

Where Will Our Lu Hsun Corps Go?

— A Big-Character Poster Written by the Dongfanghong Fighting Group of the Lu Hsun Corps of the Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters of the Shanghai Sports Front

On February 26, "Renmin Ribao" reprinted a big-character poster — "Where Will Our Lu Hsun Corps Go?" — written by the Dongfanghong (East Is Red) Fighting Group of the Lu Hsun Corps of the Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters of the Shanghai Sports Front. In the same issue, it reprinted an article by Commentator published in Shanghai's "Tiyu Zhanbao" (Physical Culture Fighting Bulletin), entitled "Hail the Big-Character Poster by the Young Dongfanghong Fighters." These two articles raise some very important problems that emerge after proletarian revolutionaries have scored initial success in the struggle to seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who were in authority and taking the capitalist road. These problems are of general significance; they concern the continued development of the revolutionary cause and urgently await solution. These two articles are also good examples of the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. "Hongqi" published a short commentary on them, entitled "Recommending Two Excellent Articles." Following are excerpts from the big-character poster. — Ed.

THE unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao himself, is developing in breadth and depth. Following Chairman Mao's great teachings, the proletarian revolutionaries are now forging a great alliance to wage the struggle to seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, to take firmly into their own hands the destiny of the great proletarian cultural revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the socialist economy. The great proletarian cultural revolution has entered a new stage, and the revolutionary situation is getting better and better!

In eight months of tempestuous struggles, we have scored one great victory after another. But history now places still higher demands upon us, proletarian revolutionaries, and confronts us with new problems.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "With victory, certain moods may grow within the Party — arrogance, the airs of a self-styled hero, inertia and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living. With victory, the people will be grateful to us and the bourgeoisie will come forward to flatter us. It has been proved that the enemy cannot conquer us by force of arms. However, the flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the weak-willed in our ranks. There may be some Communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets. We must guard against such a situation." A review of the ranks of our Lu Hsun Corps shows that in the recent period, there have indeed arisen some new problems, there have indeed developed certain erroneous trends of thought.

Oppose the Purely Military Viewpoint and Put Ideological Revolution to the Fore

The purely military viewpoint is rather strong among some comrades (including certain leading comrades) of the Lu Hsun Corps. The main manifestation of this purely military viewpoint is to concentrate attention and energy solely on "overthrowing so and so" and "dismissing so and so from office." It mistakenly holds that the ultimate purpose of this great proletarian cultural revolution is merely to drag out a number of counter-revolutionary revisionists. As a result, some

comrades in our Lu Hsun Corps have neglected ideological revolution, neglected political and ideological education among the cadres and the masses, and have slackened their efforts in their own political study and ideological remoulding.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The Red Army fights not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence." Those comrades who are obsessed by the purely "military viewpoint," in fact, have not yet fully understood the great and far-reaching significance of the great proletarian cultural revolution that is sweeping the country and shaking the whole world. The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution which touches the very souls of the people; it is by no means a "revolution to dismiss people from office." China's great proletarian cultural revolution is the greatest revolution in the 60s of the 20th century; it is the most extensive, most profound revolutionary mass movement in history and is also the largest in scale; it is an extremely sharp and complicated class struggle; it is a great revolution which aims at remoulding the very souls of the people and promoting the revolutionization of man's thinking. The fundamental task of this great revolutionary movement is to oppose revisionism, prevent the rise of revisionism, thoroughly uproot revisionism, thoroughly smash the social basis for counter-revolutionary revisionism, liquidate its ideological influence, establish the supremacy of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and see to it that Mao Tse-tung's thought takes deep root among the people. At the same time, it is also tempering and training a large number of staunch successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. But the purely "military viewpoint" and simply "dismissing people from office" would make this great proletarian cultural revolution a mere formality resulting in the revisionists being dismissed from office organizationally, but not ideologically. The soil for the rise of revisionism would remain. The overthrow of one counter-revolutionary revisionist would be followed by the rise of another and we ourselves might even follow the bourgeois reactionary line. If things go in this way, capitalism might make a comeback and the state of the proletariat would still be in danger of changing colour. **Chairman Mao teaches us: "It will take a fairly long period of time to decide the issue in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country. . . . If this is not sufficiently understood, or is not understood at all, the gravest mistakes will be made and the necessity of waging the struggle in the ideological field will be ignored."** Because the leadership in the sports department of our institute followed the capitalist road during the past decade and more and systematically carried out the revisionist line, our comrades who have lived in this revisionist "cozy nest" have been unconsciously influ-

enced to a greater or lesser degree by revisionism and our heads are filled to a greater or lesser extent with all kinds of bourgeois ideas. A change is needed in the world outlook of the broad masses and of ourselves. Today, when Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is heading towards complete and all-round victory, we must study Chairman Mao's works all the more, let our souls be touched without fear, destroy "self-interest," foster devotion to the public interest and remould our ideology. 1967 is a year of the all-round development of class struggle throughout the country. We must all the more bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings, never forget the class struggle, never forget to give prominence to politics and change the subjective world while changing the objective world. We will temper ourselves in the stormy waves of class struggle, and be staunch successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

Oppose Putting Collected Material in First Place, Fight a "People's War"

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

Chairman Mao also says: "The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them."

The great proletarian cultural revolution of our country is the most extensive, deepest and largest-scale revolutionary mass movement in history and a new stage of our country's socialist revolution. It will be victorious only if we rely on Mao Tse-tung's thought and rely on hundreds of millions of people who go into action consciously to fight a "people's war." Only in this way can all the revisionist ideas and various manifestations of the bourgeois reactionary line be fully and deeply exposed, the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road be pulled out, and the great proletarian cultural revolution carried out thoroughly.

A review of our Lu Hsun Corps shows that in the minds of some comrades there is the wrong trend of being interested only in collecting material on certain people. We rely on Mao Tse-tung's thought and the wisdom and strength of the masses to achieve success in this movement. Those who believe that such material decides everything stress the importance of this collected material alone. Some comrades concentrate their energy on getting such material. Once they get hold of some of this type of material, they regard themselves as "heroes" and "well informed." The masses are thus naturally relegated to the role of tailing behind, listening to reports, shouting slogans and cheering on the side. This being the case the masses cannot but take orders from those "in possession of collected material" and the leading nucleus is actually deprived of its powers.

The absurd theory and way of doing things of these comrades completely violate Chairman Mao's theory

on people's war and emasculate the essence of the 16-Point Decision—trust the masses, rely on them and boldly arouse them and let them educate, liberate and temper themselves in the struggle, distinguish between right and wrong and improve their abilities. They are actually doing everything for the masses which the masses themselves should do.

Smash Counter-Revolutionary Economism Completely, Practise Economy in Carrying Out Revolution

Chairman Mao says: "Corruption and waste are very great crimes."

Chairman Mao also teaches us: "Wherever we happen to be, we must treasure our manpower and material resources, and must not take a short view and indulge in wastefulness and extravagance."

An evil wind of counter-revolutionary economism has also risen within the ranks of our revolutionaries. Some comrades have been overcome by the sugar-coated bullets of the enemy and have begun to rest content with past achievements and go in for soft living. A genuine revolutionary fighter should in no circumstance waste state property. Extravagance, vainglory and pursuit of the bourgeois way of doing things are completely incompatible with the great proletarian cultural revolution. Further development along this line will make one fall into the trap of the bourgeoisie. Wantonly wasting state property means committing a crime against the people.

Some of our comrades have changed a bit compared with what they used to be. They chase after motor cycles, telephones and bicycles and they are careless with paper belonging to the state, saying that a little waste does not matter. They yearn after a high standard of living and material benefits. Many facts prove that this wrong trend exists in the Lu Hsun Corps. If this trend is allowed to develop, our revolutionary spirit is bound to be weakened until it completely vanishes and we step on to the evil road of revisionist economism.

Revolutionary comrades! We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and insist on the "practice of economy in carrying out revolution." Only thus can we be politically invincible, win the support of the masses and always maintain and develop the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat.

Oppose Closed-Doorism, Unite With the Great Majority

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution."

Chairman Mao also tells us that genuine successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat "must be proletarian statesmen capable of uniting and working together with the overwhelming majority. Not only must they unite with those who agree with them, they must also be good at uniting with those who disagree and even with those who formerly opposed them and have since been proved wrong in practice. But they

must especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchov and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level."

The proletarian revolutionaries, in the days when they were being suppressed, launched a vigorous counter-offensive against the bourgeois reactionary line and in defence of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. They encountered all kinds of resistance and pressure from the handful of persons in the Party who were in authority and taking the capitalist road and from the old force of habit in society; they had to fight an arduous struggle under conditions of a White terror. They were temporarily in the position of being the glorious minority.

At the present time, the situation has changed swiftly. Guided by the brilliant light of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has been victorious. The proletarian revolutionaries have stood up. Some "royalist" organizations have collapsed. The masses who have been deceived have gradually seen the true features of the handful of persons in the Party who were in authority and taking the capitalist road. They are all rising to rebel. At this moment, how should we treat them?

Some of our comrades have become conceited and regard themselves as veteran revolutionaries, thinking that they have made some achievements in rebellion; therefore they look down upon others and adopt a closed-doorist attitude towards those people who made mistakes yet have the determination to correct them and want to take part in the struggle. On the pretext of "unity through struggle," some comrades turn the spearhead against the masses who were deceived, while paying no attention to the persons who were mainly responsible for carrying out the erroneous line. This tendency is extremely dangerous. We must overcome them in our Lu Hsun Corps.

We must realize that the majority of the deceived comrades want to make revolution. We must warmly help them so as to enable them to understand that their former standpoint was wrong and that they took the wrong direction. They must be helped to find the root causes of such mistakes. We must actively explain Mao Tse-tung's thought and the proletarian revolutionary line represented by him to such deceived comrades. We must help them to gain a profound understanding of the tremendous significance of this great revolution that touches people to their very souls and to see the essence of the bourgeois reactionary line. We must unite with them and fight together in the struggle. Chairman Mao teaches us: "The tactics required for this purpose are to develop the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and combat the diehard forces; these are three inseparable links." We must firmly follow the teachings of Chairman Mao, develop and expand the ranks of the revolutionary Left, win over the middle group and unite with the great majority. We must concentrate our forces on attacking and isolating the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist

road. Unity with the great majority is for the revolution. To make revolution it is necessary to unite with the great majority. This is one of the important strategic concepts of Chairman Mao. This is an important question which calls for attention in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Rectify Mistaken Ideas, Eradicate "Self-Interest"

There are mistaken trends and ideas within our Lu Hsun Corps. How have these emerged? What is their nature? Some say: "These are minor internal problems." Others say: "These are questions of working methods and tactics." Still others say: "These are questions of the art of struggle." We do not agree with these views. **Chairman Mao teaches us: "Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society."** Chairman Mao also says: "In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class." From the various mistaken trends and ideas within the Lu Hsun Corps, we see that in the final analysis they are struggles between two lines and between two different world outlooks.

It is not surprising that in the mass movement, especially in this unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution which touches people's souls, there are struggles within the Lu Hsun Corps between two lines and between two different world outlooks. **Chairman Mao has said: "Inevitably, the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie will give expression to their own ideologies. Inevitably, they will stubbornly express themselves on political and ideological questions by every possible means. You cannot expect them to do otherwise."** The requirements of the struggle brought members of the Lu Hsun Corps close together last October when the corps was suppressed, encircled and attacked. The struggle between two different kinds of ideas and two different world outlooks within the corps did not manifest itself in the face of this principal contradiction. Now, as the ranks have been expanded and victories have been won, closed-doorism, liberalism, the mountain-stronghold mentality, sectarianism, ultra-democracy and the tendency to seek the limelight, all of which existed below the surface in the corps, are gradually coming to light. These all run counter to Mao Tse-tung's thought and are as incompatible with the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao as fire and water. In the final analysis, it is bourgeois "self-interest" that is at the root of all these evils.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In order to be able to shoulder this task more competently and work better together with all non-Party people who are actuated by high ideals and determined to institute reforms, we must conduct rectification movements both now and in the future, and constantly rid ourselves of whatever is wrong." The great proletarian cultural revolution is aimed not only to use Mao Tse-tung's thought

to criticize and smash the old world, but, at the same time, to train and organize a mighty, highly proletarian and militant army of cultural revolution armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. Without this army, the great proletarian cultural revolution will not attain final victory. The historical task of uniting the masses to seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, and wrest final victory in the great cultural revolution, has now been gloriously placed on our shoulders, the shoulders of the proletarian revolutionaries. We of the Lu Hsun Corps must put things in order both ideologically and organizationally. Without building up a highly proletarian and militant force of the revolutionary Left, which is imbued with a thoroughgoing, proletarian revolutionary spirit, this glorious historical task cannot be fulfilled.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Though the majority in our Party and in our ranks are clean and honest, we must in all seriousness put things in order both ideologically and organizationally if we are to develop the revolutionary movement more effectively and bring it to speedier success. To put things in order organizationally requires our first doing so ideologically, our launching a struggle of proletarian ideology against non-proletarian ideology." Just now, the Lu Hsun Corps badly needs to put things in order, badly needs an "open-door rectification." That is to say, through the study of Chairman Mao's works (mainly the "three constantly read articles" and *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party, Combat Liberalism and On the Reissue of the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention — Instruction of the General Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army*), everyone and every fighting group of the corps should actively practise criticism and self-criticism, modestly listen to the opinions of the masses, and promptly correct shortcomings and mistakes.

We think that since we need an "open-door rectification," we should keep the door wide open, and not hide anything, not be afraid of washing our dirty linen in public. **Chairman Mao has said: "Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless." "The Communist Party does not fear criticism because we are Marxists, the truth is on our side, and the basic masses, the workers and peasants, are on our side."** If the Lu Hsun Corps is revolutionary, then no rectification will pull us down; otherwise, we are deserving of being pulled down. This is our attitude. At the present moment, some suggest that we should stop the battle for a while and take up rectification; some suggest that rectification should not begin until we have finished the battle. We say, we want rectification side by side with battle. The experience of our Party in the rectification campaigns in 1942 and 1957 has proved that not only is it possible to carry through rectification alongside the struggle, but the results are good. This is entirely applicable to our corps now. In this way, our Lu Hsun Corps will surely become stronger and our ranks will surely thrive.