

SELECTION OF REVOLUTIONARY BIG-CHARACTER POSTERS

[Following is a translation of a group of articles from the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No 11, Peiping, 21 August 1966, pages 22-30.]

1. What Have Sung Shuo, Lu P'ing, and P'eng P'ei-yun Done in the Cultural Revolution?

People throughout the country are enthusiastically launching the great cultural revolution with a high revolutionary spirit and boundless love for the party and Chairman Mao and with limitless indignation at the antiparty and antisocialist black gang. They are struggling for a complete victory over the attacks by the reactionary black gang and for safeguarding the Central Committee of the party and Chairman Mao.

However, the Peking University has not yet made a move. It has been deathly still and quiet. The strong revolutionary demands of the broad masses of teachers and students have been suppressed. What is the matter after all? Why? There must be something behind this stillness. Let us look at recent facts!

Certain events took place after 8 May, when the article by Ho Ming (0149 2494) and Kao Chu (7559 3515) was published and throughout the country there has been an upsurge in the struggle to denounce the "Three-Family Village." On 14 May, Lu Ping, president of the Peking University and secretary of the party committee, hurriedly relayed the "instructions" of Sung Shuo, deputy director of the University Scientific Work Department of the Peking Municipal CCP Committee, given at an emergency meeting of the department of the municipal committee.

Sung Shuo had instructed: It is "urgently necessary to strengthen leadership" over the movement. "The party organization of the school is urged to strengthen its leadership and to hold firmly to its position."

"The masses have stood up. It is necessary to lead them on to a correct road." "This ideological struggle is a solemn class struggle. It is necessary to thoroughly refute theoretically the antiparty and antisocialist remarks. It is necessary to adhere to reason and to use convenient devices to repudiate the remarks. It is necessary to properly lead the study of documents, conduct group discussions, publish wall newspapers in small characters, and write articles criticizing the remarks. In short, this solemn struggle should be carried out meticulously and profoundly so as to thoroughly smash the antiparty and antisocialist remarks. We must refute them theoretically.

"Problems cannot be solved completely merely by holding meetings." "If the masses are indignant and ask for meetings, don't suppress them, but lead them to hold group discussions, study documents, and publish wall newspapers in small characters."

Lu Ping and Peng Pei-yun, cadres of the University scientific work department of the Peking Municipal CCP Committee and vice secretary of the party committee attached to Peking University, made arrangements for the movement at Peking University along the same lines. They said: "The situation in the cultural revolution at our school is favorable." "More than 100 articles had already been written before 8 May. The movement is healthy . . . When the movement develops, we must be active in leadership." "There is an urgent need now for leadership to lead the movement in the correct direction." "Only when we actively strengthen the leadership, can we lead the movement to develop normally." "Peking University should not post wall newspapers in large characters." "Don't lead the masses to post wall newspapers in large characters, but when the masses want to post them, we must actively lead them."

Is this the line of cultural revolution mapped out by the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao? No, absolutely not! This is a 100-percent revisionist line against the party Central Committee and Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

"This is an ideological struggle;" "it is necessary to thoroughly refute theoretically the antiparty and antisocialist remarks;" "it is necessary to adhere to reason" and "this solemn struggle should be carried out meticulously" -- what do these mean? How can the struggle be a theoretical problem? Is it limited to remarks only? Where do you want to "lead" our life-or-death political struggle to counterattack the antiparty and antisocialist black gang? One major means of Teng To and his instigators against the cultural revolution was to lead the serious political struggle toward "purely academic" discussions, was it not? Why do you still do the same thing? Who are you, after all?

"The masses have stood up; it is necessary to lead them on to a correct road," "lead the movement in the correct direction," "only when we actively strengthen the leadership, can we lead the movement to develop normally" -- what is "a correct road?" What does it mean "to develop normally?"

You have "led" the great political class struggle into "purely theoretical" and "purely academic" traps. Not long ago, did you not personally "guide" the comrades of the law department to check the data totalling 14 million characters in 1,500 volumes to study the problem of how Hai Jui "squared a wrong case" and to widely popularize the so-called "correct road and right method" and to ask the people to learn from "a good experience?"

In fact, this is the "good experience" engineered by you and Teng To's black gang. This is also the truth of what you call "the healthily developing movement." You have in effect shut your mouths by not talking of the correct road of the cultural revolution, as earlier pointed out by the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, but you have spoken of the so-called "correct road" differently. You want to bring the revolutionary mass movement into your revisionist orbit. To tell you frankly, this is wishful thinking!

"Refute them theoretically," "problems cannot be completely solved by merely holding meetings;" "Peking University should not post wall newspapers in large characters;" "we should lead them to hold group discussions and to write wall newspapers in small characters" -- why are you so afraid of wall newspapers in large characters? Why are you afraid of holding condemnation meetings? To counterattack the black gang which launched a frenzied attack against the party, socialism, and Mao Tse-tung's thinking is a life-or-death class struggle. The revolutionary people must be well organized to enthusiastically and indignantly make condemnations. To hold meetings and to post wall newspapers in large characters are mass militant styles in the best forms. You would "lead" the masses not to hold meetings and not to post wall newspapers in large characters. You have made such regulations. Have you not oppressed mass revolution, forbidden mass revolution, and opposed mass revolution? We absolutely do not agree with you!

You have shouted for "strengthening the leadership and holding firm to the position." This has laid bare your ulterior motives. While the revolutionary masses are enthusiastically responding to the call of the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao to deal a resolute counterblow to the antiparty and antisocialist black gang, you call loudly: "Strengthen the leadership and hold firmly to the position." What "position" do you hold firmly to? For whom do you hold firmly to the "position?" Who are you? What evil things are you doing? Is it not clear?

Even today, with your backs to the wall you still want to resist. You still think of "holding to your positions" to undermine the cultural revolution. Let us tell you: The mantis cannot stop a chariot with its foreleg and flying ants cannot eat away a big tree. You are daydreaming!

All revolutionary intellectuals, now is the time to fight! Let us be united, hoist high the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, rally ourselves around the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, break the controls of revisionism and all its plots and tricks, so as to resolutely

wipe out, lock, stock, and barrel, all the monsters and goblins and all the Khrushchev style counterrevolutionary revisionists and to carry out to the end the socialist revolution.

Safeguard the party Central Committee! Safeguard Mao Tse-tung's thinking! Safeguard the proletarian dictatorship!

The philosophy department: Nieh Yuan-tzu, Sung I-hsiu, Hsia Chieh-chi, Yang Ko-ming, Chao Cheng-i, Kao Yun-peng, and Li Hsing-chen. 25 May 1966.

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2. Long Live the Revolutionary Rebellious Spirit of the Proletariat

Revolution means rebellion, and there is rebellion in the soul of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. When we say it is necessary to lay emphasis on "application," we mean to say it is necessary to lay emphasis on "rebellion." Daring to think, to speak out, to take action, to blaze the trail and to make revolution -- in one word daring to rise in insurrection -- is the most basic and most valuable quality of a proletarian revolutionary, and is the basic principle of the Party spirit of the proletariat. Failure to rise in insurrection is out-and-out revisionism!

Revisionism has ruled the schools for seventeen years. Now is the time for us to rise in insurrection. Why wait?

Some persons who have daringly opposed rebellion suddenly turn shy today, and they hesitatingly repeat the same thing over and over again. They say this is too much one-sided, too frantic, too rough and goes to excess.

All this is fallacious! If you want to oppose anything, just oppose it. Why be shy?

Since we want to rise in insurrection, you cannot be left alone! We must make things smell strongly of gunpowder. Demolition bombs and hand grenades will be thrown, and there will be a tug of war and melee. Let what is called "human affection" and what is called "wholeness" get out of the way!

Do you say that we are too much one-sided? What kind of wholeness do you want? As we see it, your wholeness is "to combine two into one" and eclecticism.

Do you say we are too frantic? We want to be "frantic." Chairman Mao said: "Regard as dung the lords of ten thousand households in those years." We want to knock down not only the reactionaries of the middle

school attached to [Ch'inghua University] but also the reactionaries of the whole world. Revolutionaries regard themselves as responsible for the world, and how can we do anything if we are not "frantic?"

Do you say we are too rough? We want to be rough! How can we be sentimental to revisionism? Those who are sentimental to the enemy are ruthless to the revolution!

Do you say we go to excess? To be honest, what you consider to be not exceeding the limit is reformism and "peaceful evolution." This is wishful thinking! We want to knock you down and put a foot on you!

There are also some persons who are scared to death at the thought of revolution and rebellion. You submit to conventions, always answer in assent, and hide yourselves in the shell of revisionism. You are nervous once you hear anything pertaining to rebellion. In these days, you hear the voice of merciless denunciation every day and you shudder from fear every day. Don't you find this uncomfortable? How can you live on?

A revolutionary is Monkey Sun. His staff studded with gold is most powerful and his magic power knows no bounds. This is nothing less than the invincible great thought of Mao Tse-tung. We want to wield such a big staff and invoke such magic power to upset everything in the old world and to bring disorder to it. The more disorderly it becomes, the better it will be! To deal with the revisionist middle school attached to Ch'inghua University today, such rebellion must be launched and carried through to the end! The proletariat must make trouble at the Palace of Heaven and bring into being a new world of the proletariat in the melee!

Long live the revolutionary rebellious spirit of the proletariat!

The Red Guards,
Middle School attached to Ch'inghua University

Dated 24 June 1966

3. More on Long Live the Revolutionary Rebellious Spirit of the Proletariat

The thousands of Marxist doctrines mean, in the final analysis, to say one thing: There is logic in rebellion...According to this logic, there is resistance, struggle and socialism.

-- Mao Tse-tung

In the past, when the workers knock down the capitalists and the peasants knock down the landlords, the exploiting classes vilified them as rising in insurrection. The label of proletarian rebellion is glorious indeed!

Today, have the old ideas, old culture, old customs and habits and all things engendering revisionism been completely eradicated?

No!

Have the black line and the black gang now been wiped out entirely in all places and units?

No!

Does it mean that with the black line and the black gang eliminated now, there will be no new black line or black gang in the future?

No!

Have imperialism, revisionism and all reactionaries been destroyed?

No! No!! No!!!

Under such a circumstance, how can we proletariat help from rising in insurrection? What else can we say but long live the revolutionary rebellious spirit of the proletariat?

Rightist gentlemen of the bourgeoisie, these rebels of ours are well led, well armed, well organized and "ambitious." They are backed by no mean force and cannot be considered as of no significance.

We are led by the CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao!

Our weapon is the ever-victorious great thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Our organization is based upon the thoroughly revolutionary Red Guards!

Our "ambition" is to sweep away all demons and freaks!

It is easy to rock the mountain but difficult to rock the Red Guards!

Rightist gentlemen of the bourgeoisie, we understand quite well how you feel. You have found our dictatorship agonizing and you also want to "rise in insurrection." No wonder that of late there has emerged a strange phenomenon in which both the Left and the Right make a concerted clamor for rebellion. We must tell you honestly that fish eyes cannot pass for pearls. We permit only the Left to rise in insurrection, but not the Right! If you dare to rise in insurrection, we will promptly suppress you! This is our logic. After all, the State machinery is in our hands.

Long live the revolutionary rebellious spirit of the proletariat!

Dated 4 July 1966

The Red Guards,
Middle School attached to Ch'inghua University

4. Third Comment on Long Live the Revolutionary Rebellious Spirit of the Proletariat

All reactionaries of China and other countries in ancient and modern times said: there is logic in exploitation, there is logic in oppression, there is logic in aggression, there is logic in revisionist rule, but there is no logic in proletarian rebellion. It is our most respected and beloved leader and greatest revolutionary tutor, Chairman Mao, who has turned this nonsensical theory the other way round. Chairman Mao said: "The thousands of Marxist doctrines mean, in the final analysis, to say one thing: there is logic in rebellion." The great proletarian cultural revolution of today is a big revolutionary rebellion. We will rise in insurrection against those who are revisionists or are opposed to the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

We, the most honest Red Guards of Chairman Mao's, are boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao. We will most steadfastly, most valiantly and most loyally implement the highest directive for the great proletarian cultural revolution -- Chairman Mao's highest directive on rebellion.

The attitude adopted toward the revolutionary rebellion is the watershed for discerning whether one is loyal or opposed to the highest directive, whether one is revolutionary or counterrevolutionary.

Are you a revolutionary? You will necessarily welcome and support the revolutionary rebellion. You will participate in the revolutionary rebellion to the end.

Are you a counterrevolutionary? Out of class instinct, you will necessarily curse and oppose the rebellion. You will boycott and suppress the rebellion.

The revolutionary Left of the proletariat depends upon revolutionary rebellion to make a living! Bourgeois revisionism rises in insurrection against us every day. If you do not rise in insurrection against it, it will rise in insurrection against you. Fence-sitting eclecticism doesn't work. A big revolutionary rebellion must be launched against the old ideas, old culture, old customs and habits and all things opposed to the thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Those gentlemen who palpitate with fear, whose flesh creeps, who knit their eyebrows, fly into a rage, curse and become hysterical as soon as they hear revolutionary rebellion are senseless persons if not counter-revolutionaries! These bad eggs permit only rebellion against the proletariat, but brook no proletarian rebellion against them. They permit only high officials to commit arson but not the common people to light their lamps. This is really insulting and there is no such rule!

Rebellion is a tradition of our proletarian revolutionaries, a tradition which the Red Guards must inherit and glorify. We rose in

insurrection in the past, we rise in insurrection now, and we also shall rise in insurrection in the future! So long as classes and class struggle exist and so long as contradictions exist, rebellion is called for. The revolutionary rebellious spirit will still be needed in a hundred years, in one thousand years, in ten thousand years and in one hundred thousand years!

The present great proletarian cultural revolution is a hurricane vibrating with the rebellious spirit of the proletarian revolution. Fighters of the Red Guards, all revolutionary comrades, let us soar like the brave petrels in this great storm!

Fighters of the Red Guards, since we have risen in insurrection, let us carry the rebellion through to the end! Move forward, and let the revolutionary storm become even more stormy!

Long live the revolutionary rebellious spirit of the proletariat!

The Red Guards,
Middle School attached to Ch'inghua University

Dated 27 July 1966

5. Bring Out the Proprietary Attitude

The revolutionary faculty and students, especially the revolutionary young people, are the masters of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Being masters, they must take the proprietary attitude and stand in front. To revolutionize, they must take control, and concentrate their firing power against the dark gang. In the past, the authorities following the capitalist road controlled our school for 17 years and dictated to us. Now, the Party Central and Chairman Mao handed us the power, and we must use it properly. This is a struggle over power!

The Party Central and Chairman Mao exhort us to emancipate ourselves in the movement, educate ourselves, manage ourselves, and pursue the revolution. Now that the great revolutionary storm has arrived, what are we waiting for? Chairman Mao tells us: "Revolutionizing is not like asking guests to dinner, writing articles, or painting or embroidering. We cannot be gentle and relaxed. A revolution is an uprising. It is a violent act whereby one class overthrows another." Can we let the bourgeois authorities take their ease beyond the law? Can we let the bourgeois reactionary academic "authorities" do what they wish? Can we let the irrational old education system continue its poisoning? Can we remain unmoved over the life and death event of our party and father country? Definitely not!

We must diligently study Chairman Mao's works, learn the 16 articles, take prompt action, and prosecute the revolution. What do we do after eating our fill? It is to prosecute the revolution!

Nevertheless, there are those among us who only wish to rely on others. In this powerful great cultural revolution, they live from day to day, and wait for others to make the arrangements. As stated in the 16 articles, "each and every revolutionary must be good at independent thinking, and develop the communist style of courage in thinking, speaking, and acting." If one truly wishes to revolutionize, one must bring out the proprietary attitude! There are those who, with the attitude of an onlooker, stay out of the movement, saying that, "as I am not clear about the matter of the authorities, how can I reveal anything?" All our 700 million people are critics. Whom do we rely on to criticize? We must rely on the large masses, on the worker-farmer-soldier masses, the revolutionary cadres and intellectuals, and the revolutionary successors like us! If we do not rise up now to criticize all old bourgeois ideas with Mao Tse-tung's thinking and rebel against imperialism, revisionism, and the bourgeoisie, when will we do so? Chairman Mao places his hopes in us, and make us the masters, permitting us to temper ourselves and mature in the great proletarian cultural revolution and reenforce our ability to discern all bourgeois and revisionist ideas. His hopes in us are great, and we must shoulder the heavy burden of the revolution. We must strengthen our revolutionary responsibility feeling, and each and every one of us must serve as the proprietor of the movement!

We hope that our true revolutionary comrades will take control and plunge into the powerful revolution with the proprietary attitude!

The Second Small Fighting Team, Senior Third (3)
Year Class, First Girls' Middle School, Peiping
Municipality.

6. A Letter to Seven Comrades

Dear Comrade Nieh Yuan-ch'in (5119/0337/8589) .Et .Al .:

Beloved comrades, when we heard the stirring news from the heart of the Fatherland, the red-colored Peking, we were so excited that we almost leapt out of our skins. For many days now, we have been looking forward to this day, the day when the dastardly elements would collapse completely, the day when the entire citizenry would totally repulse the evil-doing demons.

After we heard about the large-character poster which you had written, we truly wanted to stand together with you, linking arms and calling out for the great victory of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. This afternoon the teachers and students of this school express our confidence in your heroic struggle; the entire body sent a telegram to Chairman Mao and the party center, as well as the newly chosen Peking Municipal Committee. At that time, we were so moved that our eyes were brimming with tears and our hands were as numb as ice. We are sisters. This morning my older sister was determined to paste up her decision, but it was not easy to find the place to do, because all the walls of the school are completely covered with large-character posters. This afternoon when my younger sister returned from work at a peoples' commune several miles distant, she didn't even bother to wipe the perspiration from her brow; she simply shouldered her burden and went to take part in the meeting. We think that you will certainly be able to understand our feelings which are essentially inexpressible.

We know that Pei'ching University is a school with a glorious revolutionary tradition. Before Liberation, in the days of the dark rule of the reactionaries, the revolutionary teachers and students of this school, under the leadership of the CCP and with guidance of the thought of Mao Tse'tung, left their classrooms and surged out into the streets. With their bare hands, they fearlessly struggled with the enemy, and they made contributions to the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary struggle. Yesterday the legions, the swords, the weapons and the armies of the enemy were trampling upon and cutting down the brave patriots of Pei'ching University; today in this socialist era, how could it be possible that a few villainous devils could frighten the young proletarian revolutionaries who are armed with the thought of Mao Tse'tung. Your large-character poster was well written. You did this extremely well! It dissolved the black melancholy atmosphere of Pei'ching University, smashed to smithereens the most stubborn fortresses of the anti-party elements. The revolutionary peoples rejoiced at hearing this, the class enemies lamented at hearing this, You do not shirk from being youth in the era of Mao Tse'tung; you do not shirk from being leaders in the proletarian cultural revolution. You have set an example for us. "Seven comrades of Pei'ching University" -- this seems to be one name already, which encourages us to struggle. We deeply believe: this large-character poster of yours was born under the direct inspiration of the party center and Chairman Mao; it is another great victory for the thought of Mao Tse'tung.

Our most beloved Chairman Mao has constantly taught us: Never forget the class struggle. True enough, how could we forget in suffering old China who gouged out the eyes of our brothers, who peeled off their skins, who drank their blood and consumed their flesh; how could we forget who presented our beautiful mountains and rivers to the imperialists, so that one day there came to be hung upon China's territory a sign reading "Dogs and Chinese forbidden to enter;" how could we forget who constructed a shameless degraded garden of pleasure upon the bones of the laboring people.... How could we forget who it was

who lit the fires of aggressive war everywhere in the world today, killing people in our territory of Taiwan, in Vietnam, in Congo (Leopoldville)... How could we forget the many white mansions and slums still existing in the world, and the many class brothers and sisters still suffering hardships... How could we forget the muddy capitalist current now sweeping through the home of Lenin, the home of the great October Revolution? The remains of our revered Stalin were insulted, and thousands and tens of thousands of true bolsheviks beheaded, jailed, or dismissed. The anti-US demonstrators on the streets of Moscow were ruthlessly suppressed. It was also on the streets of Moscow that the young people danced the "ah-fei" dance and played the "Beattle" music... The red star on the Kremlin Palace was smeared with a layer of black dust by Khrushchev and others. How could we forget that the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang which fled to Taiwan still attempts to coordinate with the reactionaries of the mainland, dreaming of overthrowing the new China and riding herd again over the laboring people? The rightist bourgeois lords recklessly wish to upset the party leadership, wipe out the proletarian revolutionaries by one stroke, reestablish their "law and order," regain control, make the new China copy the example of the old China, and force the Marxist-Leninist China to follow the revisionist Soviet steps. We will never forget all the old grudges and new rancors!

Whom to love and whom to hate? It is clearest in the heart of us revolutionary progenies. We will never forget who lit the spark in darkness, led the people of China to rise up and save themselves, crush the shackles of slavery, and overthrow the three great mountains sitting on their head, and made them stand up and be the masters, or who led the people of China to build a powerful socialist new China on the ruins in a period of 16 years. The worker-farmer-soldier masses have thoroughly turned around, and a powerful and unprecedented great cultural revolution has been stirred up. All these are bestowed on us by the great party and our revered Chairman Mao. Without the party and Chairman Mao, the two of us would long ago have picked up mother's broken basket to dig wild vegetables for the family. The party and Chairman Mao saved us. We deeply love the party and Chairman Mao. We like most of all to sing "the East is red, and the sun rises" and "without the Communist Party, there is no new China." The party and Chairman Mao are the red sun in our heart. Whoever dares to touch our mother -- the party and Chairman Mao, he will be plucking at our heart. We will fight him with our lives! We feel that you will feel the same as we do.

We know well that US imperialism places its hope of restoration on our younger generation. The sugar-coated cannon balls fired by the bourgeoisie are also mostly aimed at us. But we will never abuse the expectations of the party and Chairman Mao. We will receive and pass on the revolutionary red banner in the hands of the older generation and swear to serve as the reliable successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. We will never forget the patriots who sat in jail and shed blood in order to spare us the hardships and tribulations.

We will never forget our dear father resting under the patriots' memorial in Tsinan's Szu-li-shan who shed all his blood for the revolution and who are waiting for us to continue his revolutionary cause. We believe that you will not forget the People's Heroes' Memorial in the T'ien-an-men Plaza in Peiping, nor the thousands and tens of thousands of revolutionary patriots.

We know well that this great proletarian cultural revolution is an uncompromising struggle between the classes, a struggle linked with the destiny of our party and country. We will never let the blood of our revolutionary forbears shed in vain! We will never permit China to return to the capitalist abyss! We, children of workers, children of poor and low-middle peasants, and children of revolutionary soldiers and cadres, and all the revolutionary progenies, will block with our chest the poison arrows shot at our most revered mother -- the Party Central and Chairman Mao, and defend Mao Tse-tung's thinking until our death! Defend the proletarian dictatorship! Defend the socialist new China!

Dear comrades, with the intelligent leadership of the Party Central and Chairman Mao, and with the support of the worker-farmer-soldier masses of the entire nations and the revolutionary cadres and intellectuals, your struggle will gain final victory! Fight, comrades! The people of the entire country must use the "thousand-ton stick" of Mao Tse-tung's thinking to destroy the big and small "Sanchia-ts'un's" in all corners in the country, and eliminate firmly, thoroughly, and completely the anti-party and anti-socialist dark gang!

We clasp your hands tightly!

Your unknown but intimate fighting friends,
P'eng Hsin-sheng (1756 2450 3932), communist
youth league member, and P'eng Hui-sheng (1756
0565 3932), youth vanguard member, students of
the Shantung Experimental Middle School.
Night of 4 June 1966, Tsinan.

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