## Long Live the Slogan "Revolutionary Rebellion Is Justified!"

"Hongqi" editor's note: The "Wenhui Bao" has taken on a completely new look since January 4 this year and it has become a real proletarian revolutionary paper. It has successively carried many good articles and editorials. "Long Live the Slogan 'Revolutionary Rebellion Is Justified" which we are reprinting is one. This article is very good indeed, because it has thoroughly repudiated all sorts of absurd arguments which prohibit rebellion and has thus greatly strengthened the morale of the proletarian revolutionary rebels and taken the wind out of the sails of the bourgeoisie.

Some responsible personnel, though not in the category of anti-Party and anti-socialist elements, have not remoulded or effectively remoulded their bourgeois world outlook. They neither study nor mix with the masses in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Therefore, to this day, they still have a very poor understanding of this revolution. They blindly echo the absurd charges that "you're going too far," "you're making an awful mess of it," "your revolutionary spirit is alright, but the way you're doing things is wrong," and so on. We would like to warn these comrades sharply: If you go on this way, you will go from merely having a very poor understanding of the great proletarian cultural revolution to actually opposing it! It is of the utmost importance that these comrades read the editorial "Long Live the Slogan 'Revolutionary Rebellion Is Justified,'" examine their thinking in the light of it and change their minds. We hope that these comrades will wake up immediately!

Following is a translation of the January 6 "Wenhui Bao" editorial. It was reprinted by the journal "Hongqi," No. 2, (January 16) with the above editorial note. Both were reprinted by "Renmin Ribao" on January 19.—"P.R." Ed.

In the course of the unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution, regiments of revolutionary rebels have emerged from the struggle. Acting on Chairman Mao's teaching that "rebellion is justified," they hold high the great banner of revolutionary rebellion and with hurricane force launch a general offensive against the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and those who are stubbornly clinging to the bourgeois reactionary line. The power of this offensive is irresistible, swift and violent; those who bow before it survive and those who resist perish. These red revolutionary rebels have performed unforgettable, historic feats in the great proletarian cultural revolutionary movement. They are the hard-hitting vanguard of the great cultural revolution.

The revolutionary rebels have the deepest feeling for Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee. They have the best understanding of the current great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself. Chairman Mao gives his greatest support to the revolutionary rebels. They stand steadfastly on the side of the revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. In order to defend the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao at all costs, they dare to scale a mountain of swords or brave a sea of fire. They fear neither heaven nor earth, neither ghosts nor gods, neither encirclement and at-

tacks nor persecution. Cherishing a boundless love for Chairman Mao, they dare to think, speak up, act, blaze new trails and make revolution; they are truly people "who are not afraid of death by a thousand cuts and dare to unhorse the emperor."

The revolutionary rebels know very well that a revolution is not a dinner party or writing an essay; it is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another. In defending the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao, they have taken many actions which are described as "breaking all the rules." "Breaking all the rules," that is just what revolution is! "Breaking all the rules," that is just what rebellion is! These actions that "break all the rules" are trail-blazing revolutionary actions. Every really revolutionary comrade should hail them as "fine," instead of blindly echoing others' moan of "it's terrible."

The revolutionary rebels have the sharpest sight, the most acute sense of smell and the greatest fighting Under their stormy attack, those handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road, and who were hidden in dark corners, have been dragged out one by one no matter how well they disguised themselves. Whatever new tricks they use to deceive the masses, the extremely small number of diehards who stubbornly pursue the bourgeois reactionary line have been seen through one after another by the young Red Guard fighters who have risen in revolutionary rebellion. Hotly pursued and fiercely attacked by the revolutionary rebels, the diehards are finding the going tougher and tougher and they are daily in a greater quandary. Their downfall is certain if they continue to put up resistance instead of bowing their heads, admitting their crimes and returning to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

The revolutionary rebels dare to fight, to have a trial of strength and to rebel. This is the outcome of their creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings. They have achieved most impressive results in this respect. They study Chairman Mao's writings not shut up in their studies, but amid great storms, and with the most urgent problems arising from the class struggle in mind. This is why they can apply every sentence they have learnt and transform the spiritual force that has been engendered into a mighty material force. Confronted with powerful enemies and endless difficulties, they are full of courage and dare to risk their lives as a result of their study of Chairman Mao's works; no difficulty or resistance can overwhelm them, instead, these can only be overwhelmed by the revolutionary rebels.

Charging ahead in the vanguard, the revolutionary rebels have met with every kind of resistance. Though this resistance assumes a variety of forms and labels, the essence is the same, it is that rebellion is prohibited. We must thoroughly refute all sorts of absurd arguments that prohibit rebellion.

"You're going too far." This is the comment by those who put fear above everything. They oppose any attack on the bourgeois reactionary line by the revolutionary rebels. They would prefer to make revolution comfortably. But in reality it is impossible to make revolution comfortably. Revolution is no easy undertaking. Making revolution comfortably is making sham revolution but really seeking comfort. Whoever wants to make revolution comfortably is sure to "evolve" comfortably into a revisionist. Chairman Mao has said: "Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall." This is also true in criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line. Proper limits have to be exceeded in order to right a wrong, or else the wrong cannot be righted. Without launching fierce attacks on the bourgeois reactionary line, without a sharp, decisive battle, the bourgeois reactionary line will not easily vanish from the heads of those following it. We must loudly shout that we are not afraid of "going too far."

"You're making an awful mess of it." What are you afraid of? Chairman Mao has said: "Even great storms are not to be feared. It is amid great storms that human society progresses." Under present-day conditions and guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, extensive democracy can only consolidate and never weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a splendid thing to smash the taboos and restrictions that bind the masses hand and foot and smash the peculiar and out-dated conventions and so fully mobilize the masses. To make revolution is no crime and to rebel is justified. We should never again commit the mistake of Lord Sheh's love of dragons.\* If every day one talks volubly about arousing the masses but becomes panic-stricken and frightened out of his wits once the masses are really aroused, is this not repeating Lord

Sheh's mistake? This great revolutionary disorder is excellent. It can only result in the elimination of everything that is rotten, whereas in the struggle Mao Tse-tung's thought will become more engrained in us.

"Your revolutionary spirit is alright, but the way you do things cannot be approved." This is another eclectic comment. The revolutionary rebel spirit of the revolutionary rebels always manifests itself in each and every concrete action. While supporting the revolutionary spirit of the revolutionary rebels, you criticize all of their concrete actions in a hundred and one ways. Aren't your "support" and "approval" only empty words? While affirming their revolutionary spirit, you oppose their revolutionary action. How can you reconcile the two? It is unavoidable that the rebels commit mistakes of one kind or another in the struggle. Those who try to use certain isolated shortcomings to attack the revolutionary rebels and clutch at straws will definitely meet an ignominious end. You must either actively support or resolutely oppose the revolutionary actions of the revolutionary rebels; eclecticism is a blind alley.

"Rebellion is justified." This is always the slogan of the proletarian revolutionaries. Whether you are a genuine Marxist or a pseudo-Marxist, the touchstone for determining this is how you treat this slogan and what attitude you take towards the revolutionary rebels. If you are a real Marxist, you will certainly agree one hundred per cent with the slogan "rebellion is justified," and you will certainly put revolution before everything else; if you are a pseudo-Marxist, you will surely agree one hundred per cent with the view that "rebellion is unjustified," and you will surely try your best to defend the targets of the revolution. The prevailing spirit of the present era is the revolutionary rebel spirit. Every genuine revolutionary must hold high the great banner of revolutionary rebellion in this great proletarian cultural revolution and be proud to be a revolutionary rebel.

Revolutionary rebel comrades-in-arms! Looking ahead to this new year, the situation is excellent and our tasks are arduous. Hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, study the "three constantly read articles" [Serve the People, In Memory of Norman Bethune and The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains] as maxims, exert great efforts to remould our world outlook and vigorously destroy the concept of self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest. We should go to the factories and the rural areas to integrate ourselves with the vast masses of workers and peasants. Under all circumstances, we must closely unite, continue to fight, carry the revolution through to the end, march forward to still greater goals and win one new victory after another!

<sup>\*</sup>As told by Liu Hsiang (76-5 B.C.) in his *Hsin Hsu*, Lord Sheh was so fond of dragons that he adorned his whole palace with drawings and carvings of them. But when a real dragon heard of his infatuation and paid him a visit, he was frightened out of his wits.—*Tr*.