



**ON THE
PROLETARIAN
REVOLUTIONARIES'
STRUGGLE
TO SEIZE POWER**

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING

**ON THE PROLETARIAN
REVOLUTIONARIES'
STRUGGLE
TO SEIZE POWER**

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING 1968

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.

—“This Year’s Election” (September 6, 1933)

CONTENTS

ON THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARIES' STRUGGLE TO SEIZE POWER — Editorial of <i>Hongqi (Red Flag)</i> , No. 3, 1967 —	1
PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARIES, FORM A GREAT ALLIANCE TO SEIZE POWER FROM THOSE IN AUTHORITY WHO ARE TAKING THE CAPITALIST ROAD! — Editorial of <i>Renmin Ribao (People's Daily)</i> of January 22, 1967 —	15
THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY FIRMLY BACKS THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARIES — Editorial of <i>Jiefangjun Bao (Liberation Army Daily)</i> of January 25, 1967 —	22
ON REVOLUTIONARY DISCIPLINE AND REVOLUTIONARY AUTHORITY OF THE PROLETARIAT — <i>Hongqi</i> Commentator —	26

ON THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARIES' STRUGGLE TO SEIZE POWER

— Editorial of *Hongqi (Red Flag)*, No. 3, 1967 —

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

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

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

The ranks of the handful of Party people in authority and taking the capitalist road have been badly battered. However, like all reactionaries, they will never be reconciled to their own extinction. And like all reactionaries, they **“will never lay down their butcher knives . . . they will never become buddhas”**.

Chairman Mao has pointed out:

Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people’s cause, and they will never go against this logic.¹

This is also true of the handful of Party people in authority and taking the capitalist road. We must **“cast away illusions, prepare for struggle”** in accordance with Chairman Mao’s teaching.

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

(1)

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

In some places, these elements are reorganizing their reactionary ranks. They are gathering together landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists,

¹ Mao Tse-tung, “Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 428.

and collecting the dregs of society to stage counter-attacks against the proletarian revolutionaries and seize power from them.

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

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

Chairman Mao teaches us: “Strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously.”¹ The handful of Party people in authority and taking the capitalist road will never succeed in their schemes, which are doomed to failure. We should despise them. However, we must deal with them seriously, and must never treat them casually or lightly.

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

The general orientation for proletarian revolutionaries is to form an alliance and seize power from the handful of Party

¹ Mao Tse-tung, “Speech at the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers’ Parties (November 18, 1957)”, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1966, p. 79.

people in authority and taking the capitalist road. All revolutionary comrades must proceed from this general orientation and adhere to it in considering and handling all matters. If not, they will embark on the wrong road and may go over to the opposite side.

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

(2)

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

Now that the great proletarian cultural revolution has reached the stage of the struggle to seize power from the handful of Party people in authority and taking the capitalist road, it is essential for revolutionary mass organizations to forge a great alliance. Without a great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, the struggle to seize power

cannot be completed successfully; even if some power has been seized, it may be lost again.

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

Once the revolutionary mass organizations have seized power in a particular department, their own position alters. At this time, the bourgeois ideas and petty-bourgeois ideas in the minds of certain comrades readily come to the fore. We must be highly vigilant. We must rid ourselves of all selfish ideas and personal considerations and make a revolution to the

depth of our souls. Everything must proceed from the fundamental interests of the proletariat. We must attach the utmost importance to the interests of the whole instead of concerning ourselves with personal prestige and position. We must firmly respond to Chairman Mao's call to "practise economy in carrying out revolution" and not show off, spend money without measure and waste state property. We must not fall victim to the "sugar-coated bullets" of the bourgeoisie.

Revolutionary mass organizations which have seized power and the leaders of these organizations should adopt the principle of unity towards the masses and the mass organizations holding different views. They should win over and not exclude the majority. This will help isolate to the maximum the handful of Party people in authority and taking the capitalist road and deal them blows, and help establish the new proletarian revolutionary order.

Everyone, in the course of the struggle to seize power and after coming to power, has to undergo new tests. We hope that the revolutionary path-breakers who have emerged during the movement will always be loyal to the proletariat, to Chairman Mao, and to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and that they will become politically mature in the course of time rather than be like those who just flash across the stage of history. The only way one can live up to this demand is to study Mao Tse-tung's thought conscientiously, to integrate oneself with the masses of workers and peasants and to make serious efforts to remould one's own non-proletarian world outlook. There is no other way.

(3)

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

the struggle to seize power and can become leaders in this struggle.

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

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

Cadres who have made errors should be treated correctly and should not be overthrown indiscriminately. They should be allowed to correct their errors and be encouraged to make amends for their crimes by good deeds, unless they are anti-Party, anti-socialist elements who persist in their errors and refuse to correct them after repeated education. To learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and to cure the sickness to save the patient is a long-standing policy of the Party. Only thus will those who commit errors submit willingly; and only thus will the proletarian revolutionaries win hearty support

from the great majority of the people and become invincible. Otherwise, there is great danger.

The overwhelming majority of the ordinary cadres in the Party and government organizations, enterprises and undertakings are good and want to make revolution. The proletarian revolutionary rebels among them are the vital force for seizing power in these organizations. This is the point which must not be neglected.

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

(4)

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

Experience proves that in the course of the struggle for the seizure of power, it is necessary, through exchange of views and consultations among leading members of revolutionary mass organizations, leading members of local People's Lib-

eration Army units and revolutionary leading cadres of Party and government organizations, to establish provisional organs of power to take up the responsibility of leading this struggle. These provisional organs of power must **"take firm hold of the revolution and promote production"**, keep the system of production going as usual, direct the existing set-ups in administrative and professional work (they should be readjusted where necessary) to carry on with their tasks, and organize the revolutionary masses to supervise these set-ups. These provisional organs of power must also shoulder the task of giving unified direction in suppressing counter-revolutionary organizations and counter-revolutionaries. To set up such provisional organs of power is justified, necessary and extremely important. Through a period of transition, the wisdom of the broad masses will be brought into full play and a completely new organizational form of political power better suited to the socialist economic base will be created.

A number of units, where a handful of Party people in authority and taking the capitalist road have long entrenched themselves, have become rotten. There these persons have been exercising bourgeois dictatorship, not proletarian dictatorship. The Marxist principle of smashing the existing state machine must be put into practice in the struggle for the seizure of power in these units.

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

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

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

As a result of arousing hundreds of millions of people from below to seize power from the handful of Party people in authority and taking the capitalist road, smashing the old practices and creating new forms, a new era has been opened up in the international history of proletarian revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This will greatly enrich and develop what we have learned from the experience of the Paris Commune, and the experience of the Soviets, and greatly enrich and develop Marxism-Leninism.

(5)

The struggle by the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road is being carried out under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the course of the seizure of power, the dictatorship of the proletariat must

be strengthened. This is an indispensable condition for the establishment of the new proletarian revolutionary order.

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

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

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

In his noted treatise "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship", Chairman Mao says that in dealing with the reactionaries, it is necessary to "enforce . . . dictatorship . . . suppress them, allow them only to behave themselves and not to be unruly in word or deed. If they speak or act in an unruly way, they will be promptly stopped and punished."¹

He also says:

Revolutionary dictatorship and counter-revolutionary dictatorship are by nature opposites, but the former was learned from the latter. Such learning is very important. If the revolutionary people do not master this method of ruling over the counter-revolutionary classes, they will not be able to maintain their state power, domestic and foreign reaction will overthrow that power and restore its own rule over China, and disaster will befall the revolutionary people.²

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

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

Chairman Mao has called on the People's Liberation Army to actively support and assist the genuine proletarian revolutionaries and to oppose the Rightists resolutely. The great

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, pp. 417-18.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 420-21.

People's Liberation Army created by Chairman Mao himself has heartily responded to his call. It is making new, great contributions to the cause of socialism during the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is the glorious task of the People's Liberation Army.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARIES, FORM A GREAT ALLIANCE TO SEIZE POWER FROM THOSE IN AUTHORITY WHO ARE TAKING THE CAPITALIST ROAD!

— Editorial of *Renmin Ribao (People's Daily)* of
January 22, 1967 —

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 mighty 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, an event without precedent in mankind's history, an event which has a tremendous 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. This is an important development by Chairman Mao of the Marxist-Leninist theory on 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 in 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 also appear in the ranks of the proletariat and the small producers. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for the seizure of power has continued vigorously all the time. 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 taking the capitalist road. Only by carrying out a great mass movement like this, a mass struggle to seize power, is it possible to resolve thoroughly the problem of the seizure of power by the proletariat, and 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: The revolution suffered setbacks for no other reason than 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, 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 minds to unite, form a great alliance, seize power! Seize power!! Seize power!!! All the Party power, political power and financial power still held by the counter-revolutionary revisionists 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 also 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 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, they dare to struggle, dare to seize power, charge; 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. This is 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.

*I ask the great earth and the boundless blue
Who are the masters of all nature?¹*

"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

¹From Chairman Mao's poem *Changsha—to the melody of "Chin Yuan Chun"*.

with that in the organizations 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 set-ups. 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 over-all 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 proletarian revolutionary headquarters. 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 counter-blows!

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 are colluding with all monsters and ghosts in society to knock together a counter-revolutionary alliance to oppose the great revolutionary alliance. But no matter how many twists and turns and reverses we may meet, with the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao and with the hundreds of millions of revolutionaries armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought around us, we will overcome all difficulties, expose one by one those who covertly stir up winds of evil and direct the spearhead of their attack at the dictatorship of the proletariat and at the proletarian revolutionary headquarters, 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!¹*

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 struggle to seize power from the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road 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!

¹ From Chairman Mao's poem *Reply to Comrade Kuo Mo-jo — to the melody of "Man Chiang Hung"*.

THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY FIRMLY BACKS THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARIES

— Editorial of *Jiefangjun Bao* (*Liberation Army Daily*)
of January 25, 1967 —

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.

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 back 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. This 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 Party people in authority and taking the capitalist road are entrenched. In this struggle 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 the mainstay of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this great struggle of the proletariat to seize power from the bourgeoisie, we must firmly stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, firmly stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionaries. The 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 suppress the masses. This is absolutely impermissible. Their "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 explicitly and positively 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 ranks of the proletarian revolutionaries develop and grow.

"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."¹ 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."² The proletarian revolutionary rebels have risen to seize power from those in authority taking the capitalist road so as to ensure that our country will not change colour for all generations to come. This is the politics of the proletariat in the highest form. Our People's Liberation Army is in-

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Problems of War and Strategy", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. II, p. 224.

² Mao Tse-tung, "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. I, p. 106.

finitely 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 in support of the proletarian revolutionaries in rising and seizing power.

Comrades, in the past we heroically went through fire and water to win the country for the people and made immortal contributions. In the present rigorous and great class struggle, we should become the 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 deeply red.

ON REVOLUTIONARY DISCIPLINE AND REVOLUTIONARY AUTHORITY OF THE PROLETARIAT

— Hongqi Commentator —

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

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

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

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist in the present era, discovered the law of class struggle in socialist society. It is he who initiated and is leading the great proletarian cultural revolution and the struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power from the handful of Party people in authority and taking the capitalist road, by forming a great alliance and uniting the broad masses of the people. It is he who has put forward the correct theory and a series of principles and policies. This represents a great development of Marxism-Leninism, and a great development of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is of epoch-making and of universal significance.

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

All revolutionary cadres must step forth, and together with the revolutionary masses, must carry out resolute struggle against the handful of Party people in authority and taking the capitalist road, in disregard of their “discipline”. They are no longer revolutionary superiors, on the contrary they are counter-revolutionary revisionists. In war time when a commander becomes a traitor and surrenders to the enemy, a revolutionary fighter should not obey his commands but instead should turn his gun on him. This is a truth in political struggle as well as in a war.

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

Lenin pointed out that **rejection of proletarian revolutionary discipline “is tantamount to completely disarming the proletariat in the interests of the bourgeoisie. It is tantamount to that petty-bourgeois diffuseness and instability, incapacity for**

sustained effort, unity and organized action, which, if indulged in, must inevitably destroy every proletarian revolutionary movement.”¹

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

. . . The danger of ultra-democracy lies in the fact that it damages or even completely wrecks the Party organization and weakens or even completely undermines the Party’s fighting capacity, rendering the Party incapable of fulfilling its fighting tasks and thereby causing the defeat of the revolution.²

He also says:

Education on discipline must be strengthened in the whole Party, because unified discipline is a necessary condition for the victory of the revolution.³

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

The movement for extensive proletarian democracy which has been vigorously carried out for more than six months has broken down the counter-revolutionary discipline enforced by the handful of Party people in authority and taking the capitalist road. This is an extremely good thing. However,

¹ V. I. Lenin, *“Left-Wing” Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, FLP, Peking, 1965, p. 31.

² Mao Tse-tung, *“On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party”*, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. I, p. 108.

³ From *“Resolution of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Strengthening of Party Spirit”* (1941).

this absolutely does not mean that we want no discipline, or advocate ultra-democracy, anarchism, liberalism, departmentalism and “small group” mentality. Like fire and water such things and the proletariat are incompatible. If we fail to overcome them and strengthen proletarian revolutionary discipline, we would not be able to form an invincible proletarian revolutionary force, fight the enemy, correctly put Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line into effect and win victory in the revolution.

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

Ultra-democracy, anarchism, liberalism, departmentalism and “small group” mentality are all destructive to proletarian revolutionary discipline. In the final analysis, they all stem from “self-interest”, i.e., individualism. All revolutionary comrades and revolutionary mass organizations should firmly get rid of “self-interest” and foster devotion to the public interest, firmly eliminate individualism and strive for the complete ascendancy of Mao Tse-tung’s thought. This means that while we are transforming the objective world, we should also transform our subjective world. This demands that every revolutionary comrade conscientiously and creatively study and apply Chairman Mao’s brilliant works *“On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party”*, *“Combat Liberalism”* and the *“three constantly read articles”* [*“Serve the People”*, *“In Memory of Norman Bethune”* and *“The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains”*] and link this

up with the examining of his own ideas and actions. If we do not do this, but give mistaken ideas free rein, then we shall go to the opposite side and be used by the class enemy. Every revolutionary comrade and every revolutionary mass organization must pay great attention to these matters at this crucial moment in the struggle to seize power from the handful of Party people in authority and taking the capitalist road.

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

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

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

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

Have these gentlemen ever seen a revolution? A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is; it is the act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other part by means of rifles, bayonets and cannon — authoritarian means, if such there be at all; and if the victorious party does not want to have fought in vain, it must maintain this rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries. Would the Paris Commune have lasted a single day if it had not made use of this

authority of the armed people against the bourgeois? Should we not, on the contrary, reproach it for not having used it freely enough?

Therefore, either one of two things: either the anti-authoritarians don't know what they are talking about, in which case they are creating nothing but confusion; or they do know, and in that case they are betraying the movement of the proletariat. In either case they serve the reaction.¹

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

Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, is the highest authority of the proletariat. The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao is the highest authority in the great proletarian cultural revolution. All provisional organs of power that carry out this correct line in directing the struggle to seize power should have authority and for that matter, will certainly have it. Proletarian revolutionaries should unhesitatingly assume such authority. This is the authority of the proletariat.

The provisional organs of power that direct the struggle to seize power have the authority to exercise dictatorship over the class enemy. With regard to the handful of Party people in authority and obstinately taking the capitalist road and with regard to the ghosts and monsters in society, it is precisely our intention to deprive them of democratic rights; no equality whatsoever should be allowed them.

The provisional organs of power that direct the struggle to seize power must exercise democratic centralism among the

¹ Frederick Engels, "On Authority", *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1951, Vol. I, p. 578.

people, that is, centralism on the basis of democracy, and democracy under centralized guidance. In this great revolution, the most extensive democracy is being exercised and likewise, the highest degree of centralism should be enforced. All revolutionary comrades and all revolutionary organizations must consciously observe revolutionary discipline and act in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism. They cannot do just as they please.

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

(*Hongqi*, No. 3, 1967)

论无产阶级革命派的夺权斗争

*

外文出版社出版(北京)

1968年第一版

编号: (英)3050-1650

00029

3-E-823P