

SHATTER SPIRITUAL SHACKLES AND ALWAYS FOLLOW BEHIND  
CHAIRMAN MAO IN CARRYING ON THE REVOLUTION

[Following is a translation of an article by Feng Chia-p'ing (7456 0857 5393), Geography Department Brigade, Ching-kang Shan Commune, formerly Member, Geography Department General Party Branch, in the Chinese-language newspaper Ching-kang Shan (Ching-kang Mountains), Peking, No 31, 18 April, 1967. This source is published by the Ching-kang Shan Editorial Department of the Ching-kang Shan Commune at Peking Normal University, Congress of Red Guards of Universities and Colleges in the Capital.]

From the ground I have covered in the last few years I have learned that Liu Shao-ch'i's black "Cultivation" is a declaration on the restoration of capitalism, the theoretical basis for his bourgeois reactionary line, and a narcotic drug for corrupting people's souls.

In the past, owing to my failure to make a very good study of Chairman Mao's works and to have a very satisfactory transformation of my bourgeois world outlook, I have been deeply poisoned by the "Cultivation" and bound up with spiritual shackles. The more I "cultivated" myself, the more numb I became politically and the more intense my individualism. I must angrily charge the "Cultivation" with poisoning me. I must shatter my spiritual shackles and always follow behind Chairman Mao in carrying on the revolution.

Liu's "Cultivation" has treated me with the training for "tame tools" as its first prescription.

I was essentially a youth with a strong inclination to

struggle, full of revolutionary vitality and daring to criticize. The handful of party people taking the capitalist road, regarding themselves as the reincarnation of the party itself, making use of my loyalty to it, and taking advantage of my urgent desire to join it, have filled me with their theory on "tame tools" and persuaded me to "follow the party's leadership unconditionally," in fact to obey their orders. Whatever I did, once I obeyed them, I was said to have made "rapid progress." Gradually I accepted this kind of slavish inculcation, and did whatever the "higher levels" instructed me to do. On their part they praised me as being a "student with the 3 good things" and with "both virtue and scholarship." Thus the modicum of "rebellious" spirit and ability to think independently in me was worn off, and I failed pretty soon to see the truth, merely obeying orders. Normally, even when I could detect a question and differed with the leadership, I at once checked on myself to see if I did not have enough "self-cultivation" and if my "party character" was pure.

After the anti-rightist struggle, the handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road distorted the substance of anti-rightism and implanted their individual prestige in accordance with the theories handed down by Liu Shao-ch'i. Whoever had a difference of opinion with the party was branded as "disloyal" to the party. As I apprehended that I had not had enough experience in the class struggle and might commit the mistake of being "anti-party," I was more and more obedient. The more obedient I became, the more they expected me to intensify my "cultivation." Liu Shao-ch'i's "party character" and "disciplinary nature" caused me to become a muddled worm devoid of the political sense of smell.

For this reason I had to suffer in the raging storm of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

On 1 June our most esteemed and beloved leader, Chairman Mao, personally issued the first Marxist-Leninist large-character poster, whereupon the revolutionary storm smashed in the face of each person, and of course my own thinking was also influenced by our little revolutionary heroes. At a meeting of the general party branch on 3 June I presented my own view by opposing the mobilization of all the manpower of the department to besiege Comrade T'ien Hsiao-en (3944 1420 1869) and supporting the revolutionary large-character poster issued by Comrade T'an Hou-lan (6223 0624 5695), suggesting that the spearhead be directed pointblank at the party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. I was at once opposed by Chang Hung-pin (1728 3163 6333), secretary of the black general party branch and the top person in our department taking the capitalist road. He stared at me and asked, "Who do you say is the top school authority

taking the capitalist road?" I replied hard-headedly, "It is Ch'eng Chin-wu." I saw Chang jot this down in his black notebook, which frightened me.

Following this, Chang waxed eloquent on his experience in the anti-rightist struggle, "The rightists are starting now to be active," and "Why is the wife of the great rightist, x x x, so active?" This was just to scare others. Owing to the word "self" and the influence of slavery, I vacillated and yielded. I thought that my experience in the class struggle might not have been sufficient and that I had better obey them. Where was there any "rebellion" to speak of?

The surging waves of the revolution caused the collapse of the black party committee and the black general party branch. But I did not know what to do. Without the leadership I was helpless. While the masses expected me to join the revolution, I could not stand up. I thought that it would be of little use if I alone stood up, and that the whole general party branch had to come out to assume the leadership. At the same time I was afraid that the blazing flames of the revolution might burn my head.

On 6 June the working unit arrived. I jumped with joy and said with great excitement, "That's good. We have the party's leadership again. Let us wait for the organization to make its review. These days the party committee and general party branch have been paralyzed, and there has been no party leadership, which has annoyed us so much."

The serious influence of slavery made me unsuited to the new order of the revolution, which regarded the working unit as the "party's leadership." Though the working unit implemented in the school the whole Liu-Teng bourgeois reactionary line, they disregarded all the facts and forced me to "step aside" and prohibited me from attending meetings together with the masses, writing large-character posters, and speaking at the meetings. I was very painful and felt let down, but under the influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's nonsense about "compromise" and "patience," I did not dare to rebel and acquiesced in being handled by the working unit as it would. Subsequently, under the pressure of the masses, the working unit was constrained to release me, for which I felt very grateful to it. I thought that the "party" would not do any wrong to me. This was one of the reasons why I protected Sun Yu-yu and the working unit.

Said Chairman Mao, "On any matter a Communist party member must ask why and go through some close thinking in the mind, to see if it is practical and really reasonable. He must absolutely not follow blindly, and must absolutely not

advocate slavery." However, the "Liu poison" had penetrated into me so very deeply that I could not follow Chairman Mao's teachings and I was inextricably bound up by Liu's "party character" hand and foot.

However, the facts taught me that the Ching-kang Shan fighters, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, have the reddest hearts and clearest eyes. They have pierced through the deceitful tricks of Liu Shao-ch'i and followed Chairman Mao's teaching that "rebellion is right." They have resolutely resisted, struggled with, and rebelled against the leadership implementing the counterrevolutionary revisionist line and the bourgeois reactionary line, no matter how high their positions, how great their prestige, and how unparalleled their seniority. They are determined to have nothing to do with "peaceful evolution" or "absolute obedience." This is really an indication that they have seen the situation clearly.

The second prescription with which Liu's black "Cultivation" has provided me is his view on "peace within the party."

Chairman Mao has taught us: "The opposition and struggle between different ideologies constantly arise in the party. This is the reflection of society's class contradictions and the contradictions between new and old things in the party. In the absence of contradictions in the party and the ideological struggle for the solution of contradictions, the party's life will cease." The history of the party is the history of the class struggle.

However, the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road, headed by Liu, disregard the fact of the struggle between the two lines and the two classes in the party. They distort the explanation of this struggle between "the two lines and the two classes" by saying, "Owing to differences in party members' methods of looking at questions, their methods of dealing with such questions are also different. This gives rise to many divergences of views and stands, with their corollary cleavages and disputes, in the party, which in turn lead to struggles in the party." This is a 100% revisionist view.

Not only do they advocate this viewpoint, but, in accordance with this fallacy, they protect the handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

During the party reorganization in 1963 the party branch could not even find any class struggle in the party, and later it was contented with merely the checking made by each man on individualism. The same thing was true of the period of the four clearances in 1964. The black four-clearance working unit

was guided by Liu's black "Cultivation," saying, "The 23 Points are not wholly suited to higher schools, which do not have any question of leadership but which have principally some questions with regard to ideological form." As a result the counterrevolutionary acts of the counterrevolutionary revisionist Ch'eng Chin-wu and others in usurping the party and the government were reduced to questions of democratic behavior and behavior in living. At the same time the conception of "peace within the party" was produced in our minds, so that after the rise of the movement of the Great Cultural Revolution we had a considerable lack of understanding and committed many mistakes.

Owing to the influence of the theory of "peace within the party," I not only did not dare to rebel myself, but was dissatisfied with the rebellious spirit of the Ching-kang Shan fighters. Especially after listening to the reactionary fallacy of Liu and Teng that "the revolution is encountering new problems," I believed even more that the attitude of Ching-kang Shan toward the old cadres was too "savage." The facts taught me that the class struggle in the party is very violent. Liu and his group are basically not "old revolutionaries," and he is in particular a great traitor, a counterrevolutionary, and a time bomb at the side of Chairman Mao. If the little revolutionary heroes did not follow Chairman Mao's teaching that "rebellion is right" and dare to think and press forward, the Great Cultural Revolution would be shortlived and the party and state would change their color.

It was this view of "peace within the party" that Liu used to numb the party politically and frighten it away from rebellion. The Great Cultural Revolution having cleared my vision, I cannot continue to be deceived and must follow the teachings of Chairman Mao. I am determined not to be afraid of sacrifice, to overcome all my difficulties, and to win the victory. I shall learn from the little revolutionary heroes, rebel against Liu, and thoroughly smash his black "Cultivation".

Heroic men like Lei Feng (7191 6912) and Wang Chieh (3769 2638) have given me a very substantial education. I feel that if I go on as I did, it will be very dangerous. I am willing to overcome individualism and obey Chairman Mao. However, the handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road have sought to poison me with the theory of "harmony between the public and the private" and "higher" individualism, under the black "Cultivation," They delusively tell me that I should "develop personal interests in the development of the party's business." They have looked after the "sharpshooters," brought up by them in the department, in every way, with a view to inducing them to go into the study. At the same

time, when I was elected a member of the general party branch, Chang Hung-pin, a person in authority taking the capitalist road, kept close to me. No sooner had I assumed my new office than he made arrangements for me and some "higher" cadres in the Geography Department to go to Canton on a gainful trip. I was so flattered that I thought that it was due to my new distinction that I had been chosen for the trip, which was at the same time for "public" and "private" purposes. Unwittingly I was thus hit by a sugar-coated bomb, and so after the launching of the movement I tried my best to protect the general party branch. In the last analysis the motive was to protect my own vested interests at the same time. I thought that even if I made a mistake in giving such protection, I could get some consolation from the black "Cultivation;" and I believed that this was an indication of my "loyalty to the party."

At times I wondered why I could make mistakes even when I worked hard, why my hard work was all for the service of the Liu-Teng bourgeoisie, and why I could not overcome my individualism. From the experience of the Great Cultural Revolution and the "three old articles" I found my answers. The fact is that in the party there has existed from beginning to end the struggle between the two lines and the two classes, which leaves no room at all for reconciliation, nor any possible compromise. Unless you listen to Chairman Mao, you will inevitably be corroded by the "Cultivation." If your head is filled with the revisionist merchandise of "harmony between the public and the private," you cannot "fully" and "thoroughly" serve the people. The "harmony between the public and the private" is sheer nonsense, which could lead to the deception of oneself and others. It is a bait for developing individualism and revisionism. It is the kind of "Cultivation" which causes us to be lulled into peaceful evolution. It is the kind of "Cultivation" which makes my revolutionary fervor wear off, helps the growth of individualism and slavery, obscures the class conception, and turns me into a muddled worm in politics and a "tame tool" for the Liu-Teng revisionism. Comrades, what a dangerous road this is!

The bugle call for advance in the Great Cultural Revolution has awakened me and enabled me to find the direction after having been led astray. From now on I must have a brutal struggle with the word "self" in my head, thoroughly eliminate the "Liu poison," transform my world outlook, learn from the little revolutionary heroes, struggle together with them, stand firmly on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and follow closely behind him to carry on the revolution all my life.

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