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ON CORRECTING MISTAKEN IDEAS IN THE PARTY*

December 1929

[Following is a translation of an article by Mao Tse-tung in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 3, 3 February 1967, pages 3-12.]

There are various non-proletarian ideas in the Communist Party organization in the Fourth Red Army which greatly hinder the application of the Party's correct line. Unless these ideas are thoroughly corrected, the Fourth Army cannot possibly shoulder the tasks assigned to it in China's great revolutionary struggle. The source of such incorrect ideas

*This article was a resolution drawn up by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for the Ninth Party Congress of the Fourth Army of the Red Army. The building of the Chinese people's armed forces was a difficult process. The Chinese Red Army (which became the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies during the War of Resistance Against Japan and is now the People's Liberation Army) was created on August 1, 1927, during the Nanchang Uprising, and by December 1929 had been in existence for over two years. During this period the Communist Party organization in the Red Army learned a great deal and gained quite a rich store of experience in the course of combating various mistaken ideas. The resolution summed up this experience. It enabled the Red Army to build itself entirely on a Marxist-Leninist basis and to eliminate all the influences of armies of the old type. It was carried out not only in the Fourth Army but also in all other units of the Red Army successively; in this way the whole Chinese Red Army became a genuine army of the people in every respect. In the last thirty years or so the Chinese people's armed forces have made tremendous developments and innovations in their Party activities and political work, which now present a very different picture, but the basic line remains the same as that laid down in this resolution.

in this Party organization lies, of course, in the fact that its basic units are composed largely of peasants and other elements of petty-bourgeois origin; yet the inadequacy of the Party's leading bodies in waging a concerted and determined struggle against these incorrect ideas and in educating the members in the Party's correct line is also an important cause of their existence and growth. In accordance with the spirit of the September letter of the Central Committee, this congress hereby points out the manifestations of various non-proletarian ideas in the Party organization in the Fourth Army, their sources, and the methods of correcting them, and calls upon all comrades to eliminate them thoroughly.

On the Purely Military Viewpoint

The purely military viewpoint is very highly developed among a number of comrades in the Red Army. It manifests itself as follows:

1. These comrades regard military affairs and politics as opposed to each other and refuse to recognize that military affairs are only one means of accomplishing political tasks. Some even say, "If you are good militarily, naturally you are good politically; if you are not good militarily, you cannot be any good politically" -- this is to go a step further and give military affairs a leading position over politics.

2. They think that the task of the Red Army, like that of the White army, is merely to fight. They do not understand that the Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organizations. The Red Army fights not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence.

3. Hence, organizationally, these comrades subordinate the departments of the Red Army doing political work to those doing military work, and put forward the slogan, "Let Army Headquarters handle outside matters." If allowed to develop, this idea would involve the danger of estrangement from the masses, control of the government by the army and departure from proletarian leadership -- it would be to take the path of warlordism like the Kuomintang army.

4. At the same time, in propaganda work they overlook the importance of propaganda teams. On the question of mass organization, they neglect the organizing of soldiers' committees in the army and

the organizing of the local workers and peasants. As a result, both propaganda and organizational work are abandoned.

5. They become conceited when a battle is won and dispirited when a battle is lost.

6. Selfish departmentalism -- they think only of the Fourth Army and do not realize that it is an important task of the Red Army to arm the local masses. This is the "small group" mentality in a magnified form.

7. Unable to see beyond their limited environment in the Fourth Army, a few comrades believe that no other revolutionary forces exist. Hence their extreme addiction to the idea of conserving strength and avoiding action. This is a remnant of opportunism.

8. Some comrades, disregarding the subjective and objective conditions, suffer from the malady of revolutionary impetuosity; they will not take pains to do minute and detailed work among the masses, but, riddled with illusions, want only to do big things. This is a remnant of putschism.

The sources of the purely military viewpoint are:

1. A low political level. From this flows the failure to recognize the role of political leadership in the army and to recognize that the Red Army and the White Army are fundamentally different.

2. The mentality of mercenaries. Many prisoners captured in past battles have joined the Red Army, and such elements bring with them a markedly mercenary outlook, thereby providing a basis in the lower ranks for the purely military viewpoint.

3. From the two preceding causes there arises a third, overconfidence in military strength and absence of confidence in the strength of the masses of the people.

4. The Party's failure actively to attend to and discuss military work is also a reason for the emergence of the purely military viewpoint among a number of comrades.

The methods of correction are as follows:

1. Raise the political level in the Party by means of education, destroy the theoretical roots of the purely military viewpoint, and be clear on the fundamental difference between the Red Army and the White army. At the same time, eliminate the remnants of opportunism and putschism and break down the selfish departmentalism of the Fourth Army.

2. Intensify the political training of officers and men and especially the education of ex-prisoners. At the same time, as far as possible let the local governments select workers and peasants experienced in struggle to join the Red Army, thus organizationally weakening or even eradicating the purely military viewpoint.

3. Arouse the local Party organizations to criticize the Party organizations in the Red Army and the organs of mass political power to criticize the Red Army itself, in order to influence the Party organizations and the officers and men of the Red Army.

4. The Party must actively attend to and discuss military work. All the work must be discussed and decided upon by the Party before being carried out by the rank and file.

5. Draw up Red Army rules and regulations which clearly define its tasks, the relationship between its military and its political apparatus, the relationship between the Red Army and the masses of the people, and the powers and functions of the soldiers' committees and their relationship with the military and political organizations.

On Ultra-Democracy

Since the Fourth Army of the Red Army accepted the directives of the Central Committee, there has been a great decrease in the manifestations of ultra-democracy. For example, Party decisions are now carried out fairly well; and no longer does anyone bring up such erroneous demands as that the Red Army should apply "democratic centralism from the bottom to the top" or should "let the lower levels discuss all problems first, and then let the higher levels decide." Actually, however, this decrease is only temporary and superficial and does not mean that ultra-democratic ideas have already been eliminated. In other words, ultra-democracy is still deep-rooted in the minds of many comrades. Witness the various expressions of reluctance to carry out Party decisions.

The methods of correction are as follows:

1. In the sphere of theory, destroy the roots of ultra-democracy. First, it should be pointed out that the danger of ultra-democracy lies in the fact that it damages or even completely wrecks the Party organization and weakens or even completely undermines the Party's fighting capacity, rendering the Party incapable of fulfilling its fighting tasks and thereby causing the defeat of the revolution. Next, it should be pointed out that the source of ultra-democracy consists in the petty bourgeoisie's individualistic aversion to discipline. When this characteristic is brought into the Party, it develops into ultra-democratic ideas politically and organizationally. These ideas are utterly incompatible with the fighting tasks of the proletariat.

2. In the sphere of organization, ensure democracy under centralized guidance. It should be done on the following lines:

(1) The leading bodies of the Party must give a correct line of guidance and find solutions when problems arise, in order to establish themselves as centers of leadership.

(2) The higher bodies must be familiar with the situation in the lower bodies and with the life of the masses so as to have an objective basis for correct guidance.

(3) No Party organization at any level should make casual decisions in solving problems. Once a decision is reached, it must be firmly carried out.

(4) All decisions of any importance made by the Party's higher bodies must be promptly transmitted to the lower bodies and the Party rank and file. The method is to call meetings of activists or general membership meetings of the Party branches or even of the columns (when circumstances permit) and to assign people to make reports at such meetings.

(5) The lower bodies of the Party and the Party rank and file must discuss the higher bodies' directives in detail in order to understand their meaning thoroughly and decide on the methods of carrying them out.

On the Disregard of Organizational Discipline

Disregard of organizational discipline in the Party organization in the Fourth Army manifests itself as follows:

A. Failure of the minority to submit to the majority. For example, when a minority finds its motion voted down, it does not sincerely carry out the Party decisions.

The methods of correction are as follows:

1. At meetings, all participants should be encouraged to voice their opinions as fully as possible. The rights and wrongs in any controversy should be clarified without compromise or glossing over. In order to reach a clear-cut conclusion, what cannot be settled at one meeting should be discussed at another, provided there is no interference with the work.

2. One requirement of Party discipline is that the minority should submit to the majority. If the view of the minority has been rejected, it must support the decision passed by the majority. If necessary, it can bring up the matter for reconsideration at the next

meeting, but apart from that it must not act against the decision in any way.

B. Criticism made without regard to organizational discipline:

1. Inner-Party criticism is a weapon for strengthening the Party organization and increasing its fighting capacity. In the Party organization of the Red Army, however, criticism is not always of this character, and sometimes turns into personal attack. As a result, it damages the Party organization as well as individuals. This is a manifestation of petty-bourgeois individualism. The method of correction is to help Party members understand that the purpose of criticism is to increase the Party's fighting capacity in order to achieve victory in the class struggle and that it should not be used as a means of personal attack.

2. Many Party members make their criticisms not inside, but outside, the Party. The reason is that the general membership has not yet grasped the importance of the Party organization (its meetings and so forth), and sees no difference between criticism inside and outside the organization. The method of correction is to educate Party members so that they understand the importance of Party organization and make their criticisms of Party committees or comrades at Party meetings.

On Absolute Equalitarianism

Absolute equalitarianism became quite serious in the Red Army at one time. Here are some examples. On the matter of allowances to wounded soldiers, there were objections to differentiating between light and serious cases, and the demand was raised for equal allowances for all. When officers rode on horseback, it was regarded not as something necessary for performing their duties but as a sign of inequality. Absolutely equal distribution of supplies was demanded, and there was objection to somewhat larger allotments in special cases. In the hauling of rice, the demand was made that all should carry the same load on their backs, irrespective of age or physical condition. Equality was demanded in the allotment of billets, and the Headquarters would be abused for occupying larger rooms. Equality was demanded in the assignment of fatigue duties, and there was unwillingness to do a little more than the next man. It even went so far that when there were two wounded men but only one stretcher, neither could be carried away because each refused to yield priority to the other. Absolute equalitarianism, as shown in these examples, is still very serious among officers and soldiers of the Red Army.

Absolute equalitarianism, like ultra-democracy in political matters, is the product of a handicraft and small peasant economy -- the only difference being that the one manifests itself in material affairs, while the other manifests itself in political affairs.

The method of correction: We should point out that, before the abolition of capitalism, absolute equalitarianism is a mere illusion of peasants as small proprietors, and that even under socialism there can be no absolute equality, for material things will then be distributed on the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" as well as on that of meeting the needs of the work. The distribution of material things in the Red Army must be more or less equal, as in the case of equal pay for officers and men, because this is required by the present circumstances of the struggle. But absolute equalitarianism beyond reason must be opposed because it is not required by the struggle; on the contrary, it hinders the struggle.

On Subjectivism

Subjectivism exists to a serious degree among some Party members, causing great harm to the analysis of the political situation and the guidance of the work. The reason is that subjective analysis of a political situation and subjective guidance of work inevitably result either in opportunism or in putschism. As for subjective criticism, loose and groundless talk or suspiciousness, such practices inside the Party often breed unprincipled disputes and undermine the Party organization.

Another point that should be mentioned in connection with inner-Party criticism is that some comrades ignore the major issues and confine their attention to minor points when they make their criticism. They do not understand that the main task of criticism is to point out political and organizational mistakes. As to personal shortcomings, unless they are related to political and organizational mistakes, there is no need to be overcritical or the comrades concerned will be at a loss as to what to do. Moreover, once such criticism develops, there is the great danger that within the Party attention will be concentrated exclusively on minor faults, and everyone will become timid and over-cautious and forget the Party's political tasks.

The main method of correction is to educate Party members so that a political and scientific spirit pervades their thinking and their Party life. To this end we must: (1) teach Party members to apply the Marxist-Leninist method in analyzing a political situation and appraising the class forces, instead of making a subjective analysis and appraisal; (2) direct the attention of Party members to social and economic investigation and study, so as to determine the tactics of struggle and methods of work, and help comrades to understand that without investigation of actual conditions they will fall into the pit of fantasy and putschism; and (3) in inner-Party criticism, guard against subjectivism, arbitrariness and the vulgarization of criticism; statements should be based on facts and criticism should stress the political side.

On Individualism

The tendency towards individualism in the Red Army Party organization manifests itself as follows:

1. Retaliation. Some comrades, after being criticized inside the Party by a soldier comrade, look for opportunities to retaliate outside the Party, and one way is to beat or abuse the comrade in question. They also seek to retaliate within the Party. "You have criticized me at this meeting, so I'll find some way to pay you back at the next." Such retaliation arises from purely personal considerations, to the neglect of the interests of the class and of the Party as a whole. Its target is not the enemy class, but individuals in our own ranks. It is a corrosive which weakens the organization and its fighting capacity.

2. The "small group" mentality. Some comrades consider only the interests of their own small group and ignore the general interest. Although on the surface this does not seem to be the pursuit of personal interests, in reality it exemplifies the narrowest individualism and has a strong corrosive and centrifugal effect. The "small group" mentality used to be rife in the Red Army, and although there has been some improvement as a result of criticism, there are still survivals and further effort is needed to overcome it.

3. The "employee" mentality. Some comrades do not understand that the Party and the Red Army, of which they are members, are both instruments for carrying out the tasks of the revolution. They do not realize that they themselves are makers of the revolution, but think that their responsibility is merely to their individual superiors and not to the revolution. This passive mentality of an "employee" of the revolution is also a manifestation of individualism. It explains why there are not very many activists who work unconditionally for the revolution. Unless it is eliminated, the number of activists will not grow and the heavy burden of the revolution will remain on the shoulders of a small number of people, much to the detriment of the struggle.

4. Pleasure-seeking. In the Red Army there are also quite a few people whose individualism finds expression in pleasure-seeking. They always hope that their unit will march into big cities. They want to go there not to work but to enjoy themselves. The last thing they want is to work in the Red areas where life is hard.

5. Passivity. Some comrades become passive and stop working whenever anything goes against their wishes. This is mainly due to lack of education, though sometimes it is also due to the leadership's improper conduct of affairs, assignment of work or enforcement of discipline.

6. The desire to leave the army. The number of people who ask for transfers from the Red Army to local work is on the increase. The

reason for this does not lie entirely with the individuals but also with: (1) the material hardships of life in the Red Army, (2) exhaustion after long struggle, and (3) the leadership's improper conduct of affairs, assignment of work or enforcement of discipline.

The method of correction is primarily to strengthen education so as to rectify individualism ideologically. Next, it is to conduct affairs, make assignments and enforce discipline in a proper way. In addition, ways must be found to improve the material life of the Red Army, and every available opportunity must be utilized for rest and rehabilitation in order to improve material conditions. In our educational work we must explain that in its social origin individualism is a reflection within the Party of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois ideas.

On the Ideology of Roving Rebel Bands

The political ideology of roving rebel bands has emerged in the Red Army because the proportion of vagabond elements is large and because there are great masses of vagabonds in China, especially in the southern provinces. This ideology manifests itself as follows: (1) Some people want to increase our political influence only by means of roving guerrilla actions, but are unwilling to increase it by undertaking the arduous task of building up base areas and establishing the people's political power. (2) In expanding the Red Army, some people follow the line of "hiring men and buying horses" and "recruiting deserters and accepting mutineers," rather than the line of expanding the local Red Guards and the local troops and thus developing the main forces of the Red Army. (3) Some people lack the patience to carry on arduous struggles together with the masses, and only want to go to the big cities to eat and drink to their hearts' content. All these manifestations of the ideology of roving rebels seriously hamper the Red Army in performing its proper tasks; consequently its eradication is an important objective in the ideological struggle within the Red Army Party organization. It must be understood that the ways of roving rebels of the Huang Chao or Li Chuang type are not permissible under present-day conditions.

The methods of correction are as follows:

1. Intensify education, criticize incorrect ideas, and eradicate the ideology of roving rebel bands.
2. Intensify education among the basic sections of the Red Army and among recently recruited captives to counter the vagabond outlook.
3. Draw active workers and peasants experienced in struggle into the ranks of the Red Army so as to change its composition.
4. Create new units of the Red Army from among the masses of militant workers and peasants.

On the Remnants of Putschism

The Party organization in the Red Army has already waged struggles against putschism, but not yet to a sufficient extent. Therefore, remnants of this ideology still exist in the Red Army. Their manifestations are: (1) blind action regardless of subjective and objective conditions; (2) inadequate and irresolute application of the Party's policies for the cities; (3) slack military discipline, especially in moments of defeat; (4) acts of house-burning by some units; and (5) the practices of shooting deserters and of inflicting corporal punishment, both of which smack of putschism. In its social origins, putschism is a combination of lumpen-proletarian and petty-bourgeois ideology.

The methods of correction are as follows:

1. Eradicate putschism ideologically.
2. Correct putschist behavior through rules, regulations and policies.

* * *

In reprinting the above work on 28 January, Jen-min Jih-pao carried the following editorial note:

This brilliant work written 37 years ago by our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao is the programme for building both the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the Chinese Communist Party. The principles it puts forward are still today of great practical significance.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has now entered a new stage. Our great leader Chairman Mao has given a militant call: Proletarian revolutionaries unite and seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road! In order to fulfill this great task, we must have a highly proletarian and militant revolutionary force.

In our revolutionary mass organizations there are certain mistaken tendencies which hinder the formation of a great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries. These include selfish departmentalism, the "small group" mentality, ultra-democracy, disregard of organizational discipline, subjectivism and individualism. All these are bourgeois and petty-bourgeois trends of thought. Only by firmly correcting these mistaken tendencies can we become staunch and strong proletarian revolutionaries and from start to finish carry out unwaveringly the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

In this work Chairman Mao made a scientific analysis of the various kinds of mistaken tendencies mentioned above and proposed

methods for correcting them. Every revolutionary comrade should make a serious study of this work of Chairman Mao. He should approach it with problems in mind, study and apply it in a creative way, and link it up with his own thinking and with the concrete practice of struggle. The revolutionary masses, the activists and the leading members of revolutionary mass organizations should develop themselves further in their thinking as proletarian revolutionaries, and unite still more closely under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. They should launch a general offensive against the bourgeois reactionary line which is facing total collapse and take back into proletarian hands the Party power, political power and financial power which have been usurped in certain places and departments by a handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road.

We are confident that when the vast numbers of revolutionary path-breakers who have come forward in the great proletarian cultural revolution arm their minds still better with Mao Tse-tung's thought and enhance still more their proletarian revolutionary spirit, strengthen their scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline, they will certainly be able to become mature politically, unite the broad masses of the people and advance from victory to victory.

CSO: 3530-D

ON THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARIES' STRUGGLE
TO SEIZE POWER

[Following is a translation of an editorial in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 3, 3 February 1967, pages 13-18.]

Proletarian revolutionaries are uniting to seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. This is the strategic task for the new stage of the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is the decisive battle between the proletariat and the masses of working people on the one hand and the bourgeoisie and its agents in the Party on the other.

This mighty revolutionary storm started in Shanghai. The revolutionary masses in Shanghai have called it the great "January Revolution." Our great leader Chairman Mao immediately expressed resolute support for it. He called on the workers, peasants, revolutionary students, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres to study the experience of the revolutionary rebels of Shanghai and he called on the People's Liberation Army actively to support and assist the proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to seize power.

Chairman Mao's great call received an immediate enthusiastic response from the revolutionary masses and the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army. The proletarian revolutionaries who have formed a mighty force are capturing one citadel after another in certain places and units, where the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road have been entrenched, and are then consolidating these captured positions one by one. The storm of the "January Revolution" is now sweeping the whole country.

The ranks of the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road have been badly battered. However, like all reactionaries, they will never be reconciled to their own

extinction. And like all reactionaries, they "will never lay down their butcher knives ... they will never become buddhas."

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again ... till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic." This is also true of the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. We must "cast away illusions, prepare for struggle" in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching.

The experience of the city of Shanghai, Shansi Province and other places tells us that in the course of the struggle to seize power, we must pay great attention to the following questions:

(1)

When they were in power, the handful of persons within the Party who were in authority and taking the capitalist road always used their power to counter the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and to suppress the revolutionary masses. When they are stripped of power by the revolutionary masses, they still do their utmost to stage a counter seizure of power in a vain attempt to counter-attack in revenge and to recapture their lost power.

In some places, these reactionary elements are reorganizing their reactionary ranks. They are gathering together landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, and collecting the dregs of society to stage counter-attacks against the proletarian revolutionaries and seize power from them.

In some places, these reactionary elements have resorted to the method of worming their way into the ranks of the revolutionaries and pulling people out of the revolutionary ranks in a vain attempt to split up the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries, and usurp the leadership of the revolutionary rebel organizations. In this way they hope to shift the general orientation of the struggle.

In some places, these reactionary elements instigate their collaborators who still hold the leadership of a factory, a workshop, a unit, or a production brigade to sabotage production, disrupt communications and transport and destroy state and collective property, in a vain attempt to disturb the economic life of the state so as to achieve their political aim of staging a counter-seizure of power against the proletarian revolutionaries.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously." The handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road will never succeed in their schemes, which are doomed

to failure. We should despise them. However, we must deal with them seriously, and must never treat them casually or lightly.

Proletarian revolutionaries must fully understand that the struggle to seize power and counter-seize power between us and the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road is a life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It is a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy.

The general orientation for proletarian revolutionaries is to form an alliance and seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. All revolutionary comrades should take this general orientation as their starting point and adhere to it in considering and handling all matters. If not, they will embark on the wrong road and may go over to the opposite side.

In places and organizations where the great proletarian cultural revolution has been vigorously carried out for more than half a year, the revolutionary masses have become clear as to who are the chief figures among those in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. In the struggle to seize power, the proletarian revolutionaries must focus on their target and deal the enemy heavy blows. A strict distinction must be made between contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people. We must not treat contradictions among the people as contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and blast away indiscriminately. Otherwise, the struggle to seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road will be hindered and errors on questions of orientation will be committed and will be used by the class enemy.

(2)

Resolutely build the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries and unite the broad masses. This is the most important condition for victory in the struggle to seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road.

Now that the great proletarian cultural revolution has reached the stage of the struggle to seize power in an all-round way from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, it is essential for revolutionary mass organizations to forge a great alliance. Without a great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, the struggle to seize power cannot be completed successfully; even if some power has been seized, it may be lost again.

To form and consolidate the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, it is necessary to study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively in the course of struggle, to straighten out the ranks

ideologically and organizationally and strengthen the proletarian sense of organization and discipline. It is necessary to use Mao Tse-tung's thought as the weapon to correct such erroneous tendencies as departmentalism, "small group" mentality (considering the interests of a particular group rather than the overall interest), excessive decentralization, the disregard of organizational discipline, ultra-democracy, liberalism, subjectivism, and individualism in people's minds and in their organizations. All of these ideas and actions that run counter to Chairman Mao's teachings and hamper the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries are an expression of the bourgeois world outlook, a reflection of the current acute class struggle in the revolutionary ranks. These questions fall within the category of contradictions among the people, which must be solved in line with the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient" and the formula of unity-criticism-unity, all of which Chairman Mao has always advocated. Do more self-criticism, and don't attack one another. The erroneous, non-proletarian ideas and actions cited above must not be allowed to develop or they will be made use of by the class enemy. If anyone clings to these erroneous ideas and persists in taking these erroneous actions and lets them develop, the non-antagonistic contradictions can turn into antagonistic ones.

Once the revolutionary mass organizations have seized power in a particular department, their own position alters. At this time, the bourgeois ideas and petty-bourgeois ideas in the minds of certain comrades easily come to the fore. We must be highly vigilant. We must rid ourselves of all selfish ideas and personal considerations and make a revolution to the depth of our souls. Everything must proceed from the fundamental interests of the proletariat. We must attach the utmost importance to the interests of the whole instead of concerning ourselves with personal prestige and position. We must firmly respond to Chairman Mao's call to "practice economy in carrying out revolution" and not show off, spend money without measure and waste state property. We must not fall victim to the "sugar-coated bullets" of the bourgeoisie.

Revolutionary mass organizations which have seized power and the leaders of these organizations should adopt the principle of unity towards the masses and the mass organizations holding different views. They should win over the majority instead of excluding the majority. This helps to isolate to the maximum the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and deal them blows, and it helps to establish the new proletarian revolutionary order.

Everyone, in the course of the struggle to seize power and after coming to power, has to undergo new tests. We hope that the revolutionary path-breakers who come to the fore during the movement will always be loyal to the proletariat, to Chairman Mao, and to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and that they will become politically mature in the course of time rather than be like those who just flash across the stage of history. The only way

one can live up to this hope is to study Mao Tse-tung's thought conscientiously, to integrate oneself with the masses of workers and peasants and to make serious efforts to remold one's own non-proletarian world outlook. There is no other way.

(3)

Adequate attention must be paid to the role of revolutionary cadres in the struggle to seize power. Leading cadres who have firmly adhered to the proletarian revolutionary line are the treasure of the Party. They can become the backbone of the struggle to seize power and can become leaders in this struggle.

Such leading comrades have, for quite a long time in the past, waged struggles within the Party against the handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road. They have now stepped out before the masses and have proclaimed to the masses that they stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionaries and will integrate themselves with the revolutionary masses and fight together with them. The workers, peasants, revolutionary students and revolutionary intellectuals should trust them. A clear distinction must be drawn between those in authority who belong to the proletariat and those who belong to the bourgeoisie, between those who support and carry out the proletarian revolutionary line and those who support and carry out the bourgeois reactionary line. To regard all persons in authority as untrustworthy is wrong. To oppose, exclude and overthrow all indiscriminately runs counter to the class viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

When the revolutionary leading cadres rise up to join the masses in seizing power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, the revolutionary mass organizations should support them. It must be recognized that they are more experienced in struggle, they are more mature politically and they have greater organizational skill. The seizure and retention of power will be helped immeasurably by their inclusion in the core of leadership.

Cadres who have made errors should be treated correctly and should not be overthrown indiscriminately. All those who are not anti-Party, anti-socialist elements, and do not persist in their errors or refuse to correct them after repeated education, should be allowed to correct their errors and be encouraged to make amends for their crimes by good deeds. To learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and to cure the sickness to save the patient is a long-standing policy of the Party. Only thus can those who commit errors submit willingly; and only in this way can the proletarian revolutionaries get hearty support from the great majority of the people and remain invincible. Otherwise, there is great danger.

The overwhelming majority of the ordinary cadres in the Party and government organizations, enterprises and undertakings are good and

want to make revolution. The proletarian revolutionary rebels among them are the vital force for seizing power in these organizations. This is the point which must not be neglected.

Cadres at all levels have to undergo the test of the great proletarian cultural revolution and make new contributions to the revolution. They should not rest on their past achievements, think that they are so wonderful and lightly regard the young revolutionary fighters who have now come to the fore. The following concepts are completely wrong and must be corrected: to see only one's own past merits but not the general orientation of the revolution today and to see only the shortcomings and mistakes of the newly emerged young revolutionary fighters, but not to recognize the fact that their general orientation in the revolution is correct.

(4)

The current seizure of power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road is not effected by dismissal and reorganization from above, but from below by the mass movement called for and supported by Chairman Mao himself. Only in this way can the leading organizations of our Party and state, enterprises and undertakings, cultural organizations and schools be regenerated and the old bourgeois practices be thoroughly eradicated.

Experience proves that in the course of the struggle for the seizure of power, it is necessary, through exchange of views and consultations among leading members of revolutionary mass organizations, leading members of local People's Liberation Army units and revolutionary leading cadres of Party and government organizations, to establish provisional organs of power to take up the responsibility of leading this struggle. These provisional organs of power must "take firm hold of the revolution and promote production," put the system of production into normal operation, direct the existing set-ups in administrative and professional work (they should be readjusted where necessary) to carry on with their tasks, and organize the revolutionary masses to supervise these set-ups. These provisional organs of power must also shoulder the task of giving unified direction in suppressing counter-revolutionary organizations and counter-revolutionaries. Such provisional organs of power must be set up; this is essential and extremely important. Through a period of transition, the wisdom of the broad masses will be brought into full play and a completely new organizational form of political power better suited to the socialist economic base will be created.

A number of units, where a handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road have entrenched themselves over a long period, have become rotten. There these persons have been exercising bourgeois dictatorship, not proletarian dictatorship.

The Marxist principle of smashing the existing state machine must be put into practice in the struggle for the seizure of power in these units.

In summing up the experience of the Paris Commune, Marx pointed out that the proletariat must not take over the existing bourgeois state machine but must thoroughly smash it. Practice in the international communist movement has proved this to be a great truth. Since a number of units, in which a handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road have entrenched themselves, have been turned into organs for bourgeois dictatorship, naturally we must not take them over ready-made, resort to reformism, combine two into one and effect peaceful transition. We must smash them thoroughly.

The great mass movement to seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road has begun to create and will continue to create new organizational forms for the state organs of the proletarian dictatorship. Here, we must respect the initiative of the masses and boldly adopt the new forms, full of vitality, that emerge in the mass movement to replace the old practices of the exploiting classes and in fact to replace all old practices that do not correspond to the socialist economic base. It is absolutely impermissible to merely take over power while letting things remain the same and operating according to old rules.

On 1 June last year, Chairman Mao described the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster in the country, which came from Peking University, as the Manifesto of the Peking People's Commune of the sixties in the 20th century. Chairman Mao showed his wisdom and genius in predicting even then that our state organs would take on completely new forms.

To arouse hundreds of millions of people from below to seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, to smash the old practices and create new forms, opens up a new era in the international history of proletarian revolution and in the international history of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It will greatly enrich and develop the experience of the Paris Commune, greatly enrich and develop the experience of the Soviets, and greatly enrich and develop Marxism-Leninism.

(5)

The struggle by the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road is being carried out under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the course of the seizure of power, the dictatorship of the proletariat must be strengthened. This is an indispensable condition for the establishment of the new proletarian revolutionary order.

In the present stage of the decisive struggle being waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and its handful of agents within the Party, the landlords and rich peasants, who persist in their reactionary stand, the bourgeois Rightists, bad elements, counter-revolutionary revisionists and the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek special agents all emerge. These ghosts and monsters spread rumors to confuse the people, and deceive and mislead those who are not aware of the true facts into forming counter-revolutionary organizations to carry out frenzied counter-revolutionary activities. For example, the so-called "Worker-Peasant Red Flag Army of China," "Rong Fu Jun," "United Action Committee" and a number of other organizations set up by the revisionists which call themselves "revolutionary" but are actually royalist organizations, are reactionary organizations of this kind. The majority of the masses in these organizations have been duped and should be won over by education. However, the handful of ringleaders of these reactionary organizations have schemed and used every kind of trick to bombard the proletarian revolutionary headquarters, to seize power from the proletarian revolutionaries and raid the revolutionary mass organizations. They have stabbed the revolutionary people in the back, bought over workers and staff, halted production, interrupted communications and transport, wrecked and looted state property. They have stirred up trouble to serve their own ends and have been indulging in vain hopes of a comeback. Some of these organizations are carrying out counterrevolutionary activities on the orders of those in authority who persist in taking the capitalist road. These counter-revolutionary organizations are built on sand. Once the masses see through them, they immediately collapse, and the handful of ringleaders are dragged out by the masses.

It is a very good thing that all the ghosts and monsters come out into the open. This provides us with an opportunity for a good spring-cleaning to "sweep away all pests."

We must be firm in exercising dictatorship over these counter-revolutionaries.

In his noted treatise On the People's Democratic Dictatorship, Chairman Mao says that in dealing with the reactionaries, we must "enforce dictatorship ... suppress them, allow them only to behave themselves and not to be unruly in word or deed. If they speak or act in an unruly way, they will be promptly stopped and punished."

"Revolutionary dictatorship and counter-revolutionary dictatorship are by nature opposites, but the former was learned from the latter. Such learning is very important. If the revolutionary people do not master this method of ruling over the counter-revolutionary classes, they will not be able to maintain their state power, domestic and foreign reaction will overthrow that power and restore its own rule over China, and disaster will befall the revolutionary people."

All revolutionary comrades must firmly bear in mind these teachings of Chairman Mao. For the reactionaries, even limited democracy is not allowed, not to speak of extensive democracy, not one iota. Towards them, only dictatorship should be carried out!

A group of ghosts and monsters have now come out to set up counter-revolutionary organizations and carry out counter-revolutionary activities. These counter-revolutionary organizations must be resolutely eliminated. Counter-revolutionaries must be dealt with in accordance with the law without hesitation.

Chairman Mao has called on the People's Liberation Army to actively support and assist the genuine proletarian revolutionaries and to oppose the Rightists resolutely. The great People's Liberation Army created by Chairman Mao himself has heartily responded to his call. The People's Liberation Army is making new, great contributions to the cause of socialism in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is the glorious task of the People's Liberation Army.

In certain places, the counter-revolutionary organizations have been fully exposed. It is entirely correct that the PLA units stationed there, the revolutionary masses and the public security bodies in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries take action to suppress these counter-revolutionary organizations. The handling of the reactionary "Rong Fu Jun" in Harbin by the PLA units stationed there, the revolutionary masses and the committee for taking over the municipal public security bureau has provided useful experience. Immediately after encircling the "Rong Fu Jun," they launched a political offensive which awakened those who had been hoodwinked, and turned the scene of this counter-revolutionary incident into a meeting place for accusing the counter-revolutionaries. Those who had been deceived then handed over their chieftains and the "Rong Fu Jun" quickly disintegrated. All this dealt heavy blows to the counter-revolutionaries who are extremely few in number, and won over those who were duped.

In suppressing counter-revolutionary organizations and counter-revolutionaries, the instruments of dictatorship must work closely with the revolutionary masses. For counter-revolutionaries, this is an escape-proof net.

All revolutionary mass organizations and all revolutionary comrades must increase their revolutionary vigilance to prevent counter-revolutionaries from sneaking in to make trouble. They must coordinate with the instruments of dictatorship under a unified command to safeguard the proletarian dictatorship.

As the War of Liberation entered the stage of a general counter-offensive against the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique, Chairman Mao issued a call to the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the

whole country when he said: "The army advances, production increases. When our sense of discipline is strengthened, we are ever-victorious in the revolution."

Today, when the great army of the proletarian revolution is seizing power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, and is launching a general counter-offensive against the bourgeoisie and its agents in the Party, we must also take firm hold of the revolution and promote production, and strengthen our sense of discipline. In this way, we shall also be ever-victorious in the present struggle.

"But now that the cock has crowed and all under heaven is bright." Let us heartily welcome the decisive victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

CSO: 3530-D

ON REVOLUTIONARY DISCIPLINE AND REVOLUTIONARY
AUTHORITY OF THE PROLETARIAT

[Following is a translation of an article by a Hung-ch'i commentator in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 3, 3 February 1967, pages 19-21.]

The fundamental task of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to mobilize hundreds of millions of people, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to seize power from below from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road. This is the general counter-offensive against the repeated ferocious attacks by the bourgeoisie during the past 17 years.

Class struggle exists in socialist society. The concentrated expression of this struggle is around the question of political power, and around the question of the usurpation of political power by the bourgeoisie and its agents in the Party and the proletariat's seizing power from them.

After the proletariat seizes political power in the country as a whole, the reactionary bourgeoisie always seeks to find agents in the Party, by worming people into the Party and by buying over Party members. The handful of reactionary elements who wormed their way into the Party and were in authority carried out "peaceful evolution" and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in those places and departments in which they entrenched themselves. The proletariat must recapture all power they usurped; this is the only way to ensure that the dictatorship of the proletariat is consolidated and that our country will never change color, and will always forge ahead triumphantly along the road of socialism and communism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist in the present era, discovered the law of class struggle in socialist society. It is he who initiated and is leading the great proletarian cultural revolution and the struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries to form

a great alliance and unite the broad masses of people to seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road; and it is he who has put forward the correct theory and a series of principles and policies. This represents a great development of Marxism-Leninism, and a great development of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is of epoch-making, universal significance.

The handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road are the most dangerous and the main enemy. An important weapon of these reactionary elements for preserving their reactionary rule is to illegally use the name of the Party and turn Party discipline into bourgeois discipline to repress the masses and oppose revolution. This counter-revolutionary discipline must be thoroughly smashed.

All revolutionary cadres must step forth, stand with the revolutionary masses and carry out resolute struggle against the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road, and ignore all their "discipline." They are no longer revolutionary superiors, on the contrary they are counter-revolutionary revisionists. During war, when a commander becomes a traitor and surrenders to the enemy, a revolutionary fighter should not obey his commands but instead should turn his gun on him. True during war, this should also be so in political struggle.

The proletarian revolutionary fighters must smash counter-revolutionary discipline and, at the same time, consciously observe proletarian revolutionary discipline.

Lenin pointed out that rejection of proletarian revolutionary discipline "is tantamount to completely disarming the proletariat in the interests of the bourgeoisie." "It all adds up to that petty-bourgeois diffuseness and instability, that incapacity for sustained effort, unity and organized action, which, if encouraged, must inevitably destroy any proletarian revolutionary movement."

Based on the principle of Leninism, Chairman Mao has always stressed revolutionary discipline. He has pointed out many times that petty-bourgeois ultra-democracy and unrestrained liberalism which undermines discipline must be firmly opposed. Chairman Mao teaches:

"... The danger of ultra-democracy lies in the fact that it damages or even completely wrecks the Party organization and weakens or even completely undermines the Party's fighting capacity, rendering the Party incapable of fulfilling its fighting tasks and thereby causing the defeat of the revolution."

"Education on discipline must be strengthened in the whole Party, because unified discipline is a necessary condition for the victory of the revolution."

Lenin's remarks in 1920 and Chairman Mao's remarks decades ago are all very important to proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary masses at this time when they are seizing power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road.

The movement for extensive proletarian democracy which has been vigorously carried out for more than the last six months has broken the counter-revolutionary discipline of the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. This is an extremely good thing. However, this absolutely does not mean that we want no discipline, or advocate ultra-democracy, anarchism, liberalism, departmentalism and "small group" mentality. Like fire and water, such things and the proletariat are incompatible. If we should fail to overcome them and strengthen proletarian revolutionary discipline, we would not be able to form the powerful proletarian revolutionary force, fight the enemy, correctly put Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line into effect and win victory in revolution.

That red political power in the past could exist in small areas, that the bases for resisting Japanese aggression could be consolidated and developed in the enemy's rear and that the Liberation War could be brought to a decisive victory, all this testifies to the importance of proletarian revolutionary discipline. This applies today, too. We can carry through the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, forge a genuine great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, organize a mighty, all-conquering proletarian revolutionary army and win victory in the struggle to seize power only when proletarian revolutionary discipline is strengthened.

Ultra-democracy, anarchism, liberalism, departmentalism and "small group" mentality are all destructive to proletarian revolutionary discipline. In the final analysis, they all stem from "self-interest" i.e., individualism. All revolutionary comrades and revolutionary mass organizations should firmly get rid of "self-interest" and foster devotion to the public interest; firmly eliminate individualism and strive for the complete ascendancy of Mao Tse-tung's thought. This means that while we are transforming the objective world, we should also transform our subjective world. This demands that every revolutionary comrade conscientiously and creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's brilliant works "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party, Combat Liberalism" and the "three constantly read articles" [Serve the People, In Memory of Norman Bethune and The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains] and link this up with examining his own ideas and actions. If we do not do this, but give mistaken ideas free rein, then we shall go to the opposite side and be used by the class enemy. Every revolutionary comrade and revolutionary mass organization must pay attention to this point at this crucial moment in the struggle to seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road.

Experience proves that in the course of the struggle to seize power, it is necessary for proletarian revolutionaries to establish, through the exchange of views and consultation, provisional organs of power consisting of leading members of revolutionary mass organizations, leading members of local People's Liberation Army units and revolutionary leading cadres of Party and government organizations. These organs of power must resolutely implement the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They must have authority.

There is no authority which is above class. We must thoroughly overthrow bourgeois authority and firmly establish proletarian authority. By no means do we oppose all authority.

Some persons oppose all authority. This is an expression of the inherent bad characteristics of the petty bourgeoisie, an expression of anarchism.

In his On Authority, Frederick Engels pointed out that combined action means organization and that it is impossible to have organization without authority. He thoroughly criticized the anti-authoritarians. Engels wrote:

"Have these gentlemen ever seen a revolution? A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is; it is the act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other part by means of rifles, bayonets and cannon -- authoritarian means, if such there be at all; and if the victorious party does not want to have fought in vain, it must maintain this rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries. Would the Paris Commune have lasted a single day if it had not made use of this authority of the armed people against the bourgeois? Should we not, on the contrary, reproach it for not having used it freely enough?

"Therefore, either one of two things: either the anti-authoritarians don't know what they are talking about, in which case they are creating nothing but confusion; or they do know, and in that case they are betraying the movement of the proletariat. In either case they serve the reaction."

Without authority there will be no organized revolutionary action, let alone victory in the revolution. This was true in the years of revolutionary war and is equally true today when, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletarian revolutionaries are waging the struggle to seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road.

Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, is the highest authority of the proletariat. The proletarian revolutionary line that Chairman Mao represents is the highest authority in the great proletarian cultural revolution. All provisional organs of power that carry out this correct

line in directing the struggle to seize power should have authority and do have it as a matter of course. Proletarian revolutionaries should take it as their obligation to assume such authority. This is the authority of the proletariat.

The provisional organs of power that direct the struggle to seize power have the authority to exercise dictatorship over the class enemy. With regard to the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and obstinately taking the capitalist road and with regard to the ghosts and monsters in society, we precisely want to deprive them of democratic rights; we cannot speak of any equality whatsoever between us and them.

The provisional organs of power that direct the struggle to seize power must exercise democratic centralism among the people, that is, centralism on the basis of democracy, and democracy under centralized guidance. In this great revolution, the most extensive democracy is being exercised and likewise, the highest degree of centralism should be enforced. All revolutionary comrades and all revolutionary organizations must consciously observe revolutionary discipline and act in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, and must not do as they please.

We must bear in mind the lesson that the Paris Commune was too restrained in the use of its authority. The provisional organs of power and their responsible members who carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in directing the struggle to seize power must display the courage and resourcefulness of proletarian revolutionaries, make full use of the revolutionary authority of the proletariat, lead the masses, and successfully accomplish the historic task of the struggle to seize power.

CSO: 3530-D

THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY FIRMLY BACKS THE
PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARIES

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 3, 3 February 1967, pages 22-23.]

China's great proletarian cultural revolution, led by our great leader Chairman Mao, has entered a new stage. The main task of struggle in this new stage is for the proletarian revolutionaries to form a great alliance, concentrate their forces, and seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and from the tiny number of diehards who persistently cling to the bourgeois reactionary line.

The Chinese people, led by our great leader Chairman Mao himself, wrested political power throughout the country after 28 years of arduous struggle, and founded a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, a handful of bourgeois representatives who have wormed their way into the Party are not reconciled to the doom of the system of exploitation. They have usurped the power of leadership in some places and departments, practiced the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and tried in every way to pull socialist China to capitalism. It is entirely justified for the proletarian revolutionary rebels to rise and seize power from them in this great proletarian cultural revolution which is without precedent in history. The struggle to seize power constitutes a general counter-offensive against the attacks launched on the proletariat in the last 17 years by the bourgeois agents who wormed their way into the Party. The characteristic of this struggle to seize power is that it is a conscious mass movement drawing in hundreds of millions of revolutionary people under the command of Mao Tse-tung's thought; that, with the support of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee headed by the great leader Chairman Mao, the revolutionary people capture, one by one and from below, the positions where the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road are entrenched; and that various new forms coming forth

in the mass movement are used to eradicate thoroughly the old things of the exploiting classes and revisionism and completely transform all parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base.

Our People's Liberation Army is a revolutionary army of the proletariat created by Chairman Mao himself. It is a pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this great struggle of the proletariat to seize power from the bourgeoisie, we must firmly stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, firmly stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionaries. The PLA must firmly support and assist them, for this is a great call from our great leader Chairman Mao. We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and enthusiastically, unequivocally and wholeheartedly support the proletarian revolutionary rebels in rising to seize power. Even though they may be just a minority temporarily, we must support them without the slightest hesitation.

In the new situation in the present great proletarian cultural revolution, it is not possible for the People's Liberation Army to refrain from intervening. Some people use "non-intervention" as a pretext to actually suppress the masses. This is absolutely impermissible. Their so-called "non-intervention" is false. The question is not whether or not to intervene, but which side to stand on. It is a question of whether to support the proletarian revolutionaries or to support the conservative-minded people or even the Rightists. In the present great proletarian cultural revolution, in the present fierce class struggle, not to stand on the side of the proletariat means to stand on the side of the bourgeoisie. Not to stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao means to stand on the side of the bourgeois reactionary line. There can be no eclecticism, no compromise and no neutrality on this question. Our PLA must clearly and actively support the proletarian revolutionary Left.

The demand of all genuine proletarian revolutionaries for the army's support and assistance must be met. The People's Liberation Army should carry forward the fine tradition of doing mass work. In giving support to the great proletarian cultural revolution among the civilians they should become one with the proletarian revolutionaries and with the revolutionary masses, learn from the masses, propagandize the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao among the masses and help the proletarian revolutionaries develop and grow.

"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." The political power of the proletariat seized by the people's army with the gun has to be defended by the people's army with the gun, too. Active counter-revolutionaries and counter-revolutionary organizations sabotaging the great proletarian cultural revolution must be resolutely suppressed and the dictatorship of the proletariat exercised over them.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution." The proletarian revolutionary rebels have risen to seize power from those in authority taking the capitalist road and to ensure that our country will not change color for all generations to come. This is the highest politics of the proletariat. Our People's Liberation Army is infinitely loyal to Chairman Mao and to the proletarian revolutionary line he represents. We have made contributions in faithfully defending the great proletarian cultural revolution. We will make new and still greater contributions to supporting the proletarian revolutionaries in rising and seizing power.

Comrades, we heroically went through fire and water to win the country for the people and made immortal contributions in the past. In the present rigorous and great class struggle, we should become a bulwark defending the great proletarian cultural revolution. We must follow Comrade Lin Piao's instruction: enthusiastically support Chairman Mao, zealously support the proletarian revolutionary Left, hit hard at the handful of persons who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, and always keep the banner of our great People's Liberation Army completely red.

CSO: 3530-D

A GREAT VICTORY IN THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL
REVOLUTION IN SHANSI PROVINCE

[Following is a translation of a Jen-min Jih-pao (25 January 1967) editorial reprinted in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 3, 3 February 1967, pages 27-28.]

"The city, a tiger crouching, a dragon curling, outshines its ancient glories; in heroic triumph heaven and earth have been overturned" (from a poem by Mao -- ed.). Another clap of spring thunder is heard. With the affectionate concern and support of our most respected the beloved great leader Chairman Mao, the proletarian revolutionary organizations and representatives in Shansi Province have united and recaptured all sorts of power usurped by the handful of persons in power who are taking the capitalist road within the Shansi Provincial CCP Committee! The proletariat and the masses of working people have taken back the seal of power and exercised their right as masters of Shansi!

This is another great province-wide victory in the struggle to seize power from a handful of people in power within the party who are taking the capitalist road, following the victory achieved by the proletarian revolutionary rebels in Shanghai in their struggle to seize the power. This is a great victory for the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao; this is a new and great victory for the invincible Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Where there is oppression, there is resistance; where the oppression is heaviest, the resistance is the strongest. The handful of people in power who are taking the capitalist road and the diehards who are obstinately clinging to the bourgeois reactionary line in Shansi have for a long period of time colluded with each other from upper to lower levels and formed cliques for their own selfish interests in an attempt to turn Shansi into an independent kingdom for them to restore capitalism. In the course of the current great proletarian cultural revolution,

they redoubled their efforts to stubbornly carry out the bourgeois reactionary line.

They played doubledealing tactics, one overt and the other undercover. Overtly, they clamored for the "reviewing" and "confessing" of crimes, covertly, they stirred up an evil gust, shot sinister arrows, and encircled the revolutionaries by hook or by crook.

Of late, when they were encircled ring upon ring by the broad masses of the revolutionary people and faced the fate of total collapse, like an impetuous dog jumping over a wall, they resorted to an even more vicious trick -- counterrevolutionary economism -- in an attempt to save themselves from complete extinction.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind. In the final analysis, their persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale." The handful of persons in power who are taking the capitalist road within the Shansi Provincial CCP Committee are precisely fools of this kind; their frenzied encirclement of and counterattack on the revolutionaries mean exactly that they are digging their own graves.

The proletarian revolutionary rebels in Shansi have risen to wage rebellion against them, dismissed them from their offices, and seized power from them. This is really fine! Really fine! And really fine indeed!!!

In the course of the struggle against the handful of persons in power within the party who are taking the capitalist road, the proletarian revolutionary rebels in Shansi have been good at making class analysis and mastering the strategic thought of Chairman Mao, and constantly expanded the ranks of the leftists. They have united not only the proletarian revolutionary rebels among workers, peasants, revolutionary students, revolutionary militarymen, and revolutionary intellectuals, but also those leading cadres of the leadership organizations who stand on the side of the proletarian reactionary line represented by Chairman Mao to form a great army of the proletarian cultural revolution on a broader basis.

At the crucial moment of the life-and-death struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line, the revolutionary leading cadres within the Shansi Provincial CCP Committee stood on the side of the revolutionary rebels, united with the revolutionary worker, peasant, and revolutionary student organizations; coordinated with the upper and lower levels; and attacked the enemy from within and without in their overall, general attack on the handful of persons in power within the party who are taking the capitalist road.

The People's Liberation Army units of the Shansi Military District have resolutely stood on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, resolutely supported and aided the proletarian revolutionaries, at the crucial moment of the struggle for the seizure of power gave definite and wholehearted support to the proletarian revolutionary rebels in rising up to seize power, and made great contributions to the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The revolutionary rebels in Shansi have created a new experience for the proletarian revolutionary rebels throughout the country in their struggle to seize power. The revolutionary leading cadres within the Shansi Provincial CCP Committee have set a fine example for the revolutionary leading cadres throughout the country. The PLA units in the Shansi Military District have erected a crimson banner for all PLA commanders and fighters throughout the country.

The general orientation of the struggle for the seizure of power of the revolutionary organizations and revolutionary comrades should warmly support their struggle for the seizure of power, vigorously propagate their struggle for the seizure of power, take active part in their struggle for the seizure of power, and conscientiously learn from them the experience in the struggle for the seizure of power. This is a correct attitude of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the face of such a cardinal issue of right or wrong, it is wrong for one to stand behind and gesticulate; it is also wrong for one to stand by and look on.

Revolutionary rebels, revolutionary comrades, revolutionary cadres, and PLA commanders and fighters, let us unite under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Learn the revolutionary rebel spirit of the revolutionary masses, revolutionary cadres, and PLA commanders and fighters in Shanghai municipality and Shansi Province, and launch an all-round struggle for the seizure of power against the handful of persons in power within the party who are taking the capitalist road! If the enemy refuses to surrender, we will finish him off!

CSO: 3530-D

GREAT ALLIANCE IS THE KEY FACTOR

[Following is a translation of a Jen-min Jih-pao (30 January 1967) editorial reprinted in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 3, 3 February 1967, pages 30-31.]

Songs of triumph are heard all around and good news keep pouring in. Twenty-three revolutionary rebel organizations in Tsingtao have joined forces and seized vital Party, government, financial and cultural power in the city from the hands of those in the Party who were in authority and took the capitalist road, and from the bourgeois reactionary line diehards! This is another great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought following on the successful seizure of power by proletarian revolutionary rebel groups in Shanghai and Shansi.

The experience of the Tsingtao proletarian revolutionary rebels in gaining this signal victory was many-sided. The most important feature was the formation of a great alliance of proletarian revolutionary rebel groups on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Only when such an alliance is forged is it possible to be successful in the struggle to seize power. Any hasty attempt to seize power without such an alliance is either empty talk or ill-considered action headed for failure. Therefore, the key issue here is the great alliance. This has already been testified to by the revolutionary practice of the revolutionary rebels in both Shanghai and Shansi; now the revolutionary rebels of Tsingtao have proved it once again by their successful seizure of power.

At present, problems of one sort or another are cropping up, and various types of resistance are emerging concerning the seizure of power in certain districts and units. Such resistance comes mainly from the handful of people who have wormed their way into the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road; at the same time it also comes from the old force of social habit. This resistance currently

manifests itself in the obstruction of the formation of a great alliance by the proletarian revolutionary rebel groups.

As a result of the influence of certain bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas, there exist in varying degrees in the ranks of our revolutionary rebel groups in certain places, units and organizations a tendency to seek the limelight, to adopt the "mountain stronghold" or the "small group" mentality. Among some revolutionary rebels individualism, ultra-democracy and disregard of organizational discipline are fairly serious. All these hamper and adversely affect the great alliance of the revolutionary rebel groups and success in the struggle to seize power.

It is therefore of great importance in seeking to realize the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionary groups that we should diligently study Chairman Mao's On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party and other brilliant works and link them with the actual struggle, so as to correct mistaken tendencies and strengthen our sense of organization and discipline.

The class enemy mortally fears and hates our great alliance and is trying by every means to undermine it. Employing the various kinds of power they have stolen and still hold in their hands at present, those people in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road make use of the existing shortcomings in the revolutionary rebel groups and the non-proletarian ideas of some people among them to disintegrate them and to vainly attempt to set up opposition groups among them and disrupt their great unity and alliance, so as to protect their own power. Comrades of the revolutionary rebel groups: We must be very much on guard!

Chairman Mao teaches us that "we should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports." Since the enemy is afraid of our alliance and tries to undermine it, we must forge the alliance. In line with Chairman Mao's teachings, the proletarian revolutionary rebel groups in Tsingtao have mercilessly exposed the intrigues and criminal activities of the class enemy aimed at undermining the alliance and have dealt him a stinging blow. Guided by the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and allied on the basis of the common principles of the proletarian revolutionary line, they have set up a Revolutionary Rebel Committee. This Committee has the working class as its leading force and the great alliance of workers, peasants, revolutionary students, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres as its foundation. This form of organization has become the organ of power giving unified leadership to the struggle to seize power. Leading comrades who adhere to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao play an important part in forging the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionary groups. Under the unified leadership of the Revolutionary Rebel Committee, a decisive victory has been won in the struggle to seize power in Tsingtao. This has provided valuable experience for the revolutionary rebel groups throughout the country.

Let all true proletarian revolutionary rebel groups unite under
the great red banner of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and forge
the broadest and closest great alliance in order to seize new victory in
the great proletarian cultural revolution!

CSO: 3530-D

SPRING THUNDER OVER SOUTHWEST CHINA

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 3, 3 February 1967, page 36.]

The proletarian revolutionary rebels in Kweichow Province, who have forged a great alliance, have seized vital Party, political, financial and cultural power from the handful of persons in the provincial and municipal committees of the Communist Party who were in authority and took the capitalist road. This is the first peal of spring thunder echoing in the skies over southwest China in the cold days of winter! We hail it as a tremendous victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought in Kweichow Province! This victory dealt telling blows at the handful of persons within the Party in the whole of southwest China who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. It will set off a chain reaction, enabling the proletarian revolutionaries in the southwest area to advance, riding the winds and breaking the waves, in their struggle to seize power.

The experience of the Kweichow proletarian revolutionaries in the struggle to seize power has provided fresh evidence of the need to establish provisional organs of power supported by the masses in the course of this struggle. Such organs form the core of leadership for the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries; they are the proletarian authority. Having both prestige and capability, they exercise unified and centralized leadership over the struggle to seize power. This is an important guarantee for the victory of the struggle.

The experience of the Kweichow proletarian revolutionaries in seizing power has provided fresh evidence of the need for the organs of power, as the core of leadership for the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries, to put forward in the course of the struggle to seize power a clear-cut political program which proceeds from the reality of the local situation and pools the revolutionary demands of the people. The proclamation issued by the Kweichow Proletarian

Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters is just such a program. The five calls that it makes to the people of the province are indeed excellent!

At the crucial moment in the decisive battle waged by the proletarian revolutionaries against the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, all revolutionary cadres should follow Chairman Mao's instructions and firmly carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by him. They must show the mettle, the daring and courage, of the proletarian revolutionaries. They must step out before the masses, raise their hands and loudly proclaim their views, and go personally to the forefront of the struggle, integrate themselves with the revolutionary masses and fight shoulder to shoulder with them. Only in this way can the broad masses be mobilized and a mighty proletarian revolutionary force with centralized leadership and organizational discipline be organized, and the struggle for the seizure of power accomplished triumphantly.

Kweichow will be changed completely. Kweichow is advancing. The seizure of power is only the beginning of this complete change. We wish the proletarian revolutionaries in Kweichow a victorious advance along the bright road of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

"I ask the great earth and the boundless blue
Who are the masters of all nature?"

We are! We are! We the proletariat!

Our most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao has put out a fighting call; Shanghai, Shansi and Tsingtao have set examples for us and now Kweichow has provided another example. Proletarian revolutionary comrades everywhere, let us unite on the basis of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and seize power from that handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road! All power to the proletarian revolutionaries!

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A NEW DAWN BREAKS OVER THE NORTHEAST

[Following is a translation of a Jen-min Jih-pao (2 February 1967) editorial reprinted in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 3, 3 February 1967, pages 39-40.]

Under the guiding light of Mao Tse-tung's thought, a new Heilungkiang is born! The mighty contingents of the proletarian cultural revolution in that province have realized a great alliance and seized back all the power -- the Party power, political power and power over financial and cultural affairs -- usurped by those in authority who are taking the capitalist road!

We joyfully acclaim this great victory won by the proletarian revolutionaries in Heilungkiang! We warmly congratulate them on the birth of "The Heilungkiang Red Rebels' Revolutionary Committee!"

Heilungkiang is an important industrial and agricultural production base in our country. It is an outpost which serves to guard our country against the attacks of modern revisionism and the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries. The victory won by the Heilungkiang proletarian revolutionaries in the struggle to seize power has great significance for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the development of socialist construction in China.

The experience of the Heilungkiang proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to seize power has once more shown how a provisional organ of power formed by leading members of revolutionary mass organizations, leading members of local People's Liberation Army units and revolutionary leading cadres of Party and government institutions has played a key role in the victory of the struggle to seize power.

It is entirely wrong to adopt a policy of opposing all, excluding all and overthrowing all. It should be noted that there are certain leading cadres who are on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line

and who have carried on a resolute fight against the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road. We must fully trust such cadres and fight shoulder to shoulder with them. As for those leading cadres who are still wavering or have committed the error of line, we should also unite with them in our fighting as long as they are willing to correct their mistakes and return to the Party's correct line, Chairman Mao's line.

All leading cadres who want to go on making revolution should immediately pull themselves together, should go to the masses, become one with them and support the revolutionary rebels.

All revolutionary cadres should work conscientiously under the leadership of the provisional organs of power formed by the proletarian revolutionaries, they should prepare themselves to face new tests in the great cultural revolution, be modest pupils of the masses and make a new contribution to the great cultural revolution.

As to the comrades who have made mistakes, we revolutionary rebels must adhere to the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient." We must test them, unite with them and help them in the practice of new struggles.

When the revolutionary masses, the local PLA units and the revolutionary cadres in Heilungkiang formed their alliance and seized power, they first of all pledged to our great leader Chairman Mao that they would exert every effort to study well the "three constantly read articles" [Serve the People, In Memory of Norman Bethune and The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains] and others of his brilliant works, including On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party, and to get a thorough grasp of the invincible ideological weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought. In this they have gone straight to the point, have done exactly the right thing, made their proposal at exactly the right time and reflected the strong desire of the revolutionary rebels.

The Heilungkiang comrades say: "We realize full well that if we admit only that the class struggle exists in the socialist period and do not admit that there is an acute and complicated struggle to seize power in this period, then we cannot be the red guards of Mao Tse-tung's thought and good soldiers of Chairman Mao." They are worthy of being called revolutionary rebels loyal to Chairman Mao and loyal to the proletariat. To raise the struggle to seize power to the theoretical level of Mao Tse-tung's thought is a question of paramount importance, which must be given serious consideration by every revolutionary rebel.

Chairman Mao teaches us that "policy and tactics are the life of the Party; leading comrades at all levels must give them full attention and must never on any account be negligent." The proletarian revolutionaries in Heilungkiang bore this teaching of Chairman Mao in mind during their struggle to seize power. On the basis of the local

actual conditions, they put forward at the right time a series of sound policies and concrete measures.

Experience shows that when we have a correct proletarian revolutionary line, when we have the bravery and resource, the spirit and courage to seize power, we must also have a series of concrete policies and measures. Only in this way, is it possible to assure victory to the proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to seize power. The proletarian revolutionaries in all parts of the country must give serious attention to this.

With the victory of the Heilungkiang proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to seize power, a new dawn breaks over northeast China. Let us extend our heartfelt greetings to them on their continued advance along the broad road of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

CSO: 3530-D

GET RID OF "SELF-INTEREST," FORGE A GREAT ALLIANCE
OF REVOLUTIONARY REBELS

[Following is a translation of an article by the Third Headquarters of the Capital's Red Guards, in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 3, 3 February 1967, pages 41-44.]

Editor's Note: "Get Rid of 'Self-Interest,' Forge a Great Alliance of Revolutionary Rebels" is a good article which is the result of creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works in the great proletarian cultural revolution. We recommend it to revolutionary rebel comrades throughout the country. This article puts forward an important question of general significance, that is: we must "get rid of 'self-interest'" in the present struggle to seize power.

This is a good article precisely because it sees that we are carrying on two kinds of struggle for the "seizure of power." As the article points out: Revolutionary rebels should not only seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, but must seize power from the bourgeois ideology in our minds.

Unless we seize power from "self-interest" in our minds and get rid of "self-interest" in our minds, we will not be able to seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. Only when we have seized power from the bourgeois ideology in our minds and enabled Mao Tse-tung's thought to occupy these ideological positions, can we form a mighty, well-concerted and strong revolutionary force. Otherwise, even if we do seize power from the persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, the power thus seized cannot be consolidated. A spiritual thing will turn into a material thing. If we seize power with "self-interest" in our minds, even though power is seized it may still degenerate into bourgeois political power.

In the present struggle to seize power, all mistaken tendencies -- such as selfish departmentalism, the "small group" mentality, excessive decentralization, disregard of organizational discipline, ultra-democracy, liberalism and subjectivism -- that have manifested themselves in the ranks of certain revolutionary rebels can be traced to one main root, that is "self-interest." The slogan of "getting rid of 'self-interest'" goes deep, is raised in time and penetrates to the heart of the problem.

To get rid of "self-interest," it is necessary to study Chairman Mao's works conscientiously. At the present moment, it is of great practical significance to study the brilliant works On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party, Combat Liberalism and the "three constantly read articles" [Serve the People, In Memory of Norman Bethune and The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains]. They must be studied well. Any neglect of this study on the pretext of the intensity of struggle is completely wrong and must be promptly corrected.

To get rid of "self-interest," it is necessary to carry the revolution to the very depths of one's own soul, wage an active ideological struggle and go in for serious criticism and self-criticism.

To get rid of "self-interest," it is necessary, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, to effect the integration of intellectuals with workers and peasants, remold one's own world outlook and foster the idea of wholehearted service to the workers and peasants.

Comrade Lin Piao has said: "We should regard ourselves as part of the revolutionary force and at the same time constantly take ourselves as targets of the revolution. To make revolution demands that we revolutionize ourselves too. Otherwise, the revolution will not be successfully carried out." The great proletarian cultural revolution is directed against the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road; it is to seize power from them, to fully refute, overthrow and completely discredit them. But at the same time we must also make revolution against the bourgeois ideas in our own minds. We must transform our subjective world while transforming the objective world.

Under given conditions, the transforming of their subjective world on the part of the revolutionary ranks is of decisive significance. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Japanese imperialists said: "We are not afraid of the Eighth Route Army training soldiers on a large scale, but we fear the vigorous rectification of its style of work." Similarly, so far as concerns the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, what they fear most today is the revolutionizing of our thinking, is the arming of our minds with Mao Tse-tung's thought to get rid of "self-interest" and effect and consolidate a great alliance of revolutionaries on the principled basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Victory belongs to the revolutionary people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought!

* * *

The great proletarian cultural revolution is in essence a struggle in which the proletariat seizes power from the bourgeoisie. The struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries, uniting with all revolutionary masses, to seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and the diehards who persist in the bourgeois reactionary line, is a mass struggle for the seizure of power from below, a struggle for the seizure of power that is even more deep-going than that in the democratic revolution. This is an extremely arduous and complex task. To fulfill this task, there must be strong revolutionary organizations, the strictest sense of organization and discipline, and a great alliance of the proletarian revolutionary forces.

The revolutionary mass organizations that have come into being in the storm of the revolution have initially shown their mettle in the struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line. During the White terror they have demonstrated their clear-cut stand, their dogged determination, their high sense of organization and discipline and staunch militancy; they have rendered meritorious service in defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The overwhelming majority of revolutionary rebel organizations have grown from minorities under pressure to majorities in power. This signifies the expansion of the revolutionary forces and marks a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

The deep-going development of the movement and the development of the revolution on a still broader scale will inevitably result in a still wider alliance of the revolutionary forces. The revolutionary rebels of Shanghai have already set us a glorious example of this great alliance. Such a great alliance is founded on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought, on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and on the basis of a full development of the proletarian revolutionary rebel spirit; it is also a militant, great alliance developed in the course of constant criticism and self-criticism. This kind of great alliance is a genuine, great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, not one of a motley collection of groups, of compromise and eclecticism, and opportunism. Such a great alliance is the basic guarantee for the victory of the proletarian revolution. Without it, no seizure of power can be successful; even if power is seized for the time being it cannot be held and consolidated. When we note how our enemy dexterously uses counter-revolutionary alliances at every step of the struggle against us, then we realize how urgent is the need to form a great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries.

However, examining ourselves in relation to Chairman Mao's article On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party, we feel that there are

a number of erroneous tendencies obstructing this great alliance which have to be corrected.

Ultra-democracy and liberalism. Under the White terror of bourgeois dictatorship and tremendous pressure from outside, the revolutionary rebel forces were strictly organized and closely united and displayed a military and militant style. With the winning of victory and diminishing pressure from outside, certain organizations and persons have subjectively lowered their demands on themselves and displayed tendencies of ultra-democracy and liberalism. Instead of forming a proper link in the revolutionary ranks, they have become isolated from the revolutionary forces, doing as they like and creating a state of anarchy. This is a grave and bad tendency. It is also a corrosive that loosens unity, undermines organization, causes a passive attitude to work, creates dissension, damages compact organization and strict discipline, and alienates the leadership from the masses.

Seeking the limelight. Certain persons stretch out their seeking hands. Unable to undertake big things, they won't do small jobs either. They put out feelers to wherever they can "reap an advantage," seeking self-praise and fame. They are keen on work that puts them in the limelight, but categorically refuse to work "anonymously."

The "mountain-stronghold" mentality. Some people control a small unit and proclaim themselves its "rulers." They strive for hegemony and "positions of strength." Since I have plenty of supplies, command a strong force and have more documentary material and "ammunition" in store, I need nothing from others. As to forming an alliance, I am the undisputed leader and you have to obey me. Otherwise I will lead my forces to control a mountain-stronghold, blaze a "new road," and show my prowess. This is the style of the lumpen-proletariat.

Sectarianism and the "small group" mentality. People with such ideas are narrow-sighted. They see only the small number of their own people, their own small group or section, while losing sight of the revolutionary interests of the whole, the interests of the 700 million Chinese people and the interests of the world proletarian revolution. They drag one group of people to fight another and wage unprincipled struggles against those holding different views. This is a slightly magnified individualism.

In addition, there are all sorts of manifestations of individualism which, without exception, are corrosives hampering the great proletarian revolutionary alliance. All these bad tendencies are non-proletarian, and belong to the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. They rob the revolutionary forces of tenacity, organization, discipline, staunchness and unity in dealing with important issues. They cause the revolutionary ranks to disintegrate, to waver and to lose their fighting power; they prevent them from forming alliances, and they may eventually lead to the failure of the revolution.

All these negative tendencies spring from the mode of small-scale production and the bourgeoisie's insatiable longing for fame and material gain. All of them can finally be attributed to "self-interest." This "self-interest" is precisely the bourgeois headquarters in the minds of many comrades. The struggle for power between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is also going on in our minds. Unless the "power" in our minds is seized by the proletariat, that is to say, unless the headquarters in our minds are occupied by Mao Tse-tung's thought, then it will be of little consequence even if we do seize power from those in authority who are taking the capitalist road.

We are carrying on two revolutions at once: one is to transform the objective world and the other is to transform our subjective world. We are also carrying on simultaneously two kinds of struggle for the seizure of power: one is to seize power from those in authority who are taking the capitalist road and the other is to seize power from the "self-interest" in our minds. Only when we have seized power completely from the "self-interest" in our minds, is it possible to ensure complete victory in the struggle to seize power from those in authority who are taking the capitalist road. To seize power in one's mind is a painful process. But such a struggle must be waged. Such a struggle calls for the courageous spirit that is needed to bayonet the enemy. The best way of conducting that struggle is to follow Chairman Mao's teachings, plunge ourselves into the mighty torrent of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the factories and villages, and integrate ourselves with the workers and peasants. Integration of intellectuals with the workers and peasants is the only way for intellectuals to overcome their weak points and revolutionize themselves. The great alliance of revolutionary workers and revolutionary peasants is the core and mainstay of the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries throughout the country.

We are now carrying on an all-round nationwide struggle to seize power from those in authority who are taking the capitalist road.

Our class enemies are desperately seeking out every split in our ranks to sow discord, create dissension and sabotage the great alliance of revolutionaries. Our class enemies say: Let them struggle and fight among themselves! Let them seize our power, fight among themselves to seize power and act each on his own. Then, our class enemies will wait on the side lines to laugh at us.

What is our answer to the enemy?

Our answer is to forge a great, iron-clad alliance of proletarian revolutionaries.

From the great revolutionary teachers Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, from our great leader Chairman Mao, from the practice of the great cultural revolution over the past few months, the proletarian revolutionaries have got a real and profound understanding of the

great significance of the great alliance. Before long they will form a mighty cultural revolutionary army with invincible courage, solidarity and loyalty. The consummation of the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries marks the moment of total collapse of the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, and the diehards who persist in following the bourgeois reactionary line.

Revolutionary intellectuals unite with the revolutionary workers, revolutionary peasants, revolutionary cadres and all the revolutionary masses!

Let the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, and all ghosts and monsters tremble before the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries!

Down with seeking the limelight! Down with selfish departmentalism! Down with sectarianism!

Long live the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries!

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AFTER SEIZURE OF POWER

[Following is a translation of an article by the Red Rebels of the Peking Kuanghua Timber Factory, in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 3, 3 February 1967, pages 45-49.]

Editor's Note: This article, "After Seizure of Power," is very well written, and it is hoped that proletarian revolutionaries all over the country will read it seriously. This article raises a question in regard to the orientation of the current great proletarian cultural revolution, that is, what should be done after seizure of power.

What should be done after seizure of power? The revolutionary rebels of the Kuanghua Timber Factory have put forward some comments of the character of a program. These comments are worthy of the attention of the revolutionary rebels of various industrial and mining enterprises.

* * *

North and south of the great river, inside and outside the Great Wall, the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries is seizing power on a large scale from a tiny handful of power holders who are taking the capitalist road within the Party -- with a burst of force which is irresistible. One citadel after another of the diehards has been stormed and taken, and one position after another has been seized back.

In response to Chairman Mao's great call and acting after the fashion of the Shanghai revolutionary rebels, we red rebels of the Kuanghua Timber Factory on 17 January seized power from a tiny handful of power holders taking the capitalist road within the Party. In less than half a month after the seizure of power, the whole factory was

enveloped in an atmosphere of prosperity. It made a thunderous success of the movement and was fired with enthusiasm for production.

Power in the Hands of the Revolutionaries Leads to the Development of Production on a Large Scale

Over a long period of time, a tiny handful of power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road in the Kuanghua Timber Factory loyally carried out the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the former Peking Municipal Committee, and led the socialist enterprise onto the road of "peaceful evolution." During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the revolutionaries rose to rebel against them, but were frantically suppressed by means of White Terror. The red rebels defied such suppression. Therefore, the power holders resorted to economism, and instigated the workers to stop work so as to undermine production. They were able to take this course of action because they had power in their hands. Could they be left to wield such power? No, definitely not. Their power must be seized!

At that time some people said: "Now is not the time to seize power because the production task is so heavy this month. Let us wait until next month to seize power." The red rebels firmly said: "No, only when the revolutionaries are in power can a success be made of production."

This is actually the case.

Power must be vested in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries before the great guiding principle advanced by Chairman Mao -- "Grasp revolution, stimulate production" -- can really be implemented.

With power in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries, productive forces will be liberated on a large scale. Firing the activism of the broad working masses for production in the great proletarian cultural revolution is an important factor for making a success of production.

Following the victory of the struggle to seize power, a high tide in production was promptly swept up within the confines of the whole factory. Many workers said excitedly: "Now that we really are the masters, who will do the work for us if we don't do it ourselves? We must go into it in a big way!"

The day following the seizure of power, the daily output of Work Section 301 -- which manufactures plywood doors -- rose from 115 units to 210 units. On the third day, it further increased to 253 units, and very quickly, the highest record of 282 units a day was established. This was equivalent to 245 percent of the daily output on the day prior to the seizure of power. In January, the total output value of the whole factory amounted to 400 thousand yuan in the seventeen days

before the seizure of power, and 1.26 million yuan in the fourteen days after the seizure of power -- the latter amount equivalent to more than three times the former figure representing seventeen days' output value prior to the seizure of power. Various workshops of the whole factory all fulfilled or overfulfilled their production tasks.

With the working masses as the real masters, the communist spirit was brought into full play, and technical innovations were also carried out. The red rebels among the plank-slotter operators innovated the rapid double-slotting method and raised efficiency by double. When the medium heat press and the giant heat press of the rubber press section broke down, the comrades of the fitters' unit rushed over in the night to repair them, thus insuring the normal operation of the machines. After overfulfilling its production tasks ahead of schedule, Work Section 307 sent carpenters of its own accord to give aid to fraternal Work Section 302.

The rapid development of production after the seizure of power has greatly boosted the determination of the revolutionaries. It is a forceful reply to those conservative elements who want to avail of the opportunity to see us making foolish figures of ourselves, and a very good lesson to some of the masses in the middle who still do not believe that the revolutionary rebels can exercise good leadership in production. This vivid fact has further disintegrated the conservative ranks, and has united and won over even more of the masses in the middle to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Brand New Things -- the Revolutionary Production Committee and the Revolutionary Production Service Unit

Chairman Mao said: "We not only are good at destroying the old world but are also good at building a new world."

After our seizure of power, we have destroyed in a big way the superstructure incompatible with the socialist economic foundation, old rules and regulations, systems and conventions. We have completely abolished the system of "three levels under one head" which has for a long time ruled enterprises, and replaced it with brand new organizations -- the revolutionary production committee and the revolutionary production service unit.

The old management system is a bureaucratic system copied from Soviet revisionism for fettering the masses and impeding production. From the factory proper to the offices and workshops, a large number of cadres are detached from production. They do not understand the realities of production, but only know to hand down tasks to the lower level and to demand for figures. They stay aloft to lead the life of officials and lords.

Now, there are no more such "heads" and "chiefs" with us. The factory proper and the various workshops and offices have formed revolutionary production committees or revolutionary production service units. They are formed with a number of service personnel. The service personnel are elected by the red rebels. Those who are best in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings, who are most revolutionary and who are best tied with the masses are elected as service personnel. The incompetent can be removed and replaced at any time.

The revolutionary production committee and the revolutionary production service unit are revolutionary organizations for the masses to educate themselves, to liberate themselves and to manage themselves. They are tied with the masses like flesh and blood, and they cannot for a moment be detached from the masses. The relationship between the leader and the led today is entirely a comradely one, and is absolutely not one between the ruler and the ruled.

Many service personnel said: "Now that the course is run by us, we can never regard ourselves as officials and lords and can never detach ourselves from the masses."

With the exception of some particular persons who are temporarily detached from production really due to the need of work, the overwhelming majority of the service personnel of the revolutionary production committees and revolutionary production service units are not detached from production. Most of them make use of their spare time to carry out the cultural revolution and to deal with problems in production. There is a chief coordinator for the whole factory, and each workshop employs from one to three planning or technical personnel. They make concrete arrangements for production activities under the leadership of the revolutionary production committee or the revolutionary production service unit.

For a time some people were worried that the elimination of the old system of management and the retrenchment of large numbers of cadres detached from production would lead to ineffective management and interruption in production. Facts prove that such misgivings are superfluous.

The service personnel play a direct part in production, are most familiar with production conditions, are best able to understand the working masses, and are most suitable to take command. They "come from among the masses and go back among the masses." They discuss things with the masses, closely rely upon the masses, and are best able to bring the activism and creativeness of the broad masses into play. Once problems are discovered in production, they can be quickly solved. The important problems are handed over to the revolutionary production committee for study, and they also can be solved opportunely. This is also one of the important reasons why production can be quickly developed

after seizure of power. The working masses said in reflection: "Production in the whole factory is now smoothly directed and opportunely led."

Although the revolutionary production committee and the revolutionary production service unit are still at the inaugural stage at present, yet because they are great new things born in the great proletarian cultural revolution, they have a profound mass foundation and a far-reaching future. They will manifest their peerlessly strong power in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

"Make Revolution on the Basis of Economy," "Run the Factory with Hard Work and Thrift"

After our assumption of power, we resolutely follow Chairman Mao's teaching by "making revolution on the basis of economy" and "running the factory with hard work and thrift."

The conservative chieftain of our factory formerly constantly went out to conduct activities in a motor car. After seizure of power the Red Rebel Headquarters and the revolutionary production committee of the factory have decided that unless the business is extraordinarily urgent, everyone going out on duty should take a public vehicle or ride a bicycle, and the use of motor car is prohibited. After seizure of power, the motor car of the factory is very seldom used.

Every effort is made to practice economy and to guard against waste in the use of articles such as paper, ink, etc., for the cultural revolution. There are only a few wooden desks and chairs in the offices and the conference room.

The red rebels posted quotations from Chairman Mao on "making revolution on the basis of economy" by the side of machines. The workers said: "It is necessary to make revolution yield the best result and to incur the least expenditure. There is no point in making revolution if we are careless, extravagant and wasteful!"

After seizure of power, we firmly implement the guiding principle of "running factories with hard work and thrift" as advanced by Chairman Mao. Now that we are in power, the working masses have a stronger sense of responsibility as the masters, and they permit not the waste of a piece of wood. The red rebels of Workshop No. 6 do not ask the State for high-class coal. They said: "So long as we bring into play our subjective dynamic role, inferior coal can likewise be used to fire a boiler." Making economic use of raw and semi-processed materials also has become the fashion of the day.

Extravagance and waste is a bourgeois work style. It was the work style of the bureaucratic lords in the past.

Hard work and thrift is the proletarian work style. It is now the work style of the workers in power.

Unite the Majority of the Masses

Seizure of power is made by our factory in a down-to-earth manner. We have seized not merely one or two seals of authority and several offices. We have grasped leadership power in the real sense. The majority of the workers warmly support the seizure of power this time. They happily submit to the arrangements and adjustments made by the revolutionary production committee and the revolutionary production service units. This also means to say that such power has the approval of the masses.

Why is this possible? The reason is that before seizure of power, the red rebels paid attention to uniting the majority, and after seizure of power, they have paid even greater attention to carrying out such work more penetratingly and carefully.

We are of the opinion that the overwhelming majority of the masses have been deceived into joining the conservative organizations. In view of this, instead of discriminating against and excluding them, we unite them by means of persuasion and education on the basis of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The concrete way adopted is to study and discuss Chairman Mao's writings and the important documents bearing on the great cultural revolution together with them. We hold forums to publicize Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line to those who have been deceived and to criticize the bourgeois reactionary line. We make use of rest time to visit their families to compare the present with the past, and to enlighten their class consciousness. We also pay attention to their living conditions. In this way we have united the overwhelming majority of the masses who have been deceived. After changing their minds, they expressed their determination saying: "We must heed well what Chairman Mao says and follow his lead to make revolution."

We have also dealt with the cadres analytically and discriminately. Some who firmly stand on the side of the revolutionaries have been chosen to serve on the revolutionary production committee or the revolutionary production service units. Those who have no serious problems and are needed by work are kept for certain work. Those who are not needed by work are as a rule sent to the workshops to work together with the workers. The tiny handful of persons who were in authority and taking the capitalist road within the Party and the extremely small number of diehards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line are subject to criticism and struggle, made to work under supervision, and required to make confessions. In this way we have won over a number of cadres.

A cadre of the supply and marketing section was formerly a conservative. After he was sent to work in the workshop, a red rebel there actively directed ideological and political work toward him, and at the same time, showed concern for him in work and in livelihood. He gave him his own gloves and work uniform. As a result, this cadre changed his mind, and he told the red rebel that he wanted to say in the workshop to work together with the workers.

After the victory of the struggle to seize power, the revolutionary ranks quickly grow. Many persons ask to join the revolutionary rebels. Under such circumstances, we must pay attention to the mass character of the organization as well as its purity. In the case of those who are sincere in wanting to join the revolutionary rebels, even though they had been deceived before, so long as they change their stand we welcome them. However, we must especially guard against those who flaunt the "rebel" banner in the attempt to infiltrate into the revolutionary ranks to carry out sabotage.

Chairman Mao has said: "Today, it is necessary for revolution to organize millions of the populace and to mobilize a vast revolutionary army to counter the attack of counter-revolution." For the sake of seizing power, it is necessary to have such "millions of populace" and "vast army" in our command. In order to consolidate the power seized and to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, our revolutionary ranks need to be expanded and elevated continuously.

Make Uninterrupted Revolution, Forever March Forward

As we waged the most arduous, life-and-death struggle against a handful of those in authority who were taking the capitalist road within the Party and an extremely small number of diehards who clung to the bourgeois reactionary line, it was Chairman Mao's writing which gave us unlimited strength and made us "resolute, fear no sacrifice, and surmount every difficulty to win victory." Now that we are in power, the load on our shoulder has grown heavier. How can we carry such a heavy load? We deeply understand that of the thousands of important things, placing the thought of Mao Tse-tung in command is most important.

After our seizure of power, we earnestly study Chairman Mao's writings. With an eye on reality, we have seriously studied Chairman Mao's "three old articles," "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership," "Methods of Work of Party Committees," and other great works.

Wei Hsiu-ho, a 52-year-old worker who serves on the revolutionary production committee often studied deep into the night like many other red rebels. He said: "Without studying Chairman Mao's writings, how can we carry the load for the service personnel?"

New problems will arise under the new situation. Chairman Mao has warned us: "With victory, certain moods may grow within the Party -- arrogance, the airs of a self-styled hero, inertia and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for a continued hard living." The buds of these mistaken ideas also exist to a varying extent in the ranks of the red rebels. This has arrested our attention. We are deeply convinced that through studying Chairman Mao's writings and making criticism and self-criticism, we certainly can overcome these mistaken ideas.

"The inaccessible pass is really guarded like iron, but now we are passing through it with big strides."

After several months of hard struggle, we have stormed through numerous barriers, seized power in our hands, grasped the revolution and stimulated production. We clearly know that this is but the first step of the long march. The class enemies will not take their defeat lying down, and they still want to make a last-ditch struggle. Recently, a handful of reactionaries still keep secret "accounts of change in political climate," and they crazily attempt "to settle accounts after autumn" and to stage a comeback. We must maintain a high degree of vigilance against their plot and wage a resolute struggle against them to the end. Because we are in power, we also face many new problems. We have even sterner tests in store for us. The red rebels are making preparations for the new battle.

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