

**RESOLUTELY DEFEND CHAIRMAN MAO'S PROLETARIAN  
REVOLUTIONARY LINE**

Following is a translation of an article by Ch'en Yung-kuei, Jen Ching-fu, Wang Chen-kuo, and Chang Huai-ying in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 12, 1 August 1967, pp. 60-64.

Under the command of our great leader Chairman Mao, hundreds of millions of revolutionary people of the whole country, swinging their massive cudgels and using their tongues and pens to make denunciations, have launched a dynamic revolutionary movement of criticism and repudiation against a handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. The most important and greatest strategic task is to expose and reckon thoroughly their counter-revolutionary revisionist crimes and wipe out the poisonous stuff they have spread in various fields.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In China after a victory is in the main won in the socialist revolution, there is still in society a section of people who dream of restoring the capitalist system, and they will carry out the struggle against the working class in various spheres."

The top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party is the chief representative of capitalist restoration. It was precisely he who took advantage of the three consecutive years of natural calamities in China and worked in coordination with the international counter-current against China to ship up a black wind for capitalist restoration in a vain attempt to lead our great socialist fatherland into the capitalist blind alley.

A handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Shansi Provincial Committee, Central Shansi District Committee and Hsiyang Hsien Committee energetically implemented and peddled his sinister stuff of counter-revolutionary revisionism, carried out activities for the promotion of capitalist restoration in Shansi Province, and committed towering crimes against the Party and the people.

After agrarian reform, there came the question of what direction toward which the countryside should head and how the peasants could be made to take the road to common prosperity. Chairman Mao pointed out: "In order to free themselves from the yokes of poverty, improve their livelihood and resist famine, the great majority of the peasants of the whole country must unite and move forward along the socialist road before they can reach their goal." The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road pursued the opposite course, advocated the development of rich peasant economy and opposed the establishment of cooperatives. During the three difficult years, he desperately advocated that agriculture "must make an adequate retreat including fixing of output quotas based on the households and independent operation," that "free markets must be allowed to stay," and that "there must be no fear for the spread of capitalism."

His agents in Shansi Province regarded these sinister remarks as divine and made every effort to implement them.

A handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party in Shansi Province energetically promoted fixing output quotas based on the households, whipped up in a big way the wind for independent operation, and enlarged the retention of plots for private use. They personally led their men to the countryside to "stay at selected spots" "to carry out experiments in fixing output quotas based on the households," and talked nonsense saying: "Now is the time for the Eight Immortals crossing the sea to show their abilities." In Chiehhsiu hsien they regarded the "system of public and private ownership of land" for restoring capitalism (i.e., distribution of land based on the households with income from private and public fields going respectively to self and the public) as an "advanced experience" and peddled it everywhere. Because of this there emerged in Central Shansi "fixing of output quotas based on the households" at Chouyang hsien, "fixing of output quotas based on the units" at Hsiyang hsien, independent operation at Fenyang hsien, and "delegating five major things to the lower level" at P'ingyao hsien. On the one hand, they enlarged the retention of plots for private use to loosen the foundation of the socialist collective economy, and on the other hand, they used various means to encourage free reclamation of land by private individuals and wanted the hsien, commune and brigade cadres to return home by rotation to tend to their private plots.

Simultaneously with this, they also extensively set up free markets and energetically encouraged speculation and profiteering activities. What was more intolerable was that in order to reduce the requisitioning and purchasing tasks, the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Central Shansi District Committee filed false returns to juggle with statistics for the information of the higher level, suppress the grain yield of various hsien to the level prior to the establishment of cooperative, and underdeclare the quantity of grain actually distributed in various hsien. In this way, there was a big reduction in the grain requisitioned and bought by the state, while plenty of grain found its way into

free markets through private hands. Agitated and shielded by them, speculation and profiteering activities were for a time most outrageous.

This handful of bad elements were opposed to placing politics in command. They promoted material incentive in a big way, and placed division of work in command. At Hsiyang hsien, the method of doubling the amount of reward and punishment in respect of the fulfillment of man-day which they promoted was such kind of stuff.

They outrageously carried out some activities for the restoration of capitalism, and for a time, they made a mess of things in Central Shansi. They seriously undermined the socialist collective economy, the building of socialism in the country and the worker-peasant alliance, and affected the livelihood of the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants.

In order to realize their pipe-dream of restoring capitalism, the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party in Shansi Province frenziedly opposed the advanced red banner of the whole country on the agricultural front -- Tachai.

Taichai is a red banner personally established by our great leader Chairman Mao. Guided by the ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung, the Tachai people relied on collective strength, hard struggle and self-reliance to transform a poverty-stricken mountain village into a socialist new Tachai. This was a great victory for the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in Shansi Province mortally feared and bitterly hated the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Because of this, they regarded Tachai as a thorn in the flesh and adopted various means to oppose Tachai which held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In 1960 calamities struck various places and there was reduction in grain yield. But Tachai reaped a bumper harvest in the calamity-stricken year, and each household sold on the average more than 3,000 catties of surplus grain to the state.

Instead of publicizing and popularizing the advanced experience of Tachai, the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Central Shansi District Committee and Hsiyang Hsien Committee spread rumors saying that the achievement of Tachai was unrealistic. They said: Since the soil there is so poor, how can so much grain be produced? Therefore they sent men to Tachai to check its acreage under cultivation and grain yield and find out how it managed to fulfill the state requisitioning and purchasing tasks.

Seeing that their conspiracy had been smashed by facts, they smeared that Tachai had increased its acreage through reclamation, and forced Comrade

Ch'en Yung-kuei to lower the actual per-mou yield from 625 catties to 580 catties. By means of this, they wanted to deal blows at the activism of the masses for socialist construction, negate the superiority of the socialist collective economy and blacken the red banner of Tachai.

In 1961, in order to oppose Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei, they spread everywhere the note that "labor models must be viewed with suspicion." They also spread rumors saying that "Tachai owes its beginning to Ch'en Yung-kuei's lecture." They vilified Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei who struggled against their act of restoring capitalism as "arrogant and full of conceit," "having not the leadership in his eyes," "promoting an independent kingdom," and "adopting an undesirable attitude toward the higher level."

In October, 1964, taking advantage of launching the socialist education movement in the countryside, they laid their sinister hands on Tachai. The work team they sent to Tachai unreservedly implemented the reactionary line of the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party which was "Left" in form but Right in fact. They arbitrarily classified Tachai which insisted on following the socialist road as a team of the third category with serious problems, and nonsensically said that "the more advanced it is, the greater its problems." They said: "The red flagstaff of Tachai is infested with insects, and unless the insects are removed the red flag cannot be held high."

As soon as the movement began, they directed the spearhead of struggle at the broad masses of the poor and lower-middle peasants and the revolutionary grassroots cadres. Creating something out of nothing they fabricated some offenses and accused the cadres of being unclean in four respects. They forced the poor and lower-middle peasants to speak evil of the cadres and venomously provoked the relationship between the cadres and the masses. They branded those poor and lower-middle peasants who boycotted or opposed them as "active counter-revolutionaries" and "degenerated elements" and persecuted them politically.

Simultaneously with this, they recruited more than seventy men from the provincial, district, hsien and commune level and from the brigades in the neighborhood to form a "land measuring team." After making measurements again and again over more than 50 days, they were greatly disappointed, because the acreage at Tachai was not greater, but a few mow less, than the figure given in the return to the higher level. The grain of 1964 was weighed again, but the yield was not overdeclared by one catty. The unified purchase figure was checked at the higher and lower level, but no discrepancy could be found. The iron-clad facts once again smashed their conspiracy.

Acting in accordance with instructions of the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, the work team seized Party and political power from Tachai, and all cadres were required to stand aside. Those of the work team were in command and in control of everything. They

carried out bourgeois dictatorship in a big way, greatly heightened the arrogance of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements and crushed fighting will of the poor and lower-middle peasants. During their more than two months of stay, they performed not a single good deed, but continuously upset things.

Chairman Mao understood us best and showed his utmost concern for us. At the crucial moment, he granted an audience to Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei and gave him important instructions in regard to work at Tachai. Chairman Mao issued the great call for "learning from Tachai in agriculture" to the whole country. In this we found the greatest encouragement, the most intimate concern and the most vigorous support. Chairman Mao personally presided over the formulation of the Twenty-Three Articles which declared the bankruptcy of the reactionary line of the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party -- a line "Left" in form but Right in fact. This greatly backed us up and emboldened us. We drove away the anti-Tachai work team. The Central Committee sent men direct to participate in the four clean-ups movement which the Tachai Party Branch carried out together with the broad masses of the commune members. After more than one month of work, it was proved that Tachai carried out work according to the instructions of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee in the political, ideological, organizational and economic fields, and was worthy to be called a long-tested advance red banner on the national agricultural front.

However, the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party were unwilling to take their defeat lying down. When the National People's Congress was in session, they again sent men to Tachai stealthily to collect Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei's data. They spread the rumor that Tachai had given false information on acreage and yield. This report was submitted to the Central Committee to ensnare Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei.

For the sake of boycotting the political influence of Tachai, they made every effort to use brigades which built their fortunes by means of capitalism and the revisionist seedlings which were good at falsifying things as specimens for publicity and popularization in order to fish for political capital.

This handful of bad elements were extremely hostile to the advanced experience created by the revolutionary cadres and the revolutionary masses. The advanced deeds of the four levels of cadres who participated in collective production and labor in Hsiyang hsien had been personally affirmed by Chairman Mao. Instead of clinging to and popularizing these advanced deeds, those bad elements spared no effort to reject them, and they flagrantly opposed Chairman Mao and the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Shansi Provincial Committee, Central Shansi District Committee and Hsiyang Hsien Committee ruthlessly set a political snare for those revolutionary cadres who boycotted their criminal activities for capitalist

restoration. Having carefully schemed things, they concocted in 1964 the appalling "October counterrevolutionary incident." By fair means or foul play they branded Jen Ching-fu, Wang Chen-kuo, Chang Huai-ying and several hundred people connected with them as "anti-Party clique." Some of them were expelled from the Party, relieved of their public duties and sentenced to reform through labor. Some were arrested and sent to prison. Some were encircled, attacked and struggled against. Even their relatives and correspondents were not spared. Their viciousness made people very angry. Because Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei opposed what they had done, they vilified him as "the stick" of the "anti-Party clique," and vainly attempted to brand him as a member of that clique.

The wind would not stop blowing although the trees wanted a lull. The struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines had never stopped in Shansi Province and Central Shansi. Although we were opposed, persecuted and attacked by a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, yet inspired by Chairman Mao and backed by the broad revolutionary masses and the revolutionary cadres, we had never given up our struggle against them in order to defend Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. In regard to what road to follow, what line to carry out, and whether Tachai should be defended or opposed, we adopted the tit-for-tat tactics and disputed every inch of ground.

We resolutely boycotted the counter-revolutionary revisionist stuff, such as "three freedoms and one contract," advocated by the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. While other places were making a fuss about enlarging "minor freedoms" and going to the basic level, Tachai had its mind bent on making a success of collective production and enlarging the socialist collective economy. All commune members were physically and mentally with the collective, and they resolutely advanced along the socialist road indicated by Chairman Mao.

Due to the development of the socialist collective economy, the support given the state also grew bigger and bigger in volume. Tachai sold more grain to the state each year, and the livelihood of the commune members improved year after year. In those hard years, Tachai had not sold any grain at a high price, but had given more than 40 thousand cattles of grain in support of fraternal brigades experiencing difficulties.

In 1963, Tachai was attacked by floods of extraordinary magnitude, and its houses, land and crop suffered heavy losses. But we did not extend our hands to the state for money, grain or relief. According to Chairman Mao's teachings, we relied on our efforts and fought a hard struggle to overcome the calamities and win a bumper harvest in agricultural production. Steeled and tested in the practice of class struggle and struggle for production, the ideological consciousness of the broad masses of commune members in Tachai was greatly raised.

Beginning in 1964, all commune members had new caves to live in, and a prosperous new socialist countryside was brought into being at the foot of the Hut'ou Mountain.

These iron-clad facts thoroughly smashed the shameless slanders spread by a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party to disparage socialism and the people's commune.

The practice of class struggle in the past few years has made us deeply understand that their fear and opposition grow with the development of the socialist collective economy. The greater their opposition, the sharper is our struggle, and the better is the socialist collective economy developed.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has sounded the knoll of the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. They made a desperate struggle on the eve of their downfall, obstinately carried out the bourgeois reactionary line, frenziedly suppressed the revolutionary masses and the revolutionary cadres who had risen to rebel against them, and enforced White Terror. They incited some of the masses who did not know the actual situation, and fabricated materials for purging the revolutionary masses and the revolutionary cadres. Their spearhead of struggle was still directed at the revolutionary leading cadres who were victims of the "October incident," and they nonsensically claimed that these cadres were the "Three-Family Village" of Central Shansi in a vain attempt to put them to death. They did not loosen their grip on Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei in the least, and as soon as the movement began, they organized an "investigation group" to collect materials in all places for use as bullets to attack him.

In February this year, inspired by the stormy "January Revolution" in Shanghai, we worked together with the proletarian revolutionaries of the province, district and hsien to seize power from a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. We held a struggle meeting to expose, criticize and repudiate their towering crime for capitalist restoration and against the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Having seized power and held the meeting is not tantamount to the complete downfall of the enemies and that they would not come out to make trouble again in the future. No. Chairman Mao has taught us: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again... until their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic." This is precisely the case.

The handful of bad elements who have been driven off the stage are not reconciled to their doom. They fan up an evil wind, shoot arrows from the dark, and go on to incite the masses to fight against the masses. They even incite struggle by force to undermine the unity of the revolutionary

ranks, disturb the class struggle front and shift the general orientation of the struggle. They go onto plot against Tachai and direct the spearhead at the revolutionary leading cadres in a vain attempt to bring about our downfall so that they might go up the stage once again. This cannot but arouse our sharp vigilance.

We firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: "Just because we have won victory, we must never relax our vigilance against the frenzied plots for revenge by the imperialists and their running dogs. Whoever relaxes vigilance will disarm himself politically and land himself in a passive position."

At a time when the whole country is exposing, criticizing and repudiating in a big way the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, the most important political task in front of us is to size the situation of the class struggle in Shansi Province, drag out all his agents in the province and thoroughly take stock of their crimes. In order to defend Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, we must make concerted effort to beat up brutally the dog in the water and go all-out to make revolutionary criticism and repudiation. We must intensify our fire-power of criticism and repudiation against a handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, topple and discredit them by criticism politically and ideologically, and see that they will never rise again.

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