

Pick Up Your Pens and Hold On to Your Guns, Fight to Defend Proletarian State Power!

IN February 1966, at a critical stage in the sharp struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in China, under the direct concern and guidance of the great leader Chairman Mao, Comrade Lin Piao entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching with the

task of holding a forum on the work in literature and art in the armed forces. This forum was a powerful counter-blow at the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique he supported. It was an extremely important

meeting in the history of China's cultural revolution. The "Forum Summary," which has been examined and revised three times by Chairman Mao himself, is a powerful weapon for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and for crushing capitalist restoration. It is a Marxist-Leninist document that glitters with the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the "Forum Summary" deals a staggering blow to the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art, and persists in and defends Chairman Mao's line that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and proletarian politics. Applying the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung, it also provides the answers to many important questions concerning the cultural revolution in the socialist period. The "Forum Summary" is a call to battle issued by the proletarian revolutionary headquarters of Chairman Mao and a mobilization order calling on army commanders and fighters to pick up their pens and hold on to their guns to defend the political power of the proletariat. It heralds the arrival of the red storm of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

This forum was called and presided over by Comrade Chiang Ching, the most courageous fighter on the cultural front, on behalf of Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms and our deputy supreme commander Comrade Lin Piao. It calls upon the People's Liberation Army to play an important role in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This shows our supreme commander Chairman Mao's greatest concern for, confidence in and encouragement to the People's Liberation Army. It opens a brilliant page in the history of building our army, and adds undisputed glory to all the commanders and fighters in our army.

The "Forum Summary" directs its spearhead against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique they support. In an attempt to bring about a capitalist restoration, this counter-revolutionary revisionist clique and its chief backer have for a long time frantically opposed our great leader Chairman Mao, vehemently resisted Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and obstinately promoted the sinister anti-Party, anti-socialist line on literature and art. They usurped and controlled the old Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee, the old Ministry of Culture and the old Peking Municipal Party Committee; they recruited deserters and renegades, formed cliques for their own selfish interests, hypocritically said one thing and did another and acted dictatorially, exercising, in fact, a dictatorship over us in the literary and art world. Over the past 17 years, this handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists misrepresented the workers, peasants and soldiers while pretending imperialism, feudalism and revisionism. From praising the *Inside Story of the Ching Court* to cooking up *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* they have done nothing but evil and their rank crimes reach to the skies.

Between September and October, 1965, Chairman Mao said that the anti-Party, anti-socialist Wu Han and his poisonous weed *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* should be criticized and repudiated. However, the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and their henchmen unscrupulously opposed Chairman Mao's directive. Under the direct guidance of Comrade Chiang Ching, the proletarian revolutionaries of Shanghai launched a criticism and repudiation of *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*. Comrade Yao Wen-yuan wrote the article "On the New Historical Drama *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*." The scoundrels Peng Chen and Lu Ting-yi would not allow Peking's press to reprint this important article, and pamphlets carrying the article, which were published in Shanghai, were not allowed to circulate in Peking. In February 1966, backed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique stole the name of the Party's Central Committee to serve up the notorious "Outline Report." Openly waving a sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist banner, protecting the bourgeois Rightists and madly attacking the proletarian Left, they made a vain attempt to undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution and turn back the wheels of history. Their counter-revolutionary fury reached a peak.

At this moment, Comrade Lin Piao entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching to call a forum on literature and art in the armed forces. The cadres and fighters in the army responded to the call of Chairman Mao and acted according to the requirements set out in the "Forum Summary." Using Mao Tse-tung's thought as a sharp weapon, they plunged actively into the battle of the great proletarian cultural revolution alongside the broad revolutionary masses. A powerful mass denunciation followed, and the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique and its chief backer were routed. Their heady dream of restoring capitalism went bankrupt. The proletarian revolutionaries won the first battle in the great cultural revolution.

This soul-stirring class struggle made us realize more deeply than ever that in the class struggle between the bourgeois attempt to stage a comeback and the proletariat's struggle against it under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the People's Liberation Army, which is loyal to Chairman Mao's thought, must most resolutely defend Mao Tse-tung's thought, defend the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao and defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that it becomes a most courageous shock force in the attack on counter-revolutionary revisionism.

Our army is a proletarian revolutionary army which was built personally by our great supreme commander Chairman Mao and is directly led by our deputy supreme commander Lin Piao. Chairman Mao calls on us to play an important role in the great proletarian cultural revolution and in defending the great

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dictatorship of the proletariat and the great cause of socialism. In order to accomplish this glorious and arduous task and to justify the trust of the Party and the people, we must seriously study Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* and his recently published five brilliant, historic documents on literature and art; we must seriously study the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee's May 16, 1966 Circular drawn up under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao and the "Forum Summary" personally examined and revised by Chairman Mao, and arm our minds with Chairman Mao's teachings on classes and class struggle during the period of socialism and his theory of how to make revolution and prevent a capitalist restoration under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We must continue to bear in mind Chairman Mao's instruction — never forget the class struggle. We must not forget that in socialist society there still exists sharp and complex class struggle, as well as a danger of capitalist restoration. The bourgeoisie invariably tries to conquer the minds of the people by means of "peaceful evolution," and by the use of such sugar-coated bullets as "literature and art." If the proletariat does not occupy the positions in literature and art, the bourgeoisie certainly will. Literature and art is the foremost position which must be taken in the battle between the bourgeoisie's attempt at a capitalist restoration and the proletariat's struggle against it.

We must continue to bear in mind Chairman Mao's instruction that the basic question of revolution is that of political power. The focal point of class struggle under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat remains the question of political power, that is, the proletariat wants to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, while the bourgeoisie wants to overthrow it. Those in authority taking the capitalist road who have sneaked into the institutions of the dictatorship of the proletariat are the most dangerous enemies. When seeking to usurp the leadership of the Party, the army and government, they, first of all, invariably have to prepare public opinion. In order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and utterly smash the enemy's counter-revolutionary preparation of public opinion, we must attach great im-

portance to the class struggle on the literary and art front, thoroughly expose and repudiate their sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art, together with its chief backer, and seize back the leadership they have usurped.

We must continue to bear in mind Chairman Mao's instruction that the question of who will win in the revolution will be settled only after a very long historical period. One must not think that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or even after three or four. This is true too for the class struggle on the literary and art front. Just as the "Forum Summary" points out, "after we are rid of this black line, still others will appear and the struggle must go on. Therefore, this is an arduous, complex and long-term struggle which will take decades, or even centuries."

We must continue to bear in mind Chairman Mao's instruction that "the Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution." The People's Liberation Army is the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must not only use the gun to defend the proletarian dictatorship and to oppose a capitalist restoration; we must also pick up the pen to carry out class struggle in the ideological field so as to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the spread of revisionism. We should be brave fighters daring to attack enemies boldly on the battlefield amid roaring gunfire and flying bullets, and be a staunch and courageous shock force in the class struggle in the ideological sphere. We will charge wherever our great supreme commander Chairman Mao points the way. When the revolutionary fighters, armed with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and equipped with both guns and pens, closely unite with the proletarian revolutionaries and broad revolutionary masses, then they will be able to thoroughly smash any plot of the class enemy for a counter-revolutionary restoration.

We must always hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and fight to the end to safeguard Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and consolidate proletarian power.

(*"Jiefangjun Bao"* [*Liberation Army Daily*] editorial, May 29, 1967.)