

PEKING REVIEW

5

January 27, 1967

Quotations From Chairman Mao On Opposing Economism

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**Proletarian Revolutionaries, Form a Great
Alliance to Seize Power From Those
In Authority Who Are Taking
The Capitalist Road!**

Renmin Ribao editorial.

**P.L.A. Firmly Backs Proletarian
Revolutionaries**

Jiefangjun Bao editorial.

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Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman

Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung

On Opposing Economism

Politics Is the Supreme Commander, the Soul. Political Work Is the Life-Blood of All Economic Work.

Not to have a correct political point of view is like having no soul.

*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions
Among the People*

Political work is the life-blood of all economic work. This is particularly true at a time when the social and economic system is undergoing fundamental change.

Introductory Note to "A Serious Lesson,"
The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside

The revolutionary struggle on the ideological and artistic fronts must be subordinate to the political struggle because only through politics can the needs of the class and the masses find expression in concentrated form.

*Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature
and Art*

We Should Put the Greatest Efforts Into Political Struggle. In the Absence of Political Reforms All the Productive Forces Are Being Ruined.

... Our present task is to lead the peasants to put their greatest efforts into the political struggle, so that the landlords' authority is entirely overthrown. The economic struggle should follow immediately, so that the land problem and the other

economic problems of the poor peasants may be fundamentally solved.

*Report on an Investigation of the Peasant
Movement in Hunan*

Once the peasants have their organization, the first thing they do is to smash the political prestige and power of the landlord class, and especially of the local tyrants and evil gentry, that is, to pull down landlord authority and build up peasant authority in rural society. This is a most serious and vital struggle. It is the pivotal struggle in the second period, the period of revolutionary action. Without victory in this struggle, no victory is possible in the economic struggle to reduce rent and interest, to secure land and other means of production, and so on.

*Report on an Investigation of the Peasant
Movement in Hunan*

In these struggles we should form various kinds of mass organizations, set up Party nuclei, build armed units of the masses and organs of people's political power, speedily raise mass economic struggles to the level of political struggles and lead the masses to take part in building the base areas.

Build Stable Base Areas in the Northeast

In the absence of political reforms all the productive forces are being ruined, and this is true both of agriculture and of industry.

On Coalition Government

We Should Not See Merely the Immediate And Partial Interests of the Working Class While Forgetting Its Broad, Long-Range Interests.

Education should be conducted among comrades in the trade unions and among the masses of workers to enable them to understand that they should not see merely the immediate and partial interests of the working class while forgetting its broad, long-range interests.

*On the Policy Concerning Industry and
Commerce*

It should be admitted that some people are prone to pay attention to immediate, partial and personal interests and do not understand, or do not sufficiently understand, long-range, national and collective interests. . . . That is why we must constantly carry on lively and effective political education among the masses and should always tell them the truth about the difficulties that crop up and discuss with them how to surmount these difficulties.

*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions
Among the People*

On entering the city, do not lightly advance slogans of raising wages and reducing working hours. In war time it is good enough if production can continue and existing working hours and original wage levels can be maintained. Whether or not suitable reductions in working hours and increases in wages are to be made later will depend on economic conditions, that is, on whether the enterprises thrive.

*Telegram to the Headquarters of the Lo-
yang Front After the Recapture of the City*

Be Vigilant Against Attack by "Sugar-Coated Bullets."

There may be some Communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets. We must guard against such a situation.

*Report to the Second Plenary Session of
the Seventh Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China*

The above selection of quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung's writings originally appeared in the "Guangming Ribao" on January 17, 1967, with the following editor's note:

"At the present time, those persons in authority within the Party who are taking the capitalist road and the very few stubborn elements who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line, working in collusion with monsters and demons in society, are using economism to corrupt the masses, disrupt production, undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution and sabotage the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Economism leads people astray, causing them to pay attention only to immediate, partial interests, while ignoring the fundamental interests of the proletariat. It is against Marxism-Leninism, against Mao Tse-tung's thought, and is out-and-out counter-revolutionary revisionist stuff.

"Our great leader, Chairman Mao, has long ago thoroughly criticized and repudiated economism. To help comrades get a clear understanding of the reactionary nature of economism, we have selected and edited for them to study some of Chairman Mao's statements criticizing and repudiating economism."

— P.R. Ed.

A Quotation From Chairman Mao Tse-tung

All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it. The desperate struggles waged by counter-revolutionaries against revolutionary forces are likewise solely for the sake of maintaining their political power.

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

Proletarian Revolutionaries, Form a Great Alliance To Seize Power From Those in Authority Who Are Taking the Capitalist Road!

IN response to the great call of our great leader Chairman Mao, a mighty revolutionary storm in which the proletarian revolutionary rebels are forming a great alliance to struggle to seize power, is sweeping the whole of China and shaking the entire world with the force of an avalanche and the power of a thunderbolt.

The grandest festival of the proletarian revolutionary rebels has arrived! The death knell for all monsters and ghosts has sounded! Let us raise both hands high and cheer enthusiastically: The great alliance of the proletarian revolutionary rebels and their seizure of power from those in authority who are taking the capitalist road are excellent, excellent indeed!

This is a new leap forward in our country's great proletarian cultural revolution. This is a great start for the nationwide, all-round class struggle to be unfolded this year.

This is an extremely great pioneering undertaking in the international communist movement, a great

event without precedent in mankind's history, a great event which has a bearing on the future of the world and the destiny of humanity.

In socialist society and under the dictatorship of the proletariat, hundreds of millions of revolutionary people have formed a mighty revolutionary force, with the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionary rebels as the core, to seize power from below, from the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and from those diehards who persistently cling to the bourgeois reactionary line. This is an important development by Chairman Mao of the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The basic question of revolution is political power. With the victory of the people's democratic revolution of our country, the proletariat seized power on a nationwide scale. But the overthrown class enemies remain and they are not reconciled to their defeat. And new

bourgeois elements appear in the ranks of the proletariat and the small producers. The struggle for the seizure of power has continued vigorously all the time between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Right from the beginning, the great proletarian cultural revolution has been a struggle for the seizure of power. This great cultural revolution means precisely the arousing of hundreds of millions of people to liberate themselves and to seize power from the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road. Only by carrying out a great mass movement like this, a mass struggle to seize power in an all-round way, is it possible thoroughly to resolve the problem of the seizure of power by the proletariat, thoroughly to resolve the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Power of every sort controlled by the representatives of the bourgeoisie must be seized! This is the great truth of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, which the revolutionary masses have grasped through arduous struggles over the last few months.

Why was it that when the revolutionary Left, in response to the great call of Chairman Mao and from their boundless loyalty to the proletarian revolutionary cause, aimed at those in authority who were taking the capitalist road and fired the first salvos, they were stigmatized as "counter-revolutionaries" and "Rightists"?

Why was it that after the arrival of the "work teams," the revolutionary Left was not only not emancipated, but was, on the contrary, subjected all the more to brutal suppression under white terror?

Why was it that when the broad revolutionary masses rose up to expose and criticize the bourgeois reactionary line, there occurred incidents of the masses struggling against the masses on a larger scale and even struggling by force and bloodshed; why were so many revolutionary path-breakers attacked, persecuted, expelled and suppressed? Why did there occur recently new large-scale counter-attacks by the bourgeois reactionary line and a flood of counter-revolutionary economism?

Reversals and twists and turns over the past several months and the repeated hurricanes of stormy class struggle gave the masses of revolutionary rebels profound lessons. They are seeing ever more clearly that the reason why the revolution suffered setbacks is due precisely to the fact that they did not seize in their own hands the seals of power. The handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie are vicious and dare to bully people to such an extent precisely because they still have power! Of all the ways for the revolutionary masses to take their destiny into their own hands, in the final analysis, the only way is to take power! Those who have power have everything; those who are without power have nothing. Of all the important things, the

possession of power is the most important! Such being the case, the revolutionary masses, with a deep hatred for the class enemy, clench their teeth and, with steel-like determination, make up their mind to unite, form a great alliance, seize power! Seize power!! Seize power!!! All the Party power, political power and financial power usurped by the counter-revolutionary revisionists and those diehards who persistently cling to the bourgeois reactionary line must be recaptured! The proletarian revolutionary masses must take firmly into their own hands the destiny of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the destiny of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the destiny of the socialist economy! They have rightly said: "The proletarian revolutionaries, the real revolutionary Left, have their eye on seizing power, think of seizing power and act to seize power!" This is not "personal ambition," but to seize power for the sake of the proletariat and communism and to let the great thought of Mao Tse-tung take possession of all positions!

The earth-shaking mass movement of the proletarian revolutionary rebels in forming a great alliance to struggle to seize power is a decisive and gigantic battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It is inevitably accompanied by a concentrated outbreak of class contradictions, by a storm unprecedented in size. The actuality of this decisive and gigantic battle has opened a soul-stirring scene before our eyes.

Just look! The proletarian rebel masses, having surmounted many obstacles, have taken action urgently, grouped themselves under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and rallied around them hundreds of millions of revolutionaries. They are displaying in a highly conscious way the revolutionary rebel spirit of the proletariat, dare to struggle, dare to seize power, charge and storm and put to rout all that stands against them, and they are forging ahead from victory to victory.

Just look! The handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists are scared out of their wits and hate with a mortal hatred the great alliance of the revolutionary rebels and their seizure of power from those in authority who are taking the capitalist road and from those diehards who persistently cling to the bourgeois reactionary line, because the seizure of power is the seizure of their life source, the seizure of their last magic weapon on which they reckoned for a "settling of accounts after the autumn harvest." They indeed become panicky, fly into a rage and are seized by fits of hysteria. But the last-ditch fight of all counter-revolutionaries helps them not at all. They are rapidly being swallowed up in the torrents of the mass movement of the revolutionary rebels' great alliance to struggle to seize power.

To every proletarian revolutionary this is indeed the greatest joy in life!

To carry out the struggle for the seizure of power, the proletarian revolutionary rebels must effect a great

alliance. In the absence of a great alliance, the seizure of power from those in authority who are taking the capitalist road remains empty talk. In the *Communist Manifesto* more than a hundred years ago, Marx and Engels were the first to raise the militant slogan "Workers of all countries, unite!", sounding the drums for the proletariat's first seizure of power which reduced the bourgeoisie of the old world to fear and trembling. More than forty years ago, our great leader Chairman Mao issued the great call for "a great alliance of the masses of the people," sounding the bugle call for our country's New Democratic revolution. Today, in the new situation of our country's great cultural revolution, hundreds of millions of revolutionaries are getting mobilized and plunging into struggle at the great, new call of Chairman Mao, under the great slogan of "Proletarian revolutionary rebels, form a great alliance to seize power from those in authority who are taking the capitalist road!" This foreshadows the end for the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and for those diehards who persistently cling to the bourgeois reactionary line.

"I ask the great earth and the boundless blue

Who are the masters of all nature?"

[From Chairman Mao's poem *Changsha — to the melody "Shen Yuan Chun"*]

"We are! We are! We are!! We, the worker, peasant and soldier masses, are the indisputable masters of the new world!" Such is the clear voice of the revolutionary masses!

Revolutionary cadres and revolutionary students must integrate themselves with the workers movement and the peasant movement. They must integrate the struggle in society with that in the organization they belong to and establish an alliance with revolutionary forces outside their organizations so as to attack from both within and without to thoroughly smash the old systems of exploitation and revisionism and all bureaucratic setups. The masses of workers and peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres together should act as masters of their own affairs and establish a brand new proletarian order.

The great alliance has to be formed in the struggle for the seizure of power. The great alliance requires a clear-cut stand. It is a great alliance of revolutionary rebels, and not a hodge-podge. Eclecticism, reformism, "small group mentality" [which considers the interests of a particular group rather than the overall interest], sectarianism, departmentalism and splittism must all be defeated.

In the high tide of the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power from those in authority who are taking the capitalist road, a tiny number of bourgeois diehards will disguise themselves to try by hook and by crook to worm their way into the ranks of the great alliance of revolutionaries. They

hypocritically fly a flag of "revolutionary rebellion" in an attempt to seize power from the proletariat. It is their practice to fabricate rumours, sow discord and dissension, transpose black and white and confuse right and wrong, incite the masses to shift the target of the struggle and direct the spearhead of attack at the revolutionaries, at the dictatorship of the proletariat and at the headquarters of the proletarian revolution. We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, heighten our vigilance and keep clear-sighted so that we draw a clear-cut line between the enemy and ourselves, distinguish between right and wrong on vital questions, see through all their intrigues and schemes and give them resolute counterblows!

Such strong, unprecedented resistance from the class enemy is inevitable. The handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and the tiny number of diehards who persistently cling to the bourgeois reactionary line are colluding with all monsters and ghosts in society to knock together a counter-revolutionary alliance to oppose the great alliance of revolution. But no matter how many twists and turns and reverses we may meet, with the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao, we, the hundreds of millions of revolutionaries armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, will overcome all difficulties, expose one by one those who stir up winds of evil and direct the spearhead of their attack at the dictatorship of the proletariat and at the headquarters of the proletarian revolution, and we will expose them and pull them down. The great revolutionary alliance will eventually defeat the small counter-revolutionary alliance.

"So many deeds cry out to be done,

And always urgently;

The world rolls on,

Time presses.

Ten thousand years are too long,

Seize the day, seize the hour!"

[From Chairman Mao's poem *Reply to Kuo Mo-jo — to the melody of "Man Chiang Hung"*]

Revolutionary comrades-in-arms, let us get mobilized under the guidance of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, form a great alliance and unfold a nationwide all-round struggle to seize power from the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and those diehards who persistently cling to the bourgeois reactionary line and triumphantly fulfil the great historic task entrusted to us by Chairman Mao.

If the enemy refuses to surrender, we will finish him off!

Proletarian revolutionaries, form a great alliance to seize power from those in authority who are taking the capitalist road!

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, January 22.)

The People's Liberation Army Firmly Backs The Proletarian Revolutionaries

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, practised 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 pro-

letarian revolutionaries. The P.L.A. 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 P.L.A. 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 colour 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.

("Jiefangjun Bao" editorial, January 25.)

Proletarian Revolutionaries, Unite!

Seize Power From Below From Those in Authority Who Are Taking the Capitalist Road

RENMIN RIBAO'S editorial "Proletarian Revolutionaries, Form a Great Alliance to Seize Power From Those in Authority Who Are Taking the Capitalist Road!" has sounded the bugle call for the proletarian revolutionaries to form such an alliance and launch an all-embracing mass struggle on a nationwide scale to seize power from those in authority who are taking the capitalist road. Proletarian revolutionaries in Peking, Shanghai, Tientsin and other places said enthusiastically that they would act immediately, form a great alliance under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, launch a nationwide all-embracing struggle to seize power, recapture Party, political, financial and all other important powers from those in authority who are taking the capitalist road, let the great thought of Mao Tse-tung occupy all positions, establish a completely new proletarian order and fulfil the great, historic mission assigned proletarian revolutionaries throughout the country by our great leader Chairman Mao.

At the present time, the revolutionary rebels of all circles in **Peking** are entering into close alliance to form an onrushing torrent which is thrusting powerfully at those within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and those diehards who are obstinately clinging to the bourgeois reactionary line, and taking over the Party, political and financial power under the control of these people. The scene of a great decisive battle is unfolding and the situation is developing vigorously. Members of the Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters of Workers and Staff of the Capital declared that the editorial had expressed what they felt in the depths of their hearts and that to form a great alliance and seize power from those in authority who were taking the capitalist road was just what they intended to do; this was the right of the broad revolutionary masses, a right given by Chairman Mao. They

declared that once they had seized power they would certainly follow Chairman Mao's teachings, serve the people still better, be their willing oxen and speed up socialist revolution and socialist construction. The revolutionary rebels in the field of trade and finance, who were the first in the country to form throughout their organizations a great alliance, said at a discussion that their foremost current task was to unite all revolutionaries in the field of trade and finance, thoroughly and completely seize all power, and firmly grasp the destinies of the great proletarian cultural revolution and of the socialist economy, take firm control of trade, finance and banking, and completely smash every type of counter-revolutionary revisionist economism. The revolutionary workers and cadres of the revolutionary rebel groups in Peking's publishing organizations elatedly pointed out that by forming a great trade-wide alliance of the revolutionary rebels they had recaptured the power to publish Chairman Mao's works and all other powers from those in authority who were taking the capitalist road and those who stubbornly pursued the bourgeois reactionary line. They declared that they would certainly print Chairman Mao's works in great numbers and at high speed, so that more revolutionary people in China and abroad could get the treasure houses of Chairman Mao's writings and the radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought could shine all over the world. A vast number of Red Guards and revolutionary students and teachers have pledged their resolve to unite with the revolutionary workers, peasants and cadres in order to seize overall power from those in authority who are taking the capitalist road.

Full of revolutionary fervour, the revolutionary rebel groups and the broad revolutionary masses in **Shanghai** who are launching an all-embracing general offensive against those in authority who are taking the

capitalist road declared that all proletarian revolutionaries in Shanghai would unite in response to the great call of the great leader Chairman Mao, burst through all difficulties and obstructions in the revolutionary spirit of "Seize the day, seize the hour" and recapture all Party, political and financial power from those in authority who are taking the capitalist road. Recalling the struggles before and after the seizure of power, the revolutionary rebels of the state-owned No. 17 Cotton Mill and the Shanghai Glass Machinery Plant said: "The fundamental question of revolution is that of political power. With power, we have everything. Now that we revolutionary rebel groups have seized power, we will hold on to it and never give it up." The revolutionary rebel workers of the Shanghai Glass Machinery Plant also gained a deep understanding of the fact that the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and those who are stubbornly clinging to the bourgeois reactionary line, who have been deprived of their power, will never be reconciled to their failure and willingly step down from the stage of history. They will inevitably wage a desperate struggle and oppose the proletarian revolutionaries with redoubled fury. The only way to deal with these people is to resolutely exercise proletarian dictatorship over them. The revolutionary rebel groups and the revolutionary masses of *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* enthusiastically acclaimed the *Renmin Ribao* editorial. From their own experience in struggle they gained a profound understanding that the essence of the struggle of the great proletarian cultural revolution is the seizure of power by the proletariat from the bourgeoisie. The only way is to strike down to the dust the counter-revolutionary revisionists and those diehards who stick to the bourgeois reactionary line and keep them there, exercise proletarian dictatorship and let Mao Tse-tung's thought firmly occupy all positions.

In **Tientsin** the very day the *Renmin Ribao* editorial appeared, the proletarian revolutionary rebel brigade jointly organized by over 30 revolutionary rebel groups at the Tientsin Jute Mill recaptured the leadership in the mill from the persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road. The workers beat drums and gongs to celebrate the mill's rebirth. Some cadres of the revolutionary rebels of the Tientsin Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party declared that all leadership of Tientsin city must be truly grasped in the hands of the revolutionary rebels.

In **Shenyang**. The revolutionary rebels in the Shenyang Rolling Mill declared: "Chairman Mao understands very well the innermost beings of us revolutionary rebels. He has called on us proletarian revolutionaries to unite and seize back power from those in authority who are taking the capitalist road. This is very important and a very fine thing. We proletarian revolutionaries are wholeheartedly devoted to the Party, Chairman Mao and the proletarian revolutionary cause. Determined to prevent China from changing colour, we fear nothing in the heavens or on earth. We will resolutely act on Chairman Mao's order

—unite and seize the power! If the enemy do not surrender, they will certainly be wiped out! In order to seize power, five revolutionary rebel groups in this mill have united and established a command headquarters for united action."

In **Kwangchow**. In statements already published, the Revolutionary Rebels Red Guard Organization of the Chungshan Medical College, a Kwangchow peasant revolutionary rebel group—the Red-Peasant-Friends Group of Mao Tse-tung's Thought—and the general headquarters of the Shihching area on the outskirts of Kwangchow have expressed their determination to achieve a great alliance of the revolutionary rebels, to organize a mighty cultural revolutionary army and to recapture all the power from those in authority who are taking the capitalist road.

The revolutionary rebels on various fronts in **Sian**, Shensi Province, enthusiastically hailed as really excellent the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries and the seizure of power from the persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road. Although it possessed very good modern equipment, when the Sian No. 1 Automobile Spare Parts Plant of Shensi Province was under the control of those in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road, it rejected any task entrusted to it by the state to manufacture automobile spare parts and arbitrarily limited its role as a manufacturing plant to that of a motor-car repair shop. In June last year, several revolutionary workers who put up a big character poster entitled "Whither the Automobile Spare Parts Plant?" exposing the crimes of the persons in authority in the plant who are taking the capitalist road were branded as "counter-revolutionaries."

Later, the revolutionary workers got organized and seized part of the power from the leadership, thus deflating the arrogance of those in authority in the plant who were taking the capitalist road. However, those in authority had not completely collapsed at that time. As late as the end of last year, they still worked hand in glove with those in authority in the Shensi provincial communications department who are taking the capitalist road. They rejected the state plan for the manufacture of automobile parts and accepted only 47 per cent of it. Recently, filled with great anger, the revolutionary rebel workers have risen up to seize all political, economic, and cultural power in the plant. They accepted the task of producing automobile parts in excess of the quota stipulated in the state plan. The revolutionary rebel workers in this plant said that only by seizing power in an all-round and thoroughgoing way from below was it possible to strike to the ground the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and to guarantee the dictatorship of the proletariat, to guarantee that the enterprise would march along the socialist road and to guarantee that our socialist motherland will never change colour.

(Continued on p. 23.)

Peking Review, No. 5

Let Mao Tse-tung's Thought Occupy All Positions in the Press

IN Shanghai, a city with a glorious revolutionary tradition, the present situation is characterized by the rapid growth and great alliance of various revolutionary forces with the Shanghai working class as their nucleus. The revolutionary new-born newspapers *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* have fought their way through in the fierce battle between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line.

The proletarian revolutionaries in Shanghai have seized the leadership of the newspapers from the hands of the bourgeois Rightists, and have firmly taken into their own hands the destiny of the people's press. This is a tremendously important event in the history of the development of China's great proletarian cultural revolution and a new pioneering act in the history of the journalism of China's proletariat.

With the spirit and far-sightedness of a great proletarian revolutionary, our Chairman Mao has set extremely high value on this event. Chairman Mao has pointed out that it is a great revolution, one in which one class overthrows another. This event will certainly play a tremendous part in pushing ahead the development of the great proletarian cultural revolution throughout east China and in all the cities and provinces in the country.

The basic question in any revolution is that of state power. The proletarian revolutionaries must take political, economic and cultural power firmly into their own hands. This is an issue of prime importance affecting the destiny of the proletarian dictatorship in China, the destiny of the socialist economy and the destiny of the great proletarian cultural revolution. In brief, it is a matter of great importance concerning whether China will or will not change colour.

The fighting task the proletarian revolutionaries must courageously shoulder is the recovery of all usurped power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and the very small number of diehards who are persisting in the bourgeois reactionary line. Just as the revolutionaries of the *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* said: "If we do not make this revolution, who will! If we do not seize this power, who will!"

Our Party's newspapers are an important instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are

the best able to have an impact on the inner being of the broad masses, the beating of their pulses, and their thinking, feeling and political orientation. Newspapers that have fallen into the hands of those in authority who are taking the capitalist road will become their counter-revolutionary tools serving to spread capitalist and revisionist poison and to carry out a capitalist restoration. This is absolutely impermissible. The proletarian revolutionaries of *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* resolutely rose in rebellion in alliance with the revolutionary rebels in Shanghai. They seized the leadership back, and turned the capitalist orientation of the newspapers so as to really make these two newspapers the voice of the Shanghai proletarian revolutionaries, a powerful weapon of the great proletarian cultural revolution and a powerful weapon in smashing the new counter-attack by the bourgeois reactionary line. These revolutionary comrades were very correct to do this, and did it very well!

When the proletarian revolutionaries recaptured the leadership of the newspapers, those capitalist elements who had wormed their way into the Party raised an evil storm by accusing them: "You have discarded Party leadership." This is perverting the truth! In the eyes of the proletarian revolutionaries, Party leadership is the leadership of the Party's Central Committee led by Chairman Mao, the leadership of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the leadership of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. It is exactly this handful of bourgeois elements who had wormed their way into the Party and who in reality are opposed to the Party, Mao Tse-tung's thought and the proletarian revolutionary line. We must rebel against these bourgeois lords! Once we rebel against them, we will bring the newspapers back into the orbit of Mao Tse-tung's thought, back to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and enable the revolutionary masses to really hear the voice of the Party and Chairman Mao. This is genuine perseverance in upholding the Party leadership. This rebellion is entirely justified!

These bourgeois "authorities" say: "You are not qualified." But revolutionary rebels are undaunted. Do not think for a moment that without these bourgeois lords we cannot survive and run our affairs. On the contrary, with these stumbling-blocks removed, our road becomes broader and broader as we march on, and our work can be done better and better.

Look at the newly born *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao*! Once freed from the control of the criminal bourgeois reactionary line, these newspapers are full of vitality and disperse the gloom in which "ten thousand horses stand mute." Under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, they have a clear-cut stand, and are sharp and pungent and full of militancy. All the revolutionary people say: "This is fine! This is excellent!"

In the all-out class struggle by the proletariat and the broad masses of revolutionary people against the bourgeoisie and its agents, the revolutionary comrades of the *Wenhui Bao* and *Jiefang Ribao* have set a fine example for revolutionary journalists throughout the country. We should learn from them. We should learn from these comrades in standing firmly on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and standing on the side of the revolutionary

rebels to seize the enemy positions in the great cause of the proletarian cultural revolution. We should learn from the revolutionary rebel spirit of these comrades, and place the destiny of the press firmly in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries. We should learn from the way these comrades have linked themselves closely with the workers' movement, the students' movement and the mass revolutionary movement, forging close links between the newspapers and the revolutionary masses. In short, all the proletarian revolutionary newspapers should have a completely new and militant style, and should make clear what we support and what we oppose in a completely frank and unequivocal way.

Let the great thought of Mao Tse-tung occupy all positions in the press. Victory belongs to the proletariat and to the vast masses of the people!

(*"Renmin Ribao"* editorial, January 19.)

Firmly Support the Revolutionary Peasant Movement, Thoroughly Smash Counter-Revolutionary Economism

— A Message to All Shanghai People

To all revolutionary workers, revolutionary peasants, revolutionary students, revolutionary cadres and comrades and comrades-in-arms of revolutionary rebel organizations of Shanghai:

The revolutionary peasants of Shanghai are rising in rebellion!

The great proletarian cultural revolution in the Shanghai area has advanced to a new stage, having been tremendously inspired by the message of greetings sent to Shanghai revolutionary rebel organizations by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group under the Party's Central Committee. The revolutionary rebel groups are rapidly gaining in strength; they are counter-attacking the bourgeois reactionary line with ever stronger fire. The situation is getting better and better! Amid the thunder of the innumerable guns bombarding the bourgeois reactionary line of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, the more than 3 million peasants of Shanghai's outskirts are plunging into the mighty revolutionary torrent in a gigantic rebellion against the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road, against the landlords, rich

peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, and against the bourgeois reactionary line. Wherever their spearhead is directed, their force is irresistible. This rising of the revolutionary peasant movement is a major event in the great cultural revolution in the Shanghai area, an event worthy of hearty rejoicing. Its revolutionary actions are splendid! Its general orientation is entirely correct. All revolutionary comrades must support the revolutionary peasant movement with the utmost resolution.

The revolutionary poor and lower-middle peasants have risen in rebellion. The revolutionary rebel groups have allied their forces in rebellion. They are seizing back, completely and resolutely, the power of leadership which has been usurped by the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road, and by the very small number of diehards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line. This revolutionary action has thrown these reactionary elements into a panic. Nevertheless, they are making a desperate struggle. They are trying in a hundred and one ways to sow confusion and stir up disputes within the ranks of the revolutionary rebel groups in order to undermine the great alliance of the revolutionary rebel groups and disrupt their struggle to seize

power, a struggle of great strategic importance. At present, they are attempting to hold on to their positions in the countryside by turning the evil wind of counter-revolutionary economism from the cities to the villages, thereby further increasing the differences between worker and peasant and between town and countryside. They are trying their utmost to create contradictions between the workers and peasants and incite the peasants to oppose the workers so as to undermine both the socialist economy in the countryside and the worker-peasant alliance — the foundation of the proletarian dictatorship. On January 9, one of the principal leading members of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee flagrantly told representatives of peasant rebel groups from the ten counties on the city's outskirts: "Those workers are out to rebel against you, you should rebel right back against them." These words fully reveal their political intrigue. It is just as Chairman Mao has said: "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." We revolutionary rebel fighters must heighten our vigilance a hundred-fold lest they shift the general orientation of the struggle, and we must be ready at any moment to deal head-on blows against any new counter-offensive of the bourgeois reactionary line!

We must always remember this instruction from Chairman Mao: "We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports." Since the handful of people in the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee are creating contradictions between the workers and peasants, we broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants must even more resolutely unite with the revolutionary workers, revolutionary students, revolutionary cadres and other revolutionary people, defend with our lives the dictatorship of the proletariat, the worker-peasant alliance and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and firmly grasp in our hands the destiny of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the destiny of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the destiny of the socialist economy!

The struggle between the two lines has reached a crucial point. All-round class struggle is developing. We must continue our triumphant advance and launch an all-round attack on the bourgeois reactionary line! At a time when the peasant movement is rising, we appeal to all revolutionary organizations, revolutionary workers, revolutionary students and revolutionary cadres to give it their vigorous support.

1. Of late many revolutionary peasants have come out to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, repulse the onslaught of the evil wind of counter-revolutionary revisionist economism, and smash the latest counter-offensive of the bourgeois reactionary line. We express our most resolute support for their revolutionary actions! We appeal to all revolu-

tionary rebel organizations to take prompt action in resolute support of their revolutionary actions. The fighters of all revolutionary rebel groups must give prominence to politics, make great efforts to propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought, and exchange revolutionary experience, so that all our peasant brothers who have come to the city can take back to the rural areas as soon as possible the experience of the revolutionary rebel groups in the great proletarian cultural revolution. At the same time, we must also be on guard against the new scheme "to lure the tiger out of the mountain" of the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority in the rural areas and are taking the capitalist road. Wishing to evade the masses struggle, shift the general orientation of the struggle and muddle through by glossing over their mistakes, they instigate large numbers of peasants to leave their production posts and stream into the city in order to increase pressure on the city. The revolutionary rebel groups must set an example in "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" both in the factories and in the rural areas.

2. With the intention of sabotaging the great proletarian cultural revolution, the handful of persons in the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and the few diehards in the Municipal Party Committee who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line signed away things indiscriminately and squandered the sweat and blood of the working people. They tried to sabotage production, sabotage the great cultural revolution and shift the general orientation of the revolutionary struggle by increasing wages and material benefits, altering the enterprises' administrative systems, and merging factories and changing the nature of their ownership. They are creating contradictions, widening differences and provoking the masses to struggle against each other over the matter of the distribution of income in collectively owned rural enterprises, and also that which concerns worker-peasant commune members and workers who have returned to the villages but do outside work. Thus, they obstruct the normal distribution at year's end and seriously affect the commune members' work enthusiasm. In order to repulse the onslaught of the evil wind of counter-revolutionary economism, we hereby solemnly declare: the signatures of the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road on papers relating to economic matters are declared null and void as from today. The situation should be handled firmly in accordance with the relevant directive against economism issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. As to the question of the year-end distribution of rural income, it is necessary to mobilize the masses fully, give prominence to proletarian politics, correctly handle relations between the state, the collective and the commune members, scrupulously implement the distribution policy and resolutely oppose any decision not to set aside funds for production and collective accumulation, or to reduce the funds set aside for this purpose, and to pursue a

one-sided policy aimed purely at increasing immediate distribution.

3. In order to effect the great alliance and great unity of our proletarian revolutionary rebel organizations and to give active support to the rise of the revolutionary peasant movement, in accordance with the demand of the masses, it is decided that the chief criminals within the Municipal Party Committee who carried out counter-revolutionary economism should be handed over to the masses in the suburban counties for criticism and struggle so as to further expose and smash the latest counter-offensive of the bourgeois reactionary line and thoroughly wipe out the noxious influence of counter-revolutionary economism.

4. Revolutionary students and revolutionary cadres should take energetic action, go to the villages in an organized and planned way, integrate themselves with the peasant masses, make great efforts to propagate Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and sweep away the evil influence of economism. Workers and young intellectuals who have gone to the villages to participate in agricultural production over the past several years should settle down in their present work, take an active part in the great proletarian cultural revolution in the rural areas and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Let the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants, revolutionary teachers and students, and revolutionary cadres unite!

Let us launch all-round class struggle throughout the country!

Long live the revolutionary workers' movement, peasants' movement and students' movement!

Thoroughly smash the latest counter-offensive of the bourgeois reactionary line!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the great Chinese Communist Party!

Long live Chairman Mao, the great teacher, the great leader, the great supreme commander and the great helmsman! A long, long life to him!

The Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters

The Preparatory Committee of the Shanghai Peasants' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters

The Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters of Shanghai Agricultural Management Organizations

The Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters of Shanghai Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Service

The "Bombard the Headquarters" United Corps of Shanghai

The "Defend Mao Tse-tung's Thought" Fighting Corps of New Peking University

The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the "Ching-kang Mountains" Corps of Tsinghua University

The "East Is Red" Corps of Tongji University

The Revolutionary Rebel Liaison Centre of Organizations of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee

The Revolutionary Rebel United Committee of Shanghai Municipal Organizations

The Red Guards' Revolutionary Committee of the Colleges and Universities of Shanghai

The Mao Tse-tung-ism Corps of the Worker-Peasant-Soldier Physical Culture Institute of Peking

The Revolutionary Rebel Committee of Shanghai Journalists

The Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters of Shanghai Publishing Circles

The "Rebel to the End" Corps of the Shanghai Jiaotong University

The Revolutionary Rebel Corps of the Shanghai Jiaotong University

The Revolutionary Rebel Committee of Teachers and Staff Members of Schools of Secondary Education in Shanghai

The Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters of Shanghai Primary School Teachers

The Red Guard Army's (Chiwei jun) Revolutionary Committee of Shanghai Colleges and Universities

The Art and Literature Circles' Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters of Shanghai Art Colleges and Universities

The Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters of Shanghai Medical Circles

The Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters of the Shanghai Sports Front

The Red Guard Army (Hongwei jun) Command of the Shanghai Revolutionary Rebel United Committee

The Red Guards' Shanghai Third Headquarters

The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Capital's First Headquarters

The Revolutionary Rebel Corps of the Shanghai Social Sciences Institute

The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the "August 13" Red Guards of Tientsin University

January 16, 1967

(First printed in the Shanghai "Wenhui Bao" and "Jiefang Ribao" on Jan. 20.)

Long Live the Slogan "Revolutionary Rebellion Is Justified!"

"Hongqi" editor's note: The "Wenhui Bao" has taken on a completely new look since January 4 this year and it has become a real proletarian revolutionary paper. It has successively carried many good articles and editorials. "Long Live the Slogan 'Revolutionary Rebellion Is Justified'" which we are reprinting is one. This article is very good indeed, because it has thoroughly repudiated all sorts of absurd arguments which prohibit rebellion and has thus greatly strengthened the morale of the proletarian revolutionary rebels and taken the wind out of the sails of the bourgeoisie.

Some responsible personnel, though not in the category of anti-Party and anti-socialist elements, have not remoulded or effectively remoulded their bourgeois world outlook. They neither study nor mix with the masses in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Therefore, to this day, they still have a very poor understanding of this revolution. They blindly echo the absurd charges that "you're going too far," "you're making an awful mess of it," "your revolutionary spirit is alright, but the way you're doing things is wrong," and so on. We would like to warn these comrades sharply: If you go on this way, you will go from merely having a very poor understanding of the great proletarian cultural revolution to actually opposing it! It is of the utmost importance that these comrades read the editorial "Long Live the Slogan 'Revolutionary Rebellion Is Justified,'" examine their thinking in the light of it and change their minds. We hope that these comrades will wake up immediately!

Following is a translation of the January 6 "Wenhui Bao" editorial. It was reprinted by the journal "Hongqi," No. 2, (January 16) with the above editorial note. Both were reprinted by "Renmin Ribao" on January 19.—"P.R." Ed.

IN the course of the unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution, regiments of revolutionary rebels have emerged from the struggle. Acting on Chairman Mao's teaching that "rebellion is justified," they hold high the great banner of revolutionary rebellion and with hurricane force launch a general offensive against the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and those who are stubbornly clinging to the bourgeois reactionary line. The power of this offensive is irresistible, swift and violent; those who bow before it survive and those who resist perish. These red revolutionary rebels have performed unforgettable, historic feats in the great proletarian cultural revolutionary movement. They are the hard-hitting vanguard of the great cultural revolution.

The revolutionary rebels have the deepest feeling for Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee. They have the best understanding of the current great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself. Chairman Mao gives his greatest support to the revolutionary rebels. They stand steadfastly on the side of the revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. In order to defend the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao at all costs, they dare to scale a mountain of swords or brave a sea of fire. They fear neither heaven nor earth, neither ghosts nor gods, neither encirclement and at-

tacks nor persecution. Cherishing a boundless love for Chairman Mao, they dare to think, speak up, act, blaze new trails and make revolution; they are truly people "who are not afraid of death by a thousand cuts and dare to unhorse the emperor."

The revolutionary rebels know very well that a revolution is not a dinner party or writing an essay; it is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another. In defending the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao, they have taken many actions which are described as "breaking all the rules." "Breaking all the rules," that is just what revolution is! "Breaking all the rules," that is just what rebellion is! These actions that "break all the rules" are trail-blazing revolutionary actions. Every really revolutionary comrade should hail them as "fine," instead of blindly echoing others' moan of "it's terrible."

The revolutionary rebels have the sharpest sight, the most acute sense of smell and the greatest fighting will. Under their stormy attack, those handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road, and who were hidden in dark corners, have been dragged out one by one no matter how well they disguised themselves. Whatever new tricks they use to deceive the masses, the extremely small number of diehards who stubbornly pursue the bourgeois reactionary line have been seen through one after another by the young Red Guard fighters who have risen in revolutionary rebellion. Hotly pursued and fiercely attacked by the revolutionary rebels, the diehards are finding the going tougher and tougher and they are daily in a greater quandary. Their downfall is certain if they continue to put up resistance instead

of bowing their heads, admitting their crimes and returning to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

The revolutionary rebels dare to fight, to have a trial of strength and to rebel. This is the outcome of their creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings. They have achieved most impressive results in this respect. They study Chairman Mao's writings not shut up in their studies, but amid great storms, and with the most urgent problems arising from the class struggle in mind. This is why they can apply every sentence they have learnt and transform the spiritual force that has been engendered into a mighty material force. Confronted with powerful enemies and endless difficulties, they are full of courage and dare to risk their lives as a result of their study of Chairman Mao's works; no difficulty or resistance can overwhelm them, instead, these can only be overwhelmed by the revolutionary rebels.

Charging ahead in the vanguard, the revolutionary rebels have met with every kind of resistance. Though this resistance assumes a variety of forms and labels, the essence is the same, it is that rebellion is prohibited. We must thoroughly refute all sorts of absurd arguments that prohibit rebellion.

"You're going too far." This is the comment by those who put fear above everything. They oppose any attack on the bourgeois reactionary line by the revolutionary rebels. They would prefer to make revolution comfortably. But in reality it is impossible to make revolution comfortably. Revolution is no easy undertaking. Making revolution comfortably is making sham revolution but really seeking comfort. Whoever wants to make revolution comfortably is sure to "evolve" comfortably into a revisionist. Chairman Mao has said: "Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall." This is also true in criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line. Proper limits have to be exceeded in order to right a wrong, or else the wrong cannot be righted. Without launching fierce attacks on the bourgeois reactionary line, without a sharp, decisive battle, the bourgeois reactionary line will not easily vanish from the heads of those following it. We must loudly shout that we are not afraid of "going too far."

"You're making an awful mess of it." What are you afraid of? Chairman Mao has said: "Even great storms are not to be feared. It is amid great storms that human society progresses." Under present-day conditions and guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, extensive democracy can only consolidate and never weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a splendid thing to smash the taboos and restrictions that bind the masses hand and foot and smash the peculiar and out-dated conventions and so fully mobilize the masses. To make revolution is no crime and to rebel is justified. We should never again commit the mistake of Lord Sheh's love of dragons.* If every day one talks volubly about arousing the masses but becomes panic-stricken and frightened out of his wits once the masses are really aroused, is this not repeating Lord

Sheh's mistake? This great revolutionary disorder is excellent. It can only result in the elimination of everything that is rotten, whereas in the struggle Mao Tse-tung's thought will become more engrained in us.

"Your revolutionary spirit is alright, but the way you do things cannot be approved." This is another eclectic comment. The revolutionary rebel spirit of the revolutionary rebels always manifests itself in each and every concrete action. While supporting the revolutionary spirit of the revolutionary rebels, you criticize all of their concrete actions in a hundred and one ways. Aren't your "support" and "approval" only empty words? While affirming their revolutionary spirit, you oppose their revolutionary action. How can you reconcile the two? It is unavoidable that the rebels commit mistakes of one kind or another in the struggle. Those who try to use certain isolated shortcomings to attack the revolutionary rebels and clutch at straws will definitely meet an ignominious end. You must either actively support or resolutely oppose the revolutionary actions of the revolutionary rebels; eclecticism is a blind alley.

"Rebellion is justified." This is always the slogan of the proletarian revolutionaries. Whether you are a genuine Marxist or a pseudo-Marxist, the touchstone for determining this is how you treat this slogan and what attitude you take towards the revolutionary rebels. If you are a real Marxist, you will certainly agree one hundred per cent with the slogan "rebellion is justified," and you will certainly put revolution before everything else; if you are a pseudo-Marxist, you will surely agree one hundred per cent with the view that "rebellion is unjustified," and you will surely try your best to defend the targets of the revolution. The prevailing spirit of the present era is the revolutionary rebel spirit. Every genuine revolutionary must hold high the great banner of revolutionary rebellion in this great proletarian cultural revolution and be proud to be a revolutionary rebel.

Revolutionary rebel comrades-in-arms! Looking ahead to this new year, the situation is excellent and our tasks are arduous. Hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, study the "three constantly read articles" [*Serve the People, In Memory of Norman Bethune and The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*] as maxims, exert great efforts to remould our world outlook and vigorously destroy the concept of self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest. We should go to the factories and the rural areas to integrate ourselves with the vast masses of workers and peasants. Under all circumstances, we must closely unite, continue to fight, carry the revolution through to the end, march forward to still greater goals and win one new victory after another!

* As told by Liu Hsiang (76-5 B.C.) in his *Hsin Hsu*, Lord Sheh was so fond of dragons that he adorned his whole palace with drawings and carvings of them. But when a real dragon heard of his infatuation and paid him a visit, he was frightened out of his wits. — Tr.

"Past the Sunken Boat, a Thousand Vessels Wing"

Shanghai "Wenhui Bao" Editorial

(January 14, 1967)

ANOTHER new thing has appeared in the unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution: the revolutionary rebel groups in many units have risen to take power into their own hands. This marks a great victory for the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and also heralds the approaching end of the bourgeois reactionary line. The great cultural revolution in the Shanghai area has entered another new stage.

Revolution is the overthrow of one class by another. The fundamental question of revolution is the question of political power. To make revolution is to seize power. At this crucial moment in the decisive battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between socialism and capitalism, at this crucial moment when the bourgeoisie is launching a frenzied attack against the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must rise up and seize, resolutely and unhesitatingly, the leadership of the proletarian dictatorship, the leadership of the great cultural revolution, the leadership of the press and all other organs of public opinion and the leadership of the country's economic life-lines, from the hands of those bourgeois overlords.

Will conciliationism do? No!

Will reformism do? No!

Will moderationism do? No!

The world is our world. The state is our state. The society is our society. If we do not speak out, who will speak out? If we do not act, who will act?

Only when the revolutionary rebel groups grasp the power of leadership firmly in their hands, can the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao be really carried out.

Certain people advise us: Don't turn away from them (people in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road). If you do, you're going to have difficulties in running things. Let them keep their advice! They think we can't do without these people; we don't believe in that kind of talk.

Practice has proved that since those big and small bourgeois elements have been overthrown, we not only did not find things difficult to run, but are getting on better and better and our work is becoming more and more successful every day.

We will only fare better without them, for they are nothing but a bunch of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and die-hards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line. With their overthrow and the rising up of the revolutionary rebel groups, a flourishing new situation will certainly appear in the great cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao has always reminded us that the masses have boundless creative power. We support most resolutely the initiative of the revolutionary rebel groups. We are convinced that, once the revolutionary rebel groups seize power, provided they hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, boldly arouse the masses, unite all people who support the revolutionary rebel groups and establish a new order step by step, they will certainly be able to take firm hold of the revolution and promote production. The revolutionary rebel groups are not afraid of pressure, encirclement or attack; should they be afraid of shouldering the tasks that arise after seizing power? Those who believe that people can't do without them are not only afraid to rebel themselves, but forbid others to do so. They are just like the Imitation Foreign Devil in *The True Story of Ah Q* [by Lu Hsun]. At a time when the great cultural revolution is developing in depth, the Imitation Foreign Devils of today can all go to hell!

One after another, those persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and those who stubbornly cling to the bourgeois reactionary line are overthrown. One group of staunch revolutionary rebels after another have seized power. This is wonderful! What inspiring news!

In the course of struggle, the revolutionary rebel groups will learn how to struggle and how to seize power and hold it. Owing to lack of experience, they may commit one mistake or another, but this will not affect the situation as a whole. So long as they make every effort to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought, become skilled in uniting the majority in the course of struggle, sum up experience in time, correct mistakes as soon as they occur and persist in struggle, final victory will be theirs.

"Past the sunken boat, a thousand vessels wing; beyond the withered tree, ten thousand saplings spring." The last days of this handful of bourgeois overlords are approaching. Let us applaud and cheer!

Respond to Chairman Mao's Call And Go to the Masses

CHAIRMAN MAO has taught us: "You should put politics in command, go to the masses and be one with them and carry on the great proletarian cultural revolution even better."

This is the basic attitude which all leading cadres, all Communists should adopt with regard to the great proletarian cultural revolution. Only by acting in accordance with this teaching of Chairman Mao's will they be able to understand the great proletarian cultural revolution, be able constantly to remould themselves and raise the level of their ideology, be able to share weal and woe with the masses and be able to draw nourishment from the wisdom of the masses. Only by doing so will they be able to seize the initiative and stand in the van of the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Whether one has or has not the will, whether one dares or dares not go to the masses marks the basic demarcation line between the proletarian world outlook and bourgeois world outlook.

The bourgeoisie is fundamentally opposed to the masses. Lack of trust in the masses and fear of the masses are notable expressions of the bourgeois world outlook. Those persons in our ranks whose bourgeois world outlook has not been remoulded or has not been remoulded sufficiently are bound to lack trust in the masses and to fear the masses in the great proletarian cultural revolution, and therefore they are always passive and constantly knocking their heads against a brick wall, unable to free themselves from the influence of the bourgeois reactionary line, or even getting increasingly enmeshed in it.

A most important principle of Mao Tse-tung's thought is to have confidence in the great majority of the masses. This is the very essence of historical materialism.

Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught us these principles: from the masses, to the masses; concentrate ideas from the masses and go to the masses so that the ideas are persevered in and carried through; be a pupil of the masses before becoming their teacher. These constitute a great development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge.

Once the basic attitude of confidence in the masses has been established, and the mass line in work has been adopted, then everything will be relatively easy to accomplish. This fact has been even more clearly demonstrated in the current great proletarian cultural revolution.

Some leading cadres have done some work and their mistakes are not really big; others have made serious mistakes, but are not anti-Party, anti-socialist elements. Provided they carry out the instructions of Chairman Mao and go to the masses, listen to the opinions of the masses, examine and criticize their own shortcomings and mistakes, become one with the masses and support the masses' revolutionary actions, they will be able to win the understanding and trust of the masses. Some leading cadres have acted in this way and their ideological outlook has undergone a radical change for the better, their relations with the masses have improved and the masses now trust them. As a result, they have been able to straighten up and take their work into their hands.

But there are also some leading comrades who till now dare not go to the masses. What are they afraid of? They say that they are afraid of bad elements or afraid that the masses will take hold of their mistakes and shortcomings and fail to discriminate between the people and the enemy, thus branding them as anti-Party and anti-socialist elements. These ideas are completely wrong.

Bad elements invariably constitute only a tiny minority. The activities of these bad elements cannot escape the eyes of the broad masses. It is safest to go among the masses and be one with them. Only by so doing is it possible to pick out the bad elements.

Those who have committed mistakes should not be afraid of the masses' criticism. Fear that the masses will take hold of their mistakes shows that they do not trust the masses. The masses are reasonable. The masses will not take hold of their mistakes and shortcomings so long as they honestly and sincerely make a criticism of their errors, and struggle alongside the masses against the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line.

The masses are able to distinguish the people from the enemy and are able to analyse things, and the slogans they raise are appropriate. When criticizing leading cadres who have committed errors, some among the masses have said: "We don't want to brand you as anti-Party, anti-socialist elements but, through criticism, want to turn you into members of the Left." How warm-hearted the masses are in their treatment of those cadres who have committed errors! Should these comrades not modestly accept criticism and education from the masses? Even if some among the masses may have misjudged them as anti-Party and anti-socialist elements, this was often due to their having not drawn a clear demarcation line between themselves and the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. So long as they draw a clear demarcation line, take a clear-cut stand, and rise to struggle alongside the masses against the persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, the masses will naturally accept them as their comrades. There are also cases in which some bad elements behind the scenes instigate and, with a view to shifting the target of attack, deceive the masses and make them struggle against those comrades who have committed ordinary mistakes as if they were anti-Party and anti-socialist elements. In such cases, it is possible to expose the intrigues and subterfuges of the bad elements only by going to the masses and making a sincere and realistic self-criticism and disclosing the truth to them.

The comrades who have committed ordinary mistakes cannot understand the masses and the great proletarian cultural revolution if they do not go among the masses for a long period. As a result their feelings will be increasingly different from those of the masses and they will increasingly depart from the proletarian

revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. Step by step, some of them will go so far as to censure and repress the mass movement and resist the great proletarian cultural revolution and the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. In this way, the nature of the contradiction between themselves on the one hand and the Party and people on the other will change and be transformed from being non-antagonistic into being antagonistic.

The Central Committee of the Party has called on those cadres who have committed ordinary mistakes and those cadres who have committed serious mistakes but are not anti-Party and anti-socialist to go at once among the masses, not to be afraid, strive the sooner to burn away their errors in the fires of the mass movement, to pass the test of socialism and the sooner to gain the understanding and trust of the masses, so as to plunge themselves into the present heated struggle.

As far back as in 1943 Chairman Mao has taught us: "We Communists ought to face the world and brave the storm, the great world of mass struggle and the mighty storm of mass struggle."

The present great proletarian cultural revolution is a great world of mass struggle and a mighty storm of mass struggle. It is the greatest in history and unprecedented. All Communist Party members and cadres, including those who have committed errors, should temper themselves in this great world of mass struggle and this mighty storm of mass struggle, come forward and throw themselves into the struggle, and, with the broad masses, fight to smash the latest counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line, to smash bourgeois economism and to knock down the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road.

("Hongqi" editorial, No. 2, 1967.)

Internationalist Fighters in the Service Of the World's People

— Afro-Asian people praise Chinese experts educated by Mao Tse-tung's thought

CHINESE experts working in various Asian-African countries are constant students of *Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune*, *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains* and other brilliant essays by Chairman Mao. So inspired they are pledged to follow Chairman Mao's teachings to be internationalist fighters like Norman Bethune and put themselves heart and soul at the service of the people of the world.

Every One an Ordinary Worker

Chairman Mao has said: "The cadres of our Party and state are ordinary workers and not overlords sit-

ting on the backs of the people. By taking part in collective productive labour, the cadres maintain extensive, constant and close ties with the working people."

Taking Chairman Mao's teachings to heart, Chinese experts from the very first day of their work abroad look upon themselves and act as ordinary workers and live and toil with the masses among whom they work.

In Mali, Chinese experts made no special demands about their living conditions. When there was no dwelling house for them to live in, they were happy to put up in an old factory building which they partitioned

into a number of rooms with their own hands. When there was no tap water, they simply walked to get their water from the Niger River more than a *li* away. Whether at a construction site or in a factory, whenever they find time they would insist on doing whatever needed doing whether it was sweeping the floor or fetching raw materials to the workshop.

Chinese comrades at a sugar refinery project — the head of the group, engineers and accountant alike — once worked for 36 hours at a stretch together with their Malian colleagues to hurry up construction of the concrete base of a press. The job was speedily and well done.

When a group of Chinese experts arrived in the isle of Zanzibar, they put on their working clothes as soon as they had set down their luggage, and went to work at the wharf, even though they had not yet recovered from the fatigue of the travel. In 18 days they helped the Zanzibari stevedores carry more than 500 tons of drilling equipment and materials from the wharf to workshops and construction sites.

Chinese experts and workers helping to build a highway in Nepal maintained their tradition of hard work and plain living by sharing the life of the local people. Through the cold of winter or in the heat of summer, they lived in tents. They cooked their own food, washed their own clothes, grew vegetables and went to the construction site on foot like the local workers did.

Deep Love for Class Brothers

Chairman Mao has said: "Wherever our comrades go, they must build good relations with the masses, be concerned for them and help them overcome their difficulties."

Following these teachings, Chinese experts and workers, wherever they go, cultivate a deep friendship with the local people. One February day last year when some Yemeni workers and Li Wen-chieh, a skilled Chinese worker (who was supposed to be resting that day), were checking over a stone-crusher, a basinful of petrol under the machine which was being repaired at the construction site suddenly caught fire. To avert a serious accident, Li Wen-chieh, at the risk of his own life, moved the flaming petrol away from the machine but he was burnt himself. This heroic act is still being told and retold among the Yemeni people.

On three occasions last year, Chinese experts working in Nepal showed their spirit of fearing neither death nor fatigue in helping to put out fire at the risk of their own lives. They rushed into flaming houses to save people, food and property. They even managed to save the door of a house.

One day after a big storm last September in Bamako, Chinese expert Hsu Fu-liang noticed the worried look on the face of a Malian worker, Maligo. The downpour had damaged his house. So immediately after work, Hsu gave up his rest and asking four other



Shaaban Khamisi uses his hand that was almost completely severed but has been restored to use by Chinese surgeons

Chinese experts to go along with him, took spare timber, cement and bricks to help repair Maligo's house.

When a tea plant in Guinea started to operate, a local worker had a boil on his body. Wang Teh-sui, a Chinese worker colleague of his, showed his great concern for this Guinean class brother. Using what medical knowledge he had, he washed his friend's wound every day and bandaged it afresh. After a fortnight's meticulous care, the wound was healed.

Following Bethune's Example

Chairman Mao has said: "Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his boundless sense of responsibility in his work and his boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people. Every Communist must learn from him."

Chinese experts brought up on Mao Tse-tung's thought have kept in mind Chairman Mao's teaching to follow Bethune's example and serve the people of all lands heart and soul.

Chinese surgeons in Zanzibar in two years performed over 16,000 operations for the local people. These included over 20 major and difficult operations.

Last May the left hand of an old worker Shaaban Khamisi of a Zanzibar coco-nut fibre processing factory was cut off by a machine. Practically all the bones and muscles of his left hand were broken, or injured. Only one artery and nerve were undamaged. In

treating a traumatic case like this the usual practice in surgery is amputation, but the Chinese surgeons, called in to attend the case and determined to do all they could to preserve this class brother's working hand, undertook a complicated series of five operations which rejoined and regenerated the severed hand.

Chinese experts helping in the construction of Nepal's Kathmandu-Kodari highway had to overcome quite a few difficulties, but they did a splendid job in the spirit of all for the sake of the Nepalese people. At the outset, an American engineer predicted that the Chinese engineers would not be able to complete this highway even in 10 years. But the Chinese experts, working shoulder to shoulder with the Nepalese workers, fought floods and cut a way along sheer precipices. Working night and day, they finally built the road in 18 months. When the Dolalghat Bridge was being built, a serious delay threatened when a Chinese 18-ton crane needed for the job was held up in transit via Calcutta by the reactionary Indian authorities. Together with the Nepalese workers, the Chinese experts used indigenous methods to improvise small cranes to do the job, with the result that the bridge was completed on schedule.

Chinese experts working in Mali over three to four years successfully cultivated sugar cane and tea plants there. They also completed construction of a cigarette factory, a sugar refinery and match factory ahead of schedule and are now building a textile mill and a cinema. They practised the utmost economy in the course of construction and saved every bit of money they could for the Malian people. In building the textile mill, to save the money which would have been spent on buying bricks from outside, they organized manpower for the on-site making of cement bricks and so saved more than 10 million Malian francs for the Malian people. After the cigarette factory was completed, the Chinese workers volunteered to make office furniture and so saved the factory some initial expenditure.

While building the short wave transmitting station for Tanzania's broadcasting network, the Chinese experts and workers faced many difficulties with a dauntless spirit. The language barrier was one; the scorching equatorial sun and heat was another. But looking on this Tanzanian undertaking as their own, they appeared wherever there were difficulties. While laying cables

together with their Tanzanian colleagues, the Chinese workers were always the first to jump in when coming to a river. When the cement mixer went out of order, Chinese experts did not hesitate to get in to do the repairs. Thanks to the joint efforts of Chinese experts and workers and their Tanzanian co-workers, the transmitting station was built in just nine months. It was much larger than the one previously built by Britain but cost less.

Many Thanks to Chairman Mao

People of the Asian-African countries say that the first things experts from the United States, the Soviet Union or West European countries ask for are Western-style houses, motor-cars and air-conditioners. But the Chinese experts roll up their sleeves and start to work immediately upon their arrival. This, they say, is because the Chinese people read Chairman Mao's works and Mao Tse-tung's thought has taken deep root in their hearts.

People in the Asian-African countries are deeply aware from their own personal experience that only Mao Tse-tung's China can help them build their countries in such a disinterested way, that only the Chinese people nurtured on Mao Tse-tung's thought can serve the people of the world heart and soul with such boundless warmth. They thank the Chinese experts and workers for their industrious efforts, and they express the deepest gratitude to Chairman Mao.

A Tanzanian worker named Mohamed said: "It is a great honour for us Tanzanian people to have such good and true friends as the Chinese people. You've helped us build this wonderful transmitting station. It will benefit us and our children and our children's children. Give our thanks to Mao Tse-tung; he is the greatest leader!"

A Malian worker named Abdoulaye Traore said: "We see in you the working spirit of the Chinese people nurtured by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great Chinese leader. . . . You have disinterestedly and unreservedly passed on your skills to us. In the struggle to build our motherland, you people taught by Chairman Mao are examples for us Malian people."

A Nepalese friend said: The Chinese people are our dear friends whom we can trust. We love New China dearly; we dearly love Chairman Mao.

(Continued from p. 12.)

Emulating the example of the Shanghai revolutionary rebels, the revolutionary rebel fighters on all fronts in **Chengtu** have recently waged a resolute counter offensive against the new counter-attack by the bourgeois reactionary line and unfolded a struggle for the seizure of power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road. In **Wuhan**. The proletarian revolutionary rebels of the Wuhan Light Industry Dies and

Moulds Plant who have recently seized power from those in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road, said that their recapture of the power from the hands of the agents of the bourgeoisie is the result of the great alliance of the revolutionary rebels, that it is a new victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought and that they, the revolutionary rebels, have the support of their most, most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao. They declared that they have both the resolve and ability to run their plant as a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Despicable Anti-China Rumours

by COMMENTATOR

THE Soviet revisionist leaders, a handful of renegades, have made up countless rumours on the question of so-called "aid supplies in transit for Vietnam" in order to vilify China. One after another, all these rumours have been irrefutably proved baseless, and the rumour-mongers have been deservedly disgraced in public.

However, they are stubbornly continuing, no matter what, to seek help by making rumours for the purpose of opposing China.

The British *Sunday Telegraph* published on January 8 a dispatch quoting so-called East European sources in Vienna as saying that the "Chinese hi-jacked two Russian Sam 2 anti-aircraft guided missile units in transit for Hanoi last spring . . . for their own rocketry project." A UPI London correspondent in his January 18 report, quoting "communist diplomats" as he put it, spread similar rumours and babbled that China had "stolen" Soviet atomic secrets. This report also repeated the long-discredited story about China "damaging" Soviet arms for Vietnam, and even alleged that China had "virtually stopped" all such arms in transit to Vietnam.

Clearly, these vicious and fantastic new anti-China products were manufactured by the Soviet revisionist clique in a vain attempt to belittle China's notable success in guided missile nuclear weapon testing and to disrupt the great militant unity of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples.

But the way these rumours have been fabricated is really too crude and preposterous. Firstly, if China had really "hi-jacked" Soviet missiles last spring and had really "stopped" arms in transit, as alleged, why should the Soviet revisionists have kept silent for so long? Secondly, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesmen and the Chinese press have since last spring, in statements and commentaries, sternly denounced, and repeatedly and publicly proved the falsity of such rumours spread by the Soviet revisionists about "aid supplies" meeting with hindrance and difficulties in China. If China had really "hi-jacked" Soviet missiles, and even "stopped" arms in transit, why should they have thus far said nothing to counter China's refutations and denunciations?

Since all liars have a guilty conscience, the Soviet revisionist leaders have had to use the imperialist press to spread anti-China rumours again and again. This

shows that even they themselves know that such dirty tricks cannot bear the light of day.

Time and again, the Vietnam News Agency has been authorized to issue statements refuting such rumours spread through the imperialist press. In its December 10, 1966 statement, the Vietnam News Agency justly denounced the cynical story about "aid supplies in transit for Vietnam" meeting with difficulties and delays in China as "completely groundless" and "serving very ill-intentioned provocative schemes."

The Soviet revisionist clique look upon guided missiles and nuclear weapons as such wonderful things that, in their view, only the United States and the Soviet Union can monopolize them, and no other country can possess them, if they should have them, they must have been "stolen" from these two countries. This shows both their impudence and utter shamelessness.

The Chinese people armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung can perform any wonders conceivable in this world. Guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought and giving full play to the spirit of hard work and self-reliance, the Chinese people have successfully conducted guided missile nuclear weapon testing. This is a magnificent victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought as well as a splendid success of the Chinese people, which has greatly boosted the morale of the revolutionary people of the world and beaten down the arrogance of the imperialists, revisionists and other reactionaries. All the revolutionary people in the world have with one voice cheered this great triumph of Mao Tse-tung's thought, while all ghosts and monsters are grief-stricken. All rumour-mongering and vilification by the imperialists and modern revisionists are in themselves fitting proof as to how dumbfounded these ghosts and monsters are by the great achievements of the Chinese people.

Just as Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said, "The day when the masses of the people are triumphantly rejoicing is the day when the counter-revolutionaries are grieving."

All rumour-mongering and vilification by these anti-China clowns can in no way obscure the radiant image of the great Chinese people or impair the great militant unity of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, but will only further expose their own despicable features. Let us point our accusing fingers at this handful of renegades and say: Shame! Shame!

("Renmin Ribao," Jan. 22.)

Why Do Imperialism and Revisionism Unite in Wildly Attacking the Chinese Communist Party and China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution?

by the Editorial Board of the Albanian paper *Zeri i Popullit*

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The Great Historical Victory of Socialism in the People's Republic of China

Socialist construction is a long revolutionary process. It involves the transformation of the entire life of society, the transformation of both its material and spiritual life. A most important task in this process is completion of the cultural revolution, a component part of the socialist revolution. The classic Marxist-Leninist writers have stressed in their works the necessity of the cultural revolution, maintaining that this is an indispensable condition for building the new, socialist and communist society. In addition to industrialization of the state and the collectivization of agriculture, plans for building socialism also include completion of the cultural revolution. Lenin pointed out that the fundamental aim of this cultural revolution was to destroy bourgeois culture and ideology, create a new culture, national in form and with a proletarian socialist content, make culture the possession of the broad masses of the people and train up intellectuals of a new type coming from and serving the labouring people.

In order to cover up their betrayal and to slander People's China, the revisionists do not oppose the cultural revolution in general because this would be a more open self-exposure, but they instead oppose China's proletarian cultural revolution. Why has China's great proletarian cultural revolution caused so much alarm and uneasiness among the Khrushchov revisionists, the U.S. imperialists, and all the counter-revolutionaries and reactionary forces throughout the world? It is because this revolution is an extremely important and profound movement that concerns the destiny of China's socialism

and of the socialist cause and revolutionary movement of the whole world. China's great cultural revolution is based on Marxist-Leninist theory and is a creative application and development of this theory by the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung; it sums up the positive experiences of China and other socialist countries in building socialism and also the negative experiences of the prevalence of revisionism in the Soviet Union and certain other countries. China's great proletarian cultural revolution is therefore a most precious new contribution to the theory and practice of socialism. This revolution is intended to achieve a series of important objectives in the political, ideological, cultural, organizational and military fields both domestically and internationally.

First of all, China's proletarian cultural revolution clearly shows the class struggle between socialism and capitalism, which is a serious struggle between two opposite roads, the socialist and the capitalist — a struggle which exists in all countries throughout the historical period of socialism. Marxism-Leninism teaches that historical experience has proved and new facts are emerging daily to show that class struggle is going on in various forms in every sphere of life — economic, political, spiritual and military. **Generalizing the experience of the class struggle under the conditions of socialism, Lenin stressed that "the dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle — bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative — against the forces and traditions of the old society."** He pointed out: "Class struggle . . . after the overthrow of capitalist rule, after the destruction of the bourgeois state, after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, does not disappear (as the vulgar representatives of the old socialism and the old social-democracy imagine,) but merely changes its forms and in many respects becomes fiercer."

The enemies of socialism, the old and the new enemies both inside and outside the socialist countries,

have never for one moment ceased their activities in their attempt to destroy the socialist system and restore capitalism. To this end, they resort to two fundamental tactics, or combine them, according to prevailing conditions, namely: to prepare and launch counter-revolution and armed aggression; and to bring about the "peaceful" evolution of the socialist system, or in other words, engage in counter-revolution by "peaceful" means. The latter is the revisionist method which leads to degeneration, as proved by the bitter, tragic experiences of the Soviet Union and certain other socialist countries. This method is a great, serious and constant danger to the socialist system.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has emphatically pointed out that "after the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly." Comrade Mao Tse-tung has also emphatically pointed out that "after the basic victory of the socialist revolution in our country, there are still a number of people who vainly hope to restore the capitalist system and fight the working class on every front, including the ideological one. And their right-hand men in this struggle are the revisionists."

The fundamental, over-all purpose of China's great proletarian cultural revolution is to block for ever the road leading to the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in China, to prevent the repetition of the tragedy of the Soviet Union, ensure the continuous development of the socialist revolution in every field, and create a reliable guarantee for the complete victory of socialism until the building of socialism is completed and a classless communist society is established. It thus becomes clear that the great cultural revolution forms an integral part of the entire socialist revolution. It is the development and further deepening of the socialist revolution and represents its advanced stage.

The class struggle of the socialist countries in the ideological and cultural spheres is, in the final analysis, a struggle for state power. The tragic experience of the Soviet Union makes it clear that socialist revolution in the political field does not end with the overthrow of the state power of the exploiting classes and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, that this decisive, preliminary victory won by the working class over its class enemies cannot be regarded as the final victory, and that the revolution must be carried forward, that is, unceasingly strengthen and perfect the proletarian dictatorship, free it from bureaucratic influences, prevent degeneration under the influence of the bourgeoisie and revisionism, purge the hidden counter-revolutionaries, old and new, who in order to undermine the people's regime may have sneaked into the state organs, get all the working people well prepared ideologically and politically and educate them in the noble revolutionary spirit so that the broad masses of the working people may assume their duty of safeguarding and strengthening the proletarian dictatorship under the leadership of

the Party and so that the masses can exercise popular supervision over the state organs and their working personnel. This is precisely one of the fundamental purposes of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the People's Republic of China, that is to say, to defend and strengthen the proletarian dictatorship in China and prevent it from degenerating into a revisionist, bourgeois and counter-revolutionary dictatorship. Therein lies the enormous importance of this revolution.

In their attempt to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat and the entire socialist system and to bring about the restoration of capitalism, the enemies — the bourgeoisie and the revisionists — have directed the spearhead of their attack first of all against the Marxist-Leninist Party, and have done all they could to seize power from within the Party, undermine it and make it degenerate, liquidate the revolutionary party of the working class and turn it into a weapon for achieving their anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary purposes. Under certain conditions, as has happened in the Soviet Union and certain other countries, the danger exists that the Party may lose its revolutionary character, become bureaucratic and degenerate. Bourgeois and revisionist elements may sneak into the Party ranks, or some people who were more or less revolutionary in the past may degenerate into revisionist elements or enemies of socialism; they may climb up to important leading positions and take advantage of their positions to undermine the socialist revolution and socialist construction, divert the Party from the Marxist-Leninist line and spread the revisionist viewpoint and line within the Party. The struggle against this danger is therefore of the utmost importance to the destiny of the revolution and of socialism.

China's great proletarian cultural revolution is a fierce struggle against this attempt of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists because they are trying to get the Chinese Communist Party to divorce itself from the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The cultural revolution has dealt a crushing blow to their sinister scheme and rallied the whole Party more closely around the firm Marxist-Leninist and anti-revisionist line of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It has become a great school for all Communists to get tempered in the revolution; it has steadily invigorated and made more militant the entire life of the Party and the state.

The most outstanding characteristic of China's great proletarian cultural revolution lies in the fact that it is an unprecedented movement of millions upon millions of working people — workers, peasants, soldiers, youth and people's intellectuals — who have armed themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought and used it as their guide to action, to revolutionize their thinking and the entire life of the state and to bring their initiative into full play and make creative efforts in every sphere including art and literature and exercise revolutionary, all-round supervision. This mighty, conscious revolutionary movement of the broad masses of people is of in-

calculably great historical significance. The great proletarian cultural revolution has not only speeded up in every sphere the cause of socialist construction which the People's Republic of China has carried forward by relying on its own efforts and on the masses of people under the leadership of the Party; this revolution has also built an insurmountable wall which has frustrated the hostile activities of the bourgeoisie and the revisionist elements who have done everything they could to spread the revisionist line in China and bring the country on to the road of capitalist restoration. In contrast to the negative experience of the Soviet Union, China's great proletarian cultural revolution is a lesson of great, positive significance. It shows boundless confidence in the broad masses; it enables them to take a direct and active part in the revolution, arm themselves with Marxist-Leninist ideas, and give full play to their revolutionary initiative. This is the most effective means of pulling out the poisonous weeds of revisionism; it is the most reliable assurance that the road of capitalist restoration will be blocked for ever in any socialist country.

China's great proletarian cultural revolution is a big school in which the broad masses of working people, especially the rising generation, are undergoing revolutionary tempering. This is a most important question that concerns the future of socialism because the youth are the successors to the revolution and will keep it moving ahead. Historical experience has proved that only by taking a direct and active part in the revolution can the rising generation be brought up as worthy successors to the revolution and the socialist cause, become steadfastly loyal to the revolutionary ideals, be fearless of sacrifices, overcome all difficulties and obstacles no matter how big or arduous and defend and realize these ideals at all costs. Without training such a revolutionary and militant younger generation the revolution and the socialist cause cannot be assured and will be bound to fail sooner or later. On the contrary, a younger generation which has received Marxist-Leninist revolutionary tempering will be the reliable guarantee of the victorious and continuous advance of such a cause.

In China's great proletarian cultural revolution, the noblest revolutionary qualities of the youth have been fully manifested and irresistible forces have appeared in every field. These qualities are manifested in their boundless loyalty to the revolutionary cause, their resolute struggle to destroy the old and foster the new and get rid of things reactionary, and their inexhaustible revolutionary enthusiasm. The Red Guards movement emerged in the course of the development of this revolution. Acting according to Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings, they are the vanguards in the struggle under the leadership of the Party; they have dealt crushing blows to the revisionists and the bourgeois personalities in cultural and artistic circles. They have thus made invaluable contributions to the eradication of extraneous influences in socialist culture, in-

fluences which are most dangerous to the revolution and the socialist cause.

The press of imperialism, Khrushchov revisionism, Tito revisionism and their followers, and all other reactionaries, have raised a big clamour, slandering in a most vicious manner the Red Guards movement in an attempt to vilify China's great proletarian cultural revolution and denigrate it before world public opinion. They dismiss the Red Guards as "fanatic youths." But this charge can never deceive the peoples and revolutionaries of the world. Is it not precisely the youth — the sons and daughters of our people — who, responding enthusiastically to the call of the Albanian Communist Party, left their schools and homes in their early youth and took up arms to liberate the motherland, overthrow the old system of exploitation and build a new, socialist world? At that time, the fascist reactionaries, the Ballistes and other elements slandered our national-liberation struggle as "child's play," and so on, in the most unbridled way. However, that revolutionary younger generation continued to advance firmly and courageously along the road of struggle for national liberation until victory was won. At the present time, it is this generation which directs the destiny of our socialist motherland.

The reactionaries in all countries and the modern revisionists slander the Chinese Red Guards as "destroying historical monuments and persecuting people in the world of culture." But have not the exploiting classes and their lackeys of every stripe described as "the enemies and barbarous destroyers of culture" those revolutionaries who have not flinched from any sacrifice in waging the struggle to overthrow the old world and create the new? Have they not used the same names to slander Lenin and the Bolsheviks who led the Great October Socialist Revolution and carried it to victory? Have not our enemies and reactionaries of all kinds slandered and cursed our Party and the people's regime in our country in the very same way? The imperialists and revisionists only recognize the decadent culture, art and literature of the bourgeoisie. That is why they regard any struggle against them as a negation and destruction of the whole culture. But what has history shown? History has shown that it is precisely the revolutionaries who, in relentless struggle against the old, reactionary culture, have continuously created progressive and more advanced new culture on the ruins of the old, and at the same time, preserve and develop further all of the cultural heritage which has positive significance.

In an irresistible mass movement such as China's great proletarian cultural revolution, what is decisive and of important significance lies in its essential nature and general direction and not in those individual and partial mistakes which this or that group of people may commit and which are difficult to avoid in any great revolution in history. Partial mistakes cannot in the least negate the fact that the content of the great proletarian revolution developing in the People's Republic of China in the fields of educa-

tion, culture and art is the eradication of the old reactionary culture of the exploiting classes and its evil influences and the purification, development and consolidation of the new, proletarian culture in the service of the revolution and socialism. The Decision of the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party pointed out: "At present, our objective is to struggle against and crush those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic 'authorities' and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system."

In the cultural field, the overthrown exploiting classes are still putting up a most stubborn and cunning resistance. There will be prolonged, arduous and complicated struggles before victory for the new culture is won. The Chinese bourgeois Rightists and revisionists disseminate bourgeois and revisionist ideas on art and culture in a disguised and most subtle way. They defend and actively exalt the old reactionary culture of the exploiting classes; resist the principles of the proletarian party concerning literary and artistic ideas; engage in clandestine activities against the Marxist-Leninist thought of Comrade Mao Tse-tung; make the utmost efforts to spread the viruses of revisionism through literary and artistic works so as to corrupt and poison the labouring people ideologically and use culture and art for political counter-revolutionary activities and prepare a capitalist restoration. Therefore, the relentless struggle developed against these elements — the struggle to thoroughly eliminate the dangerous influence of the old reactionary culture and art of the exploiting classes, to create the revolutionary new culture and art, to put culture and art entirely at the service of the revolution, the socialist cause and the labouring people, and turn them into a powerful weapon of revolutionary class education among the labouring people, is a most significant component part of the general struggle between the two roads, socialism and capitalism, and of the struggle for the complete victory of socialism over capitalism.

This new culture which has a clear-cut revolutionary content and resolutely discards the reactionary essence of the old culture of the exploiting classes is also being established on the basis of critically assimilating the heritage of the progressive culture of China and also of the whole world. The revisionists are doing their utmost in a vain attempt to smear China's great proletarian cultural revolution, by insisting that it rejects everything foreign and even the Chinese people's own cultural heritage. On this question, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has written: ". . . taking over legacies and using them as examples must never replace our own creative work; nothing can do that." He has said: "Uncritical transplantation or copying from the ancients and

the foreigners is the most sterile and harmful dogmatism in literature and art." He has pointed out the need to "critically assimilate whatever is beneficial" and make "the new emerge out of the old." The rally of revolutionary fighters in the fields of literature and art which was held in Peking on November 28 this year [1966] once again stressed Comrade Mao Tse-tung's idea of "emphasizing the contemporary as against the ancient, making ancient things serve the present, making foreign things serve China" and "weeding through the old to let the new emerge." At the same time, however, Comrade Mao Tse-tung places special emphasis on the need to criticize and firmly oppose the influence of any bourgeois and reactionary culture that constitutes a serious danger to the cause of socialism.

China's proletarian cultural revolution is being carried out precisely in accordance with these Marxist-Leninist ideas of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's. Isn't it a fact that these ideas are completely identical with those of Lenin? Lenin too said: "We take from each national culture only its democratic and socialist elements; we take them only and absolutely in opposition to the bourgeois culture and the bourgeois nationalism of each nation." Throughout his great revolutionary life Lenin waged resolute struggles against bourgeois culture, art and literature. From first to last he defended the ideological principles of the proletarian political party and fought to create a new culture, new art and new literature imbued with proletarian ideas and in the service of the broad mass of workers and peasants. The revisionists will never get from Lenin any valid grounds supporting their sinister line and anti-China calumnies. China's great proletarian cultural revolution, guided by the brilliant light of Marxist-Leninist theory on how to approach the question of the development of socialist culture, literature and art, is forging ahead and winning successes in this extremely important field of socialist construction to create and establish the most brilliant, new proletarian culture, literature and art in human history, a culture, literature and art worthy of the great era of socialism and communism.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has revolutionized men's minds and spirit; it leads millions upon millions of workers, peasants and soldiers, intellectuals of the people, the youth and vast numbers of women to plunge themselves into an unprecedented, trail-blazing movement. It is inspiring them, in the course of the three major movements of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment, to master, and apply, in practice, Comrade Mao Tse-tung's great Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory. The great proletarian cultural revolution has already become a powerful factor accelerating the growth of socialist production in all fields in the People's Republic of China. Large numbers of important new proposals and suggestions have appeared in People's China, which, like those put forward in Taching and Tachai, boldly smash all kinds of old concepts, norms and obsolete conventions, changing the face of the country at amazing speed.

In addition, one of the greatest and most important victories is that the great proletarian cultural revolution has in many fields augmented at unprecedented speed the defensive might of the People's Republic of China, turned the whole country into an invincible bastion of socialism, able to cope with and smash any aggression — no matter from which direction it comes, imperialism or revisionism — able to give effective support when necessary to the revolutionary people of all lands who are fighting against the oppressors and imperialist aggressors.

Guided by Comrade Mao Tse-tung's important teachings concerning people's war, concerning the role of men and weapons in modern warfare, and giving prominence to politics in everything, the cadres and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, loyal to the Party and Mao Tse-tung's Marxist-Leninist thought, have achieved brilliant results in tempering their political, ideological consciousness as well as in improving their war preparedness to defend their country. Meanwhile, the proletarian cultural revolution has provided the entire population, and especially the new-born generation, with a new motivating force that urges them to join the movement to tirelessly strengthen the national defence, to improve their physical training in an all-round way and enable every citizen of great China with its population of 700 million to do a good job in military preparedness.

Such is the real aim and the fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution which the People's Republic of China has launched with irresistible momentum. It is a great victory of historical significance won by socialism in People's China, and a crushing blow against the counter-revolutionary plans which the U.S. imperialists and Khrushchov revisionists have mapped out against the great proletarian cultural revolution.

(To be continued.)

Thai Reactionaries Denounced

The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement on January 19 denouncing the Thanom government of Thailand for sending ground forces to south Vietnam to take part in the U.S. imperialist war of aggression against Vietnam and for permitting the United States to station B-52 strategic bombers in Thailand.

On January 6, the Thanom government of Thailand announced that it would send 1,000 troops to take part in the U.S. imperialist war of aggression against Vietnam. According to reports from Western news agencies, U.S. B-52 strategic bombers have already been stationed in Thailand. This is yet another adventurous move by the Thanom clique following its dispatch of naval and air forces to south Vietnam last May. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Commission for Foreign Relations of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation have issued separate statements strongly condemning the Thai authorities for their provocative act. The Chinese Foreign Ministry's statement said: "The Chinese Government and people fully support the just stand of the Vietnamese people.

"U.S. imperialism has always taken Thailand as a base for its war of aggression against Vietnam and the Thai reactionaries as hatchet men in its suppression of the Indo-Chinese peoples. At the same time, it is directing the spearhead of its aggression against China. For a long time, the United States has put large stakes on Thailand, building military installations there, sending over reinforcements of aggressor troops and directing the Thai authorities to perpetrate incessant aggression and intervention against neighbouring countries. Following the so-called Manila conference last year, the Johnson government has stepped up its collusion with the Thanom clique in covertly working out a criminal

plan for the extended use of the military bases in Thailand and for the supply of cannon-fodder by Thailand. And now in disregard of the strong opposition of the people at home and abroad, the Thanom clique has brazenly announced the dispatch of ground forces to south Vietnam and permitted U.S. B-52 strategic bombers to be stationed in Thailand. This shows that the Thai reactionaries have plunged themselves deeper into the whirlpool of the expansion of the war of aggression by U.S. imperialism.

"U.S. imperialism has been badly battered and has come to the end of its tether in its war of aggression against Vietnam. Since it has been unable to change its passive position of having to receive blows despite the dispatch of nearly 400,000 aggressor troops and the use of various new-type weapons, it definitely cannot save itself from defeat even with the addition of 1,000 Thai soldiers as cannon-fodder and the sending of some B-52 strategic bombers to Thailand. However, the Thanom clique should be aware that Thailand is right beside Indo-China. In so doing, are you not afraid that the flames of the war kindled by the United States will spread to yourselves? Since you do not scruple to sell out state sovereignty and national interests and willingly serve the U.S. policies of aggression and war, the peoples of Vietnam and other Indo-Chinese states will certainly deal you resolute counter-blows and the Thai people, too, will certainly rebel against you extensively and in enhanced unity.

"Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: 'If the U.S. monopoly capitalist groups persist in pushing their policies of aggression and war, the day is bound to come when they will be hanged by the people of the whole world. The same fate awaits the accomplices of the United States.' Since the Thai reactionaries have decided to throw in their lot with U.S. imperialism, they will definitely come to no other end than utter destruction."

A Fine Opera Upholding Mao Tse-tung's Thought

— Taking the Bandits' Stronghold

Worker, peasant and soldier audiences have high praise for a new Peking opera production on a modern revolutionary theme. This is *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, re-staged in Peking by the Revolutionary Peking Opera Cultural Troupe of Shanghai in the high tide of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

This is indeed a fine opera which, upholding Mao Tse-tung's thought, gives prominence to proletarian politics. It vividly depicts the fighting life and activities of the People's Liberation Army during the 1946-49 War of Liberation. It shows how that army, carrying out Chairman Mao's teachings, mobilized and relied on the masses in mopping up the Kuomintang bandits. Extolling the power of Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war, it gives splendid portrayals of P.L.A. heroes armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. It shows the noble character of the P.L.A. dedicated heart and soul to the cause of the people.

In the winter of 1946, after hard fighting, the people's army in the northeast has won a brilliant victory. But gangs of Kuomintang bandits, after the *debacle* of defeat, hide themselves deep in the mountain forests, determined on further desperate resistance. Carrying out Chairman Mao's instructions "to arouse the masses, wipe out bandits . . . so as to make our areas secure, co-ordinate with the field armies and smash the Kuomintang attacks," a 36-man detachment of the P.L.A. is sent on an expedition to wipe out the "Hawk," a bandit leader, hiding in the snowbound forests on Tiger Mountain. On their way, reconnaissance platoon leader Yang Tzu-jung and his men meet hunter Chang who to escape the Kuomintang has taken refuge in the forest.

With his help and that of his daughter, Yang's platoon catches a bandit belonging to another gang. On him they find a secret map showing the location of the bandit gangs' liaison centres. Knowing that the "Hawk" wants this map, Yang volunteers to disguise himself as a bandit and, with the map as a bait, introduce himself into the Tiger Mountain lair which, because of its strong fortifications, had best be captured by ingenuity rather than by force alone.

Yang reaches Tiger Mountain with the map and, clever as he is courageous, wins the "Hawk's" confidence. In the meantime, the P.L.A. detachment goes into the very midst of the masses, helping them in their difficulties and, in other such practical ways, winning their support. In the snowy forest, it trains itself and organizes and trains a people's militia for the coming battle. Finally, when the bandits are enjoying a "feast of a hundred chickens," the detachment in skilful co-operation with Yang Tzu-jung, storms their stronghold and rounds up the whole gang.

The new theme and story structure clearly embody Chairman Mao's great strategic teaching that the revolutionary army loves the people, while the people support it and together they wage a people's war. The small detachment has been formed to catch the bandits but it is also a work team which organizes as well as does propaganda among the masses. In this revised version, the masses are no longer shown as waiting passively for liberation, but as masters in the struggle, the invincible support of the people's army.

The red thread of class struggle links the new theme and story structure. Seeing this struggle against

bandits from the viewpoint of class struggle the playwrights have grasped and presented its essential character. They stress the people's intense class hatred against the bandits. The second scene, showing the worker Li Yung-chi's defiance of the bandits, and the newly added third scene, showing the hunter's denunciation of them, both make it plain that the detachment will kindle the flame of class struggle in this isolated mountain area. The playwrights also emphasize that the "Hawk" is a political bandit, a typical example of collaboration between imperialism, the feudal forces and bureaucrat-capitalism. His maniac killing, burning and plundering foreshadow the imminent collapse of reactionary rule and are the last vicious thrusts of a class enemy that is unwilling to step off the stage of history. With a class viewpoint thus used to deepen the significance of the theme and perfect the dramatic structure, the new revision gains greatly in educational significance.

Politics the Commander, the Soul

Chairman Mao has taught us that politics is the commander, the soul. "Ideological education is the key link to be grasped in uniting the whole Party for great political struggles."

Proletarian politics was in command in writing this opera. Shao Chien-po, the detachment's leader is a military commander, but he always views things from a political angle and pays great attention to the ideological education of his detachment and the people. He takes the mission to wipe out the bandits as an important political task and constantly educates the masses and fighters in the Party's policies. When the detachment enters the ancient forest in pursuit of the bandits, he builds up their fighting morale with Chairman Mao's teachings. His advice to Yang, when the latter goes alone into the bandits' lair, is to be bold and prudent and boundlessly loyal to the Party and people.

With proletarian politics in command, the opera has a revolutionary soul and the positive characters

stand out naturally in bold relief. On its march, the detachment never forgets to serve the people wholeheartedly, to do propaganda among them, organize and arm them. A series of incidents—restoring production in the area, training in the snowy forest, pursuing the bandits, with the help of the local people, and so on—displays the high morale, courage and revolutionary optimism of each of its members.

The People Make History

Chairman Mao says: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."

The creators of *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* have given the popular masses their rightful place as masters. The hunter Chang guides Yang and his platoon to snare the bandit and capture the map. The worker Li Yung-chi leads the local people up Tiger Mountain to co-operate with the detachment. Without the help and support of the popular masses, the detachment, no matter how brave and skilful, would have found it hard to operate in this snowy waste. On the other hand, with Chairman Mao's teachings ever in mind, the detachment serves the people wholeheartedly, whether it is chasing after the "Hawk" or Yang Tzu-jung saving the hunter's daughter, or Shao Chien-po organizing the people to restore production or the nurse caring for Aunt Li, all they do is for the people.

One of the notable achievements of this opera is the way it brings out the fact that the invincible strength of our army lies in its essential characteristic as a people's army which relies on and serves the people.

Heroes Armed With Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Chairman Mao has said: "These battalions of ours are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the people and work entirely in the people's interests."

The playwrights have given a successful portrayal of the hero Yang

Tzu-jung. He has shining qualities—he is brave and wise, resourceful, noble-minded, good at making decisions and with a high level of fighting skill. Yet he has nothing in common with the knight-errants of traditional Peking opera. His wisdom comes from his boundless loyalty to the Party, to the people and to the revolutionary cause, from his intense hatred of the reactionary ruling class. Born in a hired farm-labourer's family, the story of his life is a bitter one. When he hears the hunter's own life story of hardship and sorrow, he is roused immediately to burning anger against the bandits. Deep hatred of class oppression and class exploitation spurs him on to the road of revolution. The great thought of Mao Tse-tung is the spiritual source of his wisdom and boundless loyalty. His songs express his revolutionary sentiments:

A Communist responds instantly to the Party's call.

He should always choose the heaviest load.

I am determined to smash to bits the thousand years old iron chain,

And make the happy spring of the people last a thousand generations.

and

The Party gives me wisdom and courage so that hardships and dangers are as nothing.

and

In my heart is a rising sun which will hold at bay the bitter cold and melt the ice and snow.

This rising sun is the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Chairman Mao says: "The masses are the real heroes." In the play, Yang Tzu-jung is an outstanding representative of the masses. He carries out many difficult tasks with the help of the masses. When he goes alone into the bandits' lair he says it seems to him that "millions of class brothers are by my side." It is from this close unity with the masses that he draws confidence in being able to

outwit the villains on Tiger Mountain.

Discard the Old, Create the New

Chairman Mao has said: "What we demand is the unity of politics and art, the unity of content and form, the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form."

Taking the Bandits' Stronghold propagates the mighty idea of people's war and praises heroes armed with the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. The comrades of the Revolutionary Peking Opera Cultural Troupe of Shanghai have spared no effort in order to make the revolutionary content of the opera more explicit through the singing, dialogue, acting, acrobatics and dancing as well as the music and stage decor. To bring out the revolutionary sentiments and noble determination which animate the P.L.A. fighters, the composers have drawn on revolutionary songs and music for their melodies, while assimilating useful elements of traditional Peking opera music. This has introduced new features into the singing. They skilfully interweave the melody of *The East is Red* and the *March of the Chinese People's Liberation Army* to convey the fighters' boundless love for Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought and to underline the men's revolutionary heroism. Skilfully based on army life, faithful in dramatic characterization and closely integrated with the plot, the movements of the ski dance and the leaps with widespread legs are finely realistic and majestic. The whirling acrobatics of the fighting in the last scene—the capture of the "Hawk"—has the flavour of traditional Peking opera which is here successfully adapted to show the heroism of the P.L.A. fighters and militiamen.

In a word, the comrades of the Shanghai troupe, holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, have succeeded in both libretto and staging in giving us a fine example of Peking opera on a modern, revolutionary socialist theme.

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