum. Meetings are presided over by the teams of the brigade by turn. This is more helpful to the broad masses of workers exercising their right as masters in their house and to giving full play to the enthusiasm of the masses. We believe that power must not be the "private property" of a few." It belongs to the masses of workers. Since the masses of workers want us to assume responsibilities, we should all the more serve the people better.

Public interest is the core of the proletarian world outlook. To preserve forever the revolutionary feature of the proletariat, in the final analysis we must devote ourselves to the public interest and wholeheartedly serve the people. Only by holding high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and by breaking self-interest and fostering devotion to public interests in the storms and waves of the class struggle can we insure that we shall go from victory to victory.

We proletarian revolutionaries must firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's instruction: "Let us be modest, prudent, guard against conceit and rashness, and serve the Chinese people with heart and soul." We must never divorce ourselves from the masses and from labor. We must never for a moment relax our ideological remolding. We must insure that our proletarian country will never change color for ten thousand years.

CNO: 3530-D

ONLY BY ELIMINATING SELF-INTEREST AND FOSTERING DEVOTION
TO PUBLIC INTEREST CAN WE HOLD AND EXERCISE POWER WELL

[Following is a translation of an article by the Revolutionary Committee of Hsin Kweichow Pao in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 49-51.]

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, proletarian revolutionaries of our newspaper recaptured the Party, government, financial and cultural power from the hands of the handful of power holders taking the capitalist road within the old Kweichow Jih-pao, re-occupied the propaganda bastion, and set up a revolutionary committee of Hsin Kweichow Pao.

Trusted by the broad revolutionary masses, we were elected to the revolutionary committee, entailing a change in our position. How to do the leadership work well is a test to us all. The practice over the past several months has enabled us to realize deeply that the most fundamental thing is 'to double our efforts at creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, and use the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung to seize power from self-interest in our minds and eliminate self-interest and foster devotion to public interest. Only thus can we hold and exercise power with success.

First, only by eliminating self-interest and fostering devotion to public interest can we resolutely carry out our work in accordance with Chairman Mao's directives and unswervingly implement the Party's policies.

In January this year, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee approved the seizure of power by the proletarian revolutionaries in Kweichow province. This was the greatest support and inspiration to us all. Under this favorable situation, we very rapidly disintegrated the conservative organization of the newspaper politically and organizationally. At this time, the problem of how to correctly deal with the masses who had been cheated into joining the conservative organizations presented itself as the problem of the day. Should we encircle and attack the hoodwinked masses? In good time we summed up the experience and lessons of the movement, coming to the

... hoodwinked masses would not ... Chairman Mao ... policy of "penetrating, curing, mistakes to guard against future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient," should be adopted. He also exhorted us in these words: "The proletariat must not only liberate itself, it must also liberate all mankind. Without liberating all mankind, the proletariat cannot ultimately liberate itself."

Proletarian revolutionary comrades, in accordance with Chairman Mao's leading and following discussions, published a statement calling for strict compliance with the Party's policies and uniting with the majority. After we had seized power, the fact that some comrades who had been persecuted by the bourgeois reactionary line failed to properly win over, educate and unite with the hoodwinked masses was an expression of self-interest. It should be known that the handful of power holders taking the capitalist road had incited the masses to struggle against each other, deceived and used the conservative organizations to suppress the revolutionary masses, thus causing grave antagonisms between the masses. The hoodwinked masses were also victims of the bourgeois reactionary line and we should help them raise their consciousness and shift the orientation. If we let ourselves be guided by sentiments, we shall not be able to attain the aim of uniting with the majority and utterly isolating the handful of Party power holders taking the capitalist road.

We proletarian revolutionaries should use the method of "unity -- criticism -- unity" in dealing with the hoodwinked masses and carry out penetrating and careful political and ideological work among them, such as individual conversations and discussion forums. We think that this is not a half-hearted measure aiming at compromise. If we proceed from self-interest and dare not resolutely implement the Party's policies, that would be a mistake. We have strictly differentiated between two different types of contradictions and correctly handled the contradictions among the people. We patiently helped some hoodwinked masses to recognize their mistakes, return to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and join the revolutionary mass organizations.

Second, only by eliminating self-interest and fostering devotion to public interest can we trust the masses, rely on the masses, and mobilize the masses.

After our mass movement and beloved great leader Chairman Mao ... the publication of the experiences of ... administrative departments ...

relatively high influence among the masses. This organization could play an important role in deciding whether the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries could be realized according to administrative departments. On the day the experiences of Kweiyang Textile Mill were published in the newspaper, this organization, after discussions, unanimously reached the decision to act on Chairman Mao's instruction and realize a great alliance with other revolutionary mass organizations according to administrative departments. Its proposal for the formation of a great alliance according to administrative departments obtained the support and response from some fraternal groups. The several revolutionary mass organizations of the printing factory of the newspaper were even quicker in action; when the proposal was put forward, they had already formed a great alliance among themselves. This had the effect of promoting the overall great alliance of the newspaper according to administrative departments, the great alliance of revolutionary intellectuals and the worker masses.

However, some comrades within the proletarian revolutionary groups did not understand the proposal put forward by this organization. They themselves put forward some opinions detrimental to the rapid realization of the great alliance. The proposal of this organization was an expression of destruction of self-interest and fostering of devotion to public interest. If we proceeded from self-interest and talked about mountain strongholds, then its "mountain stronghold" was the largest. If we talked about brand names, then its "brand name" was also the most famous. To implement the proposal was for the purpose of better forming the alliance and organizing a mighty revolutionary great army to launch a fierce attack against the handful of the Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. We believe that the masses are capable of using the thought of Mao Tse-tung to distinguish between right and wrong and that if only we do the right things, the masses will surely support us. So, a large scale debate was unfolded within the proletarian revolutionary groups. Through it, the broad masses of proletarian revolutionary fighters recognized more clearly than before the advantages of forming a great alliance according to administrative departments. They exchanged experiences among themselves. In a matter of several days a great alliance according to administrative departments from bottom to top was realized.

Third, only by eliminating self-interest and fostering devotion to public interest can we uphold the principle and fight against all kinds of mistaken ideas.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "We advocate an active ideological struggle because it is a weapon with which to cement unity within the Party and revolutionary bodies which is conducive to combat. Every Communist and revolutionary should weld this weapon."

After the seizure of power, the vast numbers of proletarian revolutionaries undertook a creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works,

consciously abide by proletarian revolutionary discipline, and seriously implemented the resolution of the Revolutionary Committee. At the same time, they also positively raised a great deal of criticism and suggestions and played a great part in helping and supervising us in eliminating self-interest and fostering devotion to public interest and improving the style of work. However, contradictions among the people appeared in an acute form, and some non-proletarian ideas such as anarchism and ultra-democracy, were reflected within the proletarian revolutionary groups. These mistaken ideas had the effect of sapping the revolutionary will and corroding the revolutionary organizations. Some comrades refused to accept criticism, and accused those who disagreed with them of suppressing democracy. Sometimes, some demands and opinions had to be raised from top to bottom with regard to work and tasks of struggle, but some comrades described this as laying down rigid regulations and calling the tune. Should we criticize and overcome these mistaken ideas or should we concede to them and allow them to take their natural course. This is a question of principle testing whether we place the public interest or private interest in the fore. If we uphold the principle and make the necessary criticisms, some comrades may not be satisfied with us for the time being. But if we allow things to drift, we shall not be able to practice democratic centralism and bring loss to the revolution. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, we should let everyone speak and should welcome him if what he says is right. If what he says is wrong, we should still let him finish what he wants to say. If the suggestions raised by the masses conform to Mao Tse-tung's thought, they should be acted upon with resolve, while those erroneous suggestions must be boycotted with firmness. Relying on the masses, we criticized the anarchist ideas, depriving these ideas of a market and preventing them from spreading freely.

Fourth, only by eliminating self-interest and fostering devotion to public interest can we dare to work boldly and shoulder heavy burdens.

After seizure of power, the burdens placed on our shoulders became heavier and our responsibilities greater. When we heard some criticisms against us, there was sometimes fluctuation in our thinking. We would feel reluctant to assume leadership work, feeling that one had better work as an ordinary worker. At this moment, comrades of the proletarian groups sincerely criticized and helped us. They said that "this is not a personal matter but a question of whether or not proletarians should hold power." "Difficult work is a burden lying in front of us, and it is up to us to shoulder it. Some burden is heavy while some is light. Some people, however, prefer the light to the heavy burden, and let the heavy burden be shouldered by others. This is not a good attitude. But some comrades act differently. They give comfort to others and assume heavy burdens themselves. They are the first to endure hardship and the last to enjoy comfort. Such comrades are good comrades. We must all study this communist spirit." Chairman Mao's teaching and help from the revolutionary masses enabled us to further understand that we are the servants of the people, that we must not fail the trust of the Party and our comrades, and that we must serve the people "wholly" and "completely." Once, someone said that one of us wanted to become a leader.

Such misunderstanding on the part of others did not cause oscillation in this comrade's thinking nor affect his work. We felt that it was necessary to fight against self-interest in our minds constantly before we could dedicate ourselves to the public interest, bravely take up the heavy burdens entrusted to us by our comrades, and give our all to the revolutionary cause.

Fifth, only by eliminating self-interest and fostering devotion to public interest will we place ourselves under the supervision of the masses and continue to reform ourselves.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In a class society, every person lives within a definite class position, and every idea invariably carries a class stamp."

After the seizure of power, a change has taken place in our status. If we do not give serious attention to ideological reform, then bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas would easily breed in us. At the same time, with victories, we may be thanked by the people and flattered by the bourgeoisie. Under these circumstances, we must more modestly listen to the criticisms and opinions of the masses and more consciously reform our thought. If we listen only to praise and find the criticisms of the masses unacceptable, then we may easily be hit by the bourgeois sugar-coated bullets. Generally speaking, words of praise are pleasing to the ear, while some relatively sharp criticisms are quite irritating. However, we must think of this: If we do not seriously accept the criticisms of the masses, we cannot hold and exercise power well, we may even gradually degenerate and go astray. The opinions of the majority of the masses are based on their concern and love for us; they are for proper prosecution of the great cultural revolution and improvement of revolutionary work. Although their criticisms are sometimes quite sharp, they are often helpful to our improvement of the style of work. Whenever we think of this, we adopt a relatively sober attitude toward the criticisms of the masses and modestly accept the suggestions. As regards the few wrong suggestions made, we must believe that people who make them are capable of educating themselves and correcting their mistakes. We must not deal with them on the basis of a tooth for a tooth, an eye for an eye. Guided by such thinking we are generally able to accept dissent. Moreover, we have established a system -- a monthly democratic life meeting is held. We also organize the revolutionary comrades to make suggestions to the leadership hard-core.

Chairman Mao teaches us in these terms: "The change in world outlook is a fundamental change." Destruction of self-interest and fostering of devotion to public interest presupposes destruction of the bourgeois world outlook and the establishment of the proletarian world outlook. Such a struggle is a prolonged and arduous one. In the future, therefore, we must do better in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works, study the "three old articles" as a daily reminder, further reform ourselves, promote revolutionization of thinking, and hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must combine the large-scale criticism against the handful of the top Party people in authority taking the capitalist road with the struggle, criticism and transformation in our own units and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

TRANSACT BUSINESS IN STRICT ACCORDANCE WITH PARTY POLICIES

[Following is a translation of an article by the Cultural Revolution Preparatory Committee of the Spark Cultural Work Troupe of the 2nd Artillery, Chinese People's Liberation Army in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 52-55.]

"Policy and tactics are the life of the Party." The various policies concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution formulated under the personal auspices of Chairman Mao give concrete manifestation to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and tactical thought, mirror the objective laws of the class struggle and represent the basic interests of the broad masses of the people. We must firmly implement and carry out the policies of the Party, and firmly boycott and oppose the speeches and actions which contravene the policies of the Party.

Looking back over the fighting course which the Spark Cultural Work Troupe has taken during the great proletarian cultural revolution, we deeply sense that we must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and firmly implement the general and specific policies of the Party before we can head from one victory to another in the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines.

I

The Sixteen Articles formulated under the personal auspices of Chairman Mao have this to point out: "The focal point of this movement is to purge those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party." This is the general orientation of the struggle, and we must firmly grasp it. If we act in contravention of this general orientation, we cannot correctly carry out the policies of the Party and would go astray.

In between March and April this year, we set up the preparatory committee for the cultural revolution committee on the basis of elementary great alliance. Soon after its formation, however, it met with the vehement

opposition of some persons, and a part of the masses who did not know the actual situation encircled and attacked us. Under their pressure, quite a number of comrades pulled out from the preparatory committee. Those who chose to stay held meetings three consecutive days, and on each day they debated far into the night. As we debated, we earnestly studied Chairman Mao's writings.

Chairman Mao said: "There was in Hopeh Province a very small cooperative which comprised only six families. Three families of old middle peasants firmly refused to carry on, and as a result they were allowed to leave. The three families of poor peasants expressed that they would carry on come what may. As a result, they were allowed to stay, and the cooperative organization was also preserved. In point of fact, the direction taken by these three families of poor peasants is the orientation of the 500 million peasants throughout the country. All peasants operating individually will in the end take the road firmly chosen by these three families of poor peasants."

At the crucial and most difficult hour of the struggle, Chairman Mao's teaching gave us the greatest encouragement, and we were so excited that tears ran down our faces. These debates made us see the truth more clearly and gave us sharper eyes. Five comrades who had planned to announce their withdrawal from the preparatory committee now indicated that they would stay on and stick with the rest of us to the end. We were convinced that truth was on our side. So long as we firmly adhered to the general orientation of the struggle and resolutely carried out work according to the policies of the Party, we also could surmount every difficulty, and the deluded masses would be awakened sooner or later.

Chairman Mao taught us: "Policy is the starting-point of all the practical actions of a revolutionary party and manifests itself in the process and the end-result of the party's actions." Under whatever circumstance, any action of ours must coincide with the policy of the Party.

We had been encircled and attacked again and again, and some comrades had even been brutally beaten up. On the first or second occasion, we still could refrain from returning the blow when we were hit or retorting when we were abused. When this took place more often, some comrades thought of reprisal. That said that "nothing should be allowed to repeat three times," and they wanted to "vent their spleen" and hit back with vehemence. However, as soon as we thought of the general orientation of the struggle, of the policy that "it is necessary to employ struggle by reasoning and not struggle by force," and of Chairman Mao's teaching that "contradictions among the people cannot be settled with curses or fists, much less with swords and guns, and can only be solved with the method of discussion, the method of reasoning and the method of criticism and self-criticism," we retracted our fists on a number of occasions, and went on to persist in struggle by reasoning.

We knew that the deluded masses were our class brothers and not enemies. They attacked and abused us because they had been poisoned by the

bourgeois reactionary line. We should heap our hate on a handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. If we gave an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, we would counter mistakes with mistakes and be fooled by the class enemies.

We carried out work in strict accordance with the policies of the Party by not taking up struggle by force, concentrating our strength on the criticism and repudiation of a handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, and carrying out struggle, criticism and reform in our own unit. Some persons ridiculed us for "lack of revolutionary spirit" and as "cowards."

We are of the opinion that it is wrong to look at things in this way. The strongest revolutionary spirit lies in making a success of struggle, criticism and reform in one's own unit according to the policies of the Party, exposing with greater thoroughness and more penetratingly criticizing and repudiating the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, penetratingly and thoroughly criticizing a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, and planting the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought in all positions. Addicting oneself to beating, smashing, snatching, confiscation, grasping without carrying out the policies of the Party can never be regarded as the "revolutionary spirit," and also can never be described as "brave" or "daring." "Freedom" of action in contravention of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the policies of the Party has nothing in common with extensive democracy under proletarian dictatorship, but is bourgeois "liberalization."

Firm implementation of Chairman Mao's cadres policy is an important question in the great proletarian cultural revolution. We have firmly opposed anarchism which advocates "the exclusion of everything and the overthrow of everything," and have subjected the cadres of our troupe to class analysis and investigation and study one by one. We firmly support those revolutionary leading cadres and fight shoulder to shoulder with them. We warmly help those cadres who have made mistakes to enable them quickly to return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

We have specially formed a group to carry out energetically a host of work. We organize them to study Chairman Mao's writings and the policies of the Party, help them discard their misgivings and heighten their awakening. We invite them to participate in the criticism and repudiation of the activities of the bourgeois reactionary line so that they may know better the crimes of the bourgeois reactionary line. We sternly and seriously criticize their mistakes and help them make penetrating self-examination that touches them to the soul. We support those cadres who have recognized their mistakes and are resolved to mend their way by boldly grasping business work and give them a chance to rectify their mistakes. Due to our firm implementation of Chairman Mao's cadres policy, we have united the great majority of the cadres and directed the spearhead of struggle toward a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party.

II

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Our policies must be made known not only to the leaders and the cadres, but also to the broad masses." "When the masses know the truth and have a common goal, they would carry out work with concerted effort." "With the concerted effort of the masses, it is easy to carry out anything." The key to implementing and carrying out the policies of the Party during the great proletarian cultural revolution lies in handing over such policies to and laying them in the hands of the masses, and translating them into the conscious actions of the masses.

The translation of the policies of the Party into conscious actions of the masses amounts in substance to uniting the thoughts and actions of the masses with Mao Tse-tung's thought. When a policy of the Central Committee was handed down, we opportunely and purposefully studied Chairman Mao's pertinent writings and quotations as well as the original text of the policy so as to comprehend its spiritual essence. We organized forums to discuss it, and associated our thinking with the situation to solve in good time ideological obstacles to the implementation of the policy. In the course of implementing and carrying out the policy, we publicized it again and again, checked and examined it, found out the difference, and adopted measures for the actual implementation of it.

On the question of correctly handling the deluded masses, we carried out a series of political and ideological work within the preparatory committee. Some comrades were of the opinion that since those participants in conservative organizations sang a tune that ran counter to ours in every place and even used their fists against us, it was not possible for us to unite with them. This mirrored that some comrades adopted an improper attitude toward the deluded masses, and had not comprehended very well Chairman Mao's principle of uniting more than 95 percent of the masses.

In order to solve this question, we organized them to study Chairman Mao's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and the pertinent quotations: "It is necessary not only to unite people who agree with us, but also to be good at uniting those who disagree with us as well as those who have opposed us and have been proved to be wrong by practice."

Through study and discussion, everybody has come to understand that the contradictions between the deluded masses and ourselves belong to contradictions among the people, and that the contradictions between ourselves and the deluded masses can never be confused with those between ourselves and a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party.

We invited those comrades who returned to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line to tell their personal experience. They graphically explained that as soon as they were aware that they had severed themselves from Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, they felt as painful as a child taken away from his mother, had no appetite for food and

could not sleep well. They urgently hoped that they could join the revolutionary mass organization at an early date. This made everybody understand better that when dealing with the deluded masses, we had only the duty to draw close to them and unite and help them, but had no right to slight, estrange or exclude them.

Some comrades had the misgivings that the admission of the deluded masses into the preparatory committee would render the organization impure, and should they act as fifth columnists, the preparatory committee would collapse. This kind of thinking was not in correspondence with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and was a manifestation of the thought of the small group and of lack of faith in the masses. In the course of discussion, all were of the opinion that whether or not the preparatory committee would collapse was determined, not by the absorption of the deluded masses, but by whether or not the preparatory committee itself was able to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, solidly grasp the general orientation of the struggle and unreservedly carry out the policies of the Party. If we did not carry out work according to Mao Tse-tung's thought, if we forgot the policies of the Party and thought that "only we are revolutionary while others are not," then we would sever ourselves from the masses and would bring about our downfall without being attacked.

Another problem emerged after these questions were solved. Some comrades did not pay attention to carrying out penetrating and painstaking politico-ideological work among the deluded masses, and they were over eager to pull them into the preparatory committee regardless of whether they had been awakened or not.

In view of this kind of thinking, we seriously studied Chairman Mao's writings. Chairman Mao said: "We advocate positive ideological struggle because it is a weapon for bringing about unity within the Party and the revolutionary organization and of advantage to fighting." He also said that the way to settle contradictions among the people was to "proceed from the desire for unity, distinguish between right and wrong through criticism or struggle and bring about a new unity on a new basis." We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and gradually realize the unity of more than 95 percent of the masses through ideological struggle.

Our unity is one based on the principles of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and is not unprincipled unity based on harmony. The deluded masses must break with the bourgeois reactionary line and really return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. If we did not actively carry out political and ideological work and the deluded masses were admitted in a muddle-headed manner, this would be disadvantageous to their progress as well as to the revolutionary cause.

When the revolutionary masses genuinely understood the policies of the Party and grasped the principle of uniting more than 95 percent of the masses, they took the initiative to carry out political and ideological work among

the deluded masses, studied together with them Chairman Mao's writings with problems in mind, discussed a wide range of things with them, and learned things from their participation in the criticism and repudiation of a handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party and in struggle, criticism and reform activities in their own units. Through the common struggle against the enemy and carrying out penetrating and painstaking politico-ideological work, the deluded masses have eliminated their misgivings and heightened their awakening. Now, the great majority of the deluded masses have returned to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line to fight together with us.

III

Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and general and specific policies are a concentrated manifestation of the fundamental interests of the proletariat. Only one who takes the proletarian stand and possesses the thought and feeling of the proletariat can correctly understand, implement and carry out them.

Such bourgeois and petty-bourgeois trends of thought as anarchism, small group mentality, subjectivism and individualism are ideological obstacles to the implementation and execution of the policies of the Party. These trends of thought are sometimes also found within our preparatory committee. As instructed by Vice Chairman Lin: "We must regard ourselves as part and parcel of the revolutionary force and at the same time must also uninterruptedly regard ourselves as the target of the revolution. Revolution also calls for the revolutionization of self. Without the revolutionization of self, such revolution can never succeed." We have again and again studied the "three most-read articles" and "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party." Simultaneously with reforming the objective world, we must also reform our own subjective world. We must seize power from a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party and from egoism in our own minds.

The policies of the Party "cannot be implemented when self-interest is put above everything else, but can be successfully implemented when public interest is put above everything else." Sometimes, we sense that there is a gap between our way of thinking and the policies of the Party. With calmness, we give thought to whether we have departed from the thought of Mao Tse-tung or joined the wrong ranks. Meanwhile we study Chairman Mao's writings with problems in mind. With the thought of Mao Tse-tung put in command, we shall see problems not with the interests of the individual or a small group, but with the interests of the Party and the people as the point of departure. We shall find every policy of the Party amicable and correct, and our self-consciousness in implementing and carrying out it will also be greatly raised.

In order to reform our own thought in a better way in struggle and in order to insure the genuine implementation of the various policies of the Party, we of the preparatory committee must constantly unfold criticism and

self-criticism. After we proletarian revolutionaries are in the dominant position, some comrades have nourished arrogance and complacency and become slack in the study of Chairman Mao's writings and the policies of the Party. This has led to the emergence of the replacement of policies with sentiments. In view of this situation, we must energetically lay hold of the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings and the study of Party policies, oppose arrogance in a big way, and fight ferociously against egoism. Our comrades have come to learn that in order to grasp and exercise power well, the proletarian revolutionaries must guard against the corrosion of bourgeois ideas and uphold the style of work characterized by modesty and prudence and free from arrogance and rashness. Especially when we are victorious, it is the more necessary for us to carry out unreservedly the policies of the Party. If we were not on guard and allowed individualism to develop, we would bring losses to the revolution and might even take a course that ran counter to ours.

Chairman Mao says: "If we have committed mistakes in policy, we cannot win victory." We have won a victory, but this is no more than the first step in the Long March. In order to win a complete victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must advance along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, act according to the policies of the Party at all times, and in all things and places, and set the example in carrying out the policies of the Party.

CSO: 3530-D

HOLD HIGH THE BANNER OF REVOLUTIONARY GREAT ALLIANCE

[Following is a translation of an article by Hung P'ing in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 56-57.]

Chairman Mao's brilliant work, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," forms a theoretical basis for carrying out the revolution under proletarian dictatorship. Following the re-publication of this splendid writing, proletarian revolutionaries and the broad revolutionary masses have given more attention to the application of this sharpest weapon, energetically advancing their revolutionary great alliance and winning new victories in their struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The experiences of the three units -- the 6th Zone of the Shanghai Port Bureau, the Dyeing and Weaving Mill No. 3 of Tientsin, and the 89th Middle School of Peking -- in forming revolutionary great alliances with the help of the Liberation Army, which are published in this issue of Hung-ch'i, have all been acquired under the guidance of this brilliant work.

Revolutionary great alliance has all along been a fighting banner of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has time and again taught us: It is imperative to unite with all people who can be united with. The proletariat must liberate not only itself but also the whole mankind. For, without liberating the whole mankind, the proletariat cannot ultimately free itself. The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolutionary movement in which hundreds of millions of revolutionary masses educate and liberate themselves. Without broad revolutionary great alliances, the great proletarian cultural revolution cannot be carried through to the end.

To realize revolutionary great alliance, it is necessary to distinguish between the enemy and ourselves in the first place. Chairman Mao has taught us this: Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This question is a primary question of the revolution, a primary question for the great cultural revolution as well. It is only when we distinguish between the enemies and

ourselves and correctly handle two different types of contradictions that we can grasp the general orientation of the struggle, unite with the broad revolutionary masses, form a mighty revolutionary great army, and isolate and strike at our chief enemies.

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, our chief enemies are the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. They are the central representatives of the forces of capitalist restoration, and our contradictions with them are antagonistic contradictions, ones between the enemies and ourselves. At the moment, although they have been exposed, they are like "onions under the roof beams which wither but not perish." We must learn from Lu hsun's thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of beating the dog who has fallen into the water, pursue the tottering foes, criticize and discredit them totally, and completely eliminate the evil influence they have spread on all fronts. To this end, proletarian revolutionaries and the broad revolutionary masses should better close their ranks on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

To realize revolutionary great alliance, it is essential that contradictions among the people be correctly handled by adopting the policy of "unity -- criticism -- unity." Here, we must first of all have the desire for unity, for only by proceeding from the desire for unity can we make factual and well-intentioned criticism and solemn and serious self-criticism, can we distinguish between right and wrong, unify our thinking, and achieve new unity on a new basis. Even with the desire for unity, correct methods are essential. These are methods of a democratic nature, methods of reasoning or arguing the matters out, and not methods of compulsion or coercion. It stands to reason that when you use the method of persuasion and reasoning, contradictions can be easily solved, but that if you use the method of attack or of recrimination and overwhelm others with superior force, the result can only be that you will suppress and not convince others, splits are caused, and the revolutionary great alliance is undermined.

Proletarian revolutionaries must constantly bear in mind their struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road; they must constantly grasp the general orientation of struggle. Only thus will different revolutionary mass organizations have a common orientation and a common goal. Only thus can they, on the basis of a struggle against the enemies, rapidly and correctly solve the differences of opinion within their ranks and rapidly realize a revolutionary great alliance. If we put the enemies to one side and just sit there discussing the great alliance, we would lose the premises and basis of the great revolutionary alliance. In this event, it would be out of the question to realize a revolutionary great alliance and even if it were realized, it would not be able to have any effect. Within the revolutionary camp, however, it is natural and normal that contradictions should appear just as it is impossible to have ten fingers of equal sizes. The question is, we must correctly handle these contradictions and subordinate the contradictions within the ranks of the people to the requirements of the struggle against the enemies, and absolutely must not place the

contradictions among the people above the contradictions between the enemies and ourselves, with the result that what is essential and what is non-essential is transposed and the real enemies are allowed to slip away.

A young revolutionary fighter puts it aptly: "As between revolution mass organizations, we should seek agreement on major issues and preserve the differences on minor issues, and must unite against the enemy. This is no 'loss of principle.' On the contrary, if we argue endlessly on side issues and thereby discard the general orientation of struggle, this would be the real loss of principle."

Chairman Mao says: The class enemies frequently "make use of the contradictions among the people to sow dissension and stir up trouble in an attempt to realize their plot." At present, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road are trying energetically to blur the boundary line between the enemies and ourselves, using the contradictions within the revolutionary ranks to create evil wind and fire, and spreading rumors to deceive the masses or even inciting armed conflicts in a bid to undermine the revolutionary great alliance by a thousand and one ways. For this reason, in order to grasp the general orientation of struggle and realize a great revolutionary alliance, we must heighten our vigilance and expose their schemes.

Within the revolutionary organizations, "self-interest" poses the greatest hindrance to the materialization of the great revolutionary alliance. When self-interest is placed in the fore, we would squabble with each other, set up our own "mountain strongholds," engage in sectarian disputes, foster "small group" interests, and attack each other. We would even be keen on fighting "civil war" and take our friends as our foes while leaving the real enemies aside. The result would be that tension is created among ourselves while comfort is lent to the enemies. Indeed, when self-interest is placed in the forefront, we would forget our enemies; barely liberated from the oppression of the bourgeois reactionary line, we would think that peace prevails in the world, that we can lie on the bed of victory and fall into sound sleep. And we would fail to see the extreme importance of a united struggle against the enemies. Hence, it is important for proletarian revolutionaries to study and apply Chairman Mao's writings creatively, fight against selfish and impure ideas, use the thought of Mao Tse-tung to remold themselves, eliminate the bourgeois world outlook, and establish the proletarian world outlook.

Today, proletarian revolutionaries and the broad revolutionary masses are further creatively studying and applying the illustrious article, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," doing so with the problems arising from the revolutionary great alliance in mind. Some mass organizations originally antagonistic to each other are gradually dissolving their differences of opinion and strengthening their unity. Many new flourishing signs have appeared in the proletarian revolutionary alliance. This amply demonstrates the huge power of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

To grasp the general orientation of the struggle and realize a great revolutionary alliance is the key to the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is the course we must take all the time and must not for a single moment depart from it. Whether one holds high the banner of the great revolutionary alliance in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings is a test to every comrade and every revolutionary mass organization. We must not pay lip service only to the need to realize a revolutionary great alliance; instead, we must with a high sense of political responsibility, deal with this problem solemnly and seriously and show this by earnest actions.

CBO: 3530-D

RESOLUTELY SUPPORT REVOLUTIONARY CADRES IN COMING FORWARD

[Following is a translation of an article by Hung Hsiao-pin in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 58-60.]

As the great proletarian cultural revolution enters into the crucial stage of a decisive battle between the two classes and two lines, on the question of cadres, it is essential that we resolutely support the revolutionary cadres in coming forward, unite with the great majority, and strike at the few. This is a major problem with a bearing on whether or not we will grasp the general orientation of struggle and realize the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary "three-way combination." It must not be overlooked in any case. We must firmly execute Chairman Mao's cadres policy and thoroughly criticize the theory of "attacking the many in order to protect the few," a component part of the bourgeois reactionary line.

On the question of cadres, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road should carry out the bourgeois reactionary line of "attacking the many in order to protect the few" in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is absolutely not a "new question encountered by veteran revolutionary." Consistently going his own way, he is incorrigible. Way back to the land reform in 1947, he had smeared the rural basic-level organizations and cadres as being bad and threatened to kick away many rural cadres. In the socialist education movement of 1964, he resorted to his old tricks again by advocating attack against the majority of basic-level cadres in order to protect the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, he has thrown out a reactionary line of "attacking the many in order to protect the few." This is another big exposure of his stubborn adherence to the bourgeois reactionary stand.

The broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres have recognized ever more clearly the criminal features of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in pursuing the bourgeois reactionary line. One after another they have risen to expose and criticize him. Many

revolutionary cadres have come forward and thrown themselves into the great torrent of the mass revolutionary movement. This is a great victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, a great victory for Chairman Mao's cadre policy.

The 16-point decision formulated under the personal direction of Chairman Mao stresses: Under normal conditions, good and comparatively good cadres constitute the majority while the anti-Party, anti-socialist rightists are in the minority. The practice of the vigorous and great proletarian cultural revolution over the past year and more has shown that the majority of our cadres are behind Chairman Mao, Mao Tse-tung's thought and socialism. Counter-revolutionary revisionists who have sneaked into the Party represent but a minority.

We must be good at judging cadres and must understand them fully and take their histories into account. Chairman Mao has this to say: "We must not only look at a thing a cadre does at a time, we must also look at his entire history and work. This is the principal method of judging a cadre." In dealing with a cadre we must distinguish between major and minor issues. First of all we must give attention to major issues: Whether he supports Chairman Mao, whether he puts proletarian politics to the fore, and whether he shows revolutionary enthusiasm. Some cadres are good or basically good on major issues, but are not so good on minor issues because they have quite a number of shortcomings and mistakes. In regard to these cadres, we must also support them in coming forward and approve their participation in the revolutionary "three-way combination" provisional organs of power.

Chairman Mao has always taught us that we must trust and rely on the majority of cadres, unite gradually with over 95 percent of the cadres and with all those cadres who can be united with. In regard to those cadres who have made mistakes or serious mistakes, we also do not finish them off with a stick, but instead adopt the policy of "learning from past mistakes to guard against future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and the formula of "unity -- criticism -- unity". Says Chairman Mao: "Those Party members and cadres who have made mistakes but still can be educated and who are distinguished from those incorrigible, should, whatever their origin, be educated and must not be given up." Proletarian revolutionaries must distinguish between the "many" and the "few," dare to get close to cadres guilty of mistakes, and patiently and enthusiastically help them correct their mistakes, unite with the majority, attack the few, and resolutely implement Chairman Mao's cadre policy.

At present, on the question of dealing with revolutionary cadres, some erroneous notions and practices are gaining currency.

"It is a serious matter to protect the wrong people, but a small matter to attack the wrong persons." This is a theory without political principle. In view of the people adhering to this view, the greater the number of cadres they overthrow, the stronger their revolutionary character will

become. Whether we should support or overthrow the leading cadres is a serious political question. It is important that proletarian revolutionaries be responsible to the proletarian revolutionary cause, and regardless of whether they support or overthrow a cadre, they must deal with the matter seriously and not rashly.

Revolutionary leading cadres should be protected by the proletarian revolutionaries. They have experienced prolonged struggle, and are the precious assets of our Party and State. In protecting the revolutionary leading cadres, we should support their revolutionary action and not protect their shortcomings and mistakes. Their shortcomings and mistakes must, of course, be severely criticized, and they should be given help in rectifying these shortcomings and mistakes. But under no circumstances must we overthrow them on the ground that they have this or that shortcoming and mistake.

The rebel spirit of the proletarian revolutionaries is shown not only in their daring to overthrow the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road but also shown in their daring to support the revolutionary leading cadres in coming forward. "Thoroughgoing materialists have nothing to fear." We should, in the spirit of fearlessness, resolutely and unambiguously support the revolutionary leading cadres.

Yet we cannot discuss "protection" and "revolution" apart from the class stand. If you take the proletarian stand, you will surely protect the revolutionary leading cadres and resolutely oppose the handful of the Party power holders taking the capitalist road. If you take the bourgeois stand, you will naturally oppose the proletarian power holders and protect the bourgeois power holders. If you dare not protect the revolutionary leading cadres, you cannot completely oppose the handful of the Party power holders taking the capitalist road. This is the objective law of class struggle. The practice of overthrowing everything without class analysis is an expression not of the proletarian revolutionary spirit but of the petty bourgeois anarchism.

"In showing their colors, cadres must lean to one side." Leaning to one side is leaning to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. But at present, some people do not mean this. They judge a cadre as to whether he is a revolutionary or not by whether he leans to their mountain stronghold. In their view, all those cadres who lean to their mountain stronghold are revolutionary cadres, whose mistakes they defend. Those cadres who do not lean to their mountain stronghold are to be condemned and their activity restricted. This is wrong.

In defining whether a cadre is a revolutionary or not and whether he should be overthrown or not, we should decide the issue not on the sectarian principle but on the political principle of the proletariat. We should see whether he supports or opposes Chairman Mao, stands on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line or stubbornly adheres to the bourgeois reactionary line.

To thoroughly criticize the bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres and a hundred percent carry out Chairman Mao's cadre policy, it is imperative to study and apply Chairman Mao's writings creatively, to arm our heads with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, to eliminate self-interest and foster devotion to public interest, reform the bourgeois world outlook, and set up the proletarian world outlook. Only by eliminating selfish and impure ideas can we set great store by the revolutionary interests and deal with the cadres on the basis of seeking truth from facts and not on the basis of sentiments in substitution of policies. Only thus can we uphold the principle, correctly execute Chairman Mao's cadre policy, courageously liberate the "many," and dare to support the revolutionary leading cadres in coming forward. It is wrong to place self-interest in the fore, let heaps of worries disturb us, not to dare to protect those whom we should promote, or become self-righteous and obstinately cling to our views, and support those whom we should not support.

All revolutionary cadres must courageously come forward to expose and criticize the handful of the Party power holders taking the capitalist road. They must eliminate selfish and impure ideas and rid themselves of the fears that the masses might not trust them, that they would be condemned and suffer encirclement and attack. They must actively throw themselves into the heat of the mass struggle, temper themselves, reform themselves, breathe the same breath and share the same destiny with the broad revolutionary masses, and perform new services in the proletarian cultural revolution.

Under the great red banner of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, the broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres must close their ranks to thoroughly crush the bourgeois reactionary line of "attacking the many in order to protect the few" on the question of cadres, realize and consolidate the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary "three-way combination," and jointly strive for new victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution!

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TRANSLATIONS ON COMMUNIST CHINA: ECONOMIC

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This serial publication contains translations of articles on Communist China's economy. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

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A STUDY ON THE PRODUCTION AND NEED OF AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY ON CHINA MAINLAND

Following is a translation of an article by Chi I-chai (4764 0001 7872) in the Chinese-language publication Fei-ch'ing Yueh-pao (Monthly Journal on Bandit Situation), Taipei, Vol 10, No 3, 31 May 1967, pp 63-72.]

I. The Internal Reason for the Emphasis of Agricultural Machinery Industry

(1) The Communist regime uses machinery to replace human labor in order to claim the "superiority" of "socialism."

When the bogus regime was first established, they propagandized that "organizing" the peasants was a prerequisite for undertaking large-scale production and changing petty agrarian operation. However, to engage in large-scale production, it is necessary to embark on the road of using machinery to replace manual labor. This would enhance productive efficiency, reduce the cost of production, and "improve people's material livelihood." This is also "the only material basis of socialism." Such a material basis, according to Lenin, "is the big machine industry which can transform agriculture simultaneously." (Note: Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 2, p 886, Moscow, 1949) Exaggerating this point, the Chinese Communists stated: "In this new historic period, following the growth of industrialization, gradual realization of the modernization of agriculture forms the new economic basis of the worker-peasant alliance." Unless this is done, "it would be impossible to massively enhance agricultural productivity or to bring prosperity to the peasants in order to end their poverty forever." (Note: People's Daily, 23 September 1956) Thus, the so-called "organizing," large-

scale production, use of machinery to replace human labor, enhancement of productivity, improvement of livelihood, etc. have become a series of formulae in the propaganda of the Chinese Communist regime.

(2) Deficiency of animal power and lack of manpower caused the Communist regime to emphasize machine-building industry for agriculture: In the wake of the anti-Japanese war (World War II), there were heavy losses of animal power and farm implements in the various provinces in China. According to investigations of 1946, in the various North China provinces (compared with the pre-war year 1936), losses of animals for farming reached 32.4%; losses of farm implement were 18.9-29.6%; in Central China and East China, the losses were even heavier. For instance, in Kiangsi, 80% of farm animals were lost; in Hunan the losses also reached 40%. According to a 1949 estimate, on the entire mainland of China, farm animals and farm implements had been diminished by some 30% compared to the pre-war figure. (Note: for North China, see Ching-chi Yen-chiu, No 3, pp 100-126, 1957; for Kiangsi and Hunan, see: Chang Tse-yao: Chung-kuo Nung-yeh Ching-chi Wen-t'i, p 123; for general conditions of mainland in 1949, see Hsin-hua Yueh-pao, Nov. 1952, p 162; also Liang-shih, No 1, 1957) By 1956, there were still extreme shortages of farm animals and farm tools on the mainland, the deficiency being 20-40% in the various provinces. (Note: Hsin-hua Pan-yueh k'an [New China Semi-monthly], No 10, 1957, p 96) At the end of 1957, model investigations were made in Shantung, Honan and Shensi and it was revealed that in some of the more prosperous agricultural cooperatives, the degrees of sufficiency in animal power varied drastically. In model cooperatives in Shantung, the degree of sufficiency was 23-74%; in Honan's model cooperatives, sufficiency reached some 59-79%; in Shensi, sufficiency was from 58-78%. (Note: Chi-hua Ching-chi [Planned Economy], 1958, No 8, pp 19-20) Considering the shortages of farm animals in Honan, Shantung and Shensi in 1957, the deficit was about 40-50%; in some other provinces or in their none too "prosperous" cooperatives, the shortage would be greater. Thus, during the first year of the second Five-year Plan, the Communist regime again listed the Loyang No. 1 Tractor Plant--a large plant whose construction had been suspended before, as one of the key projects for that year. In the meantime, a number of new enterprises for agricultural machinery manufacturing were developed. During 1958-1959, geared to the "three red flags" of the Great Leap Forward, etc., they also advanced the slogan for accelerating the modernization of agriculture.

(3) Following the "great leap forward" of 1958-1959, several artificially-created serious problems arose in rural areas. One was the shortage of labor force which is listed as follows based on available data:

(a) In Chekiang, some 3.8 billion work days were required for all kinds of farm chores; on the average of each agricultural labor force working 360 days a year, there were short of 500 million work days, namely: some 1,200,000 to 1,300,000 labor force. (Note: Chekiang Daily, 16 July 1958)

(b) In Shansi: in the industrial sphere, after steps were taken to augment apprentices and temporary workers, there were still short of 25% of temporary working force (apprentice) to 43% (of temporary workers). However, rural labor force was tense and impossible to give support. (Note: People's Daily editorial, 22 July 1958)

(c) The situation on the entire mainland: according to reports, during 1959 shortage of labor in rural villages reached 100 billion work days; suppose each labor force works 360 days each year, some 28,000,000 labor force would be needed. (Note: People's Daily, 12 March 1959)

The main source of labor force being found in rural areas, where there was a similar shortage of labor force in the countryside, the only alternative would be to augment machinery in order to take out the labor force. Thus, agriculture machine industry was developed actively then.

II. The Process of Construction of Farm Machinery Industry and the Rate of Growth

(1) Process of construction: the great leap forward and natural calamities caused the Communist regime to intensify the development of agricultural machinery industry.

The measures taken for agricultural and conservancy development during the "great leap forward" and the continuous drought (begun from 1958) caused excessive losses of farm tools and machines. Moreover, coupled with the shortage of labor, not only it was impossible for the new agricultural machinery to meet the needs, but there was also great tension in the maintenance of original machinery as a result of the fragile maintenance facilities.

In the light of the above-mentioned situation, the Communist regime began to talk ambitiously about technical transformation of agriculture early in 1960. In the autumn, they again introduced measures to promote maintenance networks for farm implements. It was said: "In order to accelerate the transformation of agricultural technology, it is necessary to set up a network for the timely maintenance and assembling of agricultural machinery and tools."

This is "because if a maintenance network commensurate

with the increase of agricultural machinery is established, it will greatly enhance the capacity for the repair and assembly of such machinery. This is an important prerequisite for developing the prowess of agricultural machinery as well as for enhancing the rate of utilization." (Note: People's Daily, 2 Oct 1960) In the use of machinery, the so-called technological transformation is to use mechanized farm tools or semi-mechanized farm tools to replace native-made farm implements in order to raise labor productivity and economize labor force. Thus, after agricultural machinery has been increased, there must be provided a commensurate maintenance capacity. By mid-November that year, it was reported that some 10,000 communes (and hsien) have developed farm machinery assembly and maintenance plants. In places with an earlier start such as Liaoning, Heilungkiang and Hopeh, miniature networks of such plants have been maintained. (Note: Peking telegram of China News Service, 25 Nov 1960)

In regard to mammoth agricultural machinery manufacturers with direct investments of the Central Government and the various provinces (municipalities), there were only about a dozen units in 1958, such as the Loyang Tractors Plant, the Tientsin Tractors Plant (renovated), the Kiangsi Tractors Plant, the Hupeh Agricultural Machinery Factory, the Changsha Water Pumps Factory, the Wuhan Tractors Plant, the Hsiang-yang Machine Works, the Shanghai Tractors Plant and Harbin's Sung-chiang Tractors Plant. In 1959, besides the above-mentioned projects, there were also a dozen or so new projects including the Shanghai Agricultural Machinery Factory and there were some 30 items made by agricultural machinery enterprises. In 1960 there were 55 new units in agricultural machinery, either newly established or continued, and among the new units were the Peking Agricultural Machine Works, etc. In 1961, another 14 large and medium assembly and maintenance plants were established and five tractors plants were expanded. By the autumn of 1964 there were on the China mainland some 800 agricultural machinery maintenance shops. The Communist regime claimed that in most areas farm machinery could be repaired and renovated locally. By the third quarter of 1964, the total number of agricultural machinery enterprises reached 1,000 or more; additionally, some 1,488 farm machinery stations were set up by rural communes, among which some 100 were central maintenance shops for special districts and also some 100 plants were on a large scale.

According to our statistical data, by the end of 1965 there were a total of 417 medium-sized agricultural machinery enterprises (see Issues and Studies, Vol 5, No 8, 10 May 1966, pp 46-52, by Hsiao Chi-jung). Among these some 292 belong to general machinery, 96 belong to tractor manufacturing and assembling and 29 belong to water conservancy machinery. During 1966, because of the struggle for power between two rival factions, no new agricultural machinery plants were launched.

(2) Speed of development and progress: When Mao Tse-tung was frantically advocating agricultural cooperativization in 1955, he stressed the importance of realizing agricultural modernization, that is, replacement of human power production by machinery. He said: "If we cannot solve basically the problem of agricultural cooperativization during the span of three Five-year Plans, which means the advancement of agriculture from small-scale operations with the use of animal power to large-scale production by machinery, we will not be able to resolve the needs of commodity grain and industrial raw materials which grow steadily year after year. Nor will we be able to resolve the problem of the low yield of the major agricultural crops. Our socialist industrialization will be confronted with great difficulties and we will not be able to consummate socialist industrialization." (Note: Mao Tse-tung: "Concerning the Problem of Agricultural Cooperativization," report at the secretaries conference of provincial and municipal party committees, 31 July 1959). Thereafter, the "Outline of Agricultural Development" was adopted in which it was decided to complete large-scale conservancy, communications, forestry, water and soil conservation and reclamation during the 1956-1967 period. All this would require a large-scale increase in the use of machinery in rural communities. During the industrial and agricultural great leap forward in 1958, it was proposed in many regions that agricultural modernization be realized ahead of schedule. In many provinces, they also planned to realize agricultural mechanization, transformation by conservancy, and electrification within three years (for which specific plans were adopted by Kiangsi and Kwangtung). The Central Committee of the Communist party also claimed that it would be possible to realize agricultural modernization within 3-5 years (1958-1962). This, compared to Mao Tse-tung's plan of realizing or basically realizing agricultural modernization within three Five-year Plans, is an advancement of some 5-8 years. They boasted then about the so-called small solution by 1962, medium solution (basic fulfillment) by 1965 and massive solution by 1968. (Note: reported by Ch'en Cheng-jan, People's Daily, 16 Feb 1960) By 1960, however, several years of natural calamities had been encountered and the relations between the Chinese Communist regime and the Soviet Union worsened. There was an overall economic retrogression and the problem of agricultural modernization reached the lowest ebb. In autumn 1962 it was decided to focus the energy on agriculture; they then advanced the view that it "would take some 20 to 25 years" to implement agricultural modernization. (Note: editorial of People's Daily, 9 Nov 1962) Thus the time to achieve modernization of agriculture would be deferred to 1982 or 1987, being a deferment of 20 years compared to Mao Tse-tung's original plan of fulfilling it "within three Five-year Plans" by 1967.

From 1955-1956, development of agricultural machinery enterprises was formally listed in the Communist regime's construction plan; agricultural machinery industry was to be strengthened during the 1958-1959 period. This stage was to be one of slow development. From 1962-1965, the Chinese Communist regime claimed that they had gone all out to develop agriculture. Measures were also taken by industries to support agriculture. These four years saw the universal construction, expansion and renovation of agricultural machinery industry, being also the stage of speedy development. These two stages lasted five years during which period the productive capacity was some 15,000 sets of tractors and some 800,000 to 1,000,000 horse power of irrigation and drainage machines annually. Thus, calculated in accordance with the need of agricultural machinery, there should be 1,000,000-1,100,000 tractors which would take 80 years to produce; also some 40,000,000 horsepower of irrigation and drainage machinery which would take 34 years to produce.

However, the problem is not so simple as this. In the case of tractors, the span of usage for each set is limited to some 10-15 years during which time there must be some 7-8 major overhauls and 12-16 minor repairs. The span of usage of irrigation and drainage machinery is about 5-8 years, with three minor overhauls and one major overhaul annually. (This is based on the reports of the Chinese Communists.) Suppose the period of usage of a tractor is limited to 15 years and that of irrigation and drainage machinery is limited to 8 years, then with some 100,000 tractors now in Communist China, some 6,700 sets will have to be superannuated each year; with the 6,000,000 horsepower of irrigation and drainage machinery there now, some 750,000 horsepower will have to be superannuated each year. Thus, from the number of tractors that can be produced in Communist China now annually, it is necessary to subtract 6,700 sets to replace what has been superannuated; also from the 1,000,000 horse-power of irrigation and drainage machinery to be produced each year, 750,000 horse-power of machinery would have to be used to replace the superannuated amount. This means that the increase of tractors each year is limited to 8,300 sets and that of irrigation and drainage equipment is limited to some 3,000,000-4,000,000 horse-power,

III. The Amount of Principal Agricultural Machinery Needed on the Mainland and the Degree of Fulfillment at This Stage

(1) The amount of major agricultural machinery needed in Communist China: This amount is decided on two premises: One is how much land there is in this region--mainland China; how

much land there is on which machinery should be used, and what types of machinery to be used? Second, this can be calculated in keeping with the conditions of the usage of agricultural machinery in foreign countries. In regard to types of machinery, generally, this includes not only farming and irrigating machinery, but there must also be commensurate development in electric power and in automobiles, otherwise it would be impossible to operate the pertinent farm machinery.

Calculation of the amount of farm machinery needed on the mainland on the basis of the conditions of usage in certain foreign countries: According to the article by Liu Jih-hsin, a cadre of the Communist agricultural machinery designing sector entitled "A Discussion on Some Theoretical Problems on the Realization of Agricultural Modernization in China," the amounts of diverse farm machinery based on conditions of usage in the United States, Japan and the Soviet Union would be as follows (Note: People's Daily, 20 June 1963):

There should be 800 horse-power of mechanized motive power per 10,000 mou of farmland; in the United States, 1,600 horse-power of motive power are used, in Japan 1,000 horse-power, and in the Soviet Union 450 horse-power.

There should be one tractor per 1,500 mou of land; one for 500 mou in the United States, and one for 1,680 mou in the Soviet Union.

There should be one truck per 4,000 mou of farmland; in the United States the average is one for 760 mou, one for 4,300 mou in the Soviet Union, and one for 880 mou in Japan.

There should be one horse-power of irrigation and drainage equipment per 40 mou of farmland; this is also below the amount in the United States, the Soviet Union, Netherlands and Japan.

There should be 8 billion kilowatt hours of rural electric power equipment each year (about two to three times less than the capacity in the United States and the Soviet Union).

Judging by the conditions of the usage of agricultural machinery in foreign countries, the principal machinery needed in Communist China would be as follows: Mechanical motive power (based on 1.6 billion mou of farmland in Communist China), 130,000,000 horse-power; tractors, 800,000 sets (based on 1.2 billion mou of land on which tractors can be used); 400,000 trucks; 20,000,000 horse-power of irrigation and drainage machinery (based on 800 million of land which need irrigation); 8 billion kilowatt hours of electric power for rural consumption (in the

Soviet Union each mou consumes 3 kilowatt hours; in Japan 6 kilowatt hours; in the United States 11 kilowatt hours; in mainland China 5 kilowatt hours).

Among the above-mentioned mechanized motive power (such as gas, diesel and internal combustion engines), tractors, trucks, irrigation equipment and power equipment, with the exceptions of trucks which are produced by automobile industry, mechanized motive power which is produced by the motive power industrial sector and electric power equipment which is produced by electrical industry, production of tractors and irrigation and drainage equipment is determined by the scope of production of the agricultural machinery industry.

(2) Planning in exemplary regions and the amount of agricultural machinery needed:

(a) Kiangsi's planning: In 1959 it was mooted in Kiangsi province that its need of agricultural machinery, that is, the main equipment to realize agricultural mechanization, to carry out conservancy for farmland and to implement rural electrification, consisted of: 75,000-80,000 sets of tractors (and commensurate machinery for sowing, planting, harveting, threshing, etc.), 250,000 horse-power of irrigation and drainage machinery, and 4,500,000 kilowatt of power generating equipment. (Note: Article by Pai Tung-ts'ai, secretary of Kiangsi party committee in People's Daily, 25 March 1960). This investigation report by Pai Tung-ts'ai seems to deserve attention. This is because Kiangsi abounds in water fields; some 10,000,000 mou of farmland must be irrigated and drained. Thus, 250,000 horse-power of irrigation and drainage machinery seems to be too little; based on actual calculations, some 2 to 4 million horse-power would be needed at least. On the other hand, there is no need for 4,500,000 kilowatts of electric power equipment; it is estimated that some 1,000,000 kilowatts would be sufficient to realize rural electrification. The amount of tractors needed is about all right.

(b) In Kwangtung: According to a report of the Kwangtung industrial conference held by the Communist party committee in 1958, Kwangtung would need some 120,000 sets of tractors to realize mechanization and semimechanization of agriculture. (Note: China News Service, Canton dispatch, 30 April 1958)

(c) The main agricultural machinery needed on the mainland according to the estimate of responsible persons engaged in studying agricultural machinery: According to an article by Chang Wen-ang, president of the Institute of Agricultural Mechanization, entitled "Some Problems on Industrial Support for Agriculture to Realize Mechanization," based on the actual

conditions on the mainland, each mou of farmland should be furnished with 7 sets of tractors (1,100,000 sets in all); every 5,000 mou of farmland should have one set of grain harvester combine (a total of 320,000 sets); every 5,000 mou of farmland should have one truck (320,000 trucks in all); every 20 mou of farmland should have 1 horse-power of irrigation and drainage machinery (some 40,000,000 horse-power in all); additionally, there would be needed some 100,000,000 horse-power of motive power machinery for agricultural use. (Note: Peiping Workers' Daily, 17 Jan 1963)

Among the data cited above, the requirements mentioned in Chang Wen-ang's article seem to be more in keeping with practical needs on the mainland; This means that in order to realize agricultural mechanization on the China mainland, the principal agricultural machinery needed would be: 1,100,000 sets of tractors, as well as a commensurate number of harvesting and threshing machines, some 40,000,000 horse-power of irrigation and drainage machinery (the needs of automobiles, motive power machinery and electric power equipment are beyond the purview of this article and will be studied in another one).

(3) The amount of available principal agricultural machinery and the degree of satisfaction:

(a) Tractors and the degree of satisfaction: In 1957 there were 12,036 sets of tractors (not including the 2, 235 sets operated by state farms, the total would be 14,271 sets if included); the area of machine-farmed farmland for that year was 26,190,000 mou, there being one tractor for 2,175 mou of farmland on the average. According to Chou En-lai's report to the National People's Congress in December 1964, the number of tractors on the entire mainland in that year registered a fourfold increase compared to 1957. Based on the 1957 figure of 12,036 tractors, the number for 1964 would have reached 60,180 sets; this figure, coupled with the 14,271 tractors operated by state farms, would rise to 74,451 sets. There seems to be a large gap between this figure and the 100,000 tractors for 1964 mentioned in another source. This may be due to the basis of calculation according to "standard sets" or "mixed sets." Whatever the case might be, if the figure of 100,000 sets for 1964 was true, then the 12,000 or 14,000 sets reported in 1957 seemed to be underestimated. However, even in 1957, this report indicated a larger scope of increase because in 1955 there were only 2,839 sets and in 1956 the planned figure has reached 11,192 sets.

Assuming that there were 100,000 sets of tractors on the mainland in 1964, with the 1,634,200,000 mou of farmland there, there would be one set of tractor for 16,342 mou of farmland.

Comparing this with Chang Wen-ang's data, this would satisfy only less than 10% of the need of tractors on the mainland.

By analyzing the tractors owned by the various provinces in mainland China, the 18 provinces and two municipalities including Liaoning, Kirin, Heilungkiang and Hopeh owned a total of 85,829 tractors among which the 1,624 sets of tractors owned by Kirin represented newly increased tractors for 1962. In Shensi province, the area of mechanized farming during 1962 reached 4 million mou; with each tractor serving 2,800 mou, Shensi would have 1,400 tractors. The number of tractors listed for Kwangtung and Hupeh represented the number in operation during that year. The figure for Kiangsi was the newly increased tractors for 1960. The number for Fukien represented the number added during 1958-1961. Thus, the 85,829 sets owned by 18 provinces and two municipalities were rather incomplete. Additionally, there was no available data for the seven provinces of Szechwan, Kwangsi, Hunan, Yunnan, Kweichow, Chekiang and Ninghsia. In keeping with the progress of state farms in these provinces and in view of the fact that considerable progress has been made in the vast plains of Szechwan in recent years, the number of tractors for these seven provinces would be: Szechwan, 4,000 sets; Chekiang, 2,000 sets; Yunnan, 1,500 sets; Kweichow, 500 sets; Kwangsi, 1,000 sets; Hunan, 3,000 sets; Ninghsia, 600 sets. In Kirin province, there was an increase of 1,624 sets in 1962; in neighboring Liaoning, there were 5,900 tractors; in Heilungkiang there were 13,600 tractors in 1963. Kirin is one of the major reclamation areas in the Northeast, though its farmland (34,600,000 mou in 1949 and it may have reached 50,000,000 mou by 1963) was considerably less than Liaoning's 70,000,000 mou and Heilungkiang's 110,000,000 mou. Thus, Kirin's entire tractors was estimated at 4,624 sets. Additionally, the number of tractors in Kwangtung was estimated at 4,800 sets (3,800 sets in operation); the number in Hupeh was estimated at 4,900 sets (3,900 sets in operation); the number in Kiangsi was estimated at 3,000 sets (fewer than Hupeh and Hunan); the number in Fukien was estimated at 1,148 sets. Thus, adding the above-mentioned figures together, the various provinces in mainland China in 1964 would have a total of 106,829 tractors. This may be compared with the figure of 100,000 sets that has been announced. On the average, there would be one tractor for 15,420 mou of farmland, the degree of satisfaction compared to need being about 10% only.

(b) Available irrigation and drainage machinery and the degree of satisfaction: Based on Chou En-lai's report in December 1964 that there "was a 12-fold increase compared to 1957," mainland China would have 6,000,000 horse-power of irrigation and drainage machinery for agricultural use by 1964.

According to statistics of the Chinese Communist regime, figures were available from 14 provinces in regard to the amount of agricultural machinery for irrigation and drainage: Hopeh, 100,000 horse-power in 1961; Heilungkiang, 140,000 horse-power in 1960; Shansi, 240,000 horse-power in 1960; Inner Mongolia, 50,000 horse-power in 1963; Kansu, 110,000 horse-power in 1961; Sinkiang, 244,000 horse-power in 1960; Kwangsi, 186,000 horse-power in 1965; Kwangtung, 89,000 horse-power in 1960; Hupeh, 400,000 horse-power in 1964; Kiangsi, 300,000 horse-power in 1964; Anhwei, 240,000 horse-power in 1961; Kiangsu, 690,000 horse-power in 1963; Chekiang, 128,000 horse-power in 1959; Fukien, 80,000 horse-power in 1964. These 14 provinces and regions had a total of 2,997,000 horse-power of irrigation and drainage machinery for agricultural use. However, among these 14 provinces and regions, it may be noted that with the exceptions of Kwangsi whose figures were for 1965, Hupeh, Kiang and Fukien whose figures were for 1964, and Inner Mongolia and Kiangsu whose figures were for 1963, of the other eight provinces only 1959-1961 data were produced. In point of fact, during the 1962-1964 years, there must have been considerable increases in these provinces. Thus, the irrigation and drainage machinery owned by these 14 provinces and regions should be at least about some 3,600,000 to 3,800,000 horse-power.

In such provinces as Szechwan, Hunan, Shantung, Honan, Kirin, Liaoning where specific data were lacking, each province should have at least some 150,000 to 180,000 horse-power of irrigation and drainage machinery; in Shensi, Yunnan and Kweichow, each should have some 40,000 to 70,000 horse-power; in Tsinghai and Ninghsia, each should have some 10,000 to 15,000 horse-power. Based on available data, coupled with the increments during 1965-1966, the amount of irrigation and drainage machinery in mainland China during the current stage should be about 6,000,000 horse-power or more. Based on the 6,000,000 horse-power quoted by Chou En-lai, there was then 1 horse-power of irrigation and drainage machinery for 262 mou on the average.

In view of the fact that some 40,000,000 horse-power were needed and there were only some 6,000,000 horse-power available, only 15% of the needs could be satisfied.

In regard to the irrigation and drainage machinery owned by various provinces in mainland China, the various degrees of satisfaction may be analysed by citing the conditions of Fukien and Kwangsi in South China, Chekiang and Kiangsu in East China, Hupeh and Kiangsi in Central China, Kansu in the northwest, Hopeh and Inner Mongolia in North China, and Heilungkiang in the Northeast (the ratio between mechanized motive power for irrigation and drainage and farmland). In Fukien, there is one

horse-power for 450 mou of farmland; in the Kwangsi "autonomous region" one horse-power every 349 mou of farmland; in Chekiang one horse-power every 273 mou of farmland; in Kiangsu one horse-power for every 112 mou of farmland; in Hupeh one horse-power every 150 mou of farmland; in Kiangsi one horse-power every 140 mou of farmland; in Kansu one horse-power every 609 mou of farmland; in Hopeh one horse-power every 910 mou of farmland; in Inner Mongolia one horse-power every 914 mou of farmland; in Heilungkiang one horse-power every 785 mou of farmland. On the basis that one horse-power of irrigation and drainage machinery is needed for 40 mou of farmland (as the general average), the degrees of satisfaction of the need of such machinery in the above-mentioned provinces would be as follows:

Fukien, 8.88%; Kwangsi, 11.46%; Chekiang, 14.65%; Kiangsu, 35.57%; Hupeh, 26.66%; Kiangsi, 28.57%; Kansu, 6.56%; Hopeh, 4.39%; Inner Mongolia, 4.37%; Heilungkiang, 5.09%.

IV. The Volume of the Output of Principal Agricultural Machines

(1) Output of farm machinery:

(a) Output of tractors: The Loyang First Tractors Plant began to produce tractors in 1958. However, because of the "great leap forward" in 1958, the Communist regime reported that a great many enterprises were producing tractors and these reports were confusing. In that year, it was said that tractor output might reach 40,000 sets (Tientsin dispatch of New China News Agency dated 24 July 1958) though no report on fulfillment was available. However, in the national economic plan for 1959, the output of tractors was listed at 6,000 sets; this shows that the 1958 production plan was not fulfilled basically. In the Wei-ta Shih-nien (A Great Decade) published in 1959, it was revealed that 959 sets of tractors were produced in 1958. Planned production of tractors for 1960 was 22,000 sets (according to Li Fu-ch'un's planning report) and this would be a twofold increase compared to 1959. Thus, the 1959 output should be about 3,300 sets of tractors.

During the 1960-1962 period there was a complete blackout of the reports on industrial and agricultural production in Communist China. Not only there was no report on the volume of production, but also no figures of comparison were given at all. It is said that the production plan for 1963 has been fulfilled and the increase over 1962 might reach 20%. (Note: Peiping Workers' Daily, 7 Jan 1964 reports that production plans for tractors, grain harvesters, machine-drawn plows, grass removers,

irrigation and drainage machinery, water pumps, etc. have been fulfilled ahead of schedule; compared to 1962, the volume of some products showed a 20% increase) In regard to specific reports, according to the U.S. Wall Street Journal, 15,000 sets of the Tung-fang Hung (East Is Red) brand of tractors were produced in 1963. (Note: Wall Street Journal, 26 June 1964) If this figure is reliable, then the 1962 tractor production should be about 12,500 sets. During the first eight months of 1964, it was said that there was an increase of 23% compared to the same period of 1963. According to the year-end report for 1964, there was some increase in output compared with 1963 (Chou En-lai's report to the National People's Congress, December 1964), though the amount of increase was not divulged and it might be not as big as the scope of rise for the first eight months. It was estimated that in 1964 some 18,000 sets of tractors had been produced. The 1965 production would be 20,000 sets and the 1966 production 28,000 sets (figured at an annual increase of 40%).

(b) Output of combined harvesters: In 1955 only three sets of combined harvesters were produced in Communist China. Production rose to 22 sets in 1956, 124 sets in 1957, 254 sets in 1958 (these figures are found in Wei-ta Shih-nien). In 1959 it was planned to turn out 1,100 sets, but no report on the results of performance was available. For 1960 it was planned to produce 2,000 sets, it being estimated that during 1959 some 600-800 sets were produced. During the 1960-1962 period, annual output of combined harvesters would not exceed 2,000 sets. In 1963, the output was about 2,200 sets to 2,300 sets; 1964 output reached 2,500 sets. The scope of growth for 1965 was not reported. During the first nine months of 1966, the output of hand-supported tractors showed a twofold increase compared with the same period of 1965. No mention was made about the increases of other agricultural machines, but the amount of supplies rose 40%. Thus, the 1966 output would be about 3,700 sets.

(2) Output of irrigation and drainage machinery:

In 1956 there were 390,000 horse-power of motive power for water pumps in mainland China; it was increased to 500,000 horse-power by 1957. It was planned originally to produce 500,000 horse-power in 1958, but as a result of the "great leap forward," some 2,000,000 horse-power were produced (including all kinds of motive power machinery, though mainly irrigation and drainage machinery). It was reported in Wei-ta Shih-nien that in 1952 there were produced 35,000 horse-power of motive power machinery on the mainland; in 1953, 144,000 horse-power were produced; in 1955, 247,000 horse-power were produced; in 1956, 657,000 horse-power were produced; in 1957, 690,000 horse-power were produced; it then rose sharply to 2,000,000 horse-power in 1958.

In motive power for irrigation and drainage it was not until 1958 that it began to occupy a more important position. In 1957 there were actually only some 110,000 to 150,000 horse-power. (This is based on the 1958 plan calling for the increase of output to 500,000 horse-power, being an increase of two or more times compared to 1957 and the total horse-power of pumping machines for 1957. In 1956 there were only 390,000 horse-power.)

The period of the "great leap forward" from 1958-1960 was one in which reports on production were most chaotic and exaggerated. During this period, the number of irrigation and drainage machinery registered an eight-fold increase. Based on this (with the 500,000 horse-power of 1957 as the base), there should be some 4,000,000 horse-power of irrigation and drainage equipment in 1960. This means that during the three years from 1958-1960, they had produced some 3,500,000 horse-power of motive power machinery for irrigation and drainage. According to another source, it said that by the end of 1959 there were 3,380,000 horse-power of such machinery; thus deducting the 500,000 horse-power produced in 1957, they produced a total of some 2,880,000 horse-power during 1958-1959. It was also reported that during 1960 and 1961, they supplied some 3,300,000 horse-power of irrigation and drainage machinery. Adding this to the 2,880,000 horse-power of 1958-1959, then in the four-year period from 1958-1961, they had increased motive-power machinery for irrigation and drainage amounting to 6,180,000 horse-power. This latter figure, coupled with the horse-power produced in 1957, would bring the total production of such machinery on the mainland by the end of 1961 to 6,680,000 horse-power.

The above-mentioned data are obviously questionable, especially the unconfirmed figures of production during the great leap period of 1958-1959. Even the production figures for 1958-1961 would also seem contradictory from the standpoint of the more recent reports.

According to another source, the amount of motive power for irrigation and drainage supplied during January-April in 1962 reached 100,000 horse-power. If this volume of production was maintained for the whole year, then the total production for that year would amount only to some 300,000 horse-power. This is figured on the basis that the amount of supply was equivalent to the amount of production; it would be another case if the amount of supply formed only a portion of production. In view of the fact 1962 was a year of serious drought, motive-power machinery for irrigation and drainage were urgently needed in rural areas. Thus, there could not be too much of a gap between production and supply. It would be all right if the yearly production reached 500,000 horse-power. Also according to Chou

En-lai's report, in 1964 Communist China's motive-power machinery for irrigation and drainage was 12 times as many as the 1957 figure. Thus in 1964 there were some 6,000,000 horse-power, and during the seven years from 1958-1964 they had produced some 5,000,000 horse-power of motive-power machinery for irrigation and drainage. The average annual production did not exceed 800,000 horse-power. It is also possible that during this period there were imports of such machinery. In view of the fact that in recent years, Communist China has devoted its full energy to developing agricultural machine-building industry, imports could not be too large. Moreover, because of the protracted drought from 1958-1962 and the excessive use of irrigation and drainage machinery, it is conceivable that damages have increased. Thus, if some 1,000,000 horse-power of irrigation and drainage machinery were superannuated from 1958-1963, then the production from 1958-1964 would have reached 6,500,000 horse-power. During these seven years the annual production would be about 920,000 horse-power. It can thus be proven that the production figures reported for the 1958-1959 period were unreliable and the 1960 planned production had not been fulfilled.

No reports are available regarding production conditions during 1965; it only said that there was some increase over 1964. It has been said that 1966 was the year in which the progress of agricultural machinery was the fastest; during the first eight months of that year the amount of supply rose some 40% compared to the corresponding period of 1965. (Note: According to the People's Daily, 18 Oct 1966, the output of hand-supported tractors during the first nine months increased two times over the same period of 1965; that of internal combustion machinery increased 62%. According to the same paper of 25 September 1966 the amount of farm implements supplied registered an increase of 40% compared to the same period of 1965.) If the amount of supply was also the amount of production, it is then estimated that some 1,100,000 horse-power of motive power for irrigation and drainage machinery were produced in 1965; some 1,500,000 horse-power were produced in 1966.

(3) Production conditions of principal enterprises:

(a) Loyang Tractors Plant: This plant began production in 1957 with 14 plants. During the second quarter of 1958 full operation began though it was estimated that mass production would begin in 1959. (Note: People's Daily, 14 Aug 1957 and 3 Feb 1958) The plant was expanded in 1959 and after its completion annual output would reach some 20,000 to 30,000 sets. (Note: People's Daily, 15 Oct 1959 and 11 May 1960) Thus, it is questionable whether this plant could produce tractors in 1958. As the plant was being expanded in 1959, it would also be impossible

to maintain massive production. No report was made on 1961 production; in 1962 it was said that the entire year's production would be consummated ahead of schedule by 18 December, it being stated that by year's end 100 sets of tractors might be produced.

(Note: People's Daily, 23 Dec 1962) Thus, on the basis that 100 sets of tractors could be produced in the last 12 days of 1962, then the entire 1962 output would reach only some 3,000 sets. For 1963, if a 20% increase was added to the 1962 output, or if the productivity of the Loyang Tractors Plant had been increased, the maximal output for the year would be some 5,000 or 6,000 sets. In 1964, by 20 November they had fulfilled the production plan for the "Tung-fang Hung" 54-type tractors 40 days ahead of schedule and some 562 sets had been produced over the quota, thereby registering an increase of 6.8% over 1963 production. (Note: Broadcast of Hopeh radio station, 28 Nov 1964) Thus, the maximal production of 1963 could not exceed 8,600 sets; the output of 1964 was about 10,000 sets. There was therefore a gap of some 2,000 sets between these two kinds of data.

Since 1965, the Communist regime has reported that a new type of 75 horse-power "Tung-fang Hung" tractor was produced and the cost of production for each set was 1,060 yuan less than the 1964 cost (the 1964 cost was 1,100 yuan lower than the 1963 cost). There were also increases in the output of tractor parts and of the equipment for irrigation and drainage. It was estimated the output of tractors during 1965 might have reached 10,000 sets or more. (Note: (1) broadcast of Honan Radio Station 2 April and 27 Oct 1965; (2) NCNA Chengchow dispatch Sept 1965). In 1966, the output for the first eight months was 60.7% higher than 1965, it being estimated that the entire year's production could reach 14,000 to 15,000 sets. (Note: According to NCNA Chengchow report of 22 Sept 1966, the Loyang Tractors Plant's output for the first eight months registered an increase of 60.7% compared to the same period of 1965. However, since September because of the struggle for power in the cultural revolution, it has greatly affected industrial production. In Honan the anti-Maoist forces were strong and the struggle was more violent there than elsewhere. If the 1965 production level could be maintained during September-December it would have been very good. It would be an overly high estimate if the yearly output were higher than 1965 by some 40-50%.)

(b) Mukden Tractors Plant: This plant began to manufacture the "Tung-fang Hung" (East Is Red) 28-type tractors in 1959 experimentally. Early in 1964 production began on a small scale and 49 sets were produced during the first quarter of that year. (Note: Peiping Workers' Daily, 3 April 1964) According to this rate, the entire year's production would be no more than

200 sets. Also according to a People's Daily report of September that year, during the first eight months, the output of Mukden Tractors Plant registered an increase of 23% compared with the same period of 1963. Besides the "Tung-fang-hung" 28-type, there was also the "Feng-shou" (Bumper Harvest) No. 7 type of tractor. (Note: People's Daily, 26 Sept 1964) Thus, the entire 1964 output would be about 400-500 sets. There was no report for 1965; it was said that there was a great increase in 1966. (Note: NCNA Mukden dispatch 12 Sept 1966 states that the said plant's 1965-1966 production consisted mainly of hand-supported tractors. Thus, among the estimated 1,000 to 1,500 sets, large tractors might not reach one-half) The entire year's output was set at some 1,000 to 1,500 sets.

(c) Shanghai Tractors Plant: During the "leap" period of 1958, this plant claimed that they could produce some 10,000 sets of 4, 7, 8 and 27 horse-power small tractors. However, this plant was being built early in 1958 and so it would not be able to assume full operation until the latter half of 1959 or the first half of 1960. (Note: China News Service Shanghai dispatch, 31 May 1958 published in Ta Kung Pao, Hong Kong, 1 June 1958) The plant would have an annual production capacity of 20,000 sets after its completion. Judging by its production report, this factory would begin production in 1962; large-scale production might begin in 1963.

In 1963, through the support of 19 factories in Shanghai, the Shanghai Tractors Plant for the first time manufactured a 7-horse-power hand-supported tractor; this was produced in bulk early in 1964. In the first half of 1964, this kind of tractor, known as the "Kung-nung" No 7 hand-supported tractor, was produced in three batches aggregating 203 sets. (Note: (1) People's Daily, 10 Feb 1963; (2) NCNA Shanghai dispatch 1 July 1964) During the first quarter of 1965, 334 sets of this type of tractors were made. (Note: Shanghai broadcast of 2 April 1965) According to this rate, output of hand-supported tractors for the entire year would be under 1,000 sets. In 1966 the entire output would be about 1,300-1,500 sets. According to another report, during the first eight months of 1965, the output of the "Kung-nung" No 7 tractors showed an increase of 100% compared to 1964. (Note: NCNA Shanghai dispatch 20 Sept 1965) Thus, this plant's 1964 output would be about 500 sets. During the first months of 1966, some 500,000 sets of hand-supported tractors were made in Shanghai; because of the mammoth scale of the said plant, it could have made at least 100,000 sets. (Note: NCNA Shanghai dispatch 20 Sept 1962). In point of fact, this was almost impossible and so the production figures for Shanghai are highly questionable.

(d) Kiangsi Tractors Plant: This plant was constructed in 1958 and it had begun partial production by the second half of 1958. According to an earlier report, from the latter part of 1958 to August 1962 it had made 340 sets of "Bumper Harvest" No 27 tractors. This means that only 85 sets were produced each year. (Note: Kiangsi broadcast, 29 Sept 1962) According to more recent data, it is said that during July and August in the third quarter of 1965, this plant made 110 sets and so the entire year's output was about 660-700 sets. (Note: Kiangsi radio broadcast, 12 Sept 1965)

(e) Fukien Agricultural Machine Factory: At the end of 1964 this plant had made a small number of hand-supported tractors. Early in January 1965 it again experimented with hand-supported tractors and production on a larger scale may be started from now. (Note: Fukien radio broadcast, 15 Jan and 27 Feb 1965) However, because of its small scale, its annual output would be about 300 sets.

(f) Fukien Tractors Plant: In the past three years this plant has made only parts for tractors; its main business also included the production and maintenance of irrigation and drainage machinery and repairs of tractors. In September 1964 a thermal treatment plant was added and it was completed in mid-May 1965. In the meantime, a maintenance shop for some 2,000 tractors was also completed. According to its 1964-1965 production plan, the plant would experiment in the manufacturing of tractors, mainly hand-supported ones. It is estimated that production might begin during 1966-1967 with an annual capacity of 300-400 sets. (Note: Fukien radio broadcast, 13, 17 March and 24, 27 May 1965)

Apart from the above-mentioned six tractor plants which made reports on their production during recent years, there are a number of enterprises which reported on tractor production before but have not issued any news in recent years. The latter plants include the 22 units of Antung Machine Plant, Harbin First Machine Plant, T'ung-hua Tractor Accessories Plant, Dairen No. 5 Machine Works, Harbin Sung-chiang Tractors plant, Tientsin First General Machine Works, Tientsin Machine Accessories Plant, Tientsin Tractors Plant, Yun-ch'eng Machine Works, Hsi-ning Machine Works, Urumchi Farm Tools Plant, Hsia-kuan Farm Tools Plant, Yu-han Iron Works, Hsiang-chiang Machine Works, Nanchang Diesel Engine Works, Kiangsi Machine Works, Wuhan General Machine Works, Shanghai Hung-chi Iron Works, Wenchow Iron Works, Yu-yao Iron Works, Foochow Machine Works, and Ch'uan-chou Agricultural Machine Factory. There were also a number of plants which had made plans for making tractors in 1958-1959 but up to now they have not yet begun formal production. These enterprises include

the following 11 units: Shih-chia-chuang Tractors Plant, Kunming Tractors Plant, Liuchow Machine Works, Nanning Iron Works, Chao-chou Tractors Plant, Hainan Tractors Plant, Nanchang Tractors Plant, Wuhan Tractors Plant, Nanking Tractors Plant, Ho-fei Tractors Plant, Hangchow Tractors Plant. Most of these enterprises have already been completed though they have been engaged only in making tractor parts and in maintenance work. Additionally, the Shanghai Ch'eng-fu Motive-power Machine Works is only a collaborating plant for tractor manufacturers; its production of hand-supported tractors can only be regarded as a part of the business of the Shanghai Tractors Plant.

Since 1964-1966, reports on the manufacture of hand-supported tractors have been heard from the Shensi Hand-supported Tractors Plant, Wusih Tractors Plant, and tractor plants in Canton, Wuhan and Ch'ang-chou. They formed some of the collaborating units of the Shanghai Tractors Plant and moreover they have not yet made tractors. Thus, they are not listed as enterprises which produce tractors regularly.

Among the four enterprises in Communist China which are engaged in making tractors in bulk, their 1965 production is estimated at 14,000 to 16,000 sets. Including the output of other plants, the total output would not exceed 20,000 sets. Among these, the output of the Loyang Tractors Plant was over 10,000 sets. Taking into consideration that the productive capacity of the Loyang plant could be enhanced and with a further increase of the output of the Shanghai and Mukden plants by some 10 to 20% (it would be rather difficult to raise the output of Kiangsi plant), then the production of diverse tractors in Communist China might reach some 26,000 to 27,000 sets. Among this figure it is rather difficult to estimate the output of hand-supported tractors.

V. Conclusions

(1) In view of the fragile foundation of the development of agricultural machinery industry, maintenance strength was weak and this has resulted in curtailing the life span of machines and increased depreciation. For instance, based on the fact that tractors need to have major overhauls for seven or eight times within 15 years and also some 12-16 minor repairs, and that irrigation and drainage machinery has to have 15 minor and 5 major overhauls within five years, then it is necessary for Communist China to maintain facilities to overhaul some 120,000 to 140,000 sets of tractors annually. This calls for a maintenance capacity also for some 7 or 8 million horse-power of irrigation and and drainage machinery. Though there are on

the mainland some 1,000 enterprises which either make or service agricultural machines, the maintenance capability is still far behind the needs.

Take 1963 for example; before spring plowing that year, only 80% of the tractors had been checked and overhauled. (Note: report in People's Daily 12 Apr 1963) By year's end, according to the statistics of 15 special districts in Szechwan the rate of utilization of various kinds of farm machinery was 68% only because of the poor maintenance strength. (Note: Szechwan radio broadcast, 18 Dec 1963) From 1964-1965, judging by the conditions of the inspection of agricultural machinery in such provinces as Hunan and Shensi, not only the speed of maintenance was slow, but there were also too many machines which had to be overhauled, thus making it "a very arduous task." (Note: (1) Hunan radio broadcast, 13 Jan 1965; (2) Shensi radio broadcast, 11 Jan 1965) In Shensi, for instance, on the one hand, there was a lack of maintenance facilities and the slow speed; on the other hand, with the continuous use of machinery, depreciation was excessive, causing making it necessary to increase the work of overhaul. In the past, a number of large and medium-sized enterprises have been launched for maintenance; but they still seem to be insufficient.

(2) There was a short supply of materials--the rate of self-sufficiency was low, thus affecting production and maintenance. According to recent reports, the rate of self-sufficiency in steel has reached 90% and it is said to be basically self-sufficient. However, in the case of steel for precision machinery, it has not reached such a ratio. According to reports of the year before last, Communist China had to depend on import for steels used in making tractors. (Note: NCNA report 23 July 1965)

In regard to the supply of raw materials, each tractor needs 1.3 tons of metals; in the case of farm implements comparable to tractors, the amount of metals needed is about 4 times as much, that is, 6.5 tons. One set of combined harvester needs eight tons of metallic materials; the metallic materials used to maintain 10,000 sets of tractors and other farm implements also reach 10,000 tons. (Note: Peiping Workers' Daily, 12 Jan 1963) With the amount of tractors now being produced and available, some 750,000 tons would be needed each year, in addition to another 120,000 tons of metals for maintenance. Coupled with metals needed to make irrigation and drainage machinery the existing agricultural machines industry would require some 1,300,000 to 1,400,000 tons annually. Now, the level of steel production in Communist China, with the exception of rolled steel, is about sufficient to sustain the production of agricul-

tural machinery. However, if the production should be increased two or three times, then the steel and steel manufactures needed for agricultural machinery alone would amount to some 4 to 5 million tons a year (including maintenance use). This would take up half of the steel produced in Communist China. Without considering whether coordination could be achieved with the other sectors, such as electrical machines, motive power, automobiles, etc., unless the steel industry is expanded by 100% on the present basis, it would be impossible to sustain the speedy development of agricultural machine-building industry.

(3) Such factors as low technology and inferior quality also affect maintenance and operation. In regard to quality, in the case of the "Bumper Harvest" No 27 tractor made by the Kiangsi Tractors Plant, it has reached the standard. However, after the tractors have been delivered, customers complained that they were "full of flaws." (Note: NCNA, 24 Sept 1962 and Kiangsi radio broadcast) In 1964 complaints were also made by the users of the hand-supported tractors made by the Mukden and Shanghai tractor plants.

In the use of machinery, because of the general low technical standard in rural areas as well as the low levels of communal cadres and of the technicians of farm machinery stations, accidents have been caused involving both machinery and lives. This also has resulted in lowering the span of usage and in increasing depreciation. (Note: NCNA, 17 Aug 1964) There seemed to be no remedies for the low quality of machinery. This has not only aggravated the problems of usage but also brought serious problems to maintenance and repair. (Note: According to a Shanghai broadcast of 29 Sept 1966, some 500,000 sets of hand-supported tractors were produced in Shanghai during the first 8 months. If this was a true figure, then the so-called hand-supported tractors must have been degenerated into a semi-mechanized farm implement.)

- END -

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TRANSLATIONS ON COMMUNIST CHINA: POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

No. 420

(The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution --
a Record of Major Events)

- September 1965 to December 1966 -

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FOREWORD

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TRANSLATIONS ON COMMUNIST CHINA: POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

No. 420

THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION --
A RECORD OF MAJOR EVENTS

- September 1965 to December 1966 -

[Following is a complete translation of the Chinese-language publication Wu-ch'an-chieh-chi Wen-hua Ta-ko-ming Ta-shih-chi (English version above), compiled by the "Ch'uan-min-chieh-ping" and "Chung-hsiao-han" combat teams of the 28th Regiment of the Ching-kang-shan Corps of Tsinghua University, Peking, February 1967, pp 1-39.]

Editor's Note: The great proletarian cultural revolution, personally initiated by our great leader Chairman Mao in 1966, is the greatest event in the sixties of the 20th century. This revolution ushers in a new stage in the socialist development of our country; and opens up a new era in the history of the international communist movement. This is a significant event which concerns the future and destiny of both our country and the world. It continues the struggle between the two lines within our Party. It pronounces the complete bankruptcy and defeat of the bourgeois line headed by Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping; and eradicates the poisonous root for a restoration of capitalism and revisionism in our country. That the storm of the "January Revolution" spread nation-wide has further illustrated that the working people have begun their true control of this land of 9.6 million square kilometers of the Chinese People's Republic.

Guided by the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the proletarian revolutionaries and all revolutionary comrades of the country united themselves, greeted the dawn of the Northeast and the spring thunder of the Southwest, marched bravely on with their heads high in the storm of the "January Revolution" and devoted themselves to strive for new, greater, and more extensive victories in 1967. They pledged themselves to carry to the end the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In the storm of the "January Revolution," and on the most glorious day when the proletarian revolutionaries are going all out to seize power from the hands of the "lords," who are a handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road, this record of major events is published. However, as our level is limited and the pertinent materials gathered are not complete, and time available is also short, these are inevitably many mistakes and defects. It is hoped that comrades will offer valuable suggestions and criticism to us.

The "Chuan-min chieh-ping" and "Chung-hsiao-han" Combat Teams of the 28th Regiment of the Ching-kang-shan Corps of the Tsinghua University. February 1967 in Peking.

FIRST STAGE (September 1965 - May 1966)

Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's [1202 2429 0337] article raised the curtain of the nation-wide great proletarian cultural revolution and tolled the death knoll of the handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. Shaken and frightened, these persons immediately set out to organize a large-scale counter attack, openly resisted Chairman Mao, and attempted to astray a grave political struggle to the path of pure academic discussion, so as to stifle in the cradle the great proletarian cultural revolution. However, our great leader Chairman Mao came straight to the point to declare the essence of this struggle, guided the movement along the correct line of progress, and also dug out the time bombs around him--Peng Chen, Lu Ting-i, Lo Jui-ching, Yang Shang-kun, and others of the anti-Party clique--to the great delight of all.

During September and October, 1965: At the Political Bureau conference, with leading comrades from all major administrative areas attending, Chairman Mao sensed the political nature of the Wu Han question in that Wu Han, acting as a representative of bourgeoisie, was attacking the Party. The key question regarding Hai Jui's Dismissal was the dismissal of officials. The Chairman asked Peng Chen: "Can Wu Han be criticized?" Evading the essence of the question, Peng Chen replied: "Some questions regarding Wu Han can be criticized." This exchange was kept secret from Comrade Kang Sheng and other comrades of the five-man group until 2 January 1966.

2 September: In his talk to cadres engaged in the "four cleaning" campaign, Lin Feng dwelled upon Liu Shao-chi's three methods to present revisionism: the promotion of socialist education, adoption of two educational systems and two labor systems, and participation of cadres in labor performance. This was an outright attempt to usurp credit and to use Chairman Mao's great development of Marxism-Leninism to build up Liu Shao-chi, the highest revisionist in China.

23 September: At the conference of cultural bureau and

department heads, Peng Chen repeatedly attacked Chairman Mao by name, saying: "In truth, all persons are equal, regardless of whether they are in the Party Central Committee or the Chairman." He also stated: "Everyone shares the wrong words spoken," in an attempt to protect the rightists and to attack the leftists.

25 September: At the conference of cultural bureau and department heads, Lu Ting-i went all out to denounce Stalin.

10 October: Chairman Mao delegated the task of criticizing Wu Han to the Shanghai Municipal Committee, which began to prepare the necessary materials, since it was impossible to launch the criticism in Peking.

10 November: The Wen-hui pao carried Yao Wen-yuan's article: "Criticizing the New Historic Play: 'Hai Jui's Dismissal'," thus raising the curtain of the great proletarian cultural revolution. The Chieh-fang-chun-pao immediately reprinted the article and pointed out that "Hai Jui's Dismissal" represented a major poisonous weed.

11-26 November: While newspapers in the East China region carried Yao Wen-yuan's article, Peking newspapers and periodicals did not, because of the orders from the Central Propaganda Department and Peng Chen. Peng Chen questioned Shanghai comrades: "What has happened to your Party character?" He also twice dispatched Fan Chin [5400 3866], former director of Peking Jih-pao, to Shanghai to learn of the background of Yao's article.

24-29 November: Since various newspapers did not carry Yao's article, it was decided that the Shanghai Publishing House would reprint the article as a pamphlet for nation-wide distribution. An urgent telegram was also sent to Hsin-hua Bookstores throughout the country to inquire about possible advanced subscriptions. Replies came from all areas, except Peking. Even a telephone call did not produce any definite reply until 29 November, when it was forced to agree.

28 November: Peng Chen was forced into taking action only when Premier Chou assumed personal supervision. A meeting was called at the West Room of the Great Hall of the People to discuss reprinting Yao's article. At the meeting, Peng Chen asked Teng To: "How is Wu Han now?" Teng To replied: "Wu is now nervous, for he is aware that this criticism originates from a source." Peng Chen declared: "Source or not, we seek only the truth. In truth, everyone is equal."

29 November: Peking Daily reprinted Yao's article, with a note written by Peng Chen, depicting this political struggle as an academic debate concerning the evaluation of historic personages and historic plays. The last paragraph of the note quoting the Chairman's words was added after the Premier interceded. The article was carried

in the column of academic criticism.

30 November: People's Daily carried Yao's article in the column of academic research, with an ambiguous note.

2 December: Kwangming Daily reprinted Yao's article, in compliance with instructions from Yao Chen [1202 3308] (Secretary of the former Peking Municipal Committee) who said: "Peng Chen ordered that the article should not be carried simultaneously by different newspapers on the same day, in order to lessen the shock."

6 December: Wen-hui-pao reported on the reprinting of the article by various newspapers in the country, and published the notes carried by these newspapers. According to the date of their publication, the Chieh-fang-chun-pao was listed first. This considerably irritated Peng Chen.

8 December: Red Flag carried Chi Peng-yu's article: "Study History For Revolution."

9 December: At the Peking rally commemorating the 30th anniversary of the "9 December" movement, Chiang Nan-hsiang boldly praised the "correct leadership" of the original Northern Bureau under Liu Shao-chi and Peng Chen. He was reluctantly obliged to merely mention in passing our great leader Chairman Mao.

12 December: Yao Chen gave Peng Chen the article: "Starting From Adding and Multiplying" by Ching Yun carried in the 1962 88th issue of Chung-yang Hsuen-chiao Tung-tai for a rectification campaign against Kuan Feng. Directed by Peng Chen, Teng To wrote the article: "On Moral Heritage Regarding Hai Jui's Dismissal" under the pseudonym Hsiang-Yang-Sheng. Approved by the Peking Municipal Committee for circulation, the article intended to lead the political struggle into a purely academic discussion.

14 December: Peng Chen called a work conference of the Peking Municipal Committee at the International Hotel. To Wu Han, Peng Chen said: "You should examine your thinking where you are wrong and persist where you are right, upholding the truth and correcting mistakes." Peng Chen was actually supporting Wu Han.

21 December: The Chairman sought Peng Chen, Chen Po-ta, Ai Szu-chi, and Kuan Feng, saying: Chi's article is very good (8 December). I read it three times and found that the only defect was the omission of specific names. Yao Wen-yuan's article was also very good, and produced a shock in the theatrical, historical, and philosophical circles. Chia-ching dismissed Hai Jui. The Lushan Conference was called to discuss work. In less than 15 days, Peng Te-huai came out to say: 'In Yen-an, you cussed me for 40 days. Now, you will not allow me to cuss you for 20 days.' Peng Te-huai intends to cuss some more. . . " Peng Chen, however, pretended to obey, but persisted in

diverting the life-or-death political struggle into an academic discussion.

22 December: The Chairman sought Kang-Sheng, Peng Chen, and Yang Cheng-wu; and reiterated his talk on 21 December, pointing out that the key question concerned the dismissal. Peng Chen attempted to ward off this point by saying: "Investigation shows that Wu Han and Peng Te-huai have neither organizational nor direct contact." He also insisted that Chairman Mao should accept his viewpoint.

23 December: Peng Chen requested a private audience with Chairman Mao. After the interview, he rumored: "The Chairman says that a conclusion will be reached on the Wu Han question in two months;" and "Chairman Mao agrees with my viewpoint that Wu Han is not a political question." Peng Chen also repeated this rumor on many occasions.

26 December: When the Shanghai Municipal Committee Secretary reported his work, Peng Chen reprimanded: "You didn't even notify me before you published such an article (meaning Yao's article). What happened to your Party character?" Peng Chen claimed that Teng To and Wu Han were both leftists in the past. He also criticized the Wen-hui-pao Editor's Note and its failure to place the Peking Daily Editor's Note in first place.

27 December: Peking Daily published Wu Han's "Self-criticism Regarding Hai Jui's Dismissal," in which he persisted in mistakes and also exposed his own critical problem, Peking Daily withheld comment and thus implied endorsement. The article was published at Peng Chen's order. He also directed the People's Daily to reprint the article.

29 December: People's Daily published Fang Chiu's article: "Social Thinking as Represented by Hai Jui's Dismissal." Collectively written by the Central Propaganda Department, the article presented a wrong viewpoint regarding a good and honest official. At several meetings, Peng Chen stated: "We criticize only 'Hai Jui's Dismissal,' but not 'Hai Jui's Appeal!'"

2 January 1966: Lu Ting-i blamed the Shanghai Municipal Committee for negligence in notifying the Central Propaganda Department. He also alleged that Hai Jui's Appeal should not be criticized. It was Chou Yang who instructed the Shanghai Peking-Opera Institute to write "Hai Jui's Appeal." Yao Wen-yuan's article, in fact, also criticized it. Lu Ting-i also said: "Deleting the final portion, Yao Wen-yuan's article would have been fine." At the meeting, Kang Sheng opposed this view.

8 January: Peng Chen gathered materials with the intention of waging a rectification campaign against Kuan Feng and other leftist comrades.

9 January: Peng Chen approved for dissemination the Chairman's 21 December talk, but covered up key questions.

13 January: People's Daily carried En Tung's article: "Referring to The Dismissal Question" which accepted the challenge from Wu Han and also mentioned the Lushan Conference.

17 January: Peng Chen and Hsu Li-chun suppressed Chi Peng-yu's article: "The Reactionary Nature of Hai Jui's Dismissal" and 'Hai Jui Denounces the Emperor' " and Kuan Yao and Lin Sen's article: "The 'Hai Jui Denounces the Emperor' and 'Hai Jui's Dismissal' Are Two Anti-Party and Anti-socialist Poisonous Weeds. "

Calling a conference of the three Peking newspapers: Kuangming Daily, Peking Daily, and People's Daily, and the three Peking periodicals: Front, Red Flag, and New Construction, Hsu Li-chun made arrangements for handling the criticism question. He stated: "In the future, articles of criticism to be carried by the three newspapers and periodicals must be reviewed in advance. Red Flag will not engage in criticism." He also alleged: "We must have leadership to launch a campaign of mixed combat." At the meeting, Peng•Chen reiterated the tune that the "Wu Han question is an academic question."

17-28 January: Chi Peng-yu telephoned Hsu Li-chun to ask: "Can an article criticizing the key questions of Wu Han be published?" Hsu replied: "There are now many articles criticizing the key questions, not just yours. They invariably cannot be published now." Chi sent the article to Peng, who answered through his secretary by telephone, saying: "Peng Chen is very busy, as he will soon depart for the countryside. He does not have time to read the article."

The Peking Municipal Committee announced: "The various periodicals do not carry discussion articles any more, but will carry conclusion articles later."

31 January: Peng Chen called for gathering materials to rectify the leftists. Hsu Li-chun immediately complied.

2 February: At the enlarged conference of the Peking Municipal Committee, Peng Chen announced the intention of adopting the "blooming" policy toward the rectification of the leftists. In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, Kang Sheng offered criticism.

3 February: Delegated by Lin Piao, Chiang Ching gathered Liu Chih-chien and other troop cultural workers in a meeting.

At the enlarged conference of the five-member group (Peng Chen, Kang Sheng, Chou Yang, Lu Ting-i, and Wu Leng-hsi), Peng made public five articles denouncing the leftists and announced: "Investigation proves that Wu Han is not related to Peng Te-huai." He intends to launch a rectification campaign against the leftists. He also stated: "Teng To is also a leftist and supports the three red flags." Afterward, Liu Jen and

Yao Chen testified that what he said was correct. Kang Sheng rose to say: "We must not attack the leftists. We should protect Comrade Kuan Feng, rely upon the leftists, cultivate the theoretical column of the leftists, and attack the rightists." He also criticized Hsu Li-chun for "not gathering material on Wu Han, but, instead, concentrating efforts on gathering materials on the leftists." After the conference, Peng Chen ordered Hsu Li-chun and Yao Chen to write a report outline.

4 February: At Tiao-yu-tai, Peng Chen, Hsu Li-chun, and Yao Chen drafted the "Outline Report of the Five-member Group of the Central Cultural Revolution." While the five-member group remained in name, the report was, in fact, drafted by Peng Chen alone. Although they stayed in the same building, Kang Sheng and Wu Leng-hsi were not even aware of it. The report distorted the essence of this great cultural revolution, diverted it to the academic field, propagated five Sutra and three torn flags, and constituted an outright counter-revolutionary revisionist platform. The Peking Municipal Committee discussed the report.

5 February: Peng Chen presented the report to the standing committee of the Central Political Bureau for discussion. He noted that the report was not passed among and discussed by the five-member group, because the time was short. It was then orally reported on by Hsu Li-chun, who was not part of the five-member group. Peng Chen also spoke at the meeting, but did not touch upon the matter of the essence of the report.

8 February: In his report to the Chairman, Peng Chen cheated the Political Bureau comrades and spoke wantonly to the Chairman. The Chairman's opinion was diametrically opposite to the report. The Chairman pointed out that the key question was the dismissal, and again twice asked Peng: "Is Wu Han opposed to the Party and socialism?" When Peng Chen proposed to launch a rectification campaign against the leftists, the Chairman promptly rebutted: "The question of leftists may come up in three years." Hsu Li-chun immediately brought out Kuan Feng's miscellaneous articles. The Chairman quickly countered: "There is nothing wrong in writing some miscellaneous articles. I have long read ^{Ho} Nsiang Ming's articles, which are quite good." The Chairman called for protection of the leftists and cautioned against attacking them. Peng suggested: "Shall we make a political conclusion?" The Chairman replied: "The class struggle in the cultural field will not end with a hastily improvised political conclusion." Accordingly, it was obvious that Peng Chen lied when he claimed that the "Chairman will offer a political conclusion after two months." Afterward, Peng Chen fabricated a "Central approval" for an urgent dissemination of the report.

10 February: Peng Chen telephoned the standing committee of the Political Bureau to change his outline report into a formal document, alleging that the Chairman had agreed. He also usurped the name of the Central Committee to approve his outline report.

12-14 February: Peng Chen disseminated the outline report of the five-member group in Shanghai, claiming that the Chairman and the Central Committee had both agreed with the "Outline Report On Academic Research." Discussion was permitted on questions that Shanghai presented on subjects other than political topics.

13 February: Peng Chen appointed Hu Sheng to talk with Chang Chung-chiao in Shanghai. Hu stated: "The key points in the Wu Han question are not to be discussed. Nor can the question be related to the Lushan Conference. Wu Han is not opposed to the Party and socialism. This is what the Chairman said." He also added: "This is what Peng Chen told me to say."

18 February: Peng Chen assigned his outline report to Party or organizations at all levels.

Hsu Li-chun and Hu Sheng convened personages of Peking academic circles and leading personnel of Peking newspapers to disseminate the Chairman's directive. At the meeting, Teng To was appointed the responsible member of the first group.

28 February: Peng, Hsu, and Yao Chen departed to visit ... [two words deleted]

1 March: In summing up the progress of the great cultural revolution, Peng Chen clamored that his outline report was a great document in the program. In his own name, Hsu Li-chun reported on the progress of academic criticism, and praised the Peng Chen outline report as "a summation of the great cultural revolution to which the Central Committee attached considerable importance."

2 March: People's Daily and Red Flag published Yin Ta's article: "The Revolution of History Must Be Carried To The End." This article had previously been held up for one and a half years.

Peng Chen and the Peking Municipal Committee told Wu Han to go to the countryside (in Chang -ping) to participate in the "four cleaning campaign" under the pseudonym Lao Li (Li Ming-kuang).

11 February: Yang Yung-chih of Shanghai telephoned the Central Propaganda Department to inquire whether "academic lords" implied anyone. When Hsu transmitted the inquiry to Peng Chen, he told Hsu to reply by telephone: "I Peng Chen state: (1) 'academic lords' does not imply anyone specifically, except Ah-Q. But the term also applies to whoever has a scar on his head. (2) Why didn't you first notify the Central Propaganda Department before publishing Yao Wen-yuan's article?" At this point, Peng angrily demanded: "What happened to the Party character of the Shanghai Municipal Committee?"

12 March: Chairman Mao said [Nothing more appears in text] Kwangming Daily published Mo Hsing's commentary on Pao-ching-hua, which had been held up for one year and four months.

17-20 March: At the meeting of the Political Bureau Standing Committee, the Chairman spoke on the question of the great cultural revolution. He said: "The policy we adopted before to accept all intellectuals has both good and bad points. Consequently, many cultural departments are now controlled by bourgeois intellectuals. We shall inquire regarding the control of various cultural departments. Wu Han and Chien Po-tsan are Party members and yet are opposed to communism. They are, in fact, the opposition party. Regarding the academic authority held by these bourgeoisie, we must not fear that the younger generation will break some 'laws,' and must never hold up their manuscripts and articles. The Central Propaganda Department must not become a 'Rural Work Department'." (The Rural Work Department was disbanded.)

25 March: Chi Peng-yu and Yun Chang-kuei published in Red Flag the article: "Chien Po-tsan's Historic Viewpoint Must Be Criticized."

28-30 March: The Chairman twice sought Kang Sheng for talks. He also gathered Chiang Ching, Kang Sheng, Chao Li-ming, Wei Wen-po, Chang Chung-chiao, and other comrades in discussion to criticize the outline report of the five-member group. Pointing out that Wu Han published many articles, without prior notification or approval, he asked why Yao Wen-yuan should be required to give advance notice about his article. Could it be that a decision of the Central authorities was not enough? Holding up manuscripts from leftists and protecting academic lords of the rightists, the Central Propaganda Department represented the king of Hell. "We must overthrow the king of Hell and liberate the little devils," he said. The Chairman continued: "I have always proposed that whenever a Central organization does some thing bad, we should call on the local organizations to rebel and to attack the Central. We need more Sun Wu-king's from various localities to disrupt the Heavenly Palace." The Chairman then criticized Peng Chen: "If Peng Chen, the Peking Municipal Committee, and the Central Propaganda Department continue to harbor bad persons, then, the Central Propaganda Department, the Peking Municipal Committee, and the five-man group should be disbanded." He also told Peng Chen to order Hsu Li-chun to telephone an apology to the Shanghai Municipal Committee for the matter regarding Comrade Yang Yung-chih. Finally, the Chairman said: "In September last year, I asked some Central comrades what we should do if revisionism appears in the Central Committee. This is very possible, as it is also most dangerous. We must protect the leftists and cultivate the leftist column

in the course of the great cultural revolution. "

30 March: The Central Military Affairs Committee approved Chiang Ching's "Summary of the Symposium, " and also sent it to the Central Committee and the Chairman for approval.

1 April: Peng Chen twice telephoned Tsao Ti-chiu, the Shanghai Municipal Committee Secretary. He did not follow the Chairman's instructions, and did not apologize. On the contrary, he fabricated rumors to shirk his own responsibility.

2 April: The Premier informed the Chairman that he agreed with the Chairman's instructions and that the Secretariat would discuss the matter.

3 April: Lin Piao convened Chiang Ching, Liu Chih-chien, and cultural workers of the Liberation Army to a symposium. After the meeting, Liu Chih-chien wrote a report to Peng Chen. After the first was thought too general, Liu Chih-chien prepared a second report which was suppressed by Peng Chen.

5 April: Peng Chen called the Peking Municipal Committee to a work conference to arrange for resistance to the Central authorities.

6 April: Peng Chen convened the Peking Municipal Committee and the five-member group. At the meeting, Peng Chen repeatedly pointed to his own achievements. He claimed that he never fell behind in the struggle for cooperative movement transformation of industry and commerce, the four cleanings in rural areas and plants, and the opposition to international revisionism. Only in this great cultural revolution did he fall behind, because he was late in starting and knew little about it. He also alleged: "It is possible to reach a conclusion on the Wu Han question. "

4 April: At a conference on cultural reaction, Lin Mo-han (Deputy Director of the Central Propaganda Department) went all out to usurp and distort the unapproved "Summary of the Symposium, " and also defended the literature of the thirties.

9-12 April: Teng Hsiao-ping presided over the conference of the Secretariat, which Premier Chou attended. Kang Sheng first disseminated the Chairman's instructions, which was, the previous talk. Peng Chen spoke in general formality and alleged: "I merely persist in my opinion regarding 'blooming'. " In other words, other than in this aspect, he remained correct in all else. He continued: "I have never, do not, and will not oppose Chairman Mao. " In fact, however, he consistently refused to accept Chairman Mao's criticism. Comrade Kang Sheng criticized him for a series of grave mistakes in the course of the great cultural revolution. Chen Po-ta also criticized Peng Chen for a series of mistakes, from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, in terms of the political line. Finally, Teng Hsiao-ping and Premier Chou pointed out that Peng Chen's mistakes were those of

opposing Chairman Mao. The conference resolved to disband the five-member group, and dismiss its outline report, and to establish the Drafting Committee for the Cultural Revolution.

10-15 April: Peng Chen convened a conference of the Standing Committee of the Peking Municipal Committee to feign criticism of Wu Han, Teng To, and Liao Mo-sha; and to pretend enthusiasm. By doing so, he intended to cover up his protection of the rightists. Furthermore, without approval from the Central authorities, he showed the "draft of the Central circular" to comrades of the Municipal Committee Secretariat. This was a violation of Party discipline.

14 April: Peking Daily suddenly became enthusiastic in gathering materials to rectify "Yen-shan Yeh-hua" and "San-chia-tsun."

16 April: The Chairman convened a conference of the Political Bureau Standing Committee to discuss Peng Chen's mistakes. The Chairman announced the dismissal of the five-member group.

Peking Daily carried a three-page false criticism, using Peng Chen's opinion. Peng Chen decided on the article and the date of publication. The news was broadcast over the radio, as well as transmitted by the Hsin-hua News Agency. On the same evening, the Hsin-hua News Agency headquarters ordered cancellation of this news item.

18 April: The Liberation Army Journal published an editorial calling for holding high the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and enthusiastically participating in the great socialist cultural revolution. The editorial was based on the symposium convened by Comrade Chiang Ching. It pushed the great proletarian cultural revolution to a new upsurge.

19 April: The Central authorities issued a circular against the reprinting of materials carried by the Peking Daily.

4 May: The Central Political Bureau discussed the question of mistakes pertaining to Peng Chen, Lu Ting-i, Lo Jui-ching, and Yang Shang-kun.

8 May: Liberation Army Journal and Kuangming Daily separately carried Kao Chu and Ho Ming articles, exposing the conspiracy of the three-family black gang. Not only was the black store shaken, even its backing was exposed.

8 - 17 May: The Shensi Provincial Committee held a symposium on the socialist cultural revolution. All principal leading personnel of the Northwest Bureau participated. Afterward, all Northwest newspapers reported the event.

Day missing Day: Tsinghai Daily carried the article: "Take the leader first, in capturing rebels," pointing to Peng Chen who then remained a riddle. Shensi Daily followed to reprint the article. This, in fact, was a conspiracy,

aimed at raising the status of the Northwest, for the Northwest was an important base of Liu Shao-chi.

11 May: The North China Bureau sent a work team headed by Huang Chih-kang to the Peking Municipal Committee. The team not only failed to criticize the black gang, but, on the contrary, chose to suppress the masses.

16 May: The enlarged conference of the Central Political Bureau passed the resolution to cancel the outline report of the five-member group, done previously by the Central Committee on 24 February. The former revisionist Peking Municipal Committee thus collapsed.

18 May: The Central resolution to cancel the 24 February resolution was disseminated to Party organizations at all levels.

19 May: Tao Chu delivered a mobilization report on the great cultural revolution in the Central-South region, openly protecting the counterrevolutionary three-family village black gang, in a vain attempt to lead astray the great proletarian cultural revolution.

23 May: The North China Bureau arranged a Peking Hotel conference, which lasted until the end of July. The movement had just begun then in Peking. By gathering the Party secretaries from various government organizations, higher schools, and some key middle schools in a conference, the North China Bureau, in fact, harbored these demons of various descriptions in a shelter from the storm. It carried out a rightist opportunist line of relying upon the black gang to wage a struggle against the black gang.

25 May: In Peking University, Nieh Yuan-tzu displayed the first Marxist-Leninist large-character poster. This was the day when the Peking Commune announced that at twelve o'clock at night Li Hsueh-feng and Chiang Nan-hsiang would arrive at the Peking University. Li told Party members of the said school that they must cover up Nieh Yuan-tzu's large-character poster. He also ordered the Peking University Party Committee to exercise leadership over the movement. In Tsinghua University, the Geological College, and other schools, the Party committees successively took actions to block news dissemination and to watch the activities of the revolutionary students, as if they were the enemies. For a while, the dark clouds gathered to form an atmosphere of terror.

SECOND STAGE June to July 1966

The large-character poster put up by Nieh Yuan-tzu and other comrades appeared like spring thunder and led to an upsurge in the nation-wide great proletarian cultural revolution. However, the bevy of persons headed by Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping, frightened by the revolutionary mass movement, hastily deployed their henchmen and sent out

"fire brigades." From the reactionary standpoint of bourgeoisie, they exercised bourgeois dictatorship to suppress the surging great cultural revolution, confused black and white and reversed the right and the wrong, encircled and oppressed the revolutionaries, and viciously imposed a white terror. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the revolutionary masses waged a tit-for-tat struggle to pulverize their conspiracies, one after another. In Peking and other areas, a campaign was launched to drive the work teams away from the higher and middle schools, until our great leader Chairman Mao returned to Peking and announced the withdrawal of the work teams. These fire brigades were eventually chased away and swallowed up by the rolling sea in the resounding movement of the revolutionary masses.

1 June: Chairman Mao ordered a radio broadcast about the large-character poster put up by Nieh Yuan-tzu and six other comrades. Honored as the first Marxist-Leninist large-character poster of the country, this revolutionary poster fanned the socialist wind and ignited the fire of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Comrade Kang Sheng said: "When I learned of the liberation of Comrade Nieh Yuan-tzu, I felt that I also won liberation." Li Hsueh-feng remarked: "I suffered a stupefying strike and now face a very difficult situation."

Early in June, the Central Standing Committee members in Peking led by Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping were mistrustful and afraid of the masses. Taking the opportunity when the Chairman was not in Peking, they imposed a bourgeois reactionary line and decided on sending the work teams. They also made eight stipulations to control large-character posters and other activities.

With the People's Daily editorial: "Eradicate All Demons," the cultural revolution reached a high tide. In all provinces, the revolutionary masses and revolutionary teachers and students assumed the role of vanguards of the great cultural revolution to launch the attack against the Party faction in power taking the capitalist road in their respective units.

Early in June, Liu, Teng, and their followers selected a large number of persons from various Central departments to form work teams to go to higher schools and research agencies in Peking to "control" the movement. It was for the purpose of imposing their wrong line that they imposed these work teams upon the masses, in the course of this great proletarian cultural revolution.

2 June: People's Daily carried Nieh's large-character poster and a commentary. The entire city of Peking "exploded." Large-character posters emerged in all schools like batteries firing at the Party faction in power taking the capitalist road.

Starting from early in the morning, thousands of workers, peasants, cadres, and students in Peking arrived successively at the Peking University in support of the revolutionaries.

3 June: The CCP Central Committee resolved to reorganize the Peking Municipal Committee and appointed Li Hsueh-feng as the first secretary, and Wu Te the second secretary. Assuming his position, Li promptly appointed to various positions Chao Feng, Wang Li, Chen Ko-han, and other black gang elements of the former Peking Municipal Committee.

Li Hsueh-feng hastily dispatched the work team headed by Chang Cheng-hsien to the Peking University "to put out the fire," in an attempt to suppress the surging great cultural revolution.

A large character poster appeared in the League Municipal Committee criticizing Li Hsueh-feng's talk on 25 May at the Peking University. In a rage, Li pointed out the slogan: "Whoever opposes the new Municipal Committee opposes the Party Central Committee." Li also condemned some revolutionary masses as "rightists" and "Political mongers." The "3 June" incident created by Li set a precedent of the work team instigating one group of the masses to wage a struggle against another.

At his first meeting with the new Peking Municipal Committee and cadres of Peking higher schools, Li Hsueh-feng disseminated and explained the eight stipulations with which the Liu-Teng headquarters intended to restrict the movement. The eight were: (1) No large-character posters on the street. (2) No rallies. (3) No parades on the street. (4) No encirclement of residences. (5) Make a distinction between the inside and the outside. (6) Guard against sabotage by bad elements. (7) Manhandling and insulting others are prohibited. (8) Prevent undesirable development of the movement. This was a vain attempt to stifle the mass movement.

In the evening, Wu Te disseminated Li's eight-point directive at the Peking University.

Tsingtao Daily/sic/ carried the editorial: "Great Offensive, Great Counterattack, Great Revolution," calling for the four great's. The newspaper was promptly reprimanded by the Tsinghai/sic/ Provincial Committee and Cheng Kuang-yuan [4453 0342 6678] was dismissed from his office.

4 June: Liu-Teng ordered the League Central Committee to dispatch work teams to control the great cultural revolution in middle schools. Hu Ko-shih transferred over 1,900 persons to organize work teams to suppress the mass movement in middle schools.

5 June: In the Municipal Committee organizations, those who put up the posters against Li Hsueh-feng were encircled. The new Municipal Committee instigated one group of the masses to struggle against another for nearly half a month. Over

200 persons were picked for rectification, and eighty per cent of them coerced into making a self-examination.

In the Tsinghua University, Liu Tao [0491 3447], Ho Peng-piao [6320 1756 9482] and other family members of high-ranking cadres put up the poster: "Tsinghua Party Committee Should Stand at the Forefront of the Movement.," calling on Chiang Nan-hsiang to strengthen leadership. This large-character poster, it was reported, was the idea of Ho Lung, and was drafted by Ho's secretary. Liu Shao-chi read the draft and approved of it.

Early part of June: At the ceremony in Shao-shan, inaugurating the irrigation project, Tao Chu boldly raised Liu Shao-chi to an equal position with our most beloved and respected leader Chairman Mao with the intention of raising the status of Liu Shao-chi. He wantonly stated: "The irrigation project area of Shao-shan is the native village of two Chairmen." This showed the close relationship between Tao and Liu.

6 June: Teng Hsiao-ping recommended Tao Chu to Peking. Under the wing of Liu and Teng, Tao Chu advanced to be the director of the Central Propaganda Department in one leap, and thus became a new representative of the Liu and Teng reactionary line.

Kueichou Daily published the editorial: "Resolutely Remove the Anti-Party and Anti-socialist Black Flag of Wang Hsiao-chuan" and the radio station also broadcast the editorial. The revolutionaries of Kueichou Teachers College held that Kueichou Daily feigned criticism, but truly attempted to protect him. Some thought that it was an attempt to sacrifice the small to preserve the big. The Provincial Committee dispatched Chang Hsiang-yang [1728 0686 7122] to hint that it was an illegal counterrevolutionary event.

The Sian Chiaotung University displayed posters against Liu Lan-tao, Northwest Bureau Secretary. Liu condemned those responsible for the posters as counterrevolutionaries producing counterrevolutionary large-character posters.

7 June: At the meeting of the provisional branch secretaries of the Central Propaganda Department, Tao Chu announced the decision of the Central Secretariat (headed by Teng Hsiao-ping): in the old Central Propaganda Department, Deputy Directors Hsu Li-chun, Yao Chen, and Lin Mo-han; and Secretary-general Tung Ta-lin would be suspended from their duties for reflection and self-confession. Their remuneration and life amenities continued as before. There was, however, not even one single word mentioned regarding the kings of hell: Lu Ting-i, Chou Yang, and Chang Tzu-i. At the reorganization of the Central Propaganda Department, Liu and Teng contemplated appointing Chang Tzu-i as deputy director of the new Central Propaganda Department. Opposed by the

revolutionary masses, their conspiracy was thwarted.

In Kansu, a bevy of persons headed by Li Kuei-tzu [2621 6311 1311] raised the question of the Party committee of the Lanchou University, though the overwhelming majority of fellow students thought that the first secretary of the University Party Committee was basically a good cadre. The work tem, however, suppressed the opinion of the majority of students. Under the behind-the-scene manipulation by Provincial Committee secretaries Fei Meng-piao, Ma Chi-kung, and Cheng Ping, those criticized by Li Kuei-tzu were invariably branded demons and suffered ruthless persecution. During the over 70 days of white terror, two persons committed suicide, 14 persons attempted suicide, 38 persons ran away, and three others were missing.

8 June: At a conference of the Central Propaganda Department, Tao Chu stated: "Lu Ting-i has been the director of the Propaganda Department for 21 years. ...He hides his soul. Sometimes, he is far left. Now, I don't recognize what is he." He continued: "In the past, Chou Yang was an authority in the field of literature and art and held my respect. He distinguished himself in the campaigns against Hu Feng and Feng Hsueh-feng, and Ting Ling. Although he came from a large landlord family, he promoted class struggle." He also alleged that Hsu Li-chun, Li Mo-han, and Tung Ta-lin were "not so bad before;" and that "under good leadership, they can be valuable." They deteriorated "because of Peng Ch .."

Yang Chia-chih [2799 1367 1807], a student of Wuhan University, wrote a letter to Wang Jen-chung, criticizing Wang's note published in Hupei Correspondence. Subsequently, he was branded as a black gangster by Wang in a frightening political persecution. Yang was the object for struggle in public meetings on seven occasions, expelled from the League, branded a counterrevolutionary, and sent to labor reform in the countryside for 20 days. As late as 9 October, he was treated as a black gangster.

9 June: At the Hangchou Conference, Chairman Mao suggested caution in sending work teams and opposed the wanton dispatch of work teams everywhere.

Three anti's element Po I-po (Party Committee Secretary of the former kingdom of industry and commerce) dispatched deputy director Lin Yeh to Tsinghua as head of a work team, with 500 persons, to "put out the fire" in Tsinghua, in an effort to extend his black claw into Tsinghua.

Chang Cheng-hsien, head of the work team in Peking University, imitated the tone of Li Hsueh-feng and declared that any dissenting opinion regarding the work team would be an attempt "to blacken the work team" and would indicate a "mistrust of the Party Central Committee."

In mid-June: Liu, Teng, and Tao disregarded Chairman Mao's directive; and wantonly dispatched a large number of work teams to Peking municipality and elsewhere.

13 June: The work team headed by Li Chien-pai arrived at the Central Propaganda Department. On 14 June, Tao also dispatched Chang Ping-hua to the Central Propaganda Department as the standing deputy director of the work team.

While attending the Hangzhou Conference, Tao was aware that Chairman Mao opposed sending the work teams. He, nevertheless, stated on 14 June at the joint conference of work teams and Party branches that: "The work teams now exercise dictatorship." He also sent Chang Chi-chun to head a work team in the Academic Department and appointed Chang Chi-chun as the head of the cultural revolution group in the Academic Department. (Chang was later suspended from duty for self-examination.)

16 June: Speaking about the Ministry of Higher Education, Tao Chu stated that Chiang Nan-hsiang, Minister of Higher Education, was a black gangster. He also protected Ho Wei, Minister of Education.

Po I-po disseminated Chairman Mao's directive regarding the work teams; and, yet, immediately violated the Chairman's directive by alleging: "The work teams lack adequate personnel."

In mid-June: The revolutionary masses rose to open fire upon the black gang, in a brisk movement. Liu Shao-chi, however, issued a directive calling on the work teams to group the school cadres and teachers to enforce the policy for a "better-quality struggle." He explained: "Schools and individuals should both be grouped. ...Every move should lead to the output of products and by-products. In this case, the by-products are the detection of some counterrevolutionaries." Consequently, the work teams started immediately in the movement to absurdly name some persons as "leftists" and some revolutionary masses as "rightists" or "counter-revolutionaries."

18 June: In the Peking University, the revolutionary teachers and students dashed resistance and spontaneously waged a struggle against the black gang. Chang Cheng-hsien, the work team head, used certain defects of the mass campaign to describe the event as a "counterrevolutionary event" (reported in the News Brief on Cultural Revolution, 9th issue, Peking University) and so reported to the new Municipal Committee. Li Hsueh-feng commented: "Chang Cheng-hsien is correct in the counterattack, and succeeds in considerable achievements." He continued: "All those showing their hand should be so identified" Li also said: "As in 1957, or even more so, we must have more counterattacks of the like."

At the conference of school work-team heads, Li Hsueh-feng let Chang Cheng-hsien speak on his 22 points of experi-

ence in suppressing the mass movement. This document subsequently served as the basis for the nation-wide suppression of revolutionary students.

The Shensi Provincial Committee was reorganized. Shensi Daily condemned the revolutionary rebels who cast suspicion upon the Northwest Bureau Committee as being counterrevolutionary. From then on, the mass movement lost momentum in the Northwest region. The Northwest Bureau showed fascist features in suppressing the revolutionary masses.

Several cases of bloodshed occurred in the subordinate middle school of the Lanchow Railway College and the Lanchow University.

19 June: Arriving at the Tsinghua University, Wang Kuang-mei, the number one pickpocket of Tsinghuayuan, claimed that "Comrade Shao-chi asked me to come to look at the large-character posters;" and that "fellow students want me to remain in Tsinghua to join in promoting the great cultural revolution. I'm willing to stay, but I must go back to ask for instructions."

Two days later, Wang brought Liu Shao-chi's instructions back to Tsinghua University, and became an "ordinary work team member" using the pseudonym "Hsiao Ho." In fact, she was the adviser sent on extending the black claw into Tsinghua.

Po I-po also appeared in Tsinghua, at the same time. He met and debated with student Kuai Ta-fu [5566 1102 1381] for the first time. Po compared Kuai to Lu Ping [7120 1677] and described him as a leftist among leftists.

20 June: Using the name of the Central Committee, Liu, Teng, and Tao Chu disseminated the 18 June report by Chang Cheng-hsien, head of the Peking University work-team, throughout the country. They claimed that Chang was "correct and prompt" in suppressing the revolution; and stated that "upon discovery of similar phenomena in other areas, it can be handled according to the measure taken at the Peking University." Consequently, it became a fashion in all areas to suppress the revolutionary teachers and students.

In mid-June: Since Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping, and Tao Chu stubbornly maintained the reactionary bourgeois standpoint, and imposed the work teams upon the masses to handle the mass movement like the Kuomintang did with its political training program, in their attempt to enforce their reactionary line and to attack the revolutionary teachers and students, the revolutionary teachers and students in all higher schools rose to show their dissatisfaction with the work teams, which had, in fact, become the stumbling block hindering progress of the movement. A series of incidents, such as the "16 June," the "20 June," and the "24 June" occurred in succession in various schools in which revolutionary activities broke out to drive away the work teams.

21 June: In his talk to the work team sent to the girls middle school subordinate to the Peking Teachers University, Liu Shao-chi said: "Now that they have begun to take the offensive, this is a good thing. When the enemies come out, they are like snakes coming out of their holes, and it will be easier for you to eliminate them" Regarding the faction in power taking the capitalist road, he advised: "We should not wage a struggle against them now." Regarding the revolutionary teachers and students, he advocated: "Unless they come over to our side, we should suppress them, isolate the prominent ones, and hold rallies to suppress the teachers." Liu also reasoned: "Opposition to the work teams is a new way of thinking..." He then illuminated that "criticism of the work teams is related to the former Municipal Committee."

22 June: Liu Shao-chi once again received the work teams (another interview was held on 24 June), saying: "Who is behind all this? Why do they refuse to listen to the work teams and the Party? Anyone rejecting the Party is engaged in illegal underground activities of instigating the masses." Liu cherished a deep hatred against the revolutionary large-character posters and viciously advocated encirclement tactics, saying: "Debate is good. We can refute them, one by one. When they put up 50 posters were "counterrevolutionaries and bad elements who appear as leftists," who "obviously have among them high-ranking cadres of the former Municipal Committee."

The three-anti's element Po I-po instructed the work team sent to the Geology College: "Anyone bent on chasing away the work team is determined to seize the power from the work team, that is, to seize the power from the Party."

23 June: Liu Shao-chi told his son Liu Yun-no [0491 0336 6179] that: "There are ulterior motives in the posters calling for the overthrow of the royalists, as there are obviously those who intend to seize power." He wondered: "Why was it that in your place there was never any demon discovered, as the blackboard slogans were obviously using instigating words." Referring to the Seventh Ministry of Machine-building Industry, he claimed that "They are not the black gang."

Li Hsueh-feng boldly appeared with a work report which wantonly discussed the bright and the dark aspects of the mass movement. He alleged: "The situation is now complicated ... The rightist students seize the opportunity to cause trouble, with the intention to seize power. Like we did in the 1957 rightist offensive, we should call on all Communist Party members to come out at the critical moment to prevent a coup."

China Youth [Chung-kuo Ching-nien-pao] also published the article: "Glorious Duty of Leftist Students" to prepare

the public for a large-scale suppression of the revolutionary teachers and students.

Meanwhile, at the inaugural meeting of the cultural revolution group in the Central Propaganda Department, Tao Chu said: "The movement must be placed under strict Party control; and any weakening of Party leadership is invariably wrong." He called for grouping the revolutionary masses in all areas into the right, the middle, and the left. He also stipulated three months as the period for the movement in the Central Propaganda Department.

24 June: In Tsinghua University, Kwei Ta-fu and other revolutionary rebels waged a frontal clash against the work team. The revolutionary rebels of Tsinghuayuan launched their first offensive against the reactionary bourgeois line headed by Yeh Lin and Wang Kuang-mei. The bloody suppression perpetrated by the work team, however, temporarily controlled the situation.

8 Some persons with ulterior motives used the People's Daily editorial: "Party's Sunshine Illuminates the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" to suppress the revolutionary rebels.

25 June: Teng Hsiao-ping telephoned Tao Chu and asked him to go to the the Ministry of Health to protect the Party Committee of the said Ministry and Chien Hsin-chung [6929 0207 0022], claiming that they were not the black gang.

Following Teng Hsiao-ping's instructions, Tao Chu spoke at the mobilization meeting for cultural revolution at the Ministry of Health and enthusiastically promoted the reactionary line, under the headline: "We must strengthen Party Leadership." He alleged: "Whoever opposes the Party, regardless of whatever he may say, is invariably a feigned leftist, and true rightist."

24 June: Red Guards of the middle school subordinate to Tsinghua University appeared for the first time in the political arena, with the nation-wide renowned article: "Long Live the Spirit of Proletarian Revolutionary Rebellion." Based on the brilliant Mao Tse-tung's thinking, they were the first to come out with the slogan: "Rebellion is justified," which pained the bourgeois lords. Enraged, the bourgeois lords resorted to the tools of dictatorship to persecute and suppress them. The young revolutionaries, however, were undaunted and persisted in their combat. They reappeared with: "Again On Long Live the Spirit of the Proletarian Revolutionary Rebellion" and then: "Once More Long Live the Spirit of the Proletarian Revolutionary Rebellion."

26 June: Liu, Teng, and Tao stealthily used the name of the Central Committee to approve for dissemination Hsiao Wang-tung's [5135 2602 2639] report from the Ministry of Culture. They agreed: "to select and transfer 1,000 cadres

from the Liberation Army, together with politically resolute cadres from the Ministry of Culture, to organize work teams to be sent to various agencies to strengthen the movement and regular work performance." They also agreed to gather the black gang for "training" in preparation for further struggle. They commented; "To organize work teams and to sponsor training classes is feasible, as they provide importance assurance for the great cultural revolution on the cultural front."

Tao Chu appointed Chang Chi-chun, Deputy Director of the Central Propaganda Department, to the Philosophy and Social Sciences Department of the Chinese Academy of Sciences as the head of the cultural revolution group.

27 June: Liu and Teng used the name of the Central Committee to convene democratic personages to a symposium to protect the four-family store. They alleged that the "Peng, Lo, Lu, and Yang incidents carried the possibility of a political coup;" and that Peng Chen "showed strong signs of sectarianism, failed to understand Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking, lacked the spirit of self-criticism, and was fond of personal prominence." They praised Peng Chen for "his working ability and credit in opposing international revisionism." They also claimed that Lu Ting-i was "opposed to dogmatism, but not revisionism; opposed to sectarianism, but not capitulationism; and opposed to the left, but not the right."

28 June: Using the name of the Central Committee, Liu, Teng, and Tao approved for dissemination the Central-South Bureau's "Report on Situation and Opinions of the Great Cultural Revolution," which called on all provincial and municipal propaganda, education, culture, newspapers, radio stations, and publishing houses, and all subordinate agencies to dispatch effective work teams. They also directed all agencies "not to be hasty to counterattack, when the demons start to attack." They continued: "We must tell the revolutionary leftists to withstand their attack and to await an opportune moment to organize a counterattack."

Speaking to the work team sent to the girls middle school subordinate to the Teachers University, Teng Hsiao-ping said: "We must gradually restore the Party and League organizations." He reasoned: "If the movement overthrows all the Communist Party and Young Communist League members, is that a victory?"

30 June: Peking Daily carried the editorial: "Communist Party Members and Young Communist League Members Should Stand At the Foremost Front of the Movement." This was a representative work of the reactionary bourgeois line, and served as the theoretical basis for the work teams to suppress the student movement.

End of June to the middle of July: Liu Shao-chi personally took charge of the movement in Tsinghua, at the girls school subordinate to the Teachers University, the Radio Broadcast Institute, and the Building Construction Engineering College. He personally proposed steps to suppress the harassment and to restore Party and League organizational activities, as well as school vacations for students to take part in labor performance and military training.

Since then, the work teams have adhered to the reactionary bourgeois standpoint, exercised bourgeois dictatorship, and suppressed the surging great cultural revolution of the proletariat. They have reversed the right and the wrong, confused black and white, and encircled and oppressed the revolutionaries, in a reign of terror.

From late June to the middle of July, all schools in Peking strictly controlled news dissemination, and closed their doors "to rectify the rightists," "to catch the roaming fish," and "to suppress harassment." In Tsinghua, Peking University, Peking Teachers University, Geology College, Peking Aeronautical College, and Peking Engineering College, there were over 20 days of bloody suppression of the masses. Many students were coerced into writing statements in blood, or even committed suicide.

1 July: Red Flag, in its ninth issue, reprinted Chairman Mao's brilliant work: "Talk at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art." The editor's note pointed out that this was an epoch-making document, and the most complete, thorough, and correct Marxist-Leninist line for literature and art in the history of proletarian revolution.

The "Talk" served as the compass, the detecting machine, and the bugle for march. The editor's note pointed out that the four brilliant articles: "Talk at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art," "On New Democracy," "On Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," and "Talk at the CCP National Conference on Propaganda" constituted the documental outline of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The ninth issue of Red Flag also carried the articles: "Trust and Rely Upon the Masses" and "Thoroughly Criticize the Counterrevolutionary Revisionist Line of the Former Peking Municipal Committee."

The article: "Trust and Rely Upon the Masses" pointed out that an extremely important policy of our Party to promote the great proletarian cultural revolution called for trusting, relying on, and mobilizing the masses, and for vigorously promoting the mass campaign.

People's Daily published the editorial: "Long Live Mao Tse-tung's Thinking" written by Comrade Chen Po-ta. Liu and Teng revised the manuscript and tried their best to depreciate Mao's thinking. They deleted from the manuscript the

very important sentence: "Chairman Mao enjoys the highest of prestige among the people of the whole country and throughout the world." In the sentence: "A revolutionary leader who has experienced such long, complex, violent, and multifarious struggle as Comrade Mao Tse-tung is rare history," they added: "as Marx, Engles, Lenin, and Stalin." In their effort to protect the anti-Party clique of Peng, Lo, Lu, and Yang, and to cover up their own crime of usurping the Party, the military, and government, they changed the manuscript: "They extended their hand very far to grasp power in the Party, the military, and government" to read: "they extended their hand very far, intending to grasp power in the Party, the military, and government."

The ninth issue of Red Flag also carried an article exposing and criticizing the three-anti's crime of Chou Yang. Liu promptly dispatched someone to telephone Chou to "comfort" him and to tell him "to carefully recuperate" somewhere. Liu also sent word to Chou "not to become excited about all this." Chou thus was "very grateful" to Liu.

2 July: In the name of the Central Committee, Liu and Teng told Po I-po and Tao Lu-chia to draft the "Circular On Promoting the Great Cultural Revolution in Industry and Communications and Capital Construction Agencies." The Circular called for strengthening Party leadership through the work teams. In drafting the circular, Tao Lu-chia viciously ascribed the seasonal reduction of steel and coal output due to repairs and maintenance of facilities in June to the great cultural revolution. He even exaggerated the facts in order to "point out the grave nature."

3 July: Liu Shao-chi issued the three-point directive to Liu Tao and the others, calling for: "Using Kuai Ta-fu as a life target, reducing them (the revolutionary mass) to the minority, and depriving them of democracy," to enforce the ruthless suppression of the great cultural revolution in Tsinghua University.

Three anti's element to Po I-po arrived at Tsinghua University for the second time and said: "The work team dispatched by Chairman Mao has seized power from Chiang Nan-hsiang. What else are you opposing?" He alleged: "Kuai Ta-fu intends to seize power from the Communist Party." He thus further aggravated the white terror. The counterrevolutionaries feigned to be leftists and raised the red flag to oppose the red flag.

Wang Jen-chung wrote the Hupeh Provincial Committee the "Opinions regarding the great cultural revolution in middle and higher schools." (the 3 July black directive) This black directive later served as the outline for the Hupeh Provincial Committee to suppress the mass movement and stifle the great proletarian cultural revolution.

5 July: In Tsinghua, Wang Kuang-mei promoted the sale of Liu Shao-chi's black goods everywhere, and announced the intention of using Kuai Ta-fu as a living target. She also personally directed the bloody suppression of the revolutionary masses.

In the girls middle school subordinate to the Teachers' University, Teng Hsiao-ping was frightened by the mobilized masses. He calumniated the nearly 1,000 revolutionary teachers and students of the school, and wantonly advocated the line of high-ranking cadres' children. Propagating the reactionary theory of blood relationship, he said, "There are many cadre's children in your school and the leftists are powerful, making it easy to promote the movement."

Early in July: Frightened by the revolution in middle schools, Liu and Teng sought to end the movement in the middle schools. They ordered one third of the schools to end the movement in mid-August and the rest to conclude the movement by 1 October. All junior middle schools, they ordered, must open on 1 September, without delay. Liu claimed that the "great cultural revolution was only a matter of a few months" and that "further discussion of it will be tasteless."

10 July: Liu Shao-chi vainly attempted to protect those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road and to divert the general progress of the movement. He ordered the work team in the first subordinate middle school of the Teachers' University to experiment on educational reform, with the intention of promoting the results for nation-wide adoption.

Liu Shao-chi received the work team in the first subordinate middle school of the Teachers' University and stated that "the danger has passed," assuming that he was successful in suppressing the revolutionary masses. Making further arrangements to persecute the revolutionary teachers and students, he ordered detection of the "behind-the-scene support" of the rebels, alleging that "what is invisible now is those giving behind-the-scene support, including those who furnish ideas. Some students, too, may have remained behind-the-scene."

13 July: Liu and Teng called a meeting to discuss the "Preliminary Plan for The Great Cultural Revolution in Peking Middle Schools," with Hu Ko-shih and others attending. At the meeting, Liu stated: "The primary task in promoting cultural revolution in middle schools is to examine the teachers and school staff members." Liu called for prompt restoration the leadership functions of the Party branches, saying that "the Party branches must exercise leadership over such a large-scale cultural revolution." Liu also ordered Hu-Ko-shih to organize the "training classes" in order to separate the college students from the teachers. At the meeting, Liu condemned the Red Guards as "an illegal organization" and prohibited its development. He proposed an increase of

personnel to strengthen his program.

After the meeting, the League Central Committee drafted a report in accordance with the black directive from Liu and Teng, in preparation for dissemination throughout the country. Subsequently, however, Comrade Kang Sheng opposed and thwarted the scheme.

In compliance with the order from Liu Shao-chi and Tao Chu, Ho Wei of the Ministry of Education signed for dissemination the "Circular On Entrance Examination to and Graduates of Middle and Primary Schools," calling on middle and primary schools in all areas to immediately hold entrance examinations, to open schools, and to assign graduates as usual, in an attempt to stifle the great cultural revolution in middle and primary schools throughout the country.

14 July: Tao Chu announced establishment of the new Central Propaganda Department, in compliance with the directive from Liu and Teng. As Deputy Directors, he appointed Chang Ping-hua and Yung Wen-tao, whom he brought from the Central-South Bureau, and Chang Chi-chun of the old Central Propaganda Department. At the meeting, he also invited to the rostrum and announced the promotion of some in the Ministry of Higher Education upholding the reactionary bourgeois line: Hsiao Wang-tung, Chien Hsin-chung, and Ting Lai-fu, and revisionist Jung Kao-tang.

Liu issued a directive to the first middle school subordinate to the Teachers University: "Teachers and students are not permitted to hold meetings in secret. The Red Guard is a secret organization and illegal," in a vain attempt to stifle in the cradle all the new-born things of the great cultural revolution.

At the Central Propaganda Department, Tao Chu reported on Liu Shao-chi's criticism regarding the Central Propaganda Department: "The Central Propaganda Department lacks enthusiasm in the movement. It should transfer cadres to strengthen the movement in cultural and educational systems in the country." This was an attempt to disperse the revolutionary strength of the Central Propaganda Department and to send them out as "fire brigades" in various areas of the country. Tao also announced that Chang Chi-chun was Deputy Director of the Central Propaganda Department, in accordance with Teng Hsiao-ping's suggestion. Later, when the revolutionary masses of the Philosophy and Social Sciences Department in the Chinese Academy of Sciences rose to oppose Chang, Tao assured him: "I guarantee that you are a leftist."

16 July: Our great leader Chairman Mao once again swam with ease across the Yangtze River, in one hour and five minutes, a distance of 30 Chinese li. The good health of our respected and beloved leader is the greatest happiness of all

Chinese people and the people of the whole world. This is the most effective assurance for the great proletarian cultural revolution to win the final victory. Long live Chairman Mao!

17 July: Liu Shao-chi ordered the Central Propaganda Department to tackle the questions of educational reform, educational system, teaching materials, and pedagogical methods, in an attempt to change the goal of the struggle.

In the second ten-day period of July: The movement was sluggish and slow in Peking and some other cities. The Peking work team aggravated oppression of the revolutionary masses and students. In Peking University, Tsinghua, and other schools, the requests by teachers and students for inter-school revolutionary chuan-lien were invariably rejected. In the Teachers University, Sun Yu-yu instigated one group of the masses to wage a struggle against another, which led to blood shed. The work team prohibited the rebels from appealing to the Central authorities. In the Radio Broadcast College, some 500 persons were manhandled. The revolutionary students risked their lives to dash out of their schools to petition the Central authorities. .

The Shanghai Municipal Committee adopted strict rules to control the movement. Consequently, a strange atmosphere prevailed over the higher schools, in which the students read Mao's "Selected Works" in the morning, took a rest in the afternoon, and learned to swim after four o'clock. Some schools proposed resumption of classroom work and earlier graduation. From 16 to 18 July, the Municipal Committee called a conference having the theme: "One Red Heart and Two Preparations," which student representatives of the third year of junior middle schools attended.

Chao Tzu-yang, Secretary of the Kwangtung Provincial Committee, issued "directives" on 28 June, and again on 5, 7, and 21 July, alleging that "youths are inexperienced and will gain enlightenment after some setback." He was "resolutely opposed to street parades lest the students would be exploited by others." In oppressing the revolutionary teachers and students, whoever agreed with the "correspondence from Peking" was condemned as a rightist in order to prevent the student victims from going to Peking to petition.

In Sian, the suppression of students led to the two-day encirclement of the Sian Daily. The Provincial Committee ordered armed militiamen to "guard the Northwest Bureau and suppress the robbers."

In Hupeh, there was also a series of incidents in Wuhan University, Wuhan Water Transportation College, and other schools, involving suppression of students.

Liu Shao-chi approved the recommendation of Tao Chu and Wang Jen-chung that Liu Yang-chiao (standing deputy minister of the Ministry of Higher Education) was not a black gangster.

At a Central meeting, Liu told Ho Wei: "You must protect Liu Yang-chiao and don't be afraid to become a royalist over the Liu Yang-chiao question." He also let Liu Yang-chiao go somewhere else "to take a rest and to avoid mass struggle."

Liu Shao-chi told Tsao Ti-chiu: "Shanghai is more orderly, not as confusing as Peking. This illustrates the high prestige the Shanghai Municipal Committee enjoys among the masses." He encouraged Tsao to continue suppressing the revolutionary movement. Tsao was elated by Liu's words.

18 July: Our great leader Chairman Mao returned to Peking and noticed that the movement was cold and deadly. Sadly the Chairman pointed out: "Some schools have even closed their gates, as there are also some cases of the suppression of students." The "distinction between the inside and the outside" was used, the Chairman said, as an "excuse to prohibit the display of large-character posters." He stated: "This situation is intolerable and shows a mistake in the direction. We must quickly change it and smash all restrictions." The Chairman also pointed out: "We must not merely sit in an office and listen to reports. We must be prepared to promote revolution, even if it means to revolutionize ourselves. We must go to the masses, believe in them, and rely upon them to gain sensory perception." Subsequently, Comrades Chen Po-ta, Chiang Ching, Kang Sheng, and others went to various universities to read the large - character posters and to learn about the movement.

Liu Shao-chi called the "educational reform" conference at Huai-jen-tang, with Tao Chu, Po I-po, Chang Ping-hua, Yung Wen-tao, Hu Ko-shih, Ho Wei, and others attending. The conference covered the topics of further dispatch of work teams to various areas and the educational reform question, in an attempt to take advantage of the opportunity of the great cultural revolution to promote Liu Shao-chi's contraband "two educational systems."

Liu told Ho Wei: "Don't show interest merely in the movement in the Ministries of Higher Education and of Education, but also in other areas." After the conference, Ho Wei promptly dispatched several hundred cadres for suppression of the great cultural revolution in various areas.

19 July: When the revolutionary masses of the Central Propaganda Department unanimously rose to demand a struggle against the black gang, Tao followed Liu's three-point directive and staged a small-scale "back-to-back" struggle meeting which was cold and listless. Afterward, however, Tao played up the event in the newspapers.

20 July: In accordance with Liu's directive, Tao Chu transferred cadres from the Central Propaganda Department and other agencies to organize a work team headed by Yung

Wen-tao. The team began training and studied Liu's "Talk on Educational Questions," in preparation for a three-way departure (to South China, Central-south, and Southwest) to suppress the great cultural revolution. They even prepared for the presentation, within one month, of a proposal for educational reform of higher, middle, and primary schools.

Late at night, Liu Shao-chi braced himself against rain to go to Tsinghua University to read large-character posters. At the eve of the bankruptcy of the reactionary line, he personally encouraged the work team.

12 July [sic]: In Peking University, the revolutionary students put up a revolutionary large-character poster aimed at the work team. Chang Cheng-hsien sensed the unfavorable situation and quickly arranged for a retreat, in an attempt to preserve the work team for a later comeback. Manipulated by the Municipal Committee, there were three self-examinations on three consecutive days from 16 to 18 July. He also changed suddenly to attacking the black gang.

After 18 July: The work teams in Tsinghua and other higher schools also "suddenly" changed, and attacked the black gang.

19 July: In Peking University and other higher schools, a high tide appeared in the criticism of the erroneous line of the work teams.

21 July: Chairman Mao met with members of the Central Cultural Revolution group, discussed the change regarding the methods used by work teams, and drafted the "16 articles and communique." He also pointed out that during the conference period, all comrades attending should go to Peking University and the Radio Broadcasting Institute to read the large-character posters, since there were many problems in the two schools.

22 July: At a meeting presided over by Liu Shao-chi, Po I-po and Tao Lu-chia had the right to speak, while the head and adviser of the Central Cultural Revolution group were deprived of their right to speak. At the meeting, Tao and Po openly opposed the correct line of the Central Cultural Revolution group. Tao Lu-chia presented a false report of the Academy of Sciences and received commendation from Liu.

At the five-hour meeting that day, Tao and Po controlled the floor for three hours. Comrades of the Central Cultural Revolution group commented: "We never had the right to speak." Finally, Liu arrogantly made the decision against withdrawing the work teams.

23 July: Po and Tao hastily transmitted Liu Shao-chi's directive not to withdraw the work teams, and defended the work teams and the suppression of harassment, to oppose Chairman Mao's correct line.

22-26 July: Chen Po-ta, Chiang Ching, Kang Sheng, and

other comrades followed Chairman Mao's instructions and penetrated Peking University to learn the situation. They stood at the side of the revolutionaries and supported the proposal for a great debate.

24 July: In the morning, Chairman Mao asked the Central Cultural Revolution group, Li Hsueh-feng, Liu Shao-chi, and others to a meeting to discuss the question of the withdrawal of the work teams. A decision was made to withdraw the work teams. A work conference followed and there was drafted the sixteen articles and the communique.

Po I-po, however, regarded the wise decision of Chairman Mao as a disaster and hastily sent out a notice at one o'clock in the afternoon for a conference of Party secretaries of various departments and work-team heads of various higher schools, which some 50 persons attended. At the meeting, instead of disseminating Chairman Mao's instructions, he chose to fan the counterrevolutionary fire, advocated refusal to withdraw the work teams, and also gathered materials from various higher schools for Liu Shao-chi, in an attempt to prove that what the work teams did were correct and to attack the decision of Chairman Mao regarding withdrawal of the work teams.

25 July: In order to continue with the Liu-Teng line, Po I-po and Tao Chu sent Tao Lu-chia to the Municipal Committee to establish eight enormous staff offices to promote the work-team line without work teams, in an attempt to resist Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Liu Shao-chi told Po I-po to gather the "anti-harassment" materials at the Peking Forestry Institute, Chemical Fiber Institute, and Machine-building Institute, hoping to prove that it was correct to dispatch the work teams and necessary to suppress harassment, thus wantonly attacking Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

26 July: Liu, Teng, Tao, and Hu Ko-shih once again resisted Chairman Mao with their "Non-withdrawal of middle school work teams," their "Further leading the movement in middle schools," and their "Adopting the advisory form to lead the movement."

In Peking University, over 10,000 persons attended the rally at which Comrade Chen Po-ta pointed out: "The attitude toward the work teams is a matter of class struggle." He called for removal of stumbling blocks to promote revolution. He also proposed that the new Municipal Committee should dismiss Chang Cheng-hsien. Li Hsueh-feng, however, again tried to cover up the case and avoid responsibility.

Before 26 July, Chang Cheng-hsien arrogantly refused to meet the leading comrades of the Central Cultural Revolution group. He also attempted to deceive some fellow students into protecting him.

27 July: The 26 July rally in Peking University was like a large bomb which touched off an explosion in all Peking higher schools, starting a ferocious attack against the work teams.

Delegated by Chairman Mao and the Central Standing Committee, Premier Chou intervened in the great cultural revolution in Tsinghua University.

Comrade Chen Po-ta went to Teachers University to continue the penetration of the masses.

Some leading persons from other provinces attending the meeting in Peking knew about the impending withdrawal of the work teams and promptly telephoned their respective provinces. Some work teams were thus quietly withdrawn, even before they were criticized by the masses, who did not know the reasons for their withdrawal. Among these teams were those in Hupeh, Kwangtung, Yunnan, and Szechwan.

Liu Shao-chi questioned Comrade Kang Sheng: "Who is Kuai Ta-fu?" Kang replied: "One among the revolutionary masses." Liu stated: "I consider him a demon. I think you are behind Kuai Ta-fu."

At the rally of middle school students in Hai-tien-chu, Chou Chieh, the work team head, oppressed the revolutionary students who opposed the work team. On the spot, Comrade Wang Li of the Central Cultural Revolution group proposed dismissal of Chou Chieh from his position. At the meeting, Hu Ko-shih and Hu Yao-pang brought Hui to see Liu and Teng at night, and complained bitterly against the Central Cultural Revolution group. Hu Ko-shih and the others also declared that they would show Comrades Chen Po-ta and Kang Sheng that it was wrong to dismiss Chou Chieh.

Liu Shao-chi realized that the work teams would inevitably fall, and seized the opportunity before the circular was dispatched to contact his daughter Liu Ping-ping and the work team of the Girl's Middle School subordinate to the Teachers University: "Withdrawal must be quick, otherwise, it will become impossible." He also told Liu Ping-ping to organize a farewell meeting in honor of the work team. Liu Ping-ping followed his instructions. Liu Shao-chi complimented her: "You did better than your mother." He also told her: "With the departure of the work team, you will exit from the arena. Let them come. Once they appear on the stage, the masses will see clearly. If they do well, let them lead. If they behave badly, overthrow them."

28 July: The new CCP Peking Municipal Committee promulgated: "Circular On Withdrawal of Work Teams from Higher Schools." After that, the revolutionary masses achieved their liberation and pronounced the bankruptcy of the Liu-Teng line.

On the eve of the collapse of the work teams, Liu Shao-chi was greatly excited. On that evening, he vented his

displeasure with the withdrawal to Wang Kuang-mei and Liu Tao. He also insisted that Kuai Ta-fu "rose by himself, not as a result of the work team branding him a counter-revolutionary." He then clamored about his "question of protecting the minority." All the while, Wang Kuang-mei and Liu Tao were crying.

Chen Po-ta, Chiang Ching, Kang Sheng, and other comrades of the Central Cultural Revolution group upheld the dismissal of Chou Chieh, supported the revolutionary students in their rebellion against the work teams, and criticized the mistakes of the League Central Committee. On the same day many revolutionary students rose to chase away the work teams. Hu Ko-shih hastily sought support from Liu and Teng. Liu Shao-chi comforted Hu Ko-shih, saying that "the League Central Committee was generally good in work performance," and supported Hu Ko-shih and the others to continue to resist the Central Cultural Revolution group. Liu Shao-chi also told the League Central Committee "to visit the schools once every two or three days" after the withdrawal of the work teams.

Teng Hsiao-ping propped up Hu Ko-shih by explaining: "In the cultural revolution, the League Central Committee was wrong merely in its lack of the mass line and inadequate protection of the minority. It should admit only the mistakes which it committed." Liu and Teng also told Hu: "Let's call a meeting tomorrow to discuss all this." Teng Hsiao-ping added "Let them (meaning the Central Cultural Revolution group) take over in the future!"

29 July: At the "Congress of Activists of Cultural Revolution," our respected and beloved Chairman Mao received all delegates, thus greatly enhancing the enthusiasm of the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students and bringing the great cultural revolution to an upsurge. A group of students previously branded by the work teams as "counter-revolutionaries" were named in invitations to attend the conference. Among these was Kuai Ta-fu of Tsinghua University.

At the meeting, Premier Chou, Teng Hsiao-ping, and Liu Shao-chi spoke; and Li Hsueh-feng announced the decision to withdraw the work teams. In their speeches, Liu and Teng coordinated with each other. Teng spoke of "an old revolutionary meeting with a new problem," in a vain attempt to cover up his own mistakes.

In the afternoon, Wang Kuang-mei unexpectedly reappeared in Tsinghua. At a debate meeting, she stated: "The work team has had achievements and defects. I have my own views, but I am not going to discuss them now." She continued: "Today I am deeply moved by the warm welcome given us by the fellow students. Perhaps the reason for this is

the life relationship between Comrade Liu Shao-chi and I." She disclosed: "It was raining last night when Comrade Shao-chi came to read the large-character posters for three hours." She claimed: "I have my own views regarding the great proletarian cultural revolution in Tsinghua University; but I am not discussing them now." She stated: "Whether or not Comrade Kuang-mei is a revolutionary is a matter for all to judge." By way of wantonly praising the work team, she thought that it would be possible to suppress the criticism by the masses of the work team.

Supplement: 27 July: In Tsinghua University, students Lei Jung [7191 5554] and Wang Hsiao-ping [3769.1420 1627] (daughter of Wang Jen-chung), acting at Wang Jen-chung's instigation, put up a poster against the work team to deceive the masses, thus gathering some political capital in Tsinghua for Wang Jen-chung. Lei Jung and Wang Hsiao-ping joined the provisional preparatory committee to prepare the ground work for Wang Jen-chung to control Tsinghua.

THE THIRD STAGE (August To October 1966)

The 11th Plenary Session of the 8th CCP Central Committee was convened. The 16-article outline of the great proletarian cultural revolution reached the entire country like thunder in the spring and considerably encouraged and guided the revolutionary rebels. The fierce flame of the great cultural revolution blazed up further, while the Red Guards, with unlimited vitality, appeared on the horizon. Upon discovery of this new thing, our great leadership Chairman Mao promptly gave it this warm and resolute support. A vast revolutionary army was thus quickly organized in the country. The young Red Guards were undaunted by powerful enemies, and dared to think, to act, and to rebel. Breaking down the four old's and building up the four new's, they stood at the forefront to criticize the reactionary bourgeois line and trained the spear of struggle at Liu Shao-chi, the main root of the reactionary revisionist bourgeois line at the highest level within the Party.

1 August: Chairman Mao personally convened and presided over the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth CCP Central Committee, which had world-wide significance. This was a new milestone in the socialist revolution of our country.

Chairman Mao wrote a letter to the Red Guards of the middle school subordinate to Tsinghua University. Our great leader was sensitive to new-born things and, upon discovery of the Red Guards--a new-born thing with unlimited vitality--immediately gave his warm support to their spirit of revolutionary rebellion. He also earnestly taught them to pay attention to unite the majority. Accordingly the Red Guards,

once condemned as a "counterrevolutionary organization," won a new birth.

On the occasion of the 39th anniversary of the Army, People's Daily pointed out, in the editorial: "The Whole Country Should Become A Great School Of Mao Tse-tung's Thinking," that this was the scientific answer creatively offered by Chairman Mao, who summed up the experiences of the proletarian dictatorship in our country and other nations to meet the questions of how to prevent a return of capitalism, to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship, and to assure gradual transformation toward communism.

1-12 August: The 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth CCP Central Committee was in session.

The conference discussed and passed the "Resolution on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," that is, the sixteen articles personally presided over during their formulation by Chairman Mao; and also issued a communique of the conference.

At the later stage of the conference, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau held an election. Liu Shao-chi was sidetracked; and Comrade Lin Piao was decided upon as the heir to Chairman Mao.

5 August: By the first large-character poster: "Bombardment of Headquarters," our great leader Chairman Mao personally sounded the bugle charge to launch a fierce attack against the reactionary bourgeois line and its black headquarters.

8 August: The sixteen articles were promulgated. They were a product of the struggle between two lines, a product of the victory of the revolutionary proletarian line represented by Chairman Mao over the reactionary bourgeois line, and a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

10 August: Our great helmsman Chairman Mao received the revolutionary masses who went to the State Council hostel to greet the promulgation of the "sixteen articles." He earnestly told us: "You should concern yourselves with major events in the country, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution to the end." This was the call from Chairman Mao to 700 million people for marching toward a new stage of socialism.

12 August: The Session adjourned and issued the Communique.

The Communique emphatically pointed out: "Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era." "Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guiding principle for all the work of our Party and country." "The intensive study of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works by the whole Party and the whole nation is an important event of historic significance."

The Plenary Session stressed that the series of

directives by Comrade Mao Tse-tung concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution were the guide for action in the current cultural revolution of our country; they constituted an important development of Marxism-Leninism.

The 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee announced the victory of the revolutionary proletarian line represented by Chairman Mao, declared the defeat of the reactionary bourgeois line, and led the great proletarian cultural revolution on the correct path. These represented a great new victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought on the path of socialist revolution.

After the 11th Plenary Session, the revolutionary proletarian line represented by Chairman Mao was integrated with the broad revolutionary masses, leading to the appearance of mass criticism against the reactionary bourgeois line and a new upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

However, as Chairman Mao cautioned at the closing meeting of the Plenary Session: "We must never take for granted that once a thing is written in the resolution all Party committees and comrades will implement it. There is always a small minority which is unwilling to implement." Upon correction of the erroneous line of the previous period, it would reappear in another form. The struggle between the two lines remains acute and complex.

In the first ten-day period of August: In Peking higher schools, the revolutionary teachers and students strongly demanded further thorough criticism of the reactionary bourgeois line of the work teams. The new Municipal Committee, however, ordered various schools to immediately elect preparatory committees for cultural revolution and to immediately change to attacking the black gang, and to forbid any attempt to criticize the work teams lest this change the general direction of the struggle. The new Municipal Committee tried its best to resist any criticism against the work teams.

Starting at the end of July and in early August, the parallel sentences: "When the father is heroic the son is a manly fellow. When the father is reactionary the son is a scoundrel," began to appear in some higher and middle schools in Peking. These parallel sentences offered a definite contribution toward thoroughly pulverizing the counterrevolutionary revisionist Peng Chen's attempt to distort the policy calling for "emphasis in performance." At that time, the revolutionary masses understood and supported the parallel sentences. However, as some leading members of the Central Committee pointed out, the parallel sentences were incomplete and could be used to produce an adverse effect.

Later, the parallel sentences were actually used by some persons as tools to oppress dissenting opinions. There

was the absurd theory of "spontaneous Red" which circulated in various areas. Those who propagated this absurd theory took advantage of the innocent young to point out that "when the father is heroic the son is a manly fellow" and thus deceived some some students. This, in fact, was the reactionary theory of blood relationship of the exploiting class. A thoroughly reactionary historic idealism, this was diametrically opposed to Mao Tse-tung's thought, and fundamentally antagonistic to the Marxist-Leninist class analysis.

1 August: Chang Ping-hua announced dismissal of the name of the work team at a cultural revolution meeting in the Central Propaganda Department. He, however, also stressed the functions of the work team in the Cultural Revolution group and decided that the work team members should remain at their "work" under a different guise.

2 August: At the People's University, Teng Hsiao-ping protected Kuo Hsing-chiu [6753 1743 4428] and once again emphasized that the dispatch of work teams was a "new problem for the old revolutionaries."

3 August: Liu Shao-chi spoke at the Peking Architecture Institute and continued to advocate his 29 July black talk regarding "protection of the minority."

In early August: the 26 July speeches by Chen Po-ta and Chiang Ching, and the 29 July speech by Premier Chou were successively disseminated throughout the country. Revolutionaries in all areas received considerable encouragement from the speeches. The work teams continued to quietly withdraw from all areas. Ninety per cent of the work teams committed mistakes regarding the direction and line, but never came under criticism before they were withdrawn to remove the stumbling block of the movement.

In Kueilin and other areas, serious cases of one group of the masses waging struggle against another occurred.

4 August: Peking University and Tsinghua University held separate rallies to criticize the reactionary bourgeois line. Premier Chou, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Chiang Ching, and other leading comrades of the Central Committee, as well as leading comrades from various major administrative regions, provincial, and municipal committees in Peking attending the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth CCP Central Committee were also present at these rallies.

At the Tsinghua University rally attended by over 10,000 persons Premier Chou personally pronounced the innocence of Kuai Ta-fu, Liu Chuan [0491 3123], and other revolutionary comrades. Student representatives from the middle school subordinate to Tsinghua University proposed reorganization of the League Central Committee.

6 August: Tao Chu was forced into cancelling the plan to dispatch work teams to Central-South, East China, and other

areas. Under a different cover, however, he sent cadres to radio broadcast stations, People's Daily agency, Hsin-hua News Agency, Academic Department, and other units to serve as liaison officers.

7 August: Directed by Wang Jen-chung, the Tsinghua University's provisional preparatory committee came out with the "7 August Proposal" for "you mind your business and I mind mine."

8 August: The "8 August" Chuan-lien Association mysteriously appeared in Tsinghua. While it raised the flag of criticism of the work team, nevertheless, since its inauguration it showed a strong inclination for compromise. In fact, it never represented the progressive thinking of the broad masses, but stood for a middle-of-the road thinking.

10 August: To exercise a further control over the movement in Tsinghua, Wang Jen-chung transferred from Hupeh to Tsinghua his secretaries Lu and Chang, and others who became liaison officers for promoting the reactionary line of Liu, Teng, and Tao.

12 August: In a photograph of a mass rally, the Hung-wei-pao (the organic newspaper of the Canton Municipal Committee) dared to stealthily insert Liu Shao-chi's photograph into the picture. This was a grave political event.

13 August: Liu Shao-chi would not reconcile himself to defeat. He went to the Peking Architecture Institute to "investigate" the situation and to prepare for a comeback. He again defended his "protection of the minority."

14 August: In receiving the preparatory committee of People's University, Teng Hsiao-ping and Tao Chu spoke as a team to cover up for each other. Teng said: "I am an old revolutionary facing a new problem." Tao followed: "This is truly a case of an old revolutionary; and I am a middle-age revolutionary. While I may not be an old revolutionary, it is, nevertheless, also a new problem to me." They both tried to evade their responsibility.

During the second ten-day period of August: Different views regarding the question of the work teams appeared in higher schools throughout the country. One group of the masses proposed thorough criticism of the erroneous line. Some organizations also called for an immediate struggle against the black gangs in various schools. For instances, in Tsinghua, there were the "8 August Chuan-lien Association" and the "9 August Chuan-lien Association For Immediate Struggle Against The Black Gang." In the Geology College, the "Tung-fang-hung Commune" was opposed to the "Corps for Struggle, Criticism, and Reform."

In various areas, the Party factions in power taking the capitalist road took advantage of the difference of opinions among the masses to mobilize one group of the masses.

against another. There were also some cases of serious armed clash, such as that in Changsha. The brave revolutionaries and many persecuted comrades overcame numerous difficulties and went to Peking to appeal their cases. Some of them hiked all the way to Peking from Tientsin, Sian, Changsha, and other areas, creating the precedent for the great revolutionary Chuan-lien.

In Sian, from 14 to 16 August, revolutionary students staged a sit-down demonstration to protest the Northwest Bureau and the Shensi Provincial Committee, which instigated workers and peasants to wage a struggle against students. Incidents of blood-shed occurred at the gates of the Provincial Committee and of the Northwest Bureau on 4, 6, 9, 14, 16, 18, 20, and 25 August. Incidents of blood-shed also occurred in Pao-chi, Han-chung, Hsien-yang, Po-cheng, Tung-chuan, Lo-yang, and other localities of the Northwest.

In Chungking, on 18 August, there was a revolutionary expose of the Municipal Committee. Later, the masses abruptly divided into two groups.

In Changsha, instigated by the Municipal Committee, armed clashes broke out on 19 and 20 August during which workers encircled and attacked Hunan University students in a serious incident. The Municipal Committee secretaries sat idly by during the incidents, and were later dismissed from their offices.

18 August: At the mass rally to meet students arriving in Peking from other areas, Comrade Chen Po-ta spoke on: "Grow Up In Strong Wind and Waves," when he pointed out: "We should follow the teachings of our great leader Chairman Mao: All revolutionaries and revolutionary youths must brace themselves against wind and rain, and see the world. The revolutionaries can not grow in a hot house, but must grow in strong wind and waves." He continued: "We must not forget our origin. We are all children of the working people, who have raised us with their blood and sweat. We must never forget this. The working people are our parents. We must accord them full respect, learn from them, and always and forever join them."

18 August: In a green military uniform, Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arm Comrade Lin Piao joined the army of cultural revolution to celebrate the great proletarian cultural revolution. (The first meeting). Looking at the vast army of cultural revolution, Chairman Mao told Comrade Lin Piao: "This is a large-scale movement which truly mobilizes the masses. This is of great significance in revolutionizing the thinking of the people throughout the country." At the rally, Comrade Lin Piao and Comrade Chou En-lai made important speeches, pointing out: "Our Chairman Mao is the supreme commander of this great cultural revolution." The revolutionary teachers and students coming to Peking from

other areas for chuan-lien and petitioning also spoke at the rally. Chairman Mao received the young Red Guards at the rally, wore a Red Guard arm band, and highly commended their revolutionary spirit. Chairman Mao's voice came like thunder in the spring. Within a short period, Red Guards gained prominence in schools, plants, and rural areas throughout the country, and became a vast army for cultural revolution. However, in some provincial and municipal committees, government agencies, and schools, certain leading cadres merely imitated and fabricated Red Guard organizations as tools to promote their reactionary bourgeois line.

19 August: Newspapers carried the news that Chairman Mao received the army of cultural revolution on 18 August. The people sensitively noticed that Liu Shao-chi stood to the side.

In Tsinghua, the "Sunflower" Combat Team put up the revolutionary poster: "Wang Kuang-mei Is The Number One Pickpocket In Tsinghuayuan," pointing out the Liu Shao-chi question. Immediately afterward, Ho Peng-fei and others put up the poster: "Three Questions to Wang Kuang-mei," which created a considerable stir.

20 August: The notorious "Statement of Tan Li-fu" appeared.

In less than twelve days after adoption of the sixteen articles, Tan impatiently came out to viciously attack Mao Tse-tung's thought. Resorting to "class line," the "struggle against the black gang," and a "touch on the soul" as the pretext, he went all out to present a program opposed to the sixteen articles adopted by the Party Central Committee. This was a representative work of the reactionary bourgeois line, with the key question centered in the "power." The "Statement" was well distributed throughout the country. There were those who showed little interest in the Central Committee resolution personally formulated by Chairman Mao, but held in esteem this program, which opposed the Central Committee resolution. They reprinted and broadcast the program with enthusiasm. The "Statement" thus provided the theoretical basis for the instigation of one group of the masses against another in various areas, for using the majority to oppress the minority, and for engineering armed clashes, in an attempt to save the reactionary bourgeois line.

Supplement: 1 August: Wang Jen-chung told the leading cadres of the provisional preparatory committee: "The Central Cultural Revolution group asked me to take charge of Tsinghua, Peking University, the middle school under Peking University, the middle school under Peking University. Henceforth, I will serve as your consultant. You can see me once every three or five days." However, Premier Chou stated: "On 29 July, the Central Standing Committee sent me to intercede

in the great cultural revolution in Tsinghua."

18 August: Ho Peng-fei, Chiao Tsung-huai [0829 1350 3232] , and others put up the large-character poster: "Three Questions to Wang Kuang-mei." This poster was based on the oral dictation by Wang Jen-chung. At the end of July, Wang Jen-chung once obstructed leading cadres of the provisional preparatory committee from putting up posters against Wang Kuan-mei. Subsequently, Wang Jen-chung, Ho Lung, and Li Ching-chuan met at Ho's residence and decided to point out the question of Wang Kuang-mei through their children. Consequently, Wang, Jen-chung suddenly turned around and sought leading cadres of the provisional preparatory committee to dictate this poster.

On the same evening, Liu Tao telephoned Wang Jen-chung regarding the poster against Liu Shao-chi and Wang Kuang-mei. Wang immediately asked her to come to see him. Wang Jen-chung intended to send 12 persons from the Political Institute of the Liberation Army to Tsinghua as liaison officers. Wang's secretary Lu Nai-chiang [0712 0035 1730] began to arrange tasks for these liaison officers.

21 August: Red Flag carried in its 11th issue: "Forward Victoriously the Road of Mao Tse-tung's Thought" and reprinted the poster by Nieh Yuan-tzu and six other comrades, and the People's Daily commentary.

The commentary carried this time offered important changes: "What we accept is the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. Regarding all erroneous leadership endangering the revolution, we must not unconditionally accept it, but should resolutely resist ..." That was the change made personally by Chairman Mao.

After the clarification of the Peng Chen question, the editorial again reiterated: "Anyone, regardless of how high his position may be, how well established his qualifications, and how great his prestige, so long as he does not work according to Mao Tse-tung's thought and opposes Mao Tse-tung's thought, we must wage a resolute resistance against his erroneous ideas, all the way until he is dismissed from office." At the same time, it emphatically pointed out: "Ours is a large country with 700 million people. We must have agreement in thinking. United with Mao Tse-tung's thought, we will have united action."

At the meeting debating the Kuo Yang-chiu [6753 8846 4428] question of People's University, Tao Chu, on the one hand, claimed that Kuo was not a leftist, in an effort to support the rebels represented by the Red Guards of the People's University; and, on the other, also alleged the Kuo was not a black gangster to prop up the royalists. This exposed Tao Chu as an outright double-dealing character.

23 August: Chairman Mao wrote: "New Peking University."

This was the mobilization call to break down the old and establish the new, and the bugle sound to promote the proletarian and demote the bourgeois. It encouraged the revolutionary teachers and students throughout the country to hold higher the great flag of the revolutionary proletarian line represented by Chairman Mao for waging to the end the struggle against the reactionary bourgeois line. Accordingly, the all-round offensive against the reactionary bourgeois line and its headquarters reached a new upsurge.

In Tsinghua, on 19 August, the "Sunflower" Combat Team put up the revolutionary large-character poster: "Wang Kuang-mei Is the Number One Pickpocket In Tsinghuayuan," pointing out by name Liu Shao-chi and Wang Kuang-mei.

Wang Jen-chung then, in his attempt to seize the initiative, told Ho Peng-fei and the others to put up "Three Questions to Wang Kuang-mei."

On 21 August, Comrade Liu Tao, daughter of Liu Shao-chi, put up the large-character poster: "Pledging My Life to Follow Chairman Mao. This poster was prepared at Wang Jen-chung's residence, after Liu Tao had a long talk with Wang Jen-chung, who first read the poster and made some changes.

The "Sunflower" again came out with another poster: "Wang Kuang-mei is Precisely the Number One Pickpocket of Tsinghuayuan."

On 23-24 August, Chairman Mao's first large-character poster reached Tsinghua from Peking University. Revolutionary teachers and students of the whole school launched a high tide for bombardment of Liu Shao-chi's black headquarters. Tsinghuayuan was replete with large-character posters opening fire at Liu Shao-chi, Wang Kuang-mei, Po I-po, and Li Hush-feng. The entire Peking Municipality was shaken. The enemies were frightened, and the revolutionaries considerably encouraged.

In Geology College, the "Tung-fang-hung" Commune fiercely opened fire at Tsou Chia-yu [6760 1367 1429], head of the former work team in the Geology College. A resolute and unremittingly valiant struggle was launched.

Aeronautical College: The "Red Flag Combat Team" sustained its struggle for 28 days, resolutely demanding that Chao Ju-chang [6392 1172 3864], head of the work team, make a self-examination.

In Kunming, revolutionary action also appeared on 23 August in an attack against the black headquarters. However, the small number of persons adhering to the reactionary bourgeois line would not reconcile themselves to defeat. They used the social foundation of their reactionary line and their influence within the Party to cause trouble. They resorted to both overt and covert methods to resist the revolutionary proletarian line, to sabotage the effort of the revolutionary masses, and to protect the reactionary bourgeois line.

In Tsinghua, on the afternoon of 24 August, some leading cadres of the provisional preparatory committee, under Wang Jen-chung's manipulation, instigated some unenlightened masses and some Red Guards of the 12th school to destroy a large number of large-character posters, directing their spear at the revolutionary masses and even manhandling some persons. Once again the spirit of revolutionary rebellion in Tsinghuayuan was condemned as a "counterrevolutionary adverse current" and a "rebellion of rightists."

In the Ministry of Chemical Industry, directed by anti-Party element Po I-po, black gangster Liang Ying-yung [4731 5235 1661] "presided" over the third rally of 10,000 persons on 25 August, previous rallies were held on 18 and 24 August, to wage a struggle against Kao Yang [7559 2254], Party Committee Secretary in the Ministry. They encircled and attacked revolutionary comrades, and seriously trampled upon the sixteen articles.

In Szechuan, on 28 August, there was the so-called Chiang-peï "28 August" incident in Chungking, where rumors were directed to calumniate the "15 August" Combat Corps.

On 26 August, Rebels in Chengtu rose to expose the question of the Provincial Committee, and met with encirclement at the Office of the Provincial Committee. Subsequently, on 1 and 2 September, several incidents occurred in succession, with one group of students against another, and one group of the masses against another.

In Anhwei, on 27 August, Rebels in Hofei rose to expose Li Pao-hua, first Secretary of the Provincial Committee. Li instigated the uninformed masses against the masses which led to blood shed.

In Peking, on the evening of 26 August, the new Municipal Committee gathered all heads of the black gang in the city and sent them to an undisclosed locality, north of Chuyung-kuan. Using "reform" as a pretext, there was a news blackout of the event. In fact, this was an attempt to protect them from the masses and the law. This event served to expose the reactionary bourgeois line of the new Municipal Committee.

In the last ten-day period of August: The movement developed in depth. The Red Guards appeared on streets to sweep away the four old's. The great cultural revolution began to touch the political economy. The campaign in the schools for struggle, criticism, and reform reached out to become a campaign in society, and succeeded in considerable achievements in breaking down the four old's and establishing the four new's.

The factions in power taking the capitalist road, the bourgeois reactionary "authorities," and the blood-sucking parasites suffered a great deal in the hands of the

lutionary teachers and students, and young Red Guards.

25 August: In Peking, the class enemies, in their class struggle, stabbed and wounded some Red Guards. In the struggle against the enemies, the Red Guards displayed the revolutionary spirit of bravery and loyalty to Chairman Mao. With hatred against the class enemies, the Red Guards launched a large-scale campaign for confiscation of property to deal a blow to the demons.

31 August: For the second time, Chairman Mao received 500,000 young Red Guards and revolutionary masses from all areas of the country arriving at Peking. On behalf of the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Central Cultural Revolution group, Premier Chou announced at the rally that revolutionary teachers and students from all areas would arrive in Peking by groups in succession on the revolutionary chuan-lien. He also extended warm support to the revolutionary chuan-lien.

Revolutionary teachers and students arrived in Peking to see the red sun in their heart, Chairman Mao. They also went to all areas of the country to fan the socialist wind and to light the fire of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This was a new thing which emerged in the course of the great cultural revolution. In the revolutionary melting pot of chuan-lien, they steeled themselves. Through chuan-lien, they distinguished the right and the wrong, and familiarized themselves with the society and the classes. This was of far-reaching significance.

The attitude toward the revolutionary chuan-lien served to disseminate throughout the country Mao Tse-tung's thought, to propagate Mao Tse-tung's proletarian revolutionary line, to organize the proletarian revolutionary army, and to effectively dash the reactionary bourgeois line.

A handful of the factions in power taking the capitalist road and those stubbornly adhering to the reactionary bourgeois line were frightened by the revolutionary chuan-lien, and attempted by all possible methods to sabotage it.

In Peking, Wang Jen-chung unilaterally stressed the importance of perfecting one's own unit and prohibited Peking University teachers and students from departing for chuan-lien to other areas. When the revolutionary teachers and students broke away from Wang's restrictions and left for chuan-lien elsewhere, Wang Jen-chung denounced the students, saying: "Some students now doubt even the sixteen articles. If they insist on leaving, they can. The movement will be delayed for two weeks." With this, he intended to resist the great revolutionary chuan-lien.

In Shanghai, schemed and organized by the Municipal Committee, a large number of workers and students sought Red Guards from Peking day and night, grasped some of their defects for exaggeration, and attacked them. Municipal Committee

Secretary Tsao Ti-chiu and others wantonly undermined the revolutionary relationship between the Red Guards from the north and the Shanghai workers and students, in an attempt to avoid exposing themselves.

In Kwangtung, the five revolutionary students who suffered persecution because of the "Peking Correspondence" departed for chuan-lien in the north and met with unreasonable obstruction and calumny.

In Hupeh, revolutionary teachers and students from other areas were not welcome. Some students from Changsha, Hunan, who suffered persecution and intended to report the situation to Peking, met with obstruction and changed their route to go north through Shanghai.

Some persons of the Provincial Committee were sold cold toward chuan-lien and attempted to obstruct it. Whang Ti-hsueh stated: "The cultural revolution did not succeed in any achievement in Wuhan. Why should anyone go to Peking? It is better to strive for some achievements first before going to report the good news to the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao in Peking." At the Rally greeting the revolutionary teachers and students from other areas on 4 September, however, he said: "In Wuhan, you can see the resounding, truthful, unprecedented, and large-scale great proletarian cultural revolution." Ten days after the rally, the revolutionary teachers and students began to suffer.

In Yunnan, the young Red Guards from Peking were under surveillance; and chuan-lien was prohibited.

At the end of August, the First and the Second Headquarters were established in Peking. They excluded the dissenting persons. In many schools, the revolutionary rebels were once again condemned as "counterrevolutionaries" and "rightist organizations."

Early September: Wang Jen-chung told leading members of the "Red Guards of Tsinghua University" (conservatives): "What does Kuai Ta-fu amount to? At most 200 large-character posters. We should ignore him and wait until after the autumn." (Premier Chou had said earlier on 4 August at the 10,000 persons rally in Tsinghua: "Regarding Comrades Kuai Ta-fu, Liu Chuan, and the others, I am the first in favor of their liberation and in declaring them innocent.")

During the first ten-day period of September: Revolutionary teachers and students in Peking and elsewhere departed in succession for revolutionary chuan-lien in various areas. Fanning the socialist wind and igniting the fire of the great proletarian cultural revolution, they joined the local revolutionary masses in promoting class struggle against the provincial and municipal committees. Alarmed and flustered, the Party persons in power taking the capitalist road resorted to all possible tricks to sow dissension among and

attack the revolutionary students on their revolutionary chuan-lien. Many students from Peking were condemned as "counterrevolutionaries" or forced to parade in the streets.

In Peking, there were many cases of oppression of the minority. The reactionary bourgeois line appeared as the "leftist" to oppress the revolutionary masses and to prevent them from criticizing the reactionary line. The "Red Flag" of the Peking Aeronautical College, the "Tung-fang-hung" of the Geology Institute, the "Tung-fang-hung" of the Engineering College, and other revolutionary organizations continued to wage a struggle.

On 5 September, the liaison officers in various schools were withdrawn. In Tsinghua, the liaison officers requested permission (from Wang Jen-chung) to withdraw.

In Shanghai, after the 30 and 31 August incidents, there was another 4 September incident. Peking Red Guards and Shanghai middle school students dashed into the Shanghai Municipal Committee to demand an interview. Tsao Ti-chiu, on the one hand, arranged for collection of the names, family background, and behavior of these students; and, on the other, instigated, at the gate of the Municipal Committee: "The Shanghai masses themselves are well aware of the problems in Shanghai ..." He alleged: "We propose struggle by reasoning. When the Peking students beat up Shanghai people, these Shanghai people should not fight back." Immediately, Peking students were encircled on the streets of Shanghai; and large-character posters, slogans, and handbills were circulated to attack the Peking Red Guards and defend the Shanghai Municipal Committee. Such handbills as: "Yang Fu-chen's Urgent Telegram" and "We Old Workers Will Speak" appeared in quantity and were spread wide, reaching even Peking.

In Kwangtung, there were rumors of large numbers of Red Guards coming south, and handbills of calumny were circulated everywhere.

In Hupeh, in receiving the Wuhan delegation to Peking, Wang Jen-chung alleged: "(1) The Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao are aware of the condition of the Hupeh Provincial Committee; (2) The Hupeh Provincial Committee is not a problem; (3) The handful of persons going south to Hupeh will merely delay progress of the movement." Chang Ti-hsueh went further: "As the saying goes 'There are the nine-headed birds above and the Hupeh fellows below,' I am a Hupeh fellow myself." He personally then "represented" the 32 million people of Hupeh to condemn the People's University students on their way to Kueilin (some People's University fifth year students, who were Party members with poor peasant background.) In Wuhan, there was a campaign to apprehend the students who were travelling south.

6 September: Revolutionary masses of the whole country demanded that the Central Propaganda Department open

its gate to promote revolution. They also put up revolutionary posters which were unreasonably rejected.

7 September: People's Daily carried the editorial: "Grasp Revolution, Promote Production." This was a great policy offered by Chairman Mao.

10 September: In higher schools of Peking, the oppressed revolutionary minority established the Peking Red Guard Revolutionary Rebels Headquarters, that was, the Third Headquarters, which became the original great alliance of rebels.

11 September: Meeting with leading persons of the Tsinghua liaison officers, Wang Jen-chung stealthily used the name of Chairman Mao to reject the request for withdrawal of liaison officers. Wang stated: "It was with Chairman Mao's approval that you came. You must also have Chairman Mao's approval before you withdraw. We are the primary liaison officers. What will I do, if you withdraw?"

15 September: Chairman Mao received revolutionary teachers and students for the third time. Comrade Lin Piao pointed out in his speech: "A handful of landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists who have not been properly reformed attempt to bombard the proletarian headquarters." He called on the revolutionary masses to raise their vigilance and promptly detect tricks and conspiracies of the enemies.

17 September: Red Flag, in its 12th issue, carried the editorial: "Master the General Direction of the Struggle," which pointed out: "we must pay attention to unite the majority and concentrate forces to attack the bevy of bourgeois rightists. The key point of attack is the faction in power who infiltrated the Party and now take the capitalist road." It called on "Party organizations at all levels, broad worker-peasant-soldier masses, revolutionary cadres and intellectuals, and youths to be sure of closely mastering this general direction of the struggle." It also stressed: "...under no pretext or form will any attempt to attack the revolutionary masses, or to instigate one group of the masses to struggle against another be tolerated."

In Peking, using the struggle against the black gang as the pretext, various higher schools resisted criticism against the reactionary bourgeois line. The majority used the struggle against the black gang to oppress the minority. For instance, at Tsinghua University there was a struggle against Chiang Nan-hsiang.

At the Great Hall of the People, where he met with 12 students of the Kwangtung Study Group, Tao Chu protected the Kwangtung Provincial Committee, Chao Tzu-yang, and Ou Meng-chueh. He also evaluated himself highly, suppressed the masses, and attempted to avoid an examination by the revolutionary masses.

20 September: In his speech to the Cultural Revolution Standing Committee at the Central Propaganda Department, Tao Chu set the tone for comments on the movement at the previous stage in the Central Propaganda Department. He repeatedly stressed that the "general direction and line were correct" in the movement in the Central Propaganda Department. Striving to defend himself, he stated: "I will never agree with any allegation that I am a person in power taking the capitalist road."

Hsiung Fu [3574 1788] (Deputy Director of the Central Propaganda Department), delegated by Tao Chu, met with two Red Guard organizations of the Philosophy and Social Sciences Department. He reported on Tao Chu's four-point directive and called on the masses to wage a struggle against the black gang, to avoid the question of the struggle between two lines, and thus attempted to divert the general direction of the struggle. He also protected Wu Chuan-chi [0702 0278 0796]. The royalists consequently clamored: "Whoever opposes Tao Chu's four-point directive opposes the Party Central Committee and is a counterrevolutionary!" Under the reign of white terror, there were many cases of property confiscation, body search, arrest, beating, detention, and interrogation.

23 September: "Tung-fang-hung" of the Geology College once again bombarded the Ministry of Geology. After 14 days of assiduous struggle, Deputy Minister Tsou Chia-yu [6760 1367 1429] was forced to return to the school for self-examination and criticism.

Chen Po-ta sent Comrades Kuan Feng and Chi Peng-yu to the Geology College as observers to support the revolutionary activities of the "Tung-fang-hung" Commune.

24 September: Chang Ping-hua distorted the editorial in the Red Flag's 12th issue and Comrade Lin Piao's speech, and issued the mobilization order to "catch the rightists." At once, a reign of white terror prevailed over Hunan, where many revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres were branded as "black ghosts," "rightists," and "counterrevolutionaries," and suffered ruthless political persecution and bodily harm. Some persons were coerced into committing suicide.

In Tsinghua University, the "Ching-kang-shan Red Guards" headed by student Kuai Ta-fu were organized, with their spear trained once again at Liu Shao-chi.

25 September: Premier Chou alone received leading members of the Third Headquarters in the capital.

Meeting with some teacher and student representatives of 13 higher schools of the arts, deputy chairman Yeh Ching-ying stated: "Recently, there was a great happy event in our Party. Chairman Mao has chosen his first heir. With the experience of 40 years of struggle, the Chairman has proven that Comrade Lin Piao has rich experience in revolutionary struggle, and is a

great statesman and strategist with a high degree of achievement in the art of leadership. He is the best heir to Chairman Mao."

26 September: The Third Headquarters of the capital held a rally at the Workers' Stadium. The Premier spoke at the rally and supported the minority in their resolute promotion of revolution.

27 September: Meeting with revolutionary teachers and students arriving in Peking from Southwest on chuan-lien, Chen Po-ta pointed out: "In the course of the great cultural revolution, the struggle between the two lines is grave, acute, and complex."

In Peking, a minority in the higher schools organized the "Committee to Defend Mao Tse-tung's thought and the 16 Articles." At the first meeting held at the Teachers' University to criticize "Tan Li-fu's Statement," they waged an uncompromising struggle against the reactionary bourgeois line and yet met with counterattack from some students.

THE FOURTH STAGE (October 1966 to Early January 1967)

1 October: On this glorious day, Comrade Lin Piao, close comrade-in-arm of our great leader Chairman Mao, made an important speech. People's Daily and Red Flag, in its 13th issue, pointed out: "Whether or not we criticize the reactionary bourgeois line is the key to whether or not we can implement the 16 articles of the cultural revolution, and whether or not we can correctly promote extensive struggle, criticism, and reform. In this, there is no room for a compromise." Greatly encouraged, the revolutionary rebels held high the banner for criticizing the reactionary bourgeois line and stormed the Liu and Teng black headquarters. The nation-wide great cultural revolution embarked upon a new upsurge.

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, people of the whole country joyfully celebrated the 17th anniversary of the founding of the nation. At the Peking celebration rally, Comrade Lin Piao pointed out: "The struggle continues between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line." He stated: "Those who persist in mistakes are only a handful of persons who deviate from and oppose the people, as they are also opposed to Mao Tse-tung's thought. This determines that they are doomed to defeat."

People's Daily editorial: "Arm 700 Million People With Mao Tse-tung's Thought" pointed out: "The great Mao Tse-tung's thought enables the revolutionary enthusiasm and initiative hidden among hundreds of millions of people to break out like atomic energy." The editorial called on us "to resolutely respond to the call from the Central Committee, and, in the course of the great cultural revolution, to hold high the great

red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought, to stress proletarian politics, and to push to a new upsurge the mass campaign for creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works."

Hsiung Fu, Deputy Director of the Central Propaganda Department and Director of the Hsin-hua News Agency, ordered the photography department to fabricate a photograph (the caption read: Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Vice Chairman Liu Shao-chi, and Vice Chairman Sung Ching-lin on Tien-an-meng rostrum) This was a grave political event.

3 October: Red Flag, in its 13th issue, carried the editorial: "Forward On the Great Road of Mao Tse-tung's Thought. The death knoll was tolled for the bourgeois reactionary line.

5 October: The CCP Central Committee approved for transmission the urgent directive of the Central Military Affairs Committee and the General Political Department: "On the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Troop and Military Institutes." (1) Certain leading organizations and military institute leadership overemphasized the special characteristics of military institutes, suppressed democracy, and dampened enthusiasm in the movement. (2) Those comrades who were branded "counterrevolutionaries, anti-Party elements, and rightists" at the early stage of the movement by institute Party committees or work teams must be redeemed of their good names, with the black material detrimental to their honor destroyed in public. (3) Among the leading personnel and instructors of the military institutes, there was a handful of bad elements who were opposed to the Party and to socialism. The east wind of the great cultural revolution should be directed to ferret them out for thorough struggle and criticism. The urgent directive supported the revolutionary rebels and started the struggle between the two lines in military institutes.

6 October: At the Workers' Stadium, 120,000 revolutionary teachers and students from higher schools throughout the country attended a rally to pledge themselves to "Open Fire At the Reactionary Bourgeois Line." (Sponsored by the Third Headquarters in Peking) Premier Chou, Chiang Ching, and others attended and resolutely supported the revolutionary rebels.

Tao Chu received representatives of two factions from the Ministry of Education and said: "There are now some who will not be satisfied unless they brand someone else as a black gangster. I don't believe that there are so many black gangsters." He protected Ho Wei and dampened the enthusiasm of the revolutionary masses.

In Shanghai, there were only one million copies of the Red Flag 13th issue editorial printed, compared with 1.4 million copies of the article: "Struggle by Reason, Not by Force." In early October, the Shanghai Municipal Committee ordered "two weeks of labor performance, in principle" to send most students to the countryside, so that those who

stubbornly upheld the reactionary line could escape criticism. On 6 October, the Municipal Committee suddenly changed to show concern for the chuan-lien, which was used as the pretext to set free many persons.

In Hupeh, the Provincial Committee did not respond to the Red Flag editorial. Instead, the movement in the Wuhan area suddenly changed to an attack on the black gang, with the claim that "at present, only an attack on the black gang can master the general direction of the struggle."

In Kwangtung, the Red Flag 13th issue editorial was not reprinted, publicized, or studied through organized effort. On the contrary, the attack against the black gang was used to divert attention from criticizing the reactionary bourgeois line. For instance, there was the struggle against Ou-Yang Shan on 9 October. During the second ten-day period of October, Chung-san Medical College began criticism against the bourgeois reactionary line. The Provincial Committee, however, resorted to drought resistance as the pretext to send over 20,000 higher school students to rural areas to resist drought. They gradually returned to schools at the end of October.

9 October: On behalf of the Party Central Committee, Premier Chou stated that the Central Committee had decided to let Wang Kuang-mei present a written self-examination to the revolutionary teachers and students of the Tsinghua University. Under the powerful pressure of the broad masses of teachers and students, Wang Kuang-mei, on the following day, offered a very poor self-examination.

Large-character posters appeared in large number in Peking University, Tsinghua, and Teachers University exposing Li Hsueh-feng for implementing the bourgeois reactionary line.

Revolutionary rebels began to criticize the bourgeois reactionary line as implemented by the conservatives. Most of the conservatives in Peking University successively departed for chuan-lien.

Vice Chairman Lin order suspension from duty for self-examination Lo Shun-chu [5012 5293 0443], member of the original Military Affairs Committee. This was the achievement of the "Red Flag Combat Team" of the Peking Aeronautical College after 28 days of assiduous battle, and a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

13 October: Revolutionary teachers and students gathered at the Peking Exhibition Hall for the first "Rally to Thoroughly Criticize the Reactionary Line of Peking Municipal Committee Represented by Li Hsueh-feng."

14 October: Fifty thousand persons met in Teachers' University for another criticism against the bourgeois reactionary line, as represented by Li Hsueh-feng of the Peking Municipal Committee. At the rally, Li Hsueh-feng offered a self-examination.

18 October: Chairman Mao received, for the fourth time, 1.5 million young Red Guards. Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students from various areas declared: "We will overthrow whoever opposes Chairman Mao! We pledge our lives to defend Chairman Mao! We pledge our lives to safeguard the revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao!"

Hsiung Fu, of the Central Propaganda Department, changed the slogans of the Rally in the "18 October Slogan Incident," which was another very serious political event.

19 October: People's Daily editorial: "Learn from Lu Shun's Spirit of Revolutionary Toughness" pointed out that it was of important significance in the country and among nations that we commemorate the 30th anniversary of the death of Lu Shun, the bravest great standard bearer on the cultural front of our country, amid the high tide of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of Lu Shun's death, the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students, and Red Guards unanimously requested a solemn commemoration of Lu Shun, the vanguard of the proletarian cultural revolution, so as to enhance his spirit of thorough revolution.

The Central Propaganda Department planned to call a forum with only 150 persons attending. Without prior approval from the Central Cultural Revolution group, the forum was sponsored by Hsiung Fu and Liu Tsu-chun [0491 4371 2504] at Tao Chu's order, with all plans approved by Tao Chu. The meeting attempted to reduce the great political influence of Lu Shun who had been reevaluated anew by Chairman Mao. Subsequently, the Central Cultural Revolution group discovered the plan, curbed the meeting, and decided on a rally to commemorate the occasion.

31 October: A cultural revolution army of 70,000 persons solemnly commemorated Lu Shun, the great standard bearer on the cultural front. They pledged determination to hold higher the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, to enhance the undaunted revolutionary rebellious spirit and thorough revolutionary character of Lu Shun, and to resolutely defend the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, so as to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution to the end. Chen Po-ta and Yao Wen-yuan spoke at the rally.

Red Flag, in its 14th issue, carried the editorial: "Commemorating Our Cultural Vanguard Lu Shun."

During the second 10-day period of October: Chairman Mao proposed calling a work conference of the Central Committee, with principal leading personnel of the major administrative regions, provinces, and municipalities attending, to discuss various phenomena and problems which emerged in the course of the great cultural revolution.

23 October: Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping offered

separate self-examinations.

24 October: A report conference was held and the Chairman spoke.

25 October: Chairman Mao, Lin Piao, Chou En-lai, and Chen Po-ta made important speeches on the struggle between the two lines.

On Chen Po-ta's report: "Summing Up the Movement of Two Months," Chairman Mao read and commented as follows: "Send immediately to Comrade Chen Po-ta: I have read the manuscript and found it very good. Please consider inserting the two sentences: 'Grasp Revolution; Promote Production.' Please prepare it in pamphlet form for extensive circulation, and assure that every branch and every Red Guard team will have at least one copy."

20 October: At the Central Propaganda Department, Tao Chu spoke wantonly on the difference between the general situation and the individual cases in work teams. He implied: "The work team of the Central Propaganda Department is an individual case."

21 October: From the Dairen Marine Transportation Institute, 15 young Red Guards marched for half a month to reach Peking. This was another great creation in the course of the great cultural revolution.

22 October: People's Daily editorial: "Red Guards Are Not Afraid of Difficulties of Long March" pointed out: "The chuan-lien is a major creation in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Our most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao has always fully supported the great chuan-lien, and also has proposed an extensive promotion of this revolutionary act." The editorial continued: "To march on foot for the great chuan-lien, instead of riding on a train or bus, is again another very significant first event." The editorial pointed out: "As a matter of fact, those who are not prepared to wage an assiduous struggle can never become true revolutionaries." The editorial said: "Our younger generation must always remain faithful to Chairman Mao and to Mao Tse-tung's thought, to the Party, and to the people. We shall inherit the Red Army spirit of the long march, and pass it on to future generations."

The mass criticism against the bourgeois reactionary line reached a new upsurge. In his talk to some revolutionary comrades at the Central Propaganda Department and the Hsin-hua News Agency, Tao Chu, however, continued to stress that criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line should start from the reality of various agencies. The task to struggle against the black gang in the Department, he claimed, would not be changed.

25 October: Comrade Chen Po-ta answered questions on "Red Guards are Not Afraid of Difficulties on the Long March." He declared: "The Central Committee supports chuan-lien by foot."

To walk the way is to learn about the path once travelled by Chairman Mao. In hiking, you are preparing for a powerful campaign of struggle, criticism, and reform. You must arm your thinking with Mao Tse-tung's thought."

25 October: In the telegram of congratulation sent to the Congress of the Albanian Labor Party, Chairman Mao warmly praised the heroic Albania as a great socialist light in Europe which dared to engage in combat against the imperialists and their lackeys, and against all ferocious enemies of the world. He warmly praised the friendship between the Chinese and Albanian people as a revolutionary and combat friendship which could withstand stormy tests.

27 October: Our country succeeded in the experimental launching of a nuclear guided missile weapon. The guided missile flew normally over a planned distance and accurately reached the target in the nuclear detonation. This was the second nuclear explosion, and a brilliant achievement of the great cultural revolution and a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of naming the locomotive: "Mao Tse-tung," Comrade Lin Piao wrote: "The People's Revolution Guided by Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is the Locomotive of Progress in History."

28 October: Premier Chou pointed out in a speech that cadres, upon returning to their respective areas, should hold three-level cadre meetings to disseminate the spirit of the Central Committee work conference.

Upon conclusion of the Central Committee work conference, leading comrades of regional, provincial, and municipal committees returned to hold three-level cadre conferences and to offer self-examinations to the revolutionary teachers and students.

29 October: Peking University held a rally for thorough criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line of the Peking Municipal Committee as represented by Li Hsueh-feng. At the rally, Li made a self-examination and admitted that the new Municipal Committee implemented a bourgeois reactionary line.

Some Peking teachers and students held an exhibit of revolutionary rebellion, modeled after the Ta-ching Exhibit. Instead of stressing Mao Tse-tung's thought, they praised those who implemented the bourgeois reactionary line. Comrade Chen Po-ta dispatched Chi Peng-yu and other comrades to observe the exhibit. Chi Peng-yu reported that Tao Lu-chia instigated one group of the masses against another, in the course of the cultural revolution.

30 October: Tao Chu received Hunan representatives of the masses visiting Peking and enthusiastically praised Chang Ping-hua to protect Chang.

1 November: In its 14th issue, Red Flag pointed out in the editorial: "Victory of the Proletarian Revolutionary Line

Represented by Chairman Mao" that: "The difference between correcting and persisting in mistakes is indicated in the attitude toward the masses and whether or not one has admitted in public to the masses that he has implemented the erroneous line, whether or not he has pronounced innocent those revolutionary masses whom he had branded as 'counter-revolutionaries, anti-Party elements, and rightists', so as to redress their honor and also to support their revolutionary action." The editorial also stressed: "Anyone, regardless of his past achievements, who persists in an erroneous line, will find that the nature of contradiction between he on the one hand and the Party and the people on the other will change from a non-antagonistic contradiction to an antagonistic contradiction. He will slide to the path opposed to the Party and socialism."

The Central Committee work conference adjourned. Responsible comrades of the various regional, provincial, and municipal committees departed in succession to call three-level cadre meetings.

Speaking at the Great People's Hall, Tao Chu tried his best to protect Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping, stressing that their problem was one of "thinking." He also attempted to transfer the responsibility to the Chairman and calumniated the principle of democratic centralism of our Party.

2 November: Under the skillful manipulation by counterrevolutionary revisionist Jung Kao-tang, the national pingpong team and the gymnastics team sponsored a "Pledging Rally before Departure" as a demonstration against the rebels. After the rally, the Premier promptly decided that Jung should not go abroad. Jung, however, continued to play tricks to instigate the athletes to protect him.

3 November: Chairman Mao received, for the sixth time, revolutionary teachers and students arriving in Peking. Comrade Lin Piao spoke and pointed out that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was diametrically opposed to the bourgeois reactionary line. Only by way of thoroughly criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line would it be possible to correctly, fully, and thoroughly implement Chairman Mao's line.

In early November: The general headquarters of Shanghai worker revolutionary rebels was established. Rich in the glorious revolutionary tradition, Shanghai workers launched a ferocious attack against the bourgeois reactionary line.

The handful of persons in the Shanghai Municipal Committee headed by Tsao Ti-chiu realized their shaky position and hastily schemed to organize the worker guards to cope with the general headquarters of worker rebellion.

In Shanghai, revolutionary teachers and students in Chiaotung, the Mechanical Engineering Institute, the Foreign Language Institute, and other higher schools staged several

cases of "seizing" the black materials, with armed clashes. The Municipal Committee refused to implement Central directives and remained indifferent to the many incidents of blood-shed. At the rally convened by the revolutionary rebels to criticize the bourgeois reactionary line, the Municipal Committee Secretary declared: "I am not in favor of seizing the black materials."

8 November: At Peking University, Nieh Yuan-tzu and 10 other students put up the large-character poster: "Teng Hsiao-ping is the Party Person in Power Taking the Capitalist Road." The poster immediately aroused response from many areas.

9 November: Unable to tolerate the persecution by the Shanghai Municipal Committee, the Shanghai headquarters of revolutionary work rebels and other revolutionary organizations decided to go to the north to petition. This led to the "An-ting incident." On behalf of the Central Committee and the Central Cultural Revolutionary group, Comrade Chang Chun-chiao signed the "double-five articles" to pledge resolute support to the revolutionary rebels.

Our great leader Chairman Mao confirmed that Comrade Chang Chun-chiao correctly handled the "An-ting incident." The Shanghai Municipal Committee, however, chose to block the dissemination of this joyful and encouraging news item. Since then, the Shanghai Municipal Committee harbored deep hatred against the headquarters of revolutionary worker rebels and attempted its best to sabotage the said headquarters.

Reveiving worker representatives on 19 November, Tsao Ti-chiu viciously calumniated the rebellious workers and alleged: "I support only rebellion against bourgeoisie, and will not support rebellion against the proletariat," in an attempt to instigate one group of the masses against another, and one group of workers against another.

On 25 November, Tsao Ti-chiu nakedly stated: "We do not support the rebellious workers in their establishment of a headquarters. Nor will we attend their meetings."

In late November, Municipal Committee member Ma Fu-shui departed for Peking to attend the forum on cultural revolution in the Industry and Communications systems. Before departure, he ordered the collection of material (production conditions and other information against the worker reblls, in preparation for this argument against the Central Cultural Revolution group.

In early November, Peking conservatives changed their usual reticence, trained their spear at the Third Headquarters in Peking, and took up the seizure of the black materials by the rebels to fabricate rumors about rebels killing some Liberation Army soldiers. They displayed large-character posters and slogans to attack the Third Headquarters.

Handbills calumniating the Third Headquarters in Peking

appeared in many areas throughout the country, in an attempt to create confusion. Starting with an attack on the Third Headquarters, the handful of persons systematically directed their spear at the proletarian headquarters--Central Cultural Revolution group. A gust of black wind thus started from Peking, known as the December black wind.

8 November: From the Peking Foreign Language Institute, the 101st middle school, the middle school subordinate to the People's University, and other schools came over 1,000 persons to attack the Third Headquarters. They shouted: "Kuai Ta-fu is a counterrevolutionary" and "When the father is reactionary, the son is bad." Since then, the Third Headquarters has been attacked by robbers several times.

Armed clashes were prevalent during this period. Some family members of high-ranking cadres organized the "Fourth Field" (in fact, a secret society organization). They declared the intention to "raze to the ground the Third Headquarters." In the Hsi-cheng-chu, they adopted fascist methods to enforce a reign of terror and suppress the revolutionary masses.

In Tsinghua, a reactionary slogan: "Long live Liu Shao-chi" appeared in the "I" Hall.

12 November: Comrade Chi Peng-yu spoke to the Second Headquarters (conservatives). He affirmed the "palace coup" of the "Red Flag" of the Peking Aeronautical College and pointed out that the conservatives should surrender to the truth.

13 November: Hl Lung desperately protected Jung Kao-tang. He even told Jung: "You said and did something wrong, but are not suspended from office. You can go to the masses to offer a self-examination, and then stand straight to lead."

15 November: In the middle school subordinate to the Agricultural College, a large-character poster: "An Open Letter to Comrade Lin Piao" came out to wantonly allege that "Lin Piao lacks theoretical capability," that "Lin Piao praises Chairman Mao, but resembles Khrushchev," and otherwise vehemently attacked Vice Chairman Lin's speech to the military institutes. The large-character poster immediately incurred a violent counterattack by revolutionary masses.

Some persons of the Peking First Lathe Plant contacted over 100 units of the Industry and Communications system (formerly under Po I-po and Tao Lu-chia) to established the "Red Workers Corps To Defend Mao Tse-tung's Thought," which claimed a membership of 300,000 persons, with the Third Headquarters as their target of attack. The next day, there was the incident of the beating of the "Tung-fang-hung" (rebels) of the Mechanical Engineering College.

16 November: On two consecutive days, Chairman Mao received Red Guards and young revolutionaries (the seventh time). At the Tien-an-meng tower, Chairman Mao told some responsible comrades: "You should put politics in command, go to the masses,

and join them in perfecting promotion of the great proletarian cultural revolution."

The Central authorities issued a circular that all students on chuan-lien after 20 November and successively return to their schools. This date was later changed to 20 December for various reasons.

18 November: In Peking, the "Important Notice" was promulgated to the effect that "Plants, mines, schools, government agencies, and other organizations are invariably prohibited from establishing their private detention room or court, and from arresting or interrogating anyone. These activities violate the State law and Party discipline. Anyone manipulating these activities behind or in front of the scene will be punished severely under the State law and Party discipline. Starting today, any of the afore-mentioned crimes so committed will be punished immediately." (The same notice also appeared in other areas after 18 November.)

This "Important Notice" was proposed by the Central Cultural Revolution group and disseminated with approval from Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. The promulgation of the "Important Notice" sufficiently assured proletarian democracy under proletarian dictatorship. The broad revolutionary masses invariably hailed the notice. There was, nevertheless, a handful of persons who calumniated the "Important Notice" as a large poisonous weed and a conspiracy, and spoke of their intention to thoroughly criticize it.

In receiving the Chinese students who were unreasonably ordered by Soviet revisionists to return to the country, Wang Li pointed out by name the main root of the bourgeois reactionary line: Liu and Teng.

The PLA General Political Department issued a notice calling on all cadres and soldiers, and militiamen of the whole Army to learn from Comrade Tsai Yung-hsiang, a good combatant of Chairman Mao, and to follow the example of Comrade Tsai Yung-hsiang in always remaining faithful to Chairman Mao and this thought. It urged resolute response to the call from Comrade Lin Piao for conscientiously studying the "old three articles" and for cultivating the communist world outlook of devotion to the public.

People's Daily carried the editorial: "Faithful Defender of the Great Cultural Revolution."

19 November: Chen Po-ta, Kuan Feng, Chi Peng-yu and others of the Central Cultural Revolution group, and representatives of the Chinese People's Liberation Army went to the Peking Hsi-cheng Chiu-cha-tui--Peking Liu-chung Lao-kai-shou--which was in fact an underground Fascist concentration camp. (located to the east of Chung-nan-hai). They made their own knives and daggers, and dug a tunnel toward Chung-nan-hai to promote counterrevolutionary activities. They privately

detained revolutionary teachers and students, and held hearings and applied torture, which resulted in several deaths. Some workers, teachers, students, and family members of high-ranking cadres were crippled with broken bones or brain concussion, or suffered severe internal injuries.

20 November: While attacking the Third Headquarters in the capital, some conservatives of the Second Headquarters wantonly alleged that "Chi Peng-yu's talk on 12 November was a large poisonous week representing Mao Tse-tung's thought, which was criticized by the Premier." They also attempted to redress the case of Tan Li-fu, and trained their spear at Chen Po-ta, Chiang Ching, Kuan Feng, Chi Peng-yu, and other comrades. They fabricated public opinion, exaggerated some defects of the Third Headquarters as mistakes of the general direction, and attempted to blame the Central Cultural Revolution group for all this.

24 November: In the Peking Aeronautical College, high-ranking cadres' family members of the Red Guards organized the "1 August Column" which put up the poster: "Questioning the Central Cultural Revolution Group" to send up the first signal shot for the large-scale attack against the Central Cultural Revolution group. (Prior to this, large-character posters against the Central Cultural Revolution group had appeared in Chengtu.)

26 November: Twenty-five persons from the middle schools subordinate to the Petroleum Institute and the Iron and Steel Institute successively caused trouble at the Third Headquarters.

29 November: The "1 August Column" of the Peking Aeronautical College put up "Again Questioning the Central Cultural Revolution group."

30 November: In the large-character poster area of the Forestry Institute, a large slogan appeared at noon: "Kick Away the Central Cultural Revolution Group to Promote Revolution by Ourselves." The slogan was signed by Li Hung-shan [2621 3163 1472] identified as Red Guard combatant of the "Yung-hsiang-tang" Red Guard Corps.

During the second and the first 10-day periods of November; Nieh Yuan-tzu, Kuai Ta-fu, and others successively went to Shanghai to fan the socialist wind and ignite the fire of the great proletarian cultural revolution. They joined the revolutionary rebels of Shanghai to bombard the bourgeois reactionary line of the Shanghai Municipal Committee.

Starting from 22 November, Shanghai rebels held in succession meetings to launch the general offensive against the bourgeois reactionary line headed by Tsao Ti-chiu. Frightened, some persons of the Shanghai Municipal Committee schemed for a campaign "to bombard Nieh." They also calumniated and attacked the Third Headquarters in Peking, hoping to stifle the Shanghai revolutionary rebels in the cradle. The Shanghai

revolutionary rebels, however, withstood their attempt, and gained strength through combat.

25-26 November: Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arm Lin Piao received 2.5 million revolutionary teachers and students, and Red Guards. This was the eighth time, and also the final reception before the spring in the following year. This meeting illustrated the excellent situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and summed up the victory of the revolutionary teachers and students engaged in chuan-lien and study for three months. It contributed to the all-out hike of revolutionary teachers and students of the whole country for the great revolutionary chuan-lien.

During the more than three months since 18 August, including the occasion of the National Day celebration, Chairman Mao had met with over 11 million revolutionary teachers and students, and Red Guards. That our great leader Chairman Mao had met so many of the masses during such a short period was a great event unprecedented in both the history of the Chinese revolution and the history of the international communist movement.

The young revolutionaries excitedly hailed: "Chairman Mao, the red sun in our hearts, only you have such enormous spirit and resolution to initiate this world-shaking great revolutionary mass movement. You have established a most brilliant example for our younger generation and Marxists-Leninists throughout the world."

In early December: Manipulated by the Shanghai Municipal Committee, a handful of the persons in power schemed for establishment of the "Workers Guards For Defending Mao Tse-tung's Thought," which quickly "developed" into a membership of several hundred thousand. From the beginning, this organization served as a tool of the Municipal Committee.

1 December: The Peking Forestry College held a debate meeting, at which Li Hung-shan spoke of three "reasons": (1) The Central Cultural Revolution group was not organized according to the sixteen articles. (2) The Central Cultural Revolution group served as the "imperial envoys" who went everywhere and did whatever they pleased. (3) The Central Cultural Revolution group committed a mistake in direction in branding Tan Li-fu as a rightist. This absurd view was severely refuted by the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students.

2 December: In the Peking Aeronautical College, the "1 August Column" put up: "Once Again Questioning the Central Cultural Revolution Group." The Red Guard "1 August" Field Corps of the Peking Aeronautical College also came out with the large-character poster: "Also Questioning the Central Cultural Revolution Group." In the Peking Iron and Steel Institute, the "Red Storm" displayed: "Cast Aside the Central

Cultural Revolution Group, and Promote Revolution by Ourselves." In the Forestry Institute, the "9 December" "Yung-hsiang-tang" put up at the Tien-an-meng rostrum: "Central Cultural Revolution Group Implements A Bourgeois Reactionary Line." In the city, there were many reactionary slogans such as: "Central Cultural Revolution Implements a Leftist Line," "Kick Aside the Central Cultural Revolution Group, Promote Revolution by Ourselves," "Disband the Central Cultural Revolution Group to Promote Revolution in Peking," and others. Meanwhile, there were also many large-character posters in higher schools, attacking the Central Cultural Revolution group.

From late November to early December, the frenzied counterattack launched by the bourgeois reactionary line led to serious cases of armed clashes in Hofei, Changsha, Weifang, and other localities.

4 December: In Chungking, the Municipal Committee instigated the worker guards to launch an armed attack, resulting in 25 persons dead and over 260 injured.

Armed clashes in Wuhsi, Kiangsu, led to a reported 18 persons dead and several hundred injured.

Counterrevolutionary Wang Yung [3769 6102] put up on a street of Peking the poster: "Pledging My Life to Point Out the True Bourgeois Conspirator at the Side of Chairman Mao," aimed at Comrade Lin Piao. (Criminal Wang was later apprehended by the Ministry of Public Security.)

In early December: the Shanghai Liberation Daily was closed for its implementation of the bourgeois reactionary line. Hubei Daily, Hunan Daily, and Hung-wei-pao were also closed in succession by revolutionary rebels.

5 December: The "Peking Red Guard United Action Committee" (lien-tung) declared: "The new form of bourgeois reactionary line which appeared after the last bourgeois reactionary line is the greatest menace in the current movement." It called for "preparation for instant action."

The "Peking 17 Higher Schools United Action Column" clamored in the communique: "Forced to Ching-kang-shan Red Guard Combat Team" that "The new bourgeois reactionary line represented by Chi Peng-yu and Kuan Feng must be resolutely criticized, vitiated, and stricken down" and that "Chi and Kuan are the prime instigators for one group of the masses against another."

At the Peking Forestry Institute, the revolutionary rebels argued with Li Hung-shan. Striving to redress the case of Tan Li-fu, Li again called for "kicking away the Central Cultural Revolution group for promoting revolution." They also went on chuan-lien to prepare for a demonstration parade of tens of thousands of persons on 9 December to criticize Comrades Chi Peng-yu and Kuan Feng. (Their plan failed to materialize.)

At the debate meeting, counterrevolutionary I Chen-ya [2496 2182 0069] of Tsinghua rushed to the stage to allege wantonly that: "Nor can Chairman Mao represent the Party leadership" that: "Lin Piao should also be questioned" and that: "Lin Piao is not as experienced as Liu Shao-chi," thus serving as a vanguard of the counterrevolutionary adverse current.

7 December: Soviet revisionist Radio Moscow reported in a broadcast: "Large slogans appeared at the Peking Forestry Institute to oppose the Central Cultural Revolution group." The broadcast also viciously calumniated Chen Po-ta, Chiang Ching, and other comrades. Meanwhile, Japanese Radio Tokyo also broadcast similar news.

8 December: Some persons in the Geology College came out to oppose the Central Cultural Revolution group, saying that the "Central Cultural Revolution group oppressed us before."

Conservatives in Tsinghua and the Geology college systematically published the 19 November speeches by Chen Po-ta and Chiang Ching to the "Red Flag" of Peking Aeronautical College and Tsinghua Ching-kang-shan, and added to these provocative notes to launch an all-out attack against the Central Cultural Revolution group.

In the evening, Li Hung-shan of the Forestry Institute again put up the large-character poster: "A Very Good Article for Teaching by Negative Example--Comrade Chen Po-ta's Summation of the Two-Month Movement is a Large Poisonous Weed." He viciously attacked Comrade Chen Po-ta, and fabricated a rumor to say that Chairman Mao commented that the article was good for teaching by negative example.

Receiving some comrades of the Central Propaganda Department, Tao Chu continued stubbornly to uphold his 23 November three points. He also claimed that since Liu and Teng remained members of the Central Standing Committee, this could only be a contradiction among the people. "I cannot describe them as faction in power taking the capitalist road." He thus continued to defend the Liu and Teng line. His three points were: (1) In general, the Central Propaganda Department implemented the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. (2) There was some influence of the erroneous line. (3) Deleted.

Incidents of blood-shed occurred in Peng-fu, Anhwei, on 8, 9, 12, 24, and 25 December.

9 December: The CCP Central Committee promulgated the "Draft of Ten Stipulations on Grasping Revolution and Promoting Production."

The Premier stressed in a speech: "Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin have full confidence in the Central Cultural Revolution group."

The "Red Workers Corps to Defend Mao Tse-tung's Thought" held a meeting at the Hung-hsing Cinema. (The Corps was led by worker-traitors Shih Chuan-hsiang [2514 0278 4382], Chang Pai-fa [1728 4102 4099]) At the meeting, some persons openly instigated with the slogan: "Long Live Liu Shao-chi" and called for "Striking down the support to the Central Cultural Revolution group."

Tsinghua Red Guard Yen Hsiao-tung [7346 2556 2639] (who once spoke in Kueilin to incite one group of the masses against another and thus won approval from the Kueilin Municipal Committee which reprinted his speech) put up the large-character poster: "An Open Letter to Chairman Mao," alleging that "after 3 October the movement in Peking committed a mistake in direction and line."

10-13 December: There were many large-character posters, especially in Tsinghua, against the Central Cultural Revolution group. Among these were: "Thirty Why's," "Testing All With Mao Tse-tung's thought," "Consultation First, Second, and Third," They openly attacked the Central Cultural Revolution group.

13 December: Red Flag, in its 15th issue, carried the editorial: "Strive For New Victory,:" which considerably encouraged the revolutionaries and launched a counterattack against the December black wind. The editorial pointed out: (1) "What should be the aim of struggle is a matter of the great right and great wrong, as it is also a matter of principle involving Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought." (2) It pointed out the five criteria for those who implemented bourgeois reactionary line to correct their mistakes. (3) "We will use Chairman Mao's correct line as the guide, class struggle as the program, and class analysis as the method to study various phenomena, to analyze the movement of various classes in the current great cultural revolution, and to study what means are being used to promote activities."

In the 15th issue of Red Flag, Wang Li and other comrades wrote: "Proletarian Dictatorship and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

Tao Chu spoke to the Ministry of Health, and shamelessly claimed: "I believe that I am basically a proletarian revolutionary."

14 December: Early in the morning, Comrades Kang Sheng and Chiang Ching received revolutionary masses, pointing out that "Ours is democracy under proletarian dictatorship; and democracy serves to consolidate proletarian dictatorship."

The CCP Central Committee promulgated the three-point directive on militarymen returning or changing to civilian work, pointing out: (1) all militarymen returning or changing to civilian work will participate in the great cultural revolution only in their respective units, without organizing Red Guard or other independent agencies under another name.

amount of black materials, the Ta-ching Commune held a rally of criticism. The Party Committee in the Ministry of Petroleum began to disintegrate. The masses unanimously denounced Kang Shih-szu [1660 0013 1835_7].

22 December: The CCP Central Committee agreed with the proposal by the revolutionary teachers and students of the Higher Party School to dismiss Lin Feng from the position of the president and the Secretary of the Higher Party School. It also decided to hold hearings on the case.

In Tsinghua University, the Ching-kang-shan Corps issued a statement strongly demanding that Wang Kuang-mei, Po I-po, and Wang Jen-chung should return to the school for self-examination.

23 December: Armed clashes broke out in Canton, resulting in two persons dead and scores of others injured.

Receiving the Shanghai headquarters delegation of rebellious workers and the red cultural revolution committee, Chang Chun-chiao stated that he and Yao Wen-yuan intended to return to Shanghai soon to "disarm" the Shanghai Municipal Committee. He also spoke of mobilizing Shanghai cadres to rebel, and of gathering cadres and labor models to rebel.

By the last 10-day period of December, the worker movement in Shanghai gained further development. Chen Pi-hsien was pointed out as the one behind-the-scene. The rebels and Red Guards took over the Secretariat, Propaganda Department, Education Department, and Scientific Committee of Shanghai. The revolutionary rebels in Shanghai moved toward a great alliance for seizure of power.

24 December: A handful of persons of the Shanghai Municipal Committee realized the unfavorable situation and disclaimed any responsibility for the "Worker Guards Defending Mao Tse-tung's Thought." They also instigated the guard members to cease production and go north to petition, granting them subsidies for chuan-lien, in an attempt to sabotage production, undermine the economy, and disrupt the market. They even viciously resorted to the "three suspension" of electricity, water, and transportation to sabotage the great cultural revolution.

Manipulated and encouraged by the Municipal Committee, the Shanghai market was temporarily shaken. The Shanghai rebels promptly recognized their conspiracy, rose to seize power and expose their plot, and adopted effective measures to put down this crooked wind.

The revolutionary rebels in the sports circle of the country held the "Rally to expose and criticize revisionist June Kao-tang." The Premier, Chen I, Tao Chu, and H Lung attended the rally; and also spoke on the occasion. The Premier suggested reporting the situation of the Rally to the Chairman.

25 December: In Tsinghua, the Ching-kang-shan Corps and revolutionary teachers and students, numbering over 3,000 persons, staged a demonstration in the city to publicize the brilliant Mao Tse-tung's thought and the revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and to criticize the bourgeois reactionary line headed by Liu and Teng and to overthrow the bourgeois headquarters under them. This action on 25 December considerably encouraged the revolutionary rebels.

26 December: Revolutionary masses throughout the country joyfully celebrated the 73rd birthday of Chairman Mao our most beloved and respected teacher, great leader, great commander, and great helmsman.

The "Peking Red Guards United Action Committee" (Lien-tung) called a rally at the Exhibition Hall, and pointed their spear at the Central Cultural Revolution group and the proletarian headquarters.

Thousands of long march teams from all over the country, with hundreds of thousands of young revolutionaries, gathered in Peking to exchange experiences and to celebrate the great victory of long march guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought. Comrades Chou En-lai, Kang Sheng, Li Fu-chun, Yang Cheng-wu and Chiang Chin attended the rally.

On behalf of Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Biao, Comrade Chou En-lai extended greetings to all young revolutionaries participating in the long march. Comrade Chiang Ching stated: "The path of revolution is uneven and tortuous. Fellow students must bravely march forward with redoubled revolutionary spirit."

27 December: The Ching-kang-shan Corps of Tsinghua searched Po I-po's residence, and discovered munition, daggers, and other concerned materials. Five combatants of "Red Flag" of the Peking Aeronautical College captured Peng Te-huai in the Southwest area. At a rally held in the Workers' Stadium, Chou Jung-hsin and Yung Wen-tao offered self-examination.

28 December: Our country succeeded in another new nuclear explosion. This was a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought and another major achievement in the great cultural revolution. People throughout the country began to celebrate the success of the great cultural revolution.

30 December: Chiang Ching, Wang Li, Luan Feng, Yao Wen-yuan, and other comrades of the Central Cultural Revolution group went to Tsinghua University to meet with all revolutionary teachers and students, and had important conversations. Comrade Chiang Ching extended cordial greetings and wished the revolutionary teachers and students new and great achievements in the new revolutionary situation of 1967.

Comrade Wang Li pointed out that 1967 would be a year of all-round class struggle in the country. He proposed summing up the experience of the previous period; studying "On

Correcting Erroneous Thoughts Within the Party," the "Old Three Articles," the "Study and Siutation," and Comrades Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta's talks at the Central work conference; and further thoroughly criticized the bourgeois reactionary line.

Comrade Yao Wen-yuan stated: "1967 will be a great revolutionary year. In 1967, we will launch an all-out attack on all fronts against bourgeoisie. In 1967, we will hold higher the banner of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and thoroughly criticize the Liu and Teng bourgeois reactionary line. 1967 will also be a year in which our revolutionary intellectuals will even more extensively integrate ourselves with workers, peasants, and soldiers."

31 December: The CCP Central Committee and the State Council promulgated the "Circular On Revolutionary Teachers and Students of Higher and Middle Schools Taking Part in Short Military Training." It pointed out that during meetings with revolutionary teachers and students arriving in Peking from various areas throughout the country Chairman Mao repeatedly pointed out to Comrade Lin Piao that the method of dispatching troop cadres to train the revolutionary teachers and students was good, as the training showed considerable results.

This Chairman Mao's directive added new and significant contents to the great proletarian cultural revolution in higher and middle schools throughout the country, and stood as another major creation of strategic significance in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Military training began in several higher and middle schools in Peking, after the new year.

In the evening, while receiving the "Revolutionary Rebels Corps to Canton to Catch Wang Jen-chung," Tao Chu "protested" in a rage, saying: "Your form of conference is not suitable for me. I am a standing member of the Central Political Bureau and advisor to the Central Cultural Revolution group. (He was reported to have stressed the same point five times) As I have not been dismissed, I protest." He continued: "I cannot accept your method of struggle, If you intend to wage a struggle against me, then, hold a struggle meeting." He stated: "You have no confidence in me. You must have confidence in me. I represent the Central Cultural Revolution group to receive you. I can answer your questions, but will not accept any criticism, even though criticism is permissible." He continued: "If you don't think this is an interview, then we can part." He also said: "I am delighted to talk to you. But if you insist, you can seek the Central Cultural Revolution group, or the Premier for a talk." He warned: "I will never admit that I am a new representative of bourgeoisie. I do

not carry the bourgeois reactionary line."

The protest was useless. The treacherous bourgeois royalist Tao Chu was eventually pointed out by the revolutionary masses armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

INCOMPLETE CONCLUSION

The great proletarian cultural revolution launched in our country in 1966 is the greatest event in the 60's of the 20th Century. This revolution ushers in a new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country. It has opened up a new era in the history of the international communist movement.

Recalling the past and the changes in the political arena, one can see that the path of revolution is truly tortuous. However, by relying upon the forever invincible and brilliant Mao Tse-tung's thinking, we march on and become stronger in the course of the struggle.

Let us join hands and unite under the banner of the revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and march on with full confidence to greet even greater victory.

We pledge ourselves to safeguard the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the forever invincible Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Long live Chairman Mao, our great teacher, great leader, great commander, and great helmsman!

- END -

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RESOLUTELY OPPOSE AND STOP
VIOLENCE IN STRUGGLES

Following is a translation of an editorial in the Chinese-language newspaper, Kung-jen Tsao-fan Pao (Workers Rebel News), Shanghai, No. 25, 1 Jun 67, p. 37

Recently we have noticed an evil influence in advocating smashing, plundering, confiscating, arresting, and fighting among many units and mass organizations in the city. These people have aimed their fists at the proletarian revolutionaries, the vast masses, and brothers of their own class, thus confusing the general direction of the struggle, hurting the great democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat, disrupting production, endangering people's life and safety, destroying state properties, ignoring agencies of proletarian dictatorship, and disrupting the social order of the revolution. Under the present favorable situation of the promotion of the great revolutionary unity through the great revolutionary critique, this evil influence should not be tolerated. We rebels must respond to Chairman Mao's call relating to the use of persuasion against violence in struggles as well as the "Important Announcement" of the Peking Revolution Committee personally approved by Chairman Mao, and must take action to oppose and stop violence in struggles.

At present, who are responsible for instigating violence among the masses and mass organizations? First of all, they are the small number of people in power in the party who are following the capitalist road and the same people we want to overthrow. They have been scared by the continuous growth of the proletarian revolutionary groups, the decisive victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and the consistent defeats of the capitalist reactionary line of Lin Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. However, "the enemy will not be annihilated by themselves" and "they will not withdraw from the stage of history voluntarily", particularly at this critical moment of decisive battle when they have realized that the end has approached they will certainly resist and fight. In order to confuse, divert, and destroy the major direction of the current struggle, on the one hand they have tried to create dissension among revolutionary groups and on the other hand

instigated some masses who were fooled by them to use violence against the revolutionaries, thus trying a counter-seizure of power. When there were "civil wars" and violence in struggles among revolutionary organizations, they would stay aside, enjoy the show, and wait for their chance to take advantage of the chaos. We have to deliver a stern warning to the few people in power in the party who are following the capitalist road that they must behave otherwise they would be digging their own grave. We must also warn the tools of the people in power, like the leaders of "Red Guard Groups" who never repented, that they should have the guts to show their arm bands and conduct open debates with us instead of hiding behind others doing only the instigating work. We proletarian revolutionary groups have followed Chairman Mao's instruction to use persuasion instead of violence in struggles, but you are still waving your fists against us. Do you really think your fists are bigger than our fists, our machinery of the proletarian dictatorship, and our liberation army? You had better be smart and withdraw your small fists. To surrender to the proletarian revolutionary line is your only way out!

Next, the places where violence is most prevalent are also places where anarchism is most popular. These revolutionary mass organizations or individuals who were influenced by reactionary ideas were too happy to use fists and engage in violence. There is no organization or discipline of proletarian revolution in their mind and they have forgotten the proletarian dictatorship. In engaging in violence, they thought that they were "heroes" and they had the "rebel spirit". Actually they were no "heroes" but cowards because they were weak in the thought of Mao Tse-tung. In the complicated class struggle they could not win over people by persuasion. So they had to resort to force and the result was that their opponents were suppressed but not convinced and dissension and hostile feelings among the mass organizations prevailed. This was not the so-called "rebel spirit" but conservative spirit, because it has satisfied the wish of the few people in power in the party who are following the capitalist road and has destroyed the great critique, the great union, and the great "three-combination" of the revolution, thus hurting the heart of those who loved them and making their enemies happy. We have to warn these comrades: if you don't conquer this anarchist idea and continue the evil way. No matter what contribution you have made in the past, your success would be only temporary and you might slip to the other side of history.

In the "Sixteen Articles", it was pointed out that "the currently developed great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution touching the soul of men". It is a revolution involving ideas and thought and must be implemented by persuasion and not by violence because violence can touch only people's skin but not their soul. This is the policy for the proletarian revolution of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee as well as the policy demanded by millions of people in the country. In the past we have exposed a number of big and small

Chinese Khrushchev with Chairman Mao's instruction on violence and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Now, we must stick to the general trend of the struggle just as Comrade Chiang Ch'ing (3068 7230) said: "to do a good job in the great critique as well as struggles, criticisms, and reforms, it is necessary to 'use brain, to study carefully Chairman Mao's writings, and to do good investigation and research work. It is necessary to remain cool and to sit down and talk instead of quarrelling and fighting'". Only in this way can we mobilize the masses, use the demon-exposing mirror of the thought of Mao Tse-tung in exposing the conspiracy of the few persons in power in the party who tried to instigate violence among mass organizations, and repulse their attacks. Also, only in this way can we carry out in all units the general direction approved by Chairman Mao which is also the general direction of achieving the great critique and great union of the revolution chosen by the Sixth Municipal Girls Middle School.

Only by sticking to the powerful weapon of the thought of Mao Tse-tung can we wipe out the evil influence of anarchist reactionary thought which has penetrated our groups, insist on persuasion against violence, distinguish two types of contradictions, and adopt the policy of "unity-criticism-unity" for the sake of solving the contradictions between revolutionary groups and masses who were tricked into joining conservative organizations. Only by using the thought of Mao Tse-tung can we help the masses who were tricked into joining conservative organizations to improve their proletarian awakening, distinguish enemy from friend, identify the general direction of the struggle, resolutely stand on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the side of proletarian revolutionary groups, and correct their wrong direction. Then we can help the opposing sides within the proletarian revolutionary groups who are in disagreement to eliminate "selfishness" to establish "public-mindedness", to identify the major contradictions and general direction in the current class struggle, to develop fully the great democracy under the proletarian dictatorship, to develop criticism and self-criticism particularly the latter, to achieve major agreement and tolerate minor differences, and to carry on rectifications while engaging in struggles so that the great union and great unity of the revolution will be achieved.

In short, we rebels must take advantage of the favorable condition at Shanghai and be the models in implementing Chairman Mao's call for persuasion and against violence in struggles. We must one hundred percent implement the "Important Announcement" of the Peking Revolution Committee in resolutely supporting the authority of the organs of the proletarian dictatorship and in maintaining the organization and discipline of the proletarian revolution. We must firmly get hold of the major direction of the struggle and avoid being tricked by the enemy. We must not engage in violent struggles and must oppose and stop violence in struggles.

FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF OUR STUDY OF
CHAIRMAN MAO'S WRITINGS DURING THE
GREAT REVOLUTIONARY CRITIQUE

Following is a translation of an editorial in the Chinese-language newspaper, Kung-jen Tsao-fan Pao (Workers Rebel News), Shanghai, No. 25, 1 Jun 67, p. 37

Recently the Shanghai City Revolutionary Committee issued: "On the decision of further strengthening the study of Chairman Mao's writings during the Great Revolutionary Critique". We, the worker rebels, are firmly responding to the call of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee in pushing further the mass movement for the flexible use of Chairman Mao's writings!

At present, in the decisive battle in the month of May the great critique is the major trend of the current movement and the principle of all workers. Only by holding to this principle can we succeed in achieving the great union and the "three-combination" of the revolution. Therefore, we revolutionary worker rebels should use the thought of Mao Tse-tung as the weapon of the great critique and hold fast to this weapon in criticizing deeply and thoroughly the line of Chinese Khrushchev, Lin Shao-ch'i, and the anti-revolutionary revisionist line represented by him, thus carrying on the great proletarian revolution to the end.

The Assistant Supreme Commander, Lin Piao, points out: "The thought of Mao Tse-tung is a revolutionary science which is a proletarian truth tested through the long period of revolutionary struggles, the most realistic Marxism-Leninism, and the principle of the unified operations of the entire party, all around forces, and all people." We must make flexible use of Chairman Mao's writings in our struggles and unify our thought and actions with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, as well as achieving the great revolutionary union and the revolutionary "three-combination" through the great critique. We, the worker rebels, love, believe in, and admire most the thought of Mao Tse-tung. We revolt for defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and we want to be its vanguards. We also want to be the

models of the flexible learning and flexible use of Chairman Mao's writings.

Recently, Chairman Mao personally arranged the announcement of the May 16th "Notification" of 1966 by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, thus offering us a powerful spiritual weapon of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. We must make a profound study of this great historical document and the revolutionary theories, lines, plans, and policies under proletarian dictatorship so that we can better control the direction of our struggle, distinguish our friends from our enemies, unite revolutionary masses, and present a united front against the enemy, thus concentrating the spear of our struggle against the big and small persons in power in the party who are following the capitalist road.

We, worker rebels, must seriously study Chairman Mao's theories on proletarian dictatorship, strengthen our concept of class struggles, continue the development of revolutionary rebel's spirit, and resolutely destroy the various forms of frenzy counter-attacks by our class enemies. After the seizing of power by workers in plants and before the conclusion of struggles between two classes, two roads and two lines, we should not be careless and must deliver timely counter-blows to the counter-attacks of our class enemies. We must continue the exposure and criticism of the few persons in power in the party who are following the capitalist road, prevent the restoration of capitalism, and strengthen the proletarian dictatorship.

The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the soul of the great alliance of revolutionary rebels. We, the worker rebels, and revolutionary workers, through the study of Chairman Mao's writings, must learn the use of class analysis, must distinguish the contradiction between enemy and us and the internal contradiction among the people, must learn Chairman Mao's cadre line and policy in the correct handling of cadre problems, and must learn Chairman Mao's mass viewpoint and mass line. We must use these correct viewpoints in contrast with and in critique of the capitalist reactionary line represented by Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, thus clearing their evil influence in all aspects, achieving the unification of thought and action on the basis of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, realizing, expanding, and consolidating the great union of the revolution, and organizing a great proletarian cultural revolutionary army with proletarian revolutionary leftists as their nuclei.

Comrade Liao Piao said: "We must always consider ourselves as a force in the revolution and also the object of our revolution. When we talk about revolution, we have to revolutionize ourselves. Our revolution cannot succeed without first revolutionizing ourselves".

The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the sharpest weapon for us to reform both the objective and subjective world. To reform the subjective world, it is necessary to eliminate "selfishness", to establish "public-mindedness", and to get rid of all the non-proletarian ideas in our mind like anarchism, small-groupism, individualism, etc. We must let the thought of Mao Tse-tung occupy the position in the brain of every one of our worker rebels and make every one of our actions conform to it. We must use action to fight against the fighting, smashing, plundering, and confiscating in the society. We must resolutely use persuasion in struggles and oppose violence. We must seriously study the glorious works like the Three Old Articles and On Correcting the Wrong Ideas in the Party, and develop criticism and self-criticism, particularly stressing self-criticism in order to destroy selfishness in the depth of our soul. We must resolutely eliminate anarchism, mountain-top-ism, and individualism, and strengthen the revolutionary character, scientific character, and party discipline of the proletariat.

Therefore, in plants and workshops where revolutionary committees have been established, the leadership of the committee must learn the flexible use of Chairman Mao's writings during the great critique and establish a regular study program, thus learning every day and in everything, as well as checking our own behavior, with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. The leadership must study well before they can inspire the vast masses to study too.

For those plants where no revolutionary committee has been established, or those units which are still in "civil war", every group must establish a system for studying Chairman Mao's writings and guarantee a certain time for study, thus combining study and practice in struggles, and eventually unifying all on the basis of the thought of Mao Tse-tung in order to achieve the great revolutionary unity.

We workers rebels of Shanghai and revolutionary workers will resolutely implement Comrade Lin Piao's instruction, study Chairman Mao's books, listen to Chairman Mao's words, and follow Chairman Mao's instructions in order to become Chairman Mao's good warriors and become models for the flexible study and flexible use of Chairman Mao's writings in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

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THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S RESIST-JAPAN
MILITARY-POLITICAL UNIVERSITY--THE GLORIOUS
MODEL OF PROLETARIAN EDUCATION

Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical, Chiao-hsueh P'i-p'an (Criticism and Repudiation in Teaching), published in Peking by the Chiao-hsueh P'i-p'an Editorial Department, Peking University Cultural Revolution Committee, 1 Jun 67, p.37

Chairman Mao says: "Why is the Chinese People's Resist-Japan Military-Political University both domestically and internationally famous? That is because in comparison with all other resist-Japan military schools it is the most revolutionary, most progressive, and most competent in the struggle for both national and social liberation".

The University was a new type of university imbued with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Under the warm concern and direct leadership of Chairman Mao, Deputy Chairman Lin and the Central Committee, the University hoisted the great red flag of the thought of Mao Tse-tung in breaking the various restrictions of the feudalistic and capitalistic educational system. During the nine years of its operation it educated more than 100,000 good revolutionary cadres and made important contributions to the revolution of the Chinese people. At the same time, it also opened a new and broad road for the revolution of our education.

1. A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY

In 1936 the resist-Japan and save-China movement was developing swiftly under the correct leadership of Chairman Mao and the revolution was at its turning point. Chairman Mao then pointed out: "This change is not easy and we need to study again. The re-training of cadres is a major link in our work." According to Chairman Mao's instruction, the "Chinese Resist-Japan Red Army University" was established at Wa-yao-pao of Northern Shensi on 1 June 1936.

In 1937 the University was moved to Yen-an and its name was changed to the "Chinese People's Resist-Japan Military-Political University." After that the organization of the University was steadily improving and its enrollment reached more than 5,000 for its fourth class.

At the end of 1938, for the sake of adjusting to the needs at the front and for training cadres under combat conditions, the University, following the decision of the Central Committee, left Yen-an in different groups and then moved to behind the enemy line. Altogether 12 branch schools of the University were also established at various base areas.

After the victory of the War of Resistance, the University gloriously accomplished its historical mission and changed its name to the "Chinese People's Liberation Army Military-Political University", thus starting a new historical mission.

II. THE PRINCIPLE OF OPERATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY

Chairman Mao said: "For a military school, the most important question is the selection of the commandant and faculty and the drafting of its educational policy."

After the establishment of the University, Chairman Mao personally assumed the chairmanship of its Educational Committee and also appointed his closest comrade-in-arms, Comrade Lin Piao, as the commandant and political commissar. Chairman Mao participated in all its important political activities and gave concrete instructions to all its important problems. He also lectured to the students and participated in various discussion groups of the University.

Chairman Mao said: "The educational principles of the University are: a resolute and correct political direction, a simple and arduous work-style, and flexible and mobile strategy and tactics. These three are indispensable to the training of a resist-Japan revolutionary soldier. The staff, faculty, and students all followed these three principles in their education and studies." Chairman Mao also personally chose the four word motto for the University: Unity, Alertness, Seriousness, Activity.

The educational policy and school spirit personally established by Chairman Mao, after their implementation by Comrade Lin Piao, have become the "three-eight work-style", later promoted nationally and in the entire liberation army.

Chairman Mao was very much concerned with the building of the educational corps of the university. He once wrote a tablet,

"loyal to party educational enterprises" for the faculty of the University. After the death of the Head of Political Education of the University, Yang Lan-shih (2799 5695 0670), Chairman Mao wrote a scroll with the following words: "In memory of our warrior on the educational front! Long live the spirit of Comrade Yang Lan-shih!" The faculty of the University all followed Chairman Mao's instructions and pledged to struggle forever for party education. In order to solve the difficulties in recruiting teachers, Comrade Lin Piao initiated many measures in improving the political awakening and professional competence of teachers such as sponsoring teachers training class, political work cadres training class, district chiefs training class, cadres discussion groups, and the strengthening of group living. At the same time, Chairman Mao, Comrade Lin Piao, and Comrade Chou En-lai often lectured and made reports to students at the University.

III. GIVE PROMINENCE TO THE THOUGHT OF MAO TSE-TUNG

The University was a big melting pot of revolution and it gave prominence to politics and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. In the "Instruction for Reforming the Chinese People's Resist-Japan Military-Political University" issued by the Central Revolutionary Military Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1939, it was pointed out that "intellectual youths must be trained into proletarian warriors" and "everything at school is to change students' thought. Political education is the central link and curriculum should not be too many. Class education, party education, and party work should be strengthened."

In April 1939, Chairman Mao wrote a very important tablet for the University: "Whether intellectuals will become revolutionaries, non-revolutionaries, or even anti-revolutionaries depends on whether they are willing to unite with worker and peasant masses. This is what makes all the difference." On 4 May 1939, Chairman Mao made a report On the Direction of Youth Movement, which became the guideline for educating and reforming intellectual youths in the University.

The curriculum of the University was closely related to the most urgent problems of Chinese revolution at that time and Chairman Mao's writings were used as basic teaching materials like Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War, On Practice, and On Strategies for Opposing Japanese Imperialism. The article, Oppose Liberalism, was an article Chairman Mao wrote in 1937 for the first issue of a party periodical Ideological Front published by the University.

According to Chairman Mao's educational principle, Comrade Lin Piao defined the basic subjects of the curriculum of the University as "united front, attack tactics, and revolutionary tradition."

Comrade Lin Piao said: "What are the basic subjects for the education at the University? I think there are the following three: united front, attack tactics, and revolutionary tradition. These three basic subjects transcend all courses and other secondary subjects are built around them. At the same time, the three are inseparable and closely related to each other."

The University often organized faculty and students to participate in various outside political activities like rent and interest reduction struggles, assistance to production by the masses, etc. Following Chairman Mao's instruction on "oppose subjectism to rectify school style; oppose dogmatism to rectify party work-style; and oppose party eight-legged essays to rectify literary style", faculty and students of the University actively participated in the rectification movement of 1943 and used criticism and self-criticism as weapons in the struggle against the three evil influences. An important victory was won by them.

The University, in different periods, prepared detailed plans for political and ideological work in accordance with various schools of thought among its students. Consequently, within a few months, during their stay at the University, important changes in students' world outlook, ideology, and sentiment took place and their standard in the understanding of the thought of Mao Tse-tung was tremendously improved.

IV. EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLE

The curriculum of the University was very short, at most six months. How did the University arrange students' curriculum? Comrade Lin Piao said: "Our mission is both glorious and great, while our time is short. In order to learn more control and more concrete things within such a short time, we must follow the principles of 'connecting theory with practice' and 'less quantity and better quality'". The educational principle of the University followed exactly what Comrade Lin Piao said above.

V. LIVELY TEACHING METHODS

The following were teaching methods used at the University which were suggested by Chairman Mao in 1929: 1. Inspiration method (abolish feeding method); 2. From close to far; 3. From easy to difficult; 4. Use colloquial language (explain new terms in colloquial language); 5. Clear explanation; 6. Interesting explanation; 7. Use gestures to help explanations; 8. Review concept introduced before; 9. Give students outlines; 10. Use discussion method for cadre classes. Comrade Lin Piao suggested the following: mass line, group study, a combination of teaching

and studying, and following mutual-help teaching methods: self-inspiration, research, and experiments. Teachers first gave students inspiration. After self-study and discussions, students then made experiments to verify theories, thus strengthening their understanding of these theories. Students relied more on self-study while teachers only helped them. Not only students learned from each other. Even teachers learned from students. They debated together and criticized each other.

Chairman Mao said: "Study is learning; the use of one's knowledge is also learning. The latter is more important. To learn war from war is our major method." In learning military affairs, students of the University not only attended classes, used sand tables, joined maneuvers, but also participated in actual battles, thus learning Chairman Mao's ideas on people's war in practice and improving students' command ability. In October 1940 students of the University killed more than 100 enemies in the Hung-ling Blocking Battle and achieved a big victory. Here, we should also point out that Chairman Mao's lectures given at the University were the most lively, most easy to understand, and therefore most popular among faculty and students of the University.

VI. SELF-RELIANCE

Commandant Lin Piao said: "There is one subject not listed in our curriculum. That is hard struggle." Under the most difficult conditions, faculty and students of the University always insisted on self-reliance, diligence, and thrift in the operation of the school. They used their own labor to dig caves, repair classrooms, make teaching materials, thus achieving their mission through improvisation and simplicity.

For the sake of solving their dormitory problem, faculty and students of the second class of the University dug 175 caves in half a month. Chairman Mao gave them the following highest praise: "I heard you were very enthusiastic in building your dormitories. It is indeed a good thing that you have shown achievement so soon. This is a good proof that no ordinary difficulty can exist for the communist party or the Red Army. Even the most serious difficulty can still be conquered. The Red Army is invincible in the world."

When the great production movement was developed in the liberated areas in 1944, students and faculty of the University followed Chairman Mao's instruction that they should "not only know how to fight, how to handle mass work, but also know how to produce." Within a very short time, they reclaimed more than 7,400 mou of wasteland and made all farm tools they needed. Not only did they plant crops, raise hogs and chickens, but also handled handicraft

industries like weaving and oil extraction. Furthermore, they had to cook for themselves. This great production movement not only solved material difficulties but its most important result was the training of both men's ideology and men themselves.

VII. A REVOLUTIONARY AND COMBAT LIFE

The tablet Chairman Mao wrote for the seventh anniversary of the University was: "Standing at the forward-most front."

The University grew up under the fire of war. All students were put under military organization. Not only were they student units, they were also combat units, propaganda units, and work units, thus becoming completely militarized, revolutionized, and combat-ready.

Chairman Mao said: "Literature must be made to become a component part of the machine of revolution and a powerful weapon for uniting and educating people as well as for attacking and struggling against the enemy, thus assisting people to unite together in fighting the enemy." The cultural life in the University did achieve exactly that. In each unit there was a club-type organization for the masses--the Save-country Room--where they regularly offered question and answer evening party, speech party, debate party, discussion party, as well as wall papers, question and answer columns, exhibition columns, broadcasting stations, various exhibitions, medium or small size characters, newspapers, and athletic meets. Students called such clubs "extra-curricular schools." The after-work cultural life at the University combined closely with ideological education and military life, and at the same time promoted the overall development of students' morality, knowledge, and physical health.

VIII. FOLLOW THE MODEL OF THE UNIVERSITY

In his "My Seventh" instruction, Chairman Mao made a great call on us: students must "stress study and also learn other things. In other words, they must not just learn liberal arts but also learn to be workers and farmers and soldiers, as well as to criticize and repudiate capitalist class. The curriculum must be shortened and education must be revolutionized. The situation of letting capitalists and intellectuals control of schools should not continue." We will hold the great red flag of the thought of Mao Tse-tung; resolutely implement Chairman Mao's instructions; thoroughly criticize and repudiate capitalist educational ideas, old educational systems, old teaching policy, and old teaching methods; learn from the Chinese People's Resist Japan Military Political University;

and make every school in the country a great school of the thought of Mao Tse-tung after the model of the University.

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CH'EN YI AND THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ARE ATTACKED BY STUDENTS WHO STUDIED ABROAD

[Following is a translation of an article originally entitled "One More Evidence of CH'EN Yi's (7115/3015) Opposition to Mao Tse-tung Thought," by the Returning Student Tsun-yi Corps in Wai-shih Feng-lei (Foreign Affairs Wind and Thunder) published in Peking by the Peking Foreign Languages Institute Hung-ch'i Revolutionary Rebel Regiment of the Capital Red Guard Congress, No 2, 8 Jun 67, p 2.]

The thundering cannons of our country's great Proletarian Cultural Revolution are shaking the entire world. Revolutionary people the world over are overjoyed and excited, and are enthusiastically praising this unprecedented great event. The earth-shattering revolutionary movement in our country has incited powerful reactions abroad. Many foreign friends have written to us relentlessly exposing the serious problems long existing in our diplomatic offices in foreign countries.

One comrade in country x wrote a letter saying: "... It is clear that the embassy of the People's Republic of China in x x x x seems to be void of the lofty emotions of the Cultural Revolution. The embassy is calm and only busy with capitalist-style banquets and receptions." "I sincerely hope that the Chinese embassy can seriously manifest more of the spirit of the Cultural Revolution, in order to express a clear distinction from capitalism."

One youth organization in country xx sharply and angrily criticized: "We feel like brothers to the Chinese people. We deem it our responsibility to tell you about the peculiar activities of the representatives of the Chinese people in x x x. In x x x the Red Guard spirit is particularly needed. In the pictures the x x Hotel where Soviet revisionist representatives were staying is the most luxurious hotel in x x x City." "This picture shows the members of

your embassy in x x x together with the Soviet revisionists at the banquet in the same hotel. Please note the champagne on the table, the wine bottles and the style of the bourgeoisie. All these happened in x x x (country), where thousands of children are starving. We do not think that the Red Guard movement will come to a conclusion when Chinese officials are thus betraying the revolution."

In August 1966, x x x "Red Flag" comrades in x x x said: "The revolutionary struggle in your country is incongruent with the bourgeois actions and capitalist form of life of your trade representatives in x x x. From their appearance, it is difficult (if not impossible) to distinguish them from Chiang Kai-shek's running dogs Because of this comparison Viennese started to whisper ridicules, which was painful for us to listen to. Such bourgeois behavior not only hurts our joint enterprise but also produces ill-effects on the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

So many piercing criticisms! From these fragments of exposure, it can be seen how serious is the bourgeois trend in the life and thoughts of the diplomatic organizations. If this is not the poison of the revisionist foreign affairs line, what is it? We must have revolutionization! Otherwise, the foreign affairs front will become a revisionist and capitalist restoration base just like the literary and art circles, Chairman Mao's line of proletarian revolution cannot be implemented in the foreign affairs system, and the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung thought cannot be erected there.

At this crucial moment, on 9 September 1966, our most respected leader Chairman Mao approved the letter sent by the Red Flag comrade x x x, and instructed: "This criticism is well written, deserving the attention of all foreign affairs offices abroad. Let us have a revolutionization; otherwise, it would be dangerous." Chairman Mao's 9 September instruction sounded the bugle of the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in our foreign service. "Let us have a revolutionization" -- this is a glorious, stupendous fighting mission Chairman Mao handed to our revolutionaries in the foreign service. This instruction has pushed the struggle of the revolutionaries in our foreign service against the Party's handful of power holders taking the capitalist road into a new stage. Whether Chairman Mao's 9 September instruction is obeyed, secretly disobeyed or opposed is a test stone to discriminate the true revolutionaries, fake revolutionaries, and anti-revolutionaries.

The Ministry's Party Committee and the Party's handful of power holders taking the capitalist road in embassies and consulates led by CH'EN Yi are frightened to death by the 9 September instruction. They either openly opposed it and smeared it, or attacked secretly, or even distorted and altered the supreme instruction. In short, they were

fearful that once this instruction fell into the hands of the people, their real capitalist selves would be exposed.

After Chairman Mao issued this instruction, CH'EN Yi openly distorted and depreciated it. He said contemptuously: "Concerning the problem of bourgeois ideology and luxury in embassies and consulates, it is necessary to notify them not to wear jewelry, lipsticks, or pointed shoes. The West likes to keep their embassies nice by using the goods of their own countries as much as possible. CH'EN Yi must also be revolutionized, and a distinction must be made between foreign and domestic." Enough! Enough! How this old rascal CH'EN Yi has distorted the Great Leader's instruction! He turned Chairman Mao's instruction of profound political significance in opposing revisionism, preventing revisionism, and establishing a proletarian army in the foreign service into something of merely improving one's living style and clothings. Isn't this an open opposition to Mao Tse-tung thought?

Under the pretense of "not diverting the general direction of fighting x x x," the Ministry's Party Committee led by CH'EN Yi refused to transmit the instruction in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and finally they did it only at the demand of the people.

Under CH'EN Yi's instruction, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Party Committee on x day September, using the name of the Political Department and pretending to implement Chairman Mao's "9 September instruction," sent out a telegram to diplomatic offices abroad. This telegram was a big poisonous weed; it completely distorted and opposed the "9 September" instruction.

This telegram did not mention the fierce struggles between the proletariat and bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, and between Chairman Mao's foreign policy line and the bourgeois foreign policy line; however, it proposed a fallacy of "coordinating ideological revolutionization and system reform," dealing mainly with working style, ceremonies, receptions, life of individuals, etc.

Chairman Mao's instruction was issued during the unprecedentedly fierce stage of the struggle between the two lines in the great Cultural Revolution. This black telegram, however, was divorced from the practical class struggle and the struggle between the two lines while dealing only with working style and ceremonies. This was through and through the stuff which LIU tries to sell in his black How to Become a Good Communist. To deny the current class struggle and policy struggle, in one word, is to deny the great Cultural Revolution. To deny the revolutionization of man's thought is to oppose Mao Tse-tung thought. The "thought revolutionization" in the telegram was a false improvement to deceive the Party Central, to deceive Chairman Mao

and the revolutionaries inside and outside the country. CH'EN Yi and others attempted to use this means to protect their positions on the foreign affairs front, biding their time for a counter-attack. Their intention is extremely insidious.

To further divert the "September" instruction into a system reform, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Party Committee urged in the telegram: "To take actions immediately and make changes as soon as possible and report the result within ten days." What a "ten-day revolutionization!" Such hasty collection of data on system improvements in the diplomatic offices can only expose their ugly faces of trying to deceive their superiors and subordinates.

CH'EN Yi further played some tricks with the "9 September" instruction. He attached a note of the so-called "model" of system reform carried out on 2 September, thereby attacking Chairman Mao's comment of "Let us have a revolutionization; otherwise it would be dangerous" as being rash and without prior investigation. "Look, our foreign service had already been revolutionized before the "9 September" instruction. He intended thereby to deny the great significance of the "9 September" instruction.

Thereafter, a second telegram was sent out by the Political Department to the diplomatic office abroad concerning "implementing" Chairman Mao's "9 September" instruction; it further exposed CH'EN Yi's attempt to concoct a system reform. The telegram began with: "Implement Chairman Mao's 9 September instruction, and raise a high tide of destroying the four old and establishing the four new. Attain pronounced results within a short time." This was a bold attempt to deceive the Party Central, Chairman Mao, and the revolutionary people inside and outside the country.

The Party Committee of the embassy in x x country merely read the "9 September" instruction to the people upon receiving the directive from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Later, students studying abroad heard about it and hurried to the embassy to destroy the four old, and to help hang up Chairman Mao's portraits and quotation posters. At that time a military delegation was passing by and praised them. The Party Committee of the embassy was elated and boasted: "The revolutionization of our embassy is the best." They shamelessly claimed what the people did as their own credit. When the revolutionary people went to the mess hall to read the quotations, they were told to stop and were blamed for having other intentions. It was the same embassy where the authorities said: "It is unhealthy to hang up quotation posters." At another embassy, when students went there to deliver quotation posters, one Party Committee member frantically shouted: "I do not allow my room to be messed up with posters." There are numerous cases

like these. What difference is there between these and the reactionary speeches and writings of P'ENG Chen (1756/4176), LU Ting-i (7120/1353/0001), LU P'ing (7120/1627)? This is CH'EN Yi's "revolutionization." This is CH'EN Yi's "new face." This is fake revolution but true resistance. This is a hundred percent crime of opposing Mao Tse-tung thought.

Moreover, CH'EN Yi issued a black directive that Chairman Mao's "9 September" instruction could only be transmitted to personnel of the embassies, not to students. This is another criminal evidence of CH'EN Yi's suppression of the instruction.

The revolutionary students studying abroad saw clearly this was a big hotbed for revisionist seedlings. They had long thought about smashing this sanctuary. However, the Party's handful of power holders taking the capitalist road in the foreign service carried out a high-handed policy, not permitting them to rise up in revolution and withholding the "9 September" instruction from them.

However, revolution cannot be suppressed. The students repeatedly demanded the embassy to give them the instruction. Students studying in x x x country, upon hearing this news, could not suppress their excitement, and drew up a telegram to Chairman Mao pointing out that if the embassy in x x x did not carry out "revolutionization" immediately there would be the danger of turning revisionist. This telegram was held by the ambassador. The Party Assistant Secretary at the embassy in X answering students' demand to give them the "9 September" instruction thusly: "Only a couple of sentences and it has to do with you students." What kind of talk is this? Every one of Chairman Mao's words is truth. These two sentences are the direction of the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution for our revolutionary students. CH'EN Yi will come to a sad end by opposing Chairman Mao's "9 September" instruction.

There were people in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs suggesting that personnel be sent to x x x to obtain experience, but CH'EN Yi instructed his accomplices CHI P'eng-fei (1213/7720/7378) and others to oppose it stubbornly by saying: "You attribute all to Chairman Mao's instructions. You know only that the Chairman instructs us to begin with x x x, without reading the following sentence 'Please do it as you see fit.'" Look! How frantic he has become. He really had the boldness of using this sentence as his shield in directly opposing Chairman Mao's instructions.

This stupid CH'EN Yi has distorted, depreciated, and attacked the "9 September" instruction, and suppressed the revolution of the revolutionary people; but our revolutionary students who have studied

abroad together with the revolutionaries in the foreign service, under the guidance of the great "9 September" instruction, have not only revolted against the bourgeois line implemented by CH'EN Yi and a handful of power holders in the Party taking the capitalist road, but also exposed the top power holder in the foreign service taking the bourgeois reactionary line, the dark general CH'EN Yi. This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, a great victory for Mao Tse-tung thought. In the struggle, we feel: CH'EN Yi is the top power holder taking the capitalist road in the foreign service. He has opposed Mao Tse-tung thought and resisted the "9 September" instruction, and moreover, up to now stubbornly insisted on a bourgeois reactionary stand and engaged in anti-revolutionary double-dealing activities. To implement the "9 September" instruction, it is necessary to strike down CH'EN Yi. Otherwise, it is impossible to open up the class struggle in the foreign service, to uncover a handful of the Party's power holders in the foreign service taking the capitalist road, and to accomplish the great historical mission of struggle, criticism and reform handed to us by Chairman Mao.

The revolutionary students who have studied abroad must unite with the proletarian revolutionaries in the foreign service. While criticising LIU Shao-ch'i, China's number one power holder taking the capitalist road, we must fiercely criticise the dark general CH'EN Yi representing LIU and TENG in the foreign service, thoroughly eradicate the poison of the LIU-TENG line in the foreign service, carry the struggle between the two lines in the foreign service to the end, and establish a genuine proletarian foreign-service army of Chairman Mao's proletarian foreign policy line, trained in the great Cultural Revolution!

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