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JPRS: 39,532
16 January 1967

TT: 67-30182

TRANSLATIONS FROM HUNG CH'I (RED FLAG)
No. 15, 1966
- Communist China -
No. 41

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
CLEARINGHOUSE FOR FEDERAL SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL INFORMATION
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Adams Drive, 4th and 6th Streets, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20443

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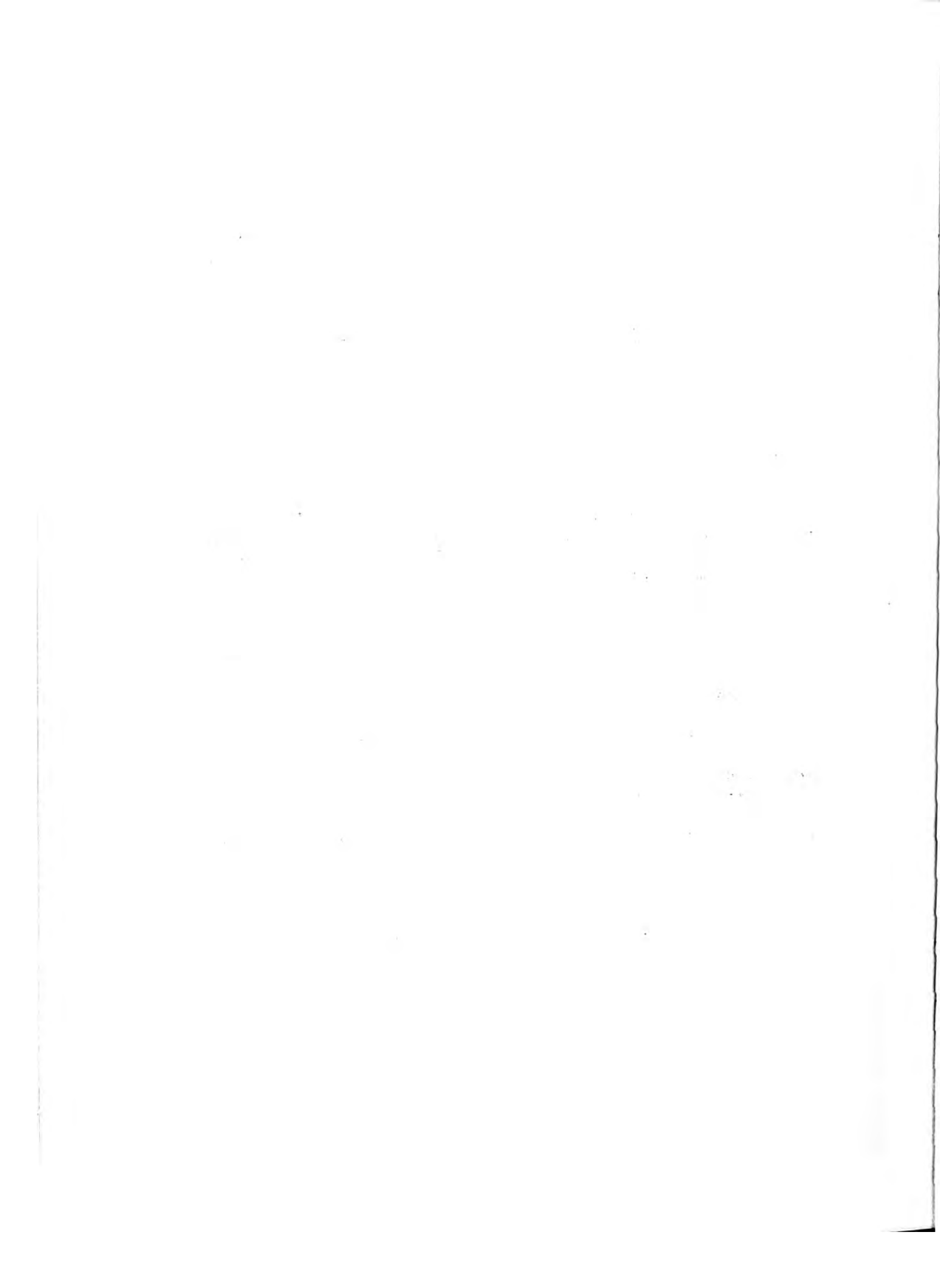
No. 41

This serial publication contains translations of articles from the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 15, 13 December 1966. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

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COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG'S MESSAGE
OF GREETINGS

- To the Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour -

Following is a translation of the text of a message by Mao Tse-tung in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung ch'1 (Red Flag), Peiping, No 15, 13 December 1966, pages 1 - 2.

The Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour

Dear Comrades:

The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people send their warmest congratulations to the Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour.

We wish your Congress every success!

The glorious Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha is firmly holding aloft the revolutionary red banner of Marxism-Leninism while encircled ring upon ring by the imperialists and the modern revisionists.

Heroic people's Albania has become a great beacon of socialism in Europe.

The revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Union, the Tito clique of Yugoslavia and all the other cliques of renegades and scabs of various shades are mere dust heaps in comparison, while you, a lofty mountain, tower to the skies. They are flunkys and accomplices of imperialism before which they prostrate themselves, while you are dauntless proletarian revolutionaries who dare to fight imperialism and its lackeys, fight the world's tyrannical enemies.

The Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and every other country where the modern revisionist clique is in power have either changed colour or are in the process of doing so. Capitalism has been or is being restored there, and the dictatorship of the proletariat has been or is being changed into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Against this adverse current of counter-revolutionary revisionism, heroic socialist Albania has stood firm. Persevering in the Marxist-Leninist, the revolutionary line, you have adopted a series of measures of revolutionization and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat. Taking the path of socialism, you are building your country independently and have won brilliant victories. You have contributed valuable experience to the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"A bosom friend afar brings a distant land near." China and Albania are separated by thousands of mountains and rivers but our hearts are closely linked. We are your true friends and comrades. And you are ours. You are not like those false friends and double-dealers who have "honey on their lips and murder in their hearts," and neither are we. Our militant revolutionary friendship has stood the test of violent storms.

The truth of Marxism-Leninism is on our side. So is the international proletariat. So are the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples. And so are the masses of people who constitute over 90 percent of the world's population. We have friends all over the world. We are not afraid of being isolated and we shall never be isolated. We are invincible. The handful of pathetic creatures who oppose China and Albania are doomed to failure.

We are now in a great new era of world revolution. The revolutionary upheaval in Asia, Africa and Latin America is sure to deal the whole of the old world a decisive and crushing blow. The great victories of the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation are convincing proof of this. The proletariat and working people of Europe, North America and Oceania are experiencing a new awakening. The U.S. imperialists and all other such vermin have already created their own grave-diggers; the day of their burial is not far off.

Naturally, the road of our advance is by no means straight and smooth. Comrades, please rest assured that come what may, our two Parties and our two peoples will always be united, will always fight together and be victorious together.

Let the Parties and peoples of China and Albania unite, let the Marxist-Leninists of all countries unite, let the revolutionary people of the whole world unite and overthrow imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of every country! A new world without imperialism,

without capitalism and without any system of exploitation is certain to be built.

MAO TSE-TUNG,
Chairman of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of China
October 25, 1966

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COMRADE LIN PIAO'S SPEECH AT PEKING MASS RALLY

(3 November 1966)

[Following is a translation of the text of a speech by Lin Piao in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 15, 13 December 1966, pages 3-4.]

Students, Comrades and Red Guard Fighters:

With boundless love and infinite loyalty for our great leader Chairman Mao, you have come to Peking in the new nationwide upsurge of the great proletarian cultural revolution to see Chairman Mao and to exchange revolutionary experience. On behalf of Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party, I extend my warmest welcome to you!

Chairman Mao is extremely happy to receive you today. This is the sixth time in two months or more, including National Day, that Chairman Mao has received revolutionary students and teachers and Red Guards from all over the country. Chairman Mao is the greatest proletarian revolutionary; he is always with the masses, has full confidence in them, shares weal and woe with them and whole-heartedly supports the revolutionary mass movement. Chairman Mao has set the most glorious example for all comrades in our Party and for the younger generation.

The present situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution is excellent! The gigantic, vigorous mass movement is developing in depth with each passing day. A tremendous change has taken place over the whole face of society and in the mental outlook of the people. The great thought of Mao Tse-tung has become more extensively disseminated and has gone deeper into the hearts of the people. As a result of Chairman Mao's call "to take a firm hold of the revolution and promote production," the great cultural revolution has promoted the revolutionization of people's thinking and spurred extremely rapid development in industrial and agricultural production and in science and technology. The recent successful guided

missile-nuclear weapon test is a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought and a great victory for the proletarian cultural revolution!

The 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party announced the victory of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bankruptcy of the bourgeois reactionary line. In the past two months and more, the correct line of Chairman Mao has been put before the broad masses and has been grasped by them, and criticisms have been made of the erroneous line. The broad masses have really translated into action Chairman Mao's call to "concern yourselves with affairs of the state." This is an extremely fine thing. It is an important guarantee that the great proletarian cultural revolution will be carried through to the end.

Chairman Mao's line is one of letting the masses educate and emancipate themselves. It is the line of putting "daring" above everything else and of daring to trust the masses, daring to rely on them and daring to arouse them boldly. It is the application and a new development of the Party's mass line in the great cultural revolution. It is the line of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The bourgeois line is one of opposing the mass line, of opposing the education and emancipation of the masses by themselves, of repressing the masses and opposing the revolution. This bourgeois reactionary line directs the spearhead of struggle against the revolutionary masses, and not against the handful of persons within the Party, who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road, and all the ghosts and monsters in society. It uses various ways and means to incite one group among the masses to struggle against another group, and one section of students to struggle against another section.

The proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao is as incompatible with the bourgeois reactionary line as fire is to water. Only by thoroughly criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line and eradicating its influence can the line of Chairman Mao be carried out correctly, completely and thoroughly.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's correct line, the broad revolutionary masses of our country have created the new experience of developing extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat. By this extensive democracy, the Party is fearlessly permitting the broad masses to use the media of free airing of views, big-character posters, great debates and extensive exchange of revolutionary experience to criticize and supervise the Party and government leading institutions and leaders at all levels. At the same time, the people's democratic rights are being fully realized in accordance with the principles of the Paris Commune. Without such extensive democracy, it would be impossible to initiate a genuine great proletarian cultural revolution, stage a great

revolution in the depths of people's souls, carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution thoroughly and completely, eradicate the roots of revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and guarantee the advance of our country along the road of socialism and communism. This extensive democracy is a new form of integrating Mao Tse-tung's thought with the broad masses, a new form of mass self-education. It is a new contribution by Chairman Mao to the Marxist-Leninist theory on proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

International historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat has demonstrated that without carrying out a thoroughgoing, great proletarian cultural revolution of this kind and without practising such extensive democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat will be weakened and will change in essence, while capitalism will use various ways to stage a come-back and the exploiting classes will once again ride on the backs of the people.

Such extensive democracy must be thoroughly practised not only between the leadership and the masses; it is also absolutely necessary to carry it out thoroughly among the masses themselves and between all sections of the masses. Unless there is such extensive democracy among the masses themselves and unless they are good at mutual consultation, at listening to dissenting views, at presenting facts and reasoning things out, at using their brains to ponder problems, they cannot possibly educate and emancipate themselves, achieve the purpose of developing the ranks of the Left, uniting the great majority and isolating the handful of bourgeois Rightists, and fully carry out the line of the great proletarian cultural revolution put forward by our great teacher Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao supports you comrades travelling on foot to exchange revolutionary experience, the advantages of which are widespread contact with the masses, contact with all aspects of the life of society and a deeper understanding of class struggle in socialist society. It provides better opportunities to learn from the workers and the peasants and to propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought on an even broader scale. All this is very useful for the revolutionary teachers and students to have a better understanding of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the correct line of Chairman Mao. Of course, this kind of travelling on foot for the exchange of revolutionary experience must be undertaken in a planned and organized way and must be well prepared.

The Central Committee of the Party is convinced that, with the experience gained in the last few months, the great proletarian cultural revolution will in the days to come make still better progress and attain still greater success!

March forward under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Long live the victory of the line of Chairman Mao!

Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the Chinese Communist Party!

Long live Chairman Mao! Long life, long, long life to him!

CSO: 3530-D.

LITERATURE AND ART WORKERS HOLD RALLY FOR
GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Following is a translation of the text of several speeches in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 15, 13 December 1966, pages 5-13.

More than 20,000 revolutionary workers in the field of literature and art from Peking and other parts of China held a rally for the great proletarian cultural revolution in the magnificent Great Hall of the People in Peking on the evening of November 28.

Comrade Chou En-lai, Standing Committee Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council; Comrade Chen Po-ta, Standing Committee Member of the Political Bureau and leader of the cultural revolution group under the Party's Central Committee; and Comrade Chiang Ching, first deputy leader of the cultural revolution group under the Party's Central Committee and adviser on cultural work to the Chinese People's Liberation Army, attended the rally and made important speeches.

The rally took place amid the excellent situation which prevailed following the eight separate reviews of a total of more than 11 million members of the mighty army of the cultural revolution by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman of the Chinese people, and at a time when tremendous victories had been won by the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. The rally became a pledge of a general offensive by China's mighty revolutionary contingents in literature and art against the handful of persons in authority in literary and art circles who took the capitalist road, and against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art which they represented. It is bound to push the great proletarian cultural revolution forward in the world of literature and art with great vigour and guide the victorious advance of the mighty revolutionary

contingents in literature and art throughout China in the direction indicated by Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Comrade Chen Po-ta's Opening Address

Comrade Chen Po-ta presided over the meeting. In his opening address he said:

Today's meeting is one of great significance. Historically, cultural revolutions, in most cases, begin in the field of literature and art. This is also true of the great proletarian cultural revolution we are now carrying out.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guide for China's great proletarian cultural revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has creatively developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of literature and art. Using the proletarian world outlook, he has systematically and thoroughly solved the problems on our literary and art front. At the same time, he has systematically and thoroughly blazed for us a completely new trail for the proletarian cultural revolution.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1962, Chairman Mao Tse-tung called for taking firm hold of the class struggle in the ideological field. Following this great call and under the direct guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, there has been an upsurge in reforming Peking opera, ballet, symphonic music and other art forms -- revolutionary reforms designed to make the ancient serve the present, to make foreign things serve China and to weed through the old to let the new emerge. Peking opera and other art forms have been used to portray the epic of the heroic struggles of the masses led by the Chinese proletariat. This new creation has given Peking opera, ballet, symphonic music and other art forms a new lease of life, not only making them completely new in content but greatly improved in form and different in appearance from before. Plays on contemporary revolutionary themes have appeared on the stage everywhere. The new proletarian literature and art has an unprecedented appeal for the masses. The reactionaries and counter-revolutionary revisionists, however, revile and bitterly hate this new literature and art for no other reason but because the role of this new literature and art will greatly enhance our people's political consciousness and will greatly strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system in our country.

I want to say here that, among the comrades who have persisted in this policy of revolution in literature and art and waged unremitting struggles against the reactionaries and counter-revolutionary revisionists, Comrade Chiang Ching has made outstanding contributions.

History has smashed the pipe dream of the reactionaries and counter-revolutionary revisionists. The revolution in literature and art after

the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party became the real beginning of our country's great proletarian cultural revolution.

The history of literature and art is full of sharp conflicts. The conflicts between the new and the old and between the modern and the ancient are reflections of the class struggle in society. The bourgeoisie in the period of the bourgeois revolution used the new literature and art of the time as an important weapon in destroying feudalism. Likewise, the proletariat today must use its own new literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers as a weapon in destroying the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. After the conquest of political power by the proletariat, the bourgeoisie is not reconciled to quitting the stage of history. Chairman Mao has often pointed out to us that the overthrown bourgeoisie is trying, by all methods, to use the position of literature and art as a hotbed for corrupting the masses and preparing for the restoration of capitalism. Therefore, our tasks in the field of literature and art are not lighter but heavier. Our leadership on the literary and art front should not be weakened but, on the contrary, strengthened still further. In order to fulfill their glorious tasks, our revolutionary literary and art organizations must carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

It is utterly wrong to deny that there are conflicts in literature and art so long as classes still exist. In the future communist society, when classes have been eliminated and class contradictions and struggles no longer exist, there will still be conflicts between the new and the old, conflicts which we cannot yet foresee completely or are impossible for us to foresee now. Such conflicts, naturally, will also find their expression in literature and art.

Speech by Comrade Chiang Ching

Comrade Chiang Ching received a thunderous ovation from the entire rally when she went forward to speak.

She described how she came to understand the importance of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Comrade Chiang Ching said: A few years ago, when my fairly systematic contact with certain sections of literature and art began, the first question that arose in my mind was why were plays about ghosts being staged in socialist China? Then also, I was very surprised to find that Peking opera, insensitive as it was to reflecting reality, produced "Hai Jui Dismissed From Office," "Li Hui-niang" and other plays showing seriously reactionary political tendencies. And under the fine pretext of "rediscovering tradition," many works were written portraying emperors, kings, generals and prime ministers, scholars and beauties. There was great talk throughout the literary and art world about "famous plays," "foreign plays" and "ancient plays" and it went out of its

way to present them. The atmosphere was choked with emphasis on the ancient as against the contemporary, with worship of the foreign and scorn for the Chinese, with praise for the dead and contempt for the living. I began to feel that if our literature and art could not correspond to the socialist economic base, they would inevitably wreck it.

Comrade Chiang Ching went on: In the wake of the changing struggle between the new and the old in the political and economic fields over a number of years, new literature and art, countering the old, have also made their appearance. New items have been created even in Peking opera, formerly considered the most difficult to reform. As you all know, Lu Hsun was the great standard-bearer leading the cultural revolution over thirty years ago. More than twenty years ago, Chairman Mao defined the orientation for literature and art as service to the workers, peasants and soldiers and he posed the question of weeding through the old to let the new emerge.

To weed through the old to let the new emerge means to develop new content which meets the needs of the masses and popular national forms loved by the people. As far as content is concerned, it is in many cases out of the question to weed through the old to let the new emerge. How can we critically assimilate ghosts, gods and religion? I hold it is impossible, because we are atheists and Communists. We do not believe in ghosts and gods at all. Again, for instance, the feudal moral precepts of the landlord class and the moral precepts of the bourgeoisie, which they considered to be indisputable, were used to oppress and exploit the people. Can we critically assimilate things which were used to oppress and exploit the people? I hold it is impossible, because ours is a country of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We want to build socialism. Our economic base is public ownership. We firmly oppose the system of private ownership whereby people are oppressed and exploited. To sweep away all remnants of the system of exploitation and the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of all the exploiting classes is an important aspect of our great proletarian cultural revolution.

Comrade Chiang Ching continued: As for the old forms of art, our attitude can neither be nihilist nor one of total acceptance. A nation must have its own forms of art, its own artistic characteristics. It is wrong to be nihilist and not take over, in a critical way, the best there is in the art forms and artistic characteristics of our motherland. On the other hand, it is also wrong to take everything as positive and not weed through the old to let the new emerge. As to the outstanding forms of art of the various nations throughout the world, we must act in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions about "making foreign things serve China" and work at weeding through the old to let the new emerge.

Comrade Chiang Ching said: Imperialism is moribund capitalism, parasitic and rotten. Modern revisionism is a product of imperialist policies and a variety of capitalism. They cannot produce any works that

are good. Capitalism has a history of several centuries; nevertheless, it has produced only a pitiful number of "classics." They have created some works modelled after the "classics," but these are stereotyped and can no longer appeal to the people, and are therefore completely on the decline. On the other hand, there are some things that really flood the market, such as rock-and-roll, jazz, strip-tease, impressionism, symbolism, abstractionism, fauvism, modernism -- there's no end to them -- all of which are intended to poison and paralyse the minds of the people. In a word, there is decadence and obscenity to poison and paralyse the minds of the people.

I'd like to ask: Isn't it necessary to make a revolution and introduce changes if the old literature and art do not correspond to the socialist economic base and the classical artistic forms do not entirely fit the socialist ideological content? (shouts of yes! yes! from the audience) I am sure most comrades and friends will agree it is necessary, but it must be conceded that this involves serious class struggle and is a very painstaking and fairly difficult job. Fear of the difficulties involved was greater than it need have been among people in general because for a long time the anti-Party, anti-socialist leadership of the old Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee and the old Ministry of Culture thought up many "reasons" for opposing this revolution and undermining the reform. There was also a handful of people with ulterior motives who attempted to undermine the revolution and oppose change. The reform of Peking opera, the ballet and symphonic music was brought about only after breaking through these difficulties and obstacles.

Comrade Chiang Ching pointed out that the nationwide great proletarian cultural revolution China had moved into since last May had affected almost the whole sphere of ideology. She touched on the question of the sending of cultural revolution work teams to various organizations and said this organizational form, of sending work teams, in the great proletarian cultural revolution was erroneous. And what these work teams had done in the course of their work was still more erroneous! Instead of directing the spearhead against the handful of people in authority within the Party who were taking the capitalist road and against the reactionary academic "authorities," they turned the spearhead against the revolutionary students. The question of what the spearhead of the struggle should be directed against was a cardinal question of right and wrong, one of principles of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought! As early as June this year our Chairman Mao made the point that work teams should not be sent out hastily, but a few comrades sent out work teams hastily without asking Chairman Mao's permission. But it is necessary to point out that the question lies not in the form of the work team but in the principles and policy which it follows. In some units no work teams were sent in, and the original persons in charge were relied upon to conduct the work, yet mistakes were made there nevertheless. On the other hand, some work teams followed correct principles and policy and did not make mistakes. This helps to illustrate the real question at issue.

Comrade Chiang Ching said: Chairman Mao received a million young revolutionary fighters on August 18. How well he respected the initiative of the masses, trusted them and cared for them! I felt I had learnt far from enough. Then, afterwards, the young Red Guard fighters turned outward to society and vigorously began destroying the old ideas, culture, customs and habits. We, the comrades of the Cultural Revolution Group under the Party Central Committee, rejoiced. But a few days later, new problems cropped up. We immediately gathered the facts and investigated and were therefore able to keep up with the constantly developing revolutionary situation. This is what I have described as striving to follow Mao Tse-tung's thought closely on the one hand, and striving to catch up with the spirit of daring and courage, the revolutionary rebel spirit, of the young revolutionaries on the other.

Comrade Chiang Ching then concentrated on the great cultural revolution in the No. 1 Peking Opera Company of Peking. She said that this company was the first unit in Peking to undertake the glorious task of reforming Peking opera. Directly addressing the opera company, she said: Guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, in a matter of a few years you have indeed achieved good results in the work of creating operas on contemporary revolutionary themes, and you have thus set an example to the whole country in the reform of Peking opera.

She said: In order to enable plays on contemporary revolutionary themes to be presented at the National Day celebrations, we had many discussions and we supported your performances and opposed the wrong views by which attempts were made to negate your achievements in revolution. We did a certain amount of explanatory work in various circles to enable you to present your "Sha Chia Pang" (a Peking opera on a contemporary revolutionary theme) and to get on the stage the Peking operas "The Red Lantern," "Taking the Bandits' Stronghold," "Sea Harbour," and "Raid on the White Tiger Regiment," the ballets "The Red Detachment of Women" and "The White-Haired Girl," and symphonic music "Sha Chia Pang," etc.

We explained that these creative works were an important triumph of the great proletarian cultural revolution and of Chairman Mao's thinking on literature and art in the service of the workers, peasants and soldiers. And, as facts have proved, the broad masses have recognized our achievements. The revolutionary Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people all over the world have placed a high evaluation on them. Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao, Comrade Chou En-lai, Comrade Chen Po-ta, Comrade Kang Sheng and many other comrades have affirmed our achievements and given us great support and encouragement.

She said: I hope that after we have gone through the struggle and tempering in this great proletarian cultural revolution, we will continue ceaselessly to integrate ourselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. In this way, we will surely be able to gain new achievements in the reform

of Peking opera and other branches of literature and art! Our task is difficult. But we must bravely shoulder this glorious, but arduous, revolutionary task.

Comrade Chiang Ching said that in the great proletarian cultural revolution in the No. 1 Peking Opera Company of Peking there was a very sharp and very complicated class struggle, a struggle for power between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. She said: You have as yet not exposed and criticized the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee in a really penetrating and extensive way. Here it is necessary in all seriousness to point out that certain leading members of the No. 1 Peking Opera Company of Peking have not yet seriously drawn a clear-cut line between themselves and the former Peking Municipal Party Committee. They have neither exposed the crimes of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee in a penetrating way nor made a serious criticism of their own mistakes. They implemented the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee. Resorting to double dealing, and by either soft or tough methods, they resisted Chairman Mao's instructions, and by double-faced tactics carried out all kinds of obstruction and sabotage to undermine the reform of Peking opera. They played many infamous tricks in their attacks both on you and on us.

The heinous crimes in which the former Peking Municipal Party Committee, the old Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee and the old Ministry of Culture ganged up against the Party and the people must be exposed and liquidated in a thoroughgoing way. Likewise, the bourgeois reactionary line within our Party which opposes the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao must be exposed and criticized in a thoroughgoing way. Otherwise, it will be impossible to safeguard the fruits of our successful revolution.

Certain leading members of the No. 1 Peking Opera Company of Peking must make a clean breast of what they have done and reveal what the others have done in a thoroughgoing way. This is the only way, and there is no other way out. If they really do so after full criticism by the masses, if they "repent genuinely and make a fresh start," they will still be able to take part in the revolution. If they really try to correct their errors and begin anew, if they return to the correct road of the Party, it is still possible for them to strive to become good cadres.

She said: Since the counter-revolutionary revisionist list of the former Peking Municipal Communist Party Committee, the old Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee and the old Ministry of Culture has not yet been thoroughly criticized and repudiated, and since the effects of this counter-revolutionary revisionist line on your company have not yet been wiped out, it is impossible for the great proletarian cultural revolution to be conducted thoroughly in your company. And there is the possibility that the movement in your company may go astray and certain

people with ulterior motives may usurp the leadership. This would have very harmful effects on the future development of your company.

She added: It is not the case in your company that all the cadres, Party members and Youth League members have made mistakes, or that all the cadres have made the same kind of mistakes. They have to be treated differently, by presenting the facts and reasoning things out, with the attitude of "learning from past mistakes and avoiding future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient." They should be allowed to correct their mistakes and devote themselves to the revolution.

She emphasized that in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the struggle had to be conducted by reasoning and not by coercion or force. There must be no beating of people. Struggle by coercion or by force can only touch the skin and flesh while struggle by reasoning can touch the soul.

She said: I suggest that you hold fast to the general orientation in the struggle, to the correct principles and policy formulated by the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao, oppose the handful of people in authority who are taking the capitalist road, gradually expand and strengthen the ranks of the Left in the course of the struggle, and unite with the overwhelming majority, including those who have been misled, and help them on to the correct road.

Referring to the question of "minority" and "majority," she said one could not talk about a "minority" or "majority" independently of class viewpoint. It is necessary to see who has grasped the truth of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, who is really maintaining a proletarian revolutionary stand, who is genuinely carrying out the correct line of Chairman Mao. Separate and concrete analysis should be made with regard to each different organization.

In conclusion Comrade Chiang Ching said: I hope that all comrades in the company will raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, give prominence to proletarian politics, resolutely carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, unite on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and complete the three tasks -- first, of struggling against and crushing those in authority who are taking the capitalist road; second, of criticizing and repudiating the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; and third, of transforming education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base -- and that you will make the No. 1 Peking Opera Company of Peking an exemplary revolutionary company which is truly proletarianized and militant!

Speeches by Comrades Hsieh Tang-chung and Wu Teh and
Representatives of Some Literature and Art Organizations

In his speech, Comrade Hsieh Tang-chung, Head of the Cultural Department of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, announced that, in accordance with the directive of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party and the decision of the cultural revolution group under the Party's Central Committee, the No. 1 Peking Opera Company of Peking (including the Red Guard Troupe of the Peking Opera School which took part in the National Day performances), the National Peking Opera Theatre (including the Red Guard Troupe of the Chinese Opera School which took part in the National Day performances), the Central Philharmonic Society, the ballet troupe and the orchestra of the Central Song and Dance Ensemble had been incorporated into the ranks of the Chinese People's Liberation Army as constituent parts of the army for political and literary and art work. He extended an enthusiastic welcome to all the comrades in these units on behalf of the General Political Department of the P.L.A., all the commanders and fighters and all the army workers in literature and art.

Comrade Hsieh Tang-chung also announced the appointment of Comrade Chiang Ching by the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee as adviser on cultural work to the Chinese People's Liberation Army. He said: this decision reflects the great interest in the cultural work of our army taken by our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao. Comrade Chiang Ching is an excellent student of Mao Tse-tung's thought, understands it profoundly and has been applying it with great persistence and creativeness. Her appointment is an important decision for strengthening the revolutionization of our army's cultural work and for making it more militant. In conclusion, he called on all army literary and art workers to study Comrade Chiang Ching's speech conscientiously, implement the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao resolutely and thoroughly and, in accordance with the directives of the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee and the General Political Department of the P.L.A., carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

In his speech, Comrade Wu Teh, Second Secretary of the Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, expressed his determination to rely on the broad revolutionary masses to carry through the exposure and repudiation of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee in a thoroughgoing way, overthrow and discredit the counter-revolutionary revisionists, firmly eliminate their pernicious influence, fully apply Chairman Mao's line on literature and art and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to its completion.

Members of the No. 1 Peking Opera Company of Peking and of the other cultural units which have been incorporated into the P.L.A. -- Tan Yuan-shou,

Yu Lei-ti, Li Hsing-hai, Ho Fu-hsing and Chien Hao-liang -- and Li Yen, representing the August First Film Studio, addressed the rally in turn. These speakers pledged to do as Comrade Lin Piao had instructed: "study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions and be his good fighters." They said they were determined to keep to the four "firsts," carry forward the "three-eight" working style, take the "three constantly read articles" of Chairman Mao's as their mottoes all their lives*, break with "self" and foster devotion to the public, take the remoulding of their world outlook very seriously and transform and thoroughly temper themselves in the great red furnace that is the P.L.A. They were resolved, they said, to make their theatrical troupes, philharmonic society and film studio propaganda units for the dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's thought, produce more theatrical works on contemporary revolutionary themes reflecting the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, and create a brand new proletarian literature and art for better serving the Chinese people and the people of the world.

Speech by Comrade Chou En-lai

Comrade Chou En-lai made his speech amid stormy applause.

He first expressed his complete approval of and support for the speech by Comrade Chiang Ching and warmly congratulated the No. 1 Peking Opera Company of Peking and the three other units on their incorporation into the Chinese People's Liberation Army. He said he hoped that in the future more literary and art units would join the ranks of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Comrade Chou En-lai said: The great proletarian cultural revolution now unfolding in our country is an extremely broad and deep proletarian revolutionary movement, a proletarian revolutionary movement at a higher stage. This revolution is of extremely great significance. It has aroused hundreds of millions of people and touched everybody to his very soul. It has shaken the whole world, all society and literary and art circles as a whole. Under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, this revolution is

* The four "firsts" are: First place must be given to man in handling the relationship between man and weapons; to political work in handling the relationship between political and other work; to ideological work in relation to other aspects of political work; and, in ideological work, to the ideas currently in a person's mind as distinguished from ideas in books.

The "three-eight" working style refers to the three phrases: "firm and correct political orientation; a plain, hard working style; flexibility in strategy and tactics" and eight Chinese characters: "unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness."

The "three constantly read articles" are: Serve the People, In Memory of Norman Bethune, and The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains. -- Tr.

transforming society in accordance with the proletarian world outlook. The aim of this great revolution is to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, dig out the roots of revisionism, prevent a possible restoration of capitalism, make sure that our country will never change colour, greatly stimulate the development of the social productive forces, and exert a great influence upon and give great support to the revolutionary movements of the people of the world.

He said: The great proletarian cultural revolution is a new stage in socialist revolution. With the appearance of the proletariat on the stage of history, a new literature and art of the masses came into being which runs counter to the old literature and art of the exploiting classes. During the period of the new democratic revolution, Chairman Mao already put forth the historic task of a cultural revolution. In his On New Democracy and Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art, he expounded the guiding principles for the proletarian cultural revolution. During the period of socialist revolution, he has personally led a series of important movements of criticizing and repudiating bourgeois academic concepts. After the socialist revolution on the economic front was basically completed, the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts was under way. Two brilliant essays by Chairman Mao, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People and Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work, were published. In these essays he put forward the great historic task of eradicating what is bourgeois and fostering what is proletarian in the ideological sphere. This revolution, in its present stage of development, has become a dynamic mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution which has stirred the whole of society and in which hundreds of millions of people are consciously taking part.

Comrade Chou En-lai pointed out: Our revolution in the field of literature and art has won great victories. In the past few years, epoch-making achievements have been made in reforming Peking opera, the ballet, symphonic music and sculpture. This is a big leap forward in our efforts to revolutionize our literary and art work. These achievements have been won in line with the orientation, indicated by Chairman Mao, of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and under the guidance of his policies of putting emphasis on the present as against the past, making the past serve the present and making foreign things serve China. They have been won through hard class struggle and after breaking through the numerous obstacles created by the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the former Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee, the former Ministry of Culture and the former Municipal Party Committee of Peking. They represent a raising of standards based on popularization and a popularization guided by the raising of standards. Influenced and motivated by these models, a number of new, revolutionary works of art and literature have been created and the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers have appeared as the central figures. This revolutionary movement is bound to

unfold in still greater depth in every sphere of literature and art and exert a most profound and far-reaching influence on our future.

Comrade Chou En-lai said: The achievements of the revolution in literature and art mentioned above are inseparable from the guidance given by Comrade Chiang Ching and from the support and co-operation of the revolutionary Left in literary and art circles. They are fruits of the resolute struggles against the evil revisionist line which ran through literary and art circles from the 30s down to the 60s. Comrade Chiang Ching has taken a personal part in actual struggle and in artistic practice.

He said: The achievements of our revolution in literature and art have been enthusiastically welcomed by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and other revolutionary people at home. Moreover, they are warmly praised and highly valued by revolutionary comrades and friends the world over.

After listing the words of praise from many foreign comrades and friends for reform of literature and art in our country, Comrade Chou En-lai said: From what many foreign comrades and friends have said, we can see how greatly the revolutionary people of the world value the achievements of the reform of our literature and art! This is a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought! The orientation for literature and art pointed out by Chairman Mao is at the same time the orientation for the revolutionary literature and art the world over. The path we are breaking is the very path that proletarian literature and art of the whole world will follow! We must continue to march forward with full confidence along this correct path!

He said: Our literary and art organizations are among the focal points in the great proletarian cultural revolution. In the past, under the long rule of a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists, literary and art circles became an important position for them to resist Chairman Mao's ideas on literature and art and his revolutionary line, to disseminate revisionist poison and create public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must resolutely expose, one and all, the handful of bourgeois Rightists who, entrenching themselves in literary and art circles, oppose the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, and we must refute, overthrow and completely discredit them.

He pointed out: Our literary and art ranks must be thoroughly reorganized and built up in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Literary and art workers should be encouraged, in the heat of revolutionary struggle, to revolutionize their thinking, eliminate the evil influence of the revisionist line on literature and art, resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's line on literature and art and earnestly integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. Thus, our vast numbers of literary and art workers will be steeled into a proletarianized, militant and

revolutionary army of literature and art. All comrades engaged in literary and art work should make great efforts to study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a creative way in the course of struggle and seriously remould their world outlook. They should put themselves to the test in the heat of class struggles. Instead of being "revolutionaries in words," who indulge in empty talk, they should strive to be genuine proletarian literary and art fighters whose acts square with their words.

He pointed out emphatically: The great proletarian cultural revolution in literary and art circles should be carried to its completion by relying on the literary and art workers themselves. We must resolutely implement the correct line of Chairman Mao, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois line and deeply, thoroughly and completely carry out the tasks of struggle, criticism and transformation on the literary and art front.

In conclusion, Comrade Chou En-lai said: We are certainly able to use the new proletarian literature and art to replace the decadent literature and art of all the exploiting classes! Illuminated by Mao Tse-tung's thought, we are certainly capable of creating the most splendid literature and art in human history.

At the end of the rally, all present rose and, with Comrade Chou En-lai conducting, sang in unison Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman. The whole assembly sang with revolutionary ardour, and cries of "Long live Chairman Mao" resounded long through the Great Hall of the People.

Among those attending the rally were the following leading members of the Party's Central Committee and of various departments: Tao Chu, Kang Sheng, Li Fu-chun, Chen Yi, Li Hsien-nien, Tan Chen-lin, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Yeh Chien-ying, Hsieh Fu-chih, Teng Ying-chao, Hsiao Hua, Liu Chih-chien, Chang Chun-chiao, Wu Teh, Kuo Mo-jo, Hsieh Tang-chung, Wang Li, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu, Mu Hsin, Yao Wen-yuan, Li Tien-yu, Wang Hsin-ting, Hsu Li-ching, Yuan Tzu-chin, Chang Chih-ming, Wang Tung-hsing, Chou Jung-hsin, Tung Hsiao-peng, Tang Ping-chu, Hu Chih, Ting Kuo-yu, Hsu Kuang-ping, Chang Pen, Li Wei, Chen Ya-ting, Yu Chi, Tsao Yi-ou, Yeh Chun and Chang Tsien.

Also present were Sung Chiung, Chin Ching-mai, Li Ying-ju, Chu Hsi-hsien, Li Yen, Wu Ti, Yu Li-chun, Yeh Hsiang-chen, Tan Yuan-shou, Wang Meng-yun, Chien Hao-liang, Tu Chin-fang, Li Hsing-hai, Teng Yuan-sen, Yu Lei-ti and Ho Fu-hsing.

One hundred and eighty-two young Red Guards were also present on the rostrum.

CSO: 3530-D

SEIZE NEW VICTORIES

Following is a translation of an editorial in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 15, 13 December 1966, pages 14-16.

Guided by the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the massive movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution has smashed through the obstacles put up by the bourgeois reactionary line, is going deeper and defeloping on an even broader scale. An important feature of the current situation is that the broad masses of revolutionary workers have risen to throw themselves into the movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution and a new stage in the integration of revolutionary students and the masses of workers is now starting.

The revolutionary masses have seen through the bourgeois reactionary line which aims to oppose the proletarian revolutionary line of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Chairman Mao. Some comrades who implemented the wrong line are correcting their mistakes and returning to the correct line. The very small number of persons who stubbornly cling to the bourgeois reactionary line are becoming more and more isolated. The ranks of the revolutionary Left have grown and developed greatly and reached a much higher level of understanding.

The revolutionary masses are sweeping away all sorts of obstacles in their path and striding forward along the road of the great proletarian cultural revolution opened by Chairman Mao himself.

The handful of persons in the Party who are in power and are taking the capitalist road and the extremely small number of persons who stubbornly cling to the bourgeois reactionary line are not reconciled to defeat. They have made a wrong assessment of the situation. They are playing new tricks and trying in new ways to deceive the masses and continue to oppose the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. Because the revolutionary masses are firmly opposed to the

bourgeois reactionary line, certain persons with ulterior motives make use of the slogan of "opposing the bourgeois reactionary line" to deceive and confuse the people; they are in fact attacking the revolutionary Left and bombarding the proletarian headquarters. Because the revolutionary masses resolutely oppose the bombardment of the proletarian headquarters, some persons with ulterior motives make use of the slogan of "opposing the bombardment of the proletarian headquarters" to oppose and suppress the revolutionary masses, and prevent the masses from criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line.

Whether they are genuinely criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line or just pretending to do so should be judged by their deeds. Some people who have committed errors of line have not made sincere and public self-criticisms and are unwilling to reverse the verdicts passed on those of the revolutionary masses whom they branded "counter-revolutionaries" and "anti-Party elements" in the course of the cultural revolution. Using both threats and deception against the masses, they continue to organize those of the masses whom they have hoodwinked to attack the revolutionary Left. They turn right into wrong and vainly try to saddle proletarian revolutionaries with the crime of taking the bourgeois reactionary line, so as to protect themselves and protect persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road. These are people who, as Lu Hsun said, "use the great banner as a tiger-skin to cover themselves and intimidate other people."

Our Party will never permit anyone to attack the revolutionary masses and bombard the proletarian headquarters under the pretext of "opposing the bourgeois reactionary line."

What is meant by the proletarian headquarters? It means those that resolutely support Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought, resolutely carry out the correct line in the great proletarian cultural revolution represented by Chairman Mao, resolutely support the 16-point decision concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, and resolutely oppose counter-revolutionary revisionism and the bourgeois reactionary line.

Against what target the spearhead of struggle is directed is a cardinal matter of right and wrong. It is a principled question of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought. To direct the spearhead of struggle against the revolutionary Left instead of the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, to deceive and hoodwink part of the masses to protect oneself, and to incite the masses to struggle against each other -- this is a typical manifestation of the bourgeois reactionary line. No matter under what form it is done -- whether work-teams were sent or not or whether they were sent and later withdrawn -- adopting this reactionary line and reactionary policy means committing the error of the bourgeois reactionary line. It is not a matter of the form of the work-team, but of what line and policy are taken. In

some units, work-teams were not sent, and the original leading personnel remained in charge, but nevertheless they committed this error, whereas some of the work-teams, who followed the correct line and policy of Chairman Mao, did not.

How can we call those headquarters which oppress the masses headquarters of the proletariat? Why can't we "bombard" such headquarters?

Our Party can never allow anyone to make the revolutionary masses the target of attack or suppress the revolution under the pretext of "opposing bombardment of the proletarian headquarters."

At the present time one of the characteristics of the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road as well as the very few persons who stubbornly cling to the bourgeois reactionary line, is that they act behind the scenes -- manipulating those mass organizations of the students and workers hoodwinked by them, sowing discord, creating factions, provoking conflicts in which force or coercion is used and even resorting to various kinds of illegal means against the revolutionary masses. They themselves "sit on top of the mountain to watch the tigers fight." They vainly attempt to use these means to destroy the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In doing these things, they think they are wise, but in fact they are most stupid. There is no doubt that they are lifting a rock to crush their own toes. In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, those of the masses who have been for a time hoodwinked by them are sure to awaken and expose and oppose them. The vast majority of the masses are always fine and they always support the Party and Chairman Mao. Once those of the masses who have been temporarily hoodwinked recognize the true face of the handful of the persons who intrigue and scheme and who oppose the great proletarian cultural revolution, they will immediately discard them and move over to the side of the correct line of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao has taught us that the struggle should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force. We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and act resolutely according to this instruction. It is one of the most important policies in the great proletarian cultural revolution that the struggle should be conducted by reasoning and not by coercion or force. This policy is in the interests of the proletariat and the revolutionary masses. Only by insisting on struggle by reasoning, on resolutely opposing those bad people who provoke conflicts in which force or coercion is used among the masses, can extensive democracy under the proletarian dictatorship be carried surely into effect. Only so can there be an assurance of normal progress of the free airing of views, big-character posters and great debates; only so can the democratic rights of the masses of the people be protected.

A handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and a very small number of persons who stubbornly cling to the bourgeois reactionary line deliberately create incidents and stir up conflicts in which force or coercion is used. In doing this, they aim to undermine the democratic rights of the masses in a vain attempt to sabotage the dictatorship of the proletariat and torpedo the great proletarian cultural revolution. The revolutionary masses and revolutionary organizations must all heighten their vigilance to avoid falling into these traps. When opinions differ, they should discuss matters by presenting the facts and reasoning things out and, under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and on the basis of the 16-point decision concerning the cultural revolution, unite in a concerted effort to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Those comrades who committed errors of line in the previous stage of the revolution must conscientiously correct their mistakes, draw a sharp line of distinction between themselves and the erroneous line and return to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

To correct their mistakes conscientiously, they must do the following:

Firstly, make a sincere and honest self-criticism before the masses;

Secondly, truly reverse the verdicts passed on those of the revolutionary masses who have been branded "counter-revolutionaries," "anti-Party elements," "pseudo-Leftists but genuine Rightists," "self-seeking careerists," etc., because of their criticism of the leadership, and rehabilitate them;

Thirdly, do political and ideological work among those of the masses and cadres who have been hoodwinked by the erroneous line, shoulder the responsibility themselves and not shift the blame on to the masses or their subordinates, help them enhance their understanding with their personal account of how they made the mistakes, and unite with the broad masses;

Fourthly, go to the masses, learn from them, be their pupils and join them in criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line and eradicating the evil effects left by that line;

Fifthly, implement in deeds and not just in words the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, firmly support the revolutionary Left, rely on the broad masses and strike resolute blows against the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road.

We believe the broad revolutionary masses are reasonable and will give due consideration to the facts. If only those comrades who committed

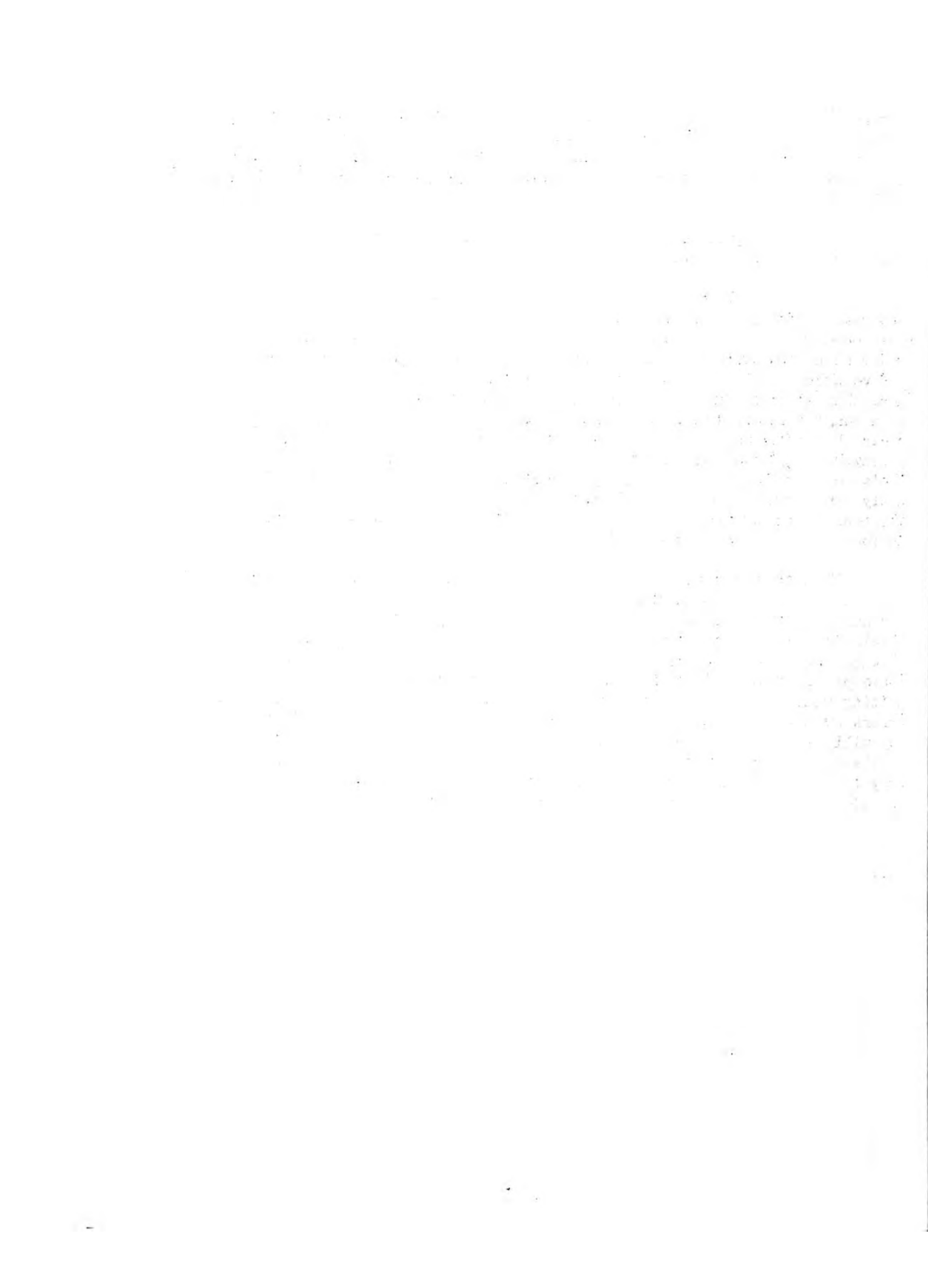
errors of line in the past do the things mentioned above, they will be exonerated by the revolutionary masses and regain the confidence of the masses. Once they do so, they will regain the initiative and do their work in the great proletarian cultural revolution, as well as their other work, well.

Should they fail to do so and continue along the erroneous line, their downfall is inevitable.

Six months have elapsed since the large-scale unfolding of the proletarian cultural revolution in our country. Tremendous successes have been achieved and rich experience has been gained in those six months, and every revolutionary can learn a lot from this. Lenin has said: "During a revolution, millions and tens of millions of people learn in a week more than they do in a year of ordinary, somnolent life. For at the time of a sharp turn in the life of an entire people it becomes particularly clear what aims the various classes of the people are pursuing, what strength they possess, and what methods they use." We must take Chairman Mao's correct line as our guide, and class struggle as the key link, and apply the method of class analysis to study phenomena of all kinds, analyse the tendencies of the various classes in the current great cultural revolution, and see what methods they use.

Proletarian revolutionaries should do still better in their creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings, strengthen and improve the nucleus of leadership, and further improve their art of struggle. They should investigate and study more, grasp policies, pay attention to methods of work, be good at bringing out the facts and reasoning, and consulting those people who hold different views, discussing problems with them, and uniting with the broad masses. They should welcome the correction of their errors by those comrades who have committed errors of line. Only in this way will we be able to expose and isolate to the maximum the handful of people in authority who are taking the capitalist road, organize the mighty army of the proletarian cultural revolution, seize new victories and fulfil the great historic task entrusted to us by Chairman Mao.

CSO: 3530-D



DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE GREAT
PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

[Following is a translation of an article by Wang Li (3769 0500), Chia I-hsueh (6328 0001 1331), and Li Hsin (2621 9387) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 15, 13 December 1966, pages 17-24.]

We are now in a new era of the world revolution, an era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing toward victory throughout the world. Sharp class struggles in diverse forms are going on like raging fires in the international arena and within various countries, in both the capitalist world and the socialist world. The struggles among different classes and political forces are intricate and complex. In the final analysis, the central issue of these struggles is that of state power.

Lenin said that the basic question of every revolution is that of state power. He also said that those who recognize only class struggle are not yet Marxists. A Marxist is one who extends his recognition of class struggle to recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism-Leninism, the fundamental issue for the proletarian revolution, and the invincible weapon which insures that the proletariat will defeat the bourgeoisie and be victorious in its socialist cause. For the proletariat, to have state power means to have everything; to lose state power is to lose all. Throughout the period of the transition from capitalism to communism, whether or not upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat has always been the touchstone for distinguishing Marxist-Leninists from revisionists of all stripes.

The new historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat tells us that the question of state power is the basic question for the revolution in the capitalist countries where the proletariat has not yet seized political power; it remains the basic question for the revolution in the socialist countries where the proletariat is already in power. Before coming to power, the proletariat and other revolutionary people should uphold the principle of making revolution by violence, smashing the old state machine and seizing political power by armed force. Once in power, the proletariat should carry the socialist revolution through to the end, prevent the revisionists from usurping the leadership of the Party and the State, prevent the restoration of capitalism, and defend and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It once used to be thought that with the seizure of political power by the proletariat, the question of political power would be solved and that the main task for the revolution would be to transform the old economy, organize a new economy, and engage in construction and education. It was not realized that state power might be seized by the bourgeoisie again, that the proletariat might lose political power, and that the dictatorship of the proletariat might be transformed into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The treachery of the Tito clique caused Yugoslavia long ago to degenerate from a socialist state into a capitalist one. Later, in the birthplace of Leninism, the Khrushchev revisionist clique usurped the leadership of the Party and the State, causing the Soviet Union, after several decades of socialist construction, to embark on the road of capitalist restoration.

It is imperative for Marxist-Leninists to pay the greatest attention to these harsh facts and ponder over them seriously.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has constantly studied and summed up the experience and lessons of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and internationally and put forward the theses on the contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society, solving a series of new important problems and developing the Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat to a new height.

With genius and in a creative way, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has applied Marxist-Leninist materialist dialectics to socialist society and made a scientific analysis of the nature of contradictions in socialist society and the law of their development.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that in socialist society there exist contradictions, contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and contradictions among the people. These two types of contradictions are different in nature. In given conditions, these two types



of contradictions can be transformed into their opposite. Only by recognizing the existence of these two types of contradictions and correctly understanding and handling them is it possible to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat constantly and push forward the cause of socialist revolution and construction.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that socialist society is still built on the basis of class antagonism and that throughout the very, very long historical period of socialism there is struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads. The struggle between the two classes and between the two roads is the principal contradiction in socialist society and the motive force for its forward march.

Since the struggle between the two classes and two roads exists in a socialist country, if we are not vigilant and fail to adopt the necessary measures, the danger of the dictatorship of the proletariat degenerating into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie exists and the danger of the restoration of capitalism exists.

The Soviet revisionist leading clique deliberately ignores the fact that contradictions exist in socialist society, and categorically denies the existence of classes and class struggle in the Soviet Union. Khrushchev does and so do his disciples Brezhnev, Kosygin and Shelepin.

Such nonsense as their "socialist-society-without-contradictions" is aimed at protecting the interests of the revisionist leading clique and the privileged strata of the Soviet Union, at maintaining their reactionary rule over the Soviet people. Their denial of the existence of classes and class struggle in the Soviet Union is precisely a weapon that they wield in the class struggle. In fact, they plant their feet firmly on the side of the bourgeoisie, suppressing the proletariat and carrying on merciless class struggle against the Soviet people. They use the allegation that there are neither classes nor class struggle as grounds for "the State of the whole people" and "the Party of the entire people," in order to deceive the Soviet people and the people of the world and cover up their traitorous deeds in abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have become utter renegades to the great Lenin and Stalin. What they fear most is that the Soviet people may rise in rebellion against revisionism and capitalist restoration, engage in class struggle against them, overthrow their rule and re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The tree may prefer calm, but the wind will not subside" is a saying Comrade Mao Tse-tung often uses to tell people that class struggle is an objective fact, independent of the subjective of people. You want to avoid it, but it cannot be done. If you don't struggle with him, he will struggle with you; if you don't eliminate him, he will eliminate

you. Marxist-Leninists must in no way deny or avoid class struggle. They should lead the proletariat, guide it properly in the given circumstances according to the laws of class struggle, carry the socialist revolution through to the end on the political, economic, ideological and cultural fronts, smash the bourgeois plot for restoration, and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our country is at present engaged in a great proletarian cultural revolution without parallel in history. This is precisely to avoid capitalist restoration and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system in our country still more.

This great proletarian cultural revolution was launched and is being led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung personally. The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung has won great victory over the bourgeois reactionary line after sharp struggle.

The struggle between the two lines within the Party in the great proletarian cultural revolution is a reflection in the Party of the class struggle in society. The bourgeois reactionary line has its social basis chiefly in the bourgeoisie. This reactionary line is in essence defending the bourgeoisie. It has certain influence within the Party, that is, among those whose bourgeois world outlook either remains unchanged or has not yet been sufficiently transformed. The tiny handful of people within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and are opposed to the Party, to socialism and to Mao Tse-tung's thought, and the ghosts and demons in society take this line as their shield and seize the opportunity to stir up trouble.

The current great proletarian cultural revolution is the most profound class struggle history has ever witnessed. The struggle between the two lines within the Party, as its reflection, is likewise the most profound struggle in the history of our Party. The tiny handful of people who are bent on following the bourgeois reactionary line, are, through all channels, shifting the struggle between the two lines within the Party onto society to be interwoven with the class struggle in society.

Every step the great cultural revolution takes is the result of sharp struggle, of efforts to overcome various forms of resistance in society and in the Party. In the past few months the revolutionary masses have been profoundly exposing and criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line. This great debate on the two lines is on the largest scale ever. As a result of this great debate, the masses and the reactionary cadres have heightened their class consciousness and ideological level, and are still more conscientiously supporting and implementing the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. Although a tiny handful of people who stubbornly insist on following the bourgeois

reactionary line constantly change their methods and resort to new ways and means to counter Chairman Mao's correct line, the bourgeois reactionary line constantly meets with bankruptcy and failure as the irresistible mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution forges ahead.

In a matter of six months, the turbulent stream of the revolutionary mass movement has been washing away the filth left by the old society, producing in China a change that shakes heaven and earth. This is a truly great revolution under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is giving rise to great changes in class relations and touches people to their very souls. Countless new things have appeared on the horizon, dazzling the eyes of some people. Nevertheless, if one grasps the struggle between the two classes and the two roads in socialist society as the key link, one can see clearly the great significance and chief characteristics of the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country.

First, Our Country's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Is an Inevitable Development of the Class Struggle at Home, an Inevitable Development of the Socialist Revolution, and a New Higher Stage of the Proletarian Revolution

The proletariat of our country, having come into political power, carried out the socialist revolution on the economic front and basically changed the capitalist ownership of the means of production. Following this, it smashed the frantic attacks of the bourgeois rightists on the Party and Socialism and proceeded with the socialist revolution on the political front. Along with the penetrating development of the socialist revolution and with the spread of the socialist education campaign in town and country, the class struggle has been brought increasingly to the fore in the ideological domain.

The overthrown exploiting class makes use of the superiority they still have in the ideological and cultural spheres and makes use of the old ideology and the force of old habits to corrode the masses, deceive the masses, seduce men, enlarge their position and shape public opinion in favor of restoration.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that public opinion must be shaped and ideological work must be done before overthrowing a political power. As it is with the revolutionary class so it is with the counter-revolutionary class. Practice has proved that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's judgment is entirely correct.

The great proletarian cultural revolution will solve the question of who wins in the struggle between socialism and capitalism in the ideological domain.

This is the continuation and development of the struggle between two classes and between two roads and is a new stage of more penetrating and extensive development of the socialist revolution.

Second, Our Country's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Is the Most Extensive, Most Penetrating and the Biggest Revolutionary Mass Movement in History

Our country's great proletarian cultural revolution is an extremely sharp, acute and complicated class struggle, is a great revolution for transforming the soul of man and promoting revolutionization of man's mind, and is bound to involve the political, economic and cultural domains of the whole society. Only by relying on the conscious action of millions can such a great revolution be carried out penetratingly, thoroughly and to the end.

The characteristic of our country's great proletarian cultural revolution is that the thought of Mao Tse-tung has entered deep into the minds of people and has really aroused millions upon millions of people.

Putting faith in the masses, relying on the masses, freely setting the masses in motion and respecting the initiative of the masses run through the revolutionary line of the proletariat represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

On the other hand, the reactionary line of the bourgeoisie opposes the masses, opposes revolution and opposes and represses the revolutionary mass movement.

By waging an unremitting struggle against the reactionary line of the bourgeoisie the waves of the mass movement will be raised higher and higher.

Many new things of great historical significance have appeared in the great proletarian cultural revolution. The sagacity and courage of the proletarian revolutionaries lies in giving strong support to these new things at their budding stage.

The Red Guards is such a new thing. With Comrade Mao Tse-tung's far-seeing support, a small group of Red Guards have developed fast in all schools, many factories and the rural districts and grown into exceedingly great revolutionary ranks of the masses. They dare to think, speak, act, struggle and make revolution. They have done great things that startle the universe.

The revolutionary masses are masters of the great proletarian cultural revolution. With the masses firmly allowed to educate and liberate themselves and to make revolution themselves, there has appeared a revolutionary mass movement which is powerful and irresistible and has a great host of soldiers.

Third, Our Country's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Is a Struggle to Prevent the Counter-Revolutionary Revisionism from Usurping the Leadership and Is a Struggle of the Proletariat to Prevent Restoration of Capitalism

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the masses have consciously gone into action to destroy the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits of the exploiting class, and to establish the new ideas, new culture, new customs and habits of the proletariat. They are changing the mental outlook of the whole society and digging out the root of revisionism.

This great proletarian cultural revolution in our country is dealing blow mainly at a handful of those in power within the Party who take the capitalist road. These representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the Party, government, army and cultural domain are a group of counter-revolutionary revisionists, are bad eggs of the Khrushchev type and are time bombs planted within our Party. When the time comes they will explode and will stage a coup of the Khrushchev type.

In this great revolution, a handful of those in power within the Party who take the capitalist road are engulfed in the ocean of the mass movement. They are exposed and are combatted with their reputation dragged in the dust. This deals a strong blow to the scheme of the counter-revolutionary revisionists to stage a capitalist comeback.

Our country's great proletarian cultural revolution is a life-and-death struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road and a struggle between one side which will consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the other side which will change the proletarian dictatorship into the bourgeois dictatorship. It is an extremely violent, acute and penetrating class struggle.

Fourth, Our Country's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Has Created New Experience of Extensive Democracy under the System of Proletarian Dictatorship and New Experience in Democratic Centralism

The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the action guide to the great proletarian cultural revolution. Our country's great proletarian cultural revolution is a movement for extensive democracy under the command of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In the great cultural revolution our Party supports the creative endeavors of the revolutionary masses, supports the revolutionary masses in extensively adopting such forms of extensive democracy as blooming, contending, big-character posters, big debate and establishment of



revolutionary ties. The masses have the right to conduct criticism and make proposals with regard to every policy of the Party and the State and every link of the state apparatus. Leading cadres of all levels, whatever their meritorious service, position and seniority, may be criticized by the masses. As to the power apparatuses leading the cultural revolution, the system of general election is to be enforced without exception according to the principle of the Paris Commune. The masses have the right to re-elect and recall the elected personnel any time. Between the masses and between the mass organizations, extensive democracy must also be practiced and the methods of contending, blooming, big-character poster and big debate must be used to unify understanding and thought, raise consciousness and master Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. This extensive democracy is the best method of educating the masses by themselves.

The extensive democracy introduced by us in extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat, is a high-degree and real proletarian democracy unprecedented in human history, and is a new development of Chairman Mao's mass line in the socialist revolution.

The historical experience of the proletarian dictatorship tells us that without fully enforcing the democratic system of the proletariat there can be no real democratic centralism of the proletariat. Without the extensive democracy of the proletariat, it will be impossible to realize the great revolution in one's heart, and impossible to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution penetratingly and thoroughly and it will be impossible to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without such extensive democracy and without millions upon millions of people interesting themselves in the national affairs, supervising the Party and state apparatuses and supervising the leading cadres of various levels, it will be impossible to prevent the counter-revolutionary revisionists from usurping the leadership of the Party and the State and impossible to prevent the proletarian dictatorship from becoming the bourgeois dictatorship.

At the same time, the dictatorship of the proletariat is a guarantee for extensive democracy. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat there can be no extensive democracy for the masses of the people. It is precisely because our dictatorship of the proletariat is stable that we dare to and can introduce such extensive democracy.

A political situation promoted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, which is marked by centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom, unified will and personal happiness and activity, is taking shape in our country.

Fifth, China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution
Has Laid the Foundation for Training and Bringing Up
A Contingent of Intellectuals of the Working Class

China has already had a good number of intellectuals of the working class. However, much has yet to be done in this field. A number of schools have not yet or not completely broken down the conventions set by the capitalist educational system. Many positions in the cultural field are not in the hands of the proletariat but in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

In the current great proletarian cultural revolution, the revolutionary masses have been thoroughly criticizing and repudiating reactionary bourgeois ideology in academic work, education, journalism, publications, literature and art. They have been completely changing the phenomenon of reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" dominating these positions, and have been seizing and consolidating leadership in all fields of culture.

The ranks of intellectuals of the working class are developing and growing stronger in the test of the great storms and waves of revolution. The young revolutionaries and the Red Guards are integrating themselves with the worker-peasant masses, and are forging ahead along the road of proletarian revolutionization.

Many revolutionary cadres and young people are striving to temper themselves into reliable successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat on the basis of the five criteria set by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Under the leadership of our Party, the whole country should be turned into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought, while their main activity is in their own trades. The workers, peasants, soldiers, students, commercial workers, and functionaries should at the same time study other things, so as gradually to be able to take part in both civilian and military affairs, in industry and agriculture, and become laborers with communist consciousness and culture.

Sixth, China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution
Is a Powerful Motive Force for the Development of the
Social Productive Forces in the Country

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "It is man's social being that determines his thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world."

Matter is transformed into consciousness, and consciousness is transformed into matter. The great proletarian cultural revolution is vigorously promoting the revolutionization of people's thinking. It is

breaking down all unreasonable old conventions, abrogating all out-of-date regulations and bad habits, further emancipating the social productive forces and bringing into fuller play the enthusiasm and initiative of the worker-peasant masses and scientific and technical research personnel. It has thus created new favorable conditions for extensive advances in industry, agriculture and scientific research.

Under the call of "taking firm hold of the revolution and stimulating production" the great proletarian cultural revolution is rising in the factories and rural areas. It can well be anticipated that the soaring revolutionary enthusiasm of the worker-peasant masses and revolutionary scientific and technical personnel, called up by the great cultural revolution, will be carried into the struggle for industrial and agricultural production and scientific experimentation to bring about a great leap forward in our country's national economy.

The great proletarian cultural revolution will insure that China's construction work goes forward in great strides in the direction of socialism and communism.

Seventh, China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution
Is Also a Struggle Against Imperialism Headed by the
US and Against Modern Revisionism with the Leadership
of the Soviet Communist Party as Its Center

A socialist country, which adheres firmly to Marxism-Leninism and resolutely opposes imperialism and modern revisionism internationally, must firmly oppose revisionism and "peaceful evolution" domestically.

The handful of persons within our Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road are counter-revolutionary revisionists. They have carried out criminal activities against the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought in concert with the class enemies abroad. They have been in active service of the imperialist policy of "peaceful evolution." What they want to do is what Khrushchev has already done in the Soviet Union and what the Soviet revisionist leading clique hopes they will do.

The current great cultural revolution in China has frustrated the dream of imperialism and modern revisionism of a capitalist restoration in China. This is a heavy blow at imperialism and modern revisionism.

By putting proletarian politics in the forefront and promoting the revolutionization of people's thinking, the present great cultural revolution is the most fundamental preparation for frustrating aggressive war of US imperialism and its lackeys. The masses of revolutionary Red Guards and young revolutionaries are an important reserve force for the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

As a result of the great proletarian cultural revolution, socialist China which will never change color will carry on even more effectively the struggle against imperialism headed by the US and modern revisionism centered on the leadership of the CPSU, will support even more virorously the Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people all over the world so as to fulfill even better our glorious proletarian internationalist obligations.

Eighth, China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Has Promoted the Tremendous Development of Marxism-Leninism

The "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" drawn up under the personal guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and his instructions on the cultural revolution constitute a major development of Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, has at all times developed in the struggle against domestic and foreign class enemies, in the struggle against opportunism and revisionism of all descriptions and in the struggle to destroy and eradicate bourgeois ideology. The thorough criticism and repudiation of bourgeois ideology by hundreds of millions of people in China will inevitably bring about a big development of Marxism-Leninism.

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers throughout the country have been making vigorous efforts to study Mao Tse-tung's thought and place it in ascendancy, opening up a new era of the direct mastery and application of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, by the working people. The fact that hundreds of millions of working people use Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, as their weapon in considering all questions in the world, in criticizing and repudiating the old world, in struggling and making revolution, constitutes a big, epoch-making event in the history of the development of Marxism.

The revolutionary people throughout the world unanimously praise China's great proletarian cultural revolution, while Brezhnev, Kosygin, Shelepin and other traitors like them, in collusion with imperialists like Johnson and Rush, grind their teeth and scream imprecations against it. Turning on all their propaganda machines, and using the most vicious language. They have stirred up an anti-China hysteria wantonly to attack China's great cultural revolution. Why is it that the reactionaries are so incensed? It is precisely because the prairie fire of China's great proletarian cultural revolution inevitably will spread among the people of the world, will exercise a tremendous influence on the revolutionary struggle of the people of all countries, will pound against and shake the tottering rule of imperialism and modern revisionism. China's great

proletarian cultural revolution, which has no parallel in history, has even more loudly sounded the death knell of imperialism and modern revisionism.

The new chieftains of the Soviet revisionist group have now all come out into the open and thus torn aside the masks with which they once tried to deceive people. Thus they have revealed themselves more openly as of the same stripe as Khrushchev, or even worse. And this will inevitably arouse the Soviet people still further to rise and oppose them. They themselves are speeding up their march toward the same end as Khrushchev's.

In the history of Marxism's development, whether at the time it was born or when it achieved historic victory and developed to a new stage, the devils and monsters of the whole world collaborated in launching fierce counter-attacks on it.

When Marxism first appeared in Europe and was beginning to be mustered by the working class, the enemies immediately sensed a great threat. At that time, all the reactionary forces in Europe joined together in a "holy alliance" against Marxism, vainly attempting to exercise this "spectre" that had appeared in Europe. When Marxism developed to the stage of Leninism, and achieved epoch-making victory in the October Revolution, all the imperialists who were then strangling each other, the revisionist "heroes" of the second international who served the imperialists, scabs and traitors of all countries, again joined together in a "holy alliance" against Leninism and conducted ferocious attacks against it from all sides. Now, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way, raising it to a completely new stage. The imperialists headed by the United States, the modern revisionists with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as their center, all reactionaries, all old and new scabs and traitors, once again have joined forces in knocking together a "holy alliance" against Mao Tse-tung's thought. They vainly attempt to resist the dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's thought to the whole world and obstruct the grasping of Mao Tse-tung's thought -- an invincible ideological weapon -- by the oppressed people and nations.

Those past "heroes" who were against Marxism and Leninism were thrown on to the dust heap of history, one after another. Today's "heroes" who are against Mao Tse-tung's thought will meet still sadder defeat. Their clamoring is no more than a frantic death-bed struggle.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the Chinese people, responding actively to the call of Comrade Lin Biao, are carrying forward the mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works to a new stage. The arming of the Chinese people with Mao Tse-tung's

thought is the most reliable and fundamental guarantee for the prevention of revisionism and capitalist restoration and for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And the arming of the Chinese people with Mao Tse-tung's thought is also of great significance for, and will exert far-reaching influence on, the international communist movement and the revolutionary cause of the people of the whole world.

CSO: 3530-D

THE TRUE FEATURES OF CHIEN PO-TSAN, AN
ANTI-COMMUNIST INTELLECTUAL

[Following is a translation of an article by Yen Ch'ang-kuei (7051 7022 6311), Lin Chieh (2651 2638), and Ch'i Pen-yu (2058 2609 4416) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 15, 13 December 1966, pages 25-35.]

Chairman Mao at the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th CCP Central Committee in September 1962 issues a great call -- "Never forget the class struggle." He pointed out that before overthrowing a political power public opinion must be shaped and work done in the ideological field. As it is with the revolutionary class so it is with the counter-revolutionary class.

Although it has been knocked down the counter-revolutionary class always looks forward to a come-back. They attempt to seduce man and deceive the masses with the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits of the exploiting class in order to attain their objective of counter-revolutionary restoration.

A small clique within the Party who take the capitalist road are representatives of the counter-revolutionary class which dreams of counter-revolutionary restoration of capitalism in China. The reactionary academic lords and reactionary academic "authorities" of the bourgeoisie are those shaping public opinion who belong to the clique in power within the Party taking the capitalist road.

The center of gravity in the current great proletarian cultural revolution lies in purging the small clique within the Party who take the capitalist road. At the same time, it is imperative to subject the reactionary academic lords, and the reactionary academic "authorities," who shape public opinion in favor of capitalist restoration, to thoroughgoing exposure and criticism.

Chien Po-tsan is a reactionary academic lord of the bourgeoisie, a chief of the reactionary academic "authorities" of the bourgeoisie and an important character of the former CCP Peking Municipal Committee and of the former Propaganda Department of the Central Committee carrying out the counter-revolutionary, revisionist line for peaceful evolution.

Disguised as a Communist Party member and flaunting the signboard of a veteran Marxist historian, Chien Po-tsan has shot one poisonous arrow after another at the Party, Socialism and the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. He is an active vanguard of revisionism opposing Communism, the people and revolution.

Chien Po-tsan's revisionist activities against the communist and the people are an old story. To reveal Chien Po-tsan's criminal history will help us identify the true features of this counter-revolutionary intellectual.

From the Secretary of T'an Chen of the West Hill Conference

Clique to an Underling of the Public Enemy Chiang Kai-shek

Chien Po-tsan is an old-time counter-revolutionary.

The West Hill Conference Clique was an extremely reactionary clique in Kuomintang. When he was young Chien Po-tsan was secretary to T'an Chen of the West Hill Conference Clique. He followed his master in carrying out many criminal activities.

Shortly before the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan, Chien Po-tsan wormed his way into the Communist Party.

Before he wormed his way into the Party he had opposed the communists and the people.

After he wormed his way into the Party, he continued to oppose the communists and the people.

Before he wormed his way into the Party he had beaten drums for the reactionary rule of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang.

After he wormed his way into the Party, he continued to beat drums for the reactionary rule of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang.

The only difference was that before worming his way into the Party Chien Po-tsan appeared as an underling of Kuomintang reactionaries, beating drum for Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang and after worming his way

into the Party he presented himself as a "progressive professor" and a "Marxist," beating drums for Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. His black ware that poisoned the minds of people was wrapped in a pink paper.

The beacon fire of national liberation spread to all parts of the homeland and the best sons and daughters of the Chinese nation fought a life-and-death battle against Japanese imperialism armed to the teeth.

Within less than one year after outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan, Kuomintang reactionaries abandoned the beautiful land of our home country, retreated to O-mei Mountains and engaged in capitulationist and anti-communist activities.

At the juncture of historical changes Chairman Mao, the great teacher, great leader, great commander and great helmsman of the Chinese people put forward the guiding principle of independence in the war of resistance against Japan, exposed and criticized Kuomintang reactionaries' criminal activities of compromise and capitulation, and called upon the whole nation to unite and persist in the war of resistance under the leadership of the Communist Party.

It was at that time that Chien Po-tsan released his counter-revolutionary writing -- Course in Historical Philosophy.

In this reactionary writing (1) which he claimed to be one directing the "historical struggle for national liberation," Chien Po-tsan shamelessly lauded Chiang Kai-shek, public enemy of the people. Without any sense of shame he claimed that Chiang Kai-shek was a "great leader of revolution" and that with "General Chiang Kai-shek" and "this great leader of revolution" China will be "more resolute" in the war of resistance against Japan. (2)

The more Chiang Kai-shek's traitorous, capitulationist and anti-communist activities became violent the more some people painted a halo around the head of the "national hero." To meet Chiang Kai-shek's needs, Chien Po-tsan ceaselessly played a higher and higher tune of lauding Chiang Kai-shek.

Chairman Mao issued an article entitled "Oppose the Capitulationist Activities" on June 30, 1939 and made a speech, "The Reactionaries Must Be Restrained" on August 1, strongly attacking the capitulationists in the war of resistance against Japan, making it very clear that Chiang Kai-shek was a capitulationist chieftan hidden in the anti-Japanese front and was "Li Ching-wei" who was the same as Wang Ching-wei.

It was at that time that Chien Po-tsan put out a new edition of Course in Historical Philosophy. He specially wrote "Preface to the New Edition" singing more praises of Chiang Kai-shek. In his "Preface to the

New Edition" he elevated Chiang Kai-shek from a "great leader of revolution" to a "great leader of national liberation" and a "great historical figure." He made these disgusting remarks: "Without such greatness of Chiang Kai-shek, his genius, his clear foresight, his correct leadership, his resoluteness and his strong appeal, it will not be easy to unite the Chinese people like iron, irrespective of class, race, party affiliation and occupation and not easy to persist in and carry on the war of resistance against Japan under all difficulty conditions." (3) Under Chien Po-tsan's pen, Pai Ch'ung-hsi and Ch'en Ch'eng, Chiang Kai-shek's accomplices, and the feudal warlord Yen Hsi-shan who was steeped in villainy and guilty of monstrous crimes were lauded as fine "indispensable characters who are leading and resolutely conducting the struggle for the liberation of the Chinese nation." (4) Here the features of Chien Po-tsan as a loyal underling of Chiang Kai-shek were fully exposed.

Chairman Mao, only Chairman Mao was the savior of the Chinese nation.

Chairman Mao, only Chairman Mao was the supreme commander of the Chinese people in the war of resistance against Japan.

Chairman Mao, only Chairman Mao led us to formulate the correct strategy and tactics in the war of resistance against Japan and win the great victory in the war of resistance against Japan.

The historical fact is that without Chairman Mao there would be no victory for the war of resistance against Japan. Yet, Chien Po-tsan claimed that without Chiang Kai-shek there would be no victory for the war of resistance against Japan. In doing so he wished to attain a despicable political aim.

During the war of resistance against Japan, Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang clamored for "restricting, fusing and opposing the communists" in order to oppose the Communist Party and the people and uphold the fascist dictatorial rule, declaring: "The Communist Party should subordinate itself to the Kuomintang and everyone must subordinate himself to the leadership of Chairman Chiang Kai-shek, and anyone who offends against this rule is the enemy of the people." Echoing this, Chien Po-tsan shouted: Only by obeying Chiang Kai-shek's "correct direction" can we win the liberation of the nation and classes, otherwise we would become the "public enemy." (5) His despicable political aim was to serve Kuomintang reactionaries' politics of destroying the Communist Party.

After victory in the war of resistance against Japan, Chien Po-tsan's counter-revolutionary stand showed no change at all.

In February 1946 and February 1947, Chien Po-tsan published two new editions of Course in Historical Philosophy without making any revision.

In the second half of 1947 the Chinese people's revolutionary war reached a turning point. It was a turning point at which Chiang Kai-shek's 20 years of counter-revolutionary rule was heading for destruction. In October of that year, in his new edition of Course in Historical Philosophy Chien Po-tsan only changed "General Chiang Kai-shek" into "The present leader." (6) Its reactionary content showed no change at all.

In October 1948 Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary rule was rapidly collapsing. Even at that time Chien Po-tsan still constantly bore in mind his master -- Chiang Kai-shek, evil ruler and public enemy whose hands were smeared with the blood of the people. In an article (7) he described with great pleasure the "glorious scene" in which Chiang Kai-shek "condescendingly" received him and shook hands with him. He even carefully described how Chiang Kai-shek said "Good, good, good" to him. The master "condescendingly" shook hands with his slave and the latter received favors as with tears and would never forget! He was indeed reactionary in the extreme and without any sense of shame! The irrefutable history shows that Chien Po-tsan is a pseudo-communist, a real Kuomintang member in the true sense of the world; he is a pseudo-revolutionary and a real counter-revolutionary!

A Saboteur in the Agrarian Reform Movement and a Filial
and Worthy Son of the Landlord Class

On the eve of debacle of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary regime, Chien Po-tsan, pretending to be a revolutionary, came to the liberated area. Did Chien Po-tsan change his reactionary stand at that time? No. He merely changed his tactics and continued to oppose the Communist Party and the people.

The agrarian reform movement spread to all parts of China between 1949 and 1952. The great agrarian reform pulled out the old root of Chien Po-tsan who came from the family of a big landlord and big capitalist. To shield his big landlord family he did everything in his power to undermine the movement.

Prior to the agrarian reform, Chien Po-tsan had written a letter to his landlord father: "You may eat as much meat as you can even if it costs a dollar a catty but don't buy land even if it costs a dollar a mow." (8) On receipt of his letter his reactionary father took action. He hurriedly sold his land and transferred his property. By the time the agrarian reform started, he had already sold almost all his 800 mow of land except several houses and a garden. Lest his family should be "wronged" during the agrarian reform, in the name of a government cadre he wrote to the local government and peasants' association, stating that his family "is a revolutionary family and that the property may be redistributed but his family must not be treated as a landlord." His counter-revolutionary family was presented as a revolutionary family and the landlord was not to be treated as a landlord by the masses: such was Chien Po-tsan's counter-revolutionary logic.

The landlord acquired property from the peasants through exploitation, and the land and property of the landlord redistributed by the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants were things returned to the original owners -- which was what should be done. However, when he returned home in 1956 and found that the garden of his family was redistributed by the poor peasants, he said vehemently: "How is it possible that this garden which is my property has been turned into vegetable plots!" When he found that the poor peasants had redistributed the houses of his family, he cautioned them: "You must set in good order this house which is in such a bad state!" He then took a picture of the house. Taking a picture of his house and making records -- was not this a clear indication that he was prepared to hit back and settle accounts again?

Chien Po-tsan's father was a big landlord whose offences were luminously displayed. He colluded with warlords, dealt in human beings, took away property from people by force, indulged in a fast living, and stopped at no evil deeds. Yet, Chien Po-tsan sung praises of him and openly told the masses: "My father is an upright, honest and learned man. Here, he lauded his father in the same way as he lauded Chiang Kai-shek. When this landlord steeped in villiany and guilty of monstrous crimes died in 1950, Chien Po-tsan directed his younger brother to make elaborate arrangements for funeral, Taoist ceremonies and feasts. He invited somebody in Peking to write an inscription on a tablet. He was going to erect a stone tablet for his father. He also sent by mail funeral odes written by himself. He returned home in 1956 and immediately after he got off the train he went to the tombs of his father and ancestors, paid respects to them and silently mourned. Even during 1963 Chien Po-tsan still "ordered" the masses to protect his ancestral tombs, forbidding trampling by cattle, damage by water and reclamation of land. What a filial and worthy son of the landlord class!

An Active Vanguard Attacking the Party and Socialism and a

Big Bourgeois Rightist Having Escaped the Net

After the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, an anti-communist adverse current was whipped up in the international arena in February 1956 when the reactionary bourgeoisie at home was about to make a move. It was at that time that Chien Po-tsan unfurled an anti-Party and anti-Socialist black banner in collaboration with the bourgeois rightists in society.

In his capacity as an NPC deputy, Chien Po-tsan made an "inspection tour" of Hunan in May 1956. He contacted the four-category elements -- landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements -- fanned up fire and launched attack on the Party and Socialism. When the

local landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements viciously attacked the Party's grain policy, he banged table and swore: "Is it Chairman Mao or the basic-level cadre who denies you food? Why do they show no concern for the mass livelihood?" He told the four-category elements: I "am the one who speaks for you."

"The fairyland has brightness of dawn everywhere." In Hunan like in other parts of China, the life of the people was getting better day by day and all trades were prospering under the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao. Yet, after his "inspection tour" of Hunan Chien Po-tsan talked this rubbish: "There has been no change in Hunan rural districts these years. If there is any change at all, it is that the houses there are more dilapidated than in the past." "In the Ch'ing dynasty the peasants could voice their feelings. Now they cannot even speak." The Ch'ing dynasty referred to by Chien Po-tsan was the world of the landlord class, and the "peasants" who "could voice their feelings" were landlords. This clearly shows that what Chien Po-tsan hankered after was the paradise of the landlord class and that he incited the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements to oppose the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat and to stage a counter-revolutionary come-back.

In the spring of 1957 the rightist Fei Hsiao-t'ung took the land and published "The Early Spring Climate for Intellectuals." Chien Po-tsan, who wanted to be second to none, followed up and published "Why the Feelings of Early Spring?" (9) These two big poisonous weeds were two signal bullets for attack launched by the bourgeois rightists on the Party.

In this article Chien Po-tsan vilified our Party's policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend," as "one which shouts but does not let flowers bloom and even if it lets them bloom does not give them a wide room." He viciously charged that Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung were "dogmas." He went to the length of telling lies that the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" was designed to "dig out ideas and take man to task." In 1964 he still vilified the "double-hundred" policy as one of "grasping one's weak point, pasting label and striking one with a cudgel."

What kind of "blooming and contending" did Chien Po-tsan want? What he wanted was this: Only the bourgeois rightists were permitted to "bloom and contend" while the proletariat was not allowed to bloom and contend; only the bourgeois rightists were permitted to oppose the Party and Socialism while the proletariat was not permitted to defend the Party and Socialism. In a word, what he wanted was bourgeois liberalization which would legalize the attack launched by the bourgeois rightists.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds and all monsters and freaks should be criticized. They must not be left to spread freely." (10) Chien Po-tsan was strongly against this. In his opinion, those big poisonous weeds like "political design yuan," "Party world," "fixed interest is not exploitation," "Party committee should leave the factory and school," etc. which were attacks on the Party and Socialism, were "good medicines" and "sincere reproofs" and were "acupuncture and cauterization against the shortcomings of the Communist Party." He wanted the Communist Party to be "liberal-minded." (11) This was the way Chien Po-tsan launched violent attack on the Party in close coordination with the rightists in society.

Chien Po-tsan was like a fox. After commencement of the anti-rightist movement, Chien Po-tsan, being conscious of the unfavorable development of the situations, made a change and pretended to "oppose" the rightists.

How did Chien Po-tsan play the "anti-rightist" trick?

In his "Why the Feelings of Early Spring" Chien Po-tsan clearly lauded the rightists, saying their vilification of the Party "corresponds to realities." In his later writing, "The Anti-Party and Anti-Socialist Activities of the Bourgeois Rightists in the Field of Science of History," he stealthily changed "corresponds to realities" into "does not correspond to the fact." (12) "Criticizing" the rightist absurdity of "killing the communists," Chien Po-tsan said that the communists were not guilty of "crimes punishable by death," adding: "Nor killing is a solution." (13) Let us ask: Was this an opposition to the rightists or an attack on the Party? No matter how Chien Po-tsan disguised and dressed himself, he still revealed his fox tail.

This big rightist Chien Po-tsan escaped the net in 1957. But if he escaped the net the first time he could not do so the second time. He was finally dragged out during the great cultural revolution.

He Opposes Revolution in the Science of History and Shapes

Public Opinion in Favor of Capitalist Restoration

In 1958 the broad masses of revolutionary workers in the field of science of history, riding the East Wind of victory for the anti-rightist campaign and illumined by the general Line, held aloft the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought and initiated revolution in the science of history. They were prepared to criticize and rewrite the whole history from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint of class struggle and set right the history turned upside down by the exploiting classes. It was a vigorous revolutionary movement violently dashing against

the position of feudal and bourgeois science of history, puncturing the arrogance of the reactionary professors and scholars of the bourgeoisie and greatly enhancing the spirit of the revolutionary masses.

Chien Po-tsan hated this revolution to the bone. In 1962 when our country's economy ran into temporary difficulties, monsters and freaks came out of the cage and blew up a black wind of capitalist restoration. At that time, Chien Po-tsan thought the opportunity had come, and he hurriedly ran about, wrote articles and reports and rabidly hit back at the revolution in the science of history.

Chien Po-tsan did all he could to uglify the revolution in the science of history. He said this:

"History which is rich and colorful in content and is concrete and lifelike is turned into a monotonous, stiffened and dry dogma and into a desert;" "the more empty the better, the more abstract the better, the drier the better -- such seemed to be the order of the day."

"On the whole: "Onesidedness, abstractness, simplification, absolutization, and modernization are defects prominent in history teaching and research in recent years." (14) The revolution in the science of history was all wrong and a "terrible mess" -- such was the conclusion drawn by Chien Po-tsan.

Further, on several fundamental points Chien Po-tsan launched all-out attack on the revolution in the science of history.

First, in 1958 the revolutionary workers in the science of history came forward with a "direct the historical research with theory" slogan. The meaning of this slogan was perfectly clear and exact: direct the study of history with Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Yet, Chien Po-tsan vilified this slogan as "wrong" and as a "substitution of theory for history" and said it must be "abolished." (15)

The viewpoint of classes and class struggle is the most fundamental viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. Chairman Mao said: "Classes struggle with some classes winning victories and some classes destroyed. Such is history, the history of civilization of several thousand years. To interpret history from this viewpoint is called historical materialism, and to take the stand opposite to this viewpoint is historical idealism." (16) Yet, Chien Po-tsan said that "in addition to the class viewpoint there must be historicalism" and that "if only a class viewpoint is taken while forgetting historicalism in the study of history, it is likely to negate everything one-sidedly" and it would mean "hihilism." (17) Chien Po-tsan blatantly used the "historicalism" of the reactionary

bourgeoisie to oppose the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint of class struggle and oppose the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Second, the revolution in the science of history emphasizes that study of history must aim at using the past to serve the present and to serve the proletarian politics. Chien Po-tsan made the slanderous charge that to let historical research serve the present politics would mean stuffing history with the present-day politics and slogans. (18) Did Chien Po-tsan really oppose letting history serve the present-day politics? No. He always used history to serve the politics of the landlord bourgeoisie. Before the liberation, he used history for "supporting Chiang and opposing the Communist Party." After the liberation, he used history for opposing the Party and Socialism. Never for a single day was his "study of history" detached from politics. What he opposed was to let history serve the proletarian politics.

Third, the revolutionary workers in the field of sciences of history called for breaking up of the landlord bourgeois system of science of history centered on emperors, kings, generals and ministers and institution of a new system of science of history with the working people as the main body. This really offended Chien Po-tsan who thundered with rage and ferociously shouted that the system of science of history could not be broken up. He talked nonsense, saying emperors, kings, generals and ministers were initiators and organizers of historical movements and that the landlord class showed concern to the peasantry and carried out a "policy of concession" to the peasantry. On the other hand, he did his best to defame and uglify the laboring people. This shows once again the fact that Chien Po-tsan is a sworn opponent to the laboring people.

Fourth, in the revolution in science of history the broad masses of history workers stepped out of their study, took part in actual struggles, learned from the workers and peasants, formed one with the workers and peasants and wrote "for histories" in accordance with Chairman Mao's directives. Practice has proved this to be the red and expertise road for the workers in the science of history. Yet, Chien Po-tsan had this to say: "So far as historical research is concerned, book knowledge is the main knowledge" and is the "source of knowledge." (19) He attempted to pull the history workers to the reactionary road detached from realities.

Chien Po-tsan opposed study of history from the class viewpoint, opposed criticism of emperors, kings, generals and ministers, opposed singing of praises of the laboring people, opposed history workers stepping out of their study and forming one with workers, peasants and soldiers, and opposed letting history serve the politics of the proletariat. In a word, he opposed Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung, opposed revolution in the science of history, protected the old ideas and old culture of the exploiting classes, used the weapon of history to shape public opinion in favor of capitalist restoration in China.

He Uses the Past to Ridicule the Present, Attacks the
Socialist System and Echoes the Modern Revisionists

During the period in which our country experienced temporary difficulties, Chien Po-tsan not only rabidly opposed the revolution in the science of history but also borrowed the past to ridicule the present and directly attacked the socialist system.

In 1956 Chien Po-tsan wrote an article, "The Historical Background to P'i-pa-chi." When he incorporated this article into "Collection of Notes on Historical Questions" in February 1962 he added the following particularly noteworthy passage:

"The play P'i-pa-chi (The Tale of Guita) was a masterpiece among the Chinese literary works of the 14th century for we may hear the voice of the time and the anti-hunger voice from this play." (20)

As we know, P'i-pa-chi preaches nothing but feudal duties of man, loyalty, filial piety, chastity and righteousness as clearly shown in the following:

"Prime Minister Niu has the greatest riches and honor, and Chang Kuang-ts'ai acts with love and righteousness; Chao Chen-nu is chaste, and Ts'ai Po-chieh is honest."

From this play which serves the feudal ruling class Chien Po-tsan claimed that one may hear "anti-hunger voice" and "the voice of the time." This is sheer nonsense. Chien Po-tsan had his political aim in view when talking such nonsense.

Chien Po-tsan deliberately played up the "big famine," saying: "On the one hand people were starved to death and on the other some people enjoyed a luxurious life." (21) This was a slanderous charge that we were having a big famine those years. In doing so, he sowed discord between the Party and the people and slandered our cadres as ones caring nothing but their luxurious life and leaving the people to sink or swim.

In 1959-1962, as our country was undermined by Khrushchevism and hit by extraordinary natural calamities for several years in succession, the economic life of the people ran into temporary difficulties. The modern revisionists gloated over our misfortune and vilified us, saying that "we drink clear water soup from one big pot and five persons share one trouser." At home, counter-revolutionary revisionists like Wu Han and Teng T'ao complained that our "difficulties will not be overcome but will increasingly

grow." Chien Po-tsan shot the "anti-hunger" poisonous arrow. It can readily be seen that Chien Po-tsan and the counter-revolutionary revisionists at home and abroad were badgers of one mound.

The era in which our country finds itself is one of socialist revolution and socialist construction, marked by vigorous development and magnificence. No difficulties can overpower us and no destructive activities can frighten us.

The rumors and slanders spread by the revisionists at home and abroad cannot do the slightest harm to our Party and State just as Szechuan dogs cannot do any harm to the sun by barking at it. On the contrary, those rumor-mongers and slanderers will never come to a good end. Look at Wuhan, Teng T'o, and Chien Po-tsan. Have they not been drowned in the ocean of the masses?

In 1961 Chien Po-tsan wrote "From the Peace-Through-Marriage Policy of Western Han Dynasty to the Episode of Chao-chun Going Abroad." He visited Inner Mongolia and on return wrote newsletters and poems under the heading "Visit to Inner Mongolia," trumpeting the historical and realistic significance of Chao-chun going abroad. Chien Po-tsan even proclaimed that one of his lifelong "wishes" was to "wipe away Wang Chao-chun's tears."

Wang Chao-chun was a palace maid of Emperor Yuan's in the Western Han dynasty. She later married to Hu-han-hsieh Khan of Hsiung-nu. Why after two thousand years did this event win such a hearty praise from Chien Po-tsan?

The reason was that he wanted to meet his political need. This was made very clear by Chien Po-tsan himself. He said that in molding the character Wang Chao-chun all the playwrights in the past "implemented the spirit of their times and their personal intentions." He said that Wang Chao-chun should be allowed to "appear as a positive character" to "serve our time." (22)

What was the "spirit of the time" implemented by Chien Po-tsan when molding the character Wang Chao-chun? What was his "personal intention" embodied? How did he let her "serve our time"?

Chien Po-tsan said: "The fact that Chao-chun went abroad marked a change of policy so far as the Han dynasty was concerned, that is, change of the policy of war into the policy of making peace by marrying into the opposing State." "After Chao-chun went abroad, for about 50 years there was no war between the Han dynasty and the Hsiung-nu." "Fifty years of peace was not an insignificant thing in history." (23) He also wrote a very vicious poem: "The ambitious plan of Emperor Wu-ti of the Han dynasty was recorded in history; beacon fire hang over the Great Wall; nothing was so good as a guitar song; for it kept the sounding arrow silent for fifty years." (24)

By marrying a Hsiung-nu man a young woman secured 50 years of peace for the Han dynasty and "put down beacon fire that had burned for a century." "What appeared on the northwest frontiers was smoke from the chimneys of peaceful inhabitants." (25) Look, Wang Chao-chun became Chien Po-tsan's goddess of peace!

War is a continuation of politics: this is the basic knowledge of How could an ordinary young woman change the policy of the ruling class? the reason Chien Po-tsan lauded Wang Chao-chun as a "national heroine" and molded the character as the "goddess of peace" was because he wanted to preach national capitulationism.

In fact, what he said was nothing new. Yen Teh, a landlord class element of the Ch'ing dynasty said the same thing long ago. He wrote: "She married into a desert country: peace prevailed for several generations; in terms of merit and honor, she was almost equal to Wei and Huo." (26) Chien Po-tsan merely picked the spittle of this landlord class element.

Viewed from realities, this was a refurbished version of Kruschivist fallacy. As we know, when Kruschev subserviently went to the United States in 1959 the men of letters in his employ beat drums and proclaimed that when Kruschev shook hands with Eisenhower a new epoch of peace of mankind was opened. This was a big lie. Similarly, Chien Po-tsan's claim that Chao-chun won 50 years' peace was nothing but a lie deceiving people.

Writing about the episode of Chao-chun going abroad, Chien Po-tsan publicized his absurd theory that "the policy of peace is always much better than the policy of war." (27) Expressed in more clear-cut language it means that any kind of peace is always better than war. This means that we must oppose the revolutionary war and beg for peace.

Proceeding from the absurd theory that peace is always better than war, Chien Po-tsan represented all national struggles as "tragedies" and "disasters." He said: "Viewed today these national contradictions and struggles were a series of national misfortunes and, no matter who won and who lost, were disasters and tragedies for peoples of both sides." (28)

Lenin taught us that so far as the Marxists are concerned, "the central question" in the study of national relations "should consist in dividing the nations into the oppressing nations and the oppressed nations." (29) The exploitation and plunder of the oppressed nations by the oppressing nations are reactionary and unrighteous and must be resolutely opposed at all times and in all places; for the same reason, the rise of the oppressed nations to oppose the oppressing nations and win national liberation is progressive and righteous and must be resolutely supported at all times and in all places. Chien Po-tsan represented all the wars between nations as "disasters" and "tragedies." Does this not mean that he also represented the national liberation movements and national liberation wars as "disasters" and "tragedies"?

The modern revisionists have intense hatred for the national liberation movement. They make the slanderous charge that the national liberation wars will cause the "disaster" and "tragedy" of destroying mankind, and insist that the national liberation war must be put down. It can readily be seen that in opposing the national liberation movement and the national liberation war Chien Po-tsan and the Khrushchev revisionists echo each other as if they come from one source.

Viewed against the background of the class struggle at that time, the reactionary character of this viewpoint preached by Chien Po-tsan would be brought into a more striking relief.

From 1959 to 1962, imperialism, the modern revisionism and the Indian reactionaries whipped up an anti-China high tide, exploiting the temporary difficulties experienced by our country. On the one hand, they continued to intrude into our territorial land, seas and air, engineered border incidents and practiced expansionism. On the other, they cursed us for being "warlike" and "aggressive by nature." Chairman Mao led us to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism, the modern revisionism and the Indian reactionaries. We resolutely opposed the imperialist policy of aggression and policy of war and resolutely supported the national liberation war. It was at that time that the bourgeois elements blew up an evil wind of "peace with three and one thing less." They made the charge that we were too aggressive in dealing with imperialism, the modern revisionism and the Indian reactionaries, and suggested that we "make peace" with them. They made the charge that we gave too much aid for the national liberation movement, and suggested that we give less aid for it. Chien Po-tsan claimed that "the policy of making peace by marrying into the opposing State is always better than the policy of war" and that the national liberation wars were "disasters" and "tragedies." In doing so, was he not calling upon us to bow and surrender to imperialism, the modern revisionism and the Indian reactionaries. Was he not calling upon us to evade our internationalist obligation of aiding the national liberation movement? In saying "The ambitious plan of Emperor Wu-ti of the Han dynasty was recorded in history and beacon fire hang over the Great Wall" did he not accuse by insinuation that the Party Center headed by Chairman Mao was "warlike"?

Clearly, the "spirit of the time" implemented by Chien Po-tsan in molding the character Wang Chao-chun was the spirit of modern revisionism; the "personal intention" embodied was the intention to oppose the Party, Socialism and the revolution; to let Wang Chao-chun "serve the time" was to let another "Wang Chao-chun" of the 60's serve the modern revisionist policy of counter-revolution.

Chien Po-tsan's "From the Peace-Through-Marriage Policy of the

Western Han Dynasty to the Episode of Chao-chun Going Abroad" and "Visit to Inner Mongolia" are two big poisonous weeds preaching the philosophy of capitulation, and must be exterminated.

He Defends Wu Han and Stubbornly Resists the Great Proletarian

Cultural Revolution

In November 1965 the publication of Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's "Comment on the New Historical Play Hai Jui Dismissed from Office" unveiled great proletarian cultural revolution. The counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the former Peking Municipal Committee and the former Propaganda Department of the Central Committee did everything possible to vilify the criticism of Hai Jui Dismissed from Office and did everything in their power to strangulate the great proletarian cultural revolution which was about to develop with vigor. Chien Po-tsan was a fighter of the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the former Peking Municipal Committee and the former Propaganda Department of the Central committee, undermining the great proletarian cultural revolution.

"All class struggles are political struggles." (3) Criticism of Hai Jui Dismissed from Office means politically exposure of its anti-Party and anti-socialist substance. With ulterior motive the counter-revolutionary revisionists of the former Peking Municipal Committee and the former Propaganda Department of the Central Committee covered up the political importance and class substance of this struggle, and insisted on representing this grave political struggle as a "purely academic" issue. Chien Po-tsan danced to the same tune and remarked with sarcasm: "We have never seen an article as eminent as this (referring to Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's article) which is elevated to the political plane, above the academic sphere and into the political sphere." Wu han, Chien Po-tsan and their ilk always flaunted the "academic" signboard and engaged in criminal activities against the Party and Socialism. Political problem was the vital point. They would not allow us to criticize them politically: this was a big plot. The revolutionary people exposed them.

Wu Han publicized Hai Jui in close coordination with the realistic politics. The "Hai Jui" he wrote about was not the "Hai Jui" who lived 400 years ago, but the Hai Jui in realities, that is, the Right opportunist who was criticized by the Party Center at the Lushan Conference and was later dismissed from office. So as to acquit Wu Han, Chien Po-tsan covered up this point and claimed that Wu Han was a "student of history of the Ming dynasty" and what he wrote about "is real Hai Jui." By means of sophistry he vainly attempted to pull a realistic political issue into the sphere of "pure history."

Chien Po-tsan also defended Wu Han by referring to the latter's

history, saying: "Criticism of thought must be lined up with history and with the question of what kind of man he is. Wu Han joined the Democratic Revolution as far back as during the period of war of resistance against Japan."

Well, nothing more need be said about history. Speaking of Wu Han's history, we find it as odious as Chien Po-tsan's history! Wu Han was a disciple of Hu Shih. Like Hu Shih he was a loyal running dog of US imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang.

Chien Po-tsan said that Wu Han was his friend. That is true. Before the liberation, Chien Po-tsan and Wu Han were friends supporting Chiang and opposing the Communist Party; after liberation, they are friends opposing the Party and Socialism. It is precisely because of this that when the blow was dealt to Wu Han's body, Chien Po-tsan felt pain in his heart.

Seeing that his defense of Wu Han had no effect, Chien Po-tsan cheered Wu Han up, saying that in this revolution "Wu Han can hold up while others are scared out of their wits." Was not this an effort on his part to encourage Wu Han to stick to his reactionary stand and resist the great proletarian cultural revolution?

Chien Po-tsan also complained that the great cultural revolution had "gone too far."

You reactionary academic lords and reactionary academic "authorities" of the bourgeoisie, you have all these years been spreading poisons and you have stuffed our newspapers, magazines and books full with your poisonous weeds and absurdities. None of you has ever complained that you have "gone too far." Now, people have just written several articles and you bitterly complain "it has gone too far." In fact, it is only a "beginning;" even to this day, the great proletarian cultural revolution is only at its start, and a new high tide is still to come!

Nobody can obstruct and oppose the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated by Chairman Mao. The great proletarian cultural revolution has become a mighty stream of history. "Those who go with it will prosper and those who go against it will perish." The cries of Chien Po-tsan and his ilk can be no means avert their inevitable doom.

Concluding Remarks

Chairman Mao said: "As for those intellectuals who cherish hostile feelings against our State, they are extremely few. These people do not like our state of proletarian dictatorship and hanker after the old society. As soon as an opportunity presents itself, they will make trouble, wanting

to overthrow the Communist and restore the old China. Between the two roads of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the two roads of socialism and capitalism, these people obstinately want to take the latter road. Since this latter road is in practice impossible of realization, they are in practice ready to surrender to imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. Such people can be found in political, business, cultural-educational, scientific-technological, and religious circles. They are extremely reactionary." (31) Chien Po-tsan is such an extremely reactionary model.

According to the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants in Chien Po-tsan's hometown, Chien Po-tsan is "a fellow rotten to the heart." This description is entirely correct. Before the liberation this reactionary academic lord was a literary man in the employ of Chiang Kai-shek, waving banners and shouting slogans for Chiang Kai-shek's fascist regime. After the liberation, he has done his utmost to oppose the proletarian dictatorship and the socialist system, shaped public opinion in favor of capitalist restoration and served as a literary man in the employ of the clique within the Party who take the capitalist road. Never for a single day in the past 30 years has he not been hostile to the people.

The reactionary academic lord and reactionary academic "authority" of the bourgeoisie and the clique in power within the Party who take the capitalist road depend on and collaborate with each other. As we know, the time at which Chien Po-tsan rabidly engaged in anti-Party and anti-socialist activities was the very time at which the former Peking Municipal Committee and Lu P'ing -- the clique who took the capitalist road -- promoted him to higher ranks. Chien Po-tsan was promoted from the head of the History Department at Peking University to the Vice President of the University. Since then, Chien Po-tsan, grateful for kindness, has become more eager to render service to the clique in power who take the capitalist road. Thus, when opposing the clique in power within the Party who take the capitalist road, we must also oppose the reactionary academic lords and the reactionary academic "authorities" of the bourgeoisie.

Chien Po-tsan once boasted that as a "veteran Marxist" he could not be struck down. Dear sir, you have pitched it too strong.

The wind blows, the thunder-bolt falls and the banner spreads. The people armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung "may seize the moon in the highest heavens and catch tortoises in the five oceans." The clique within the Party who take the capitalist road, the reactionary academic lords and reactionary "authorities" of the bourgeoisie -- all are paper tigers. The raging tide of the great proletarian cultural revolution will "sweep away a great host of soldiers like rolling a mat" and will engulf all the freaks and monsters.

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