

TT: 66-34330

JPRS: 37,902

29 September 1966

TRANSLATIONS FROM HUNG-CH'I (RED FLAG)

No. 11, 1966

- Communist China -

No. 35

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
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Adams Drive, 4th and 6th Streets, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20443

Price: \$3.00

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This report contains the translation of all of the articles in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No. 11, 1966. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

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COMMUNIQUE OF THE ELEVENTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE EIGHTH
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

(Adopted on 12 August 1966)

[Following is a translation of an article from the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No 11, Peiping, 21 August 1966, pages 2-7.]

The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held in Peking from 1-12 August 1966.

The Eleventh Plenary Session was presided over by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Members and Alternate Members of the Central Committee attended. Also present were comrades from the regional bureaus of the Central Committee and from the provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees; members of the cultural revolution group of the Central Committee; comrades from the relevant departments of the Central Committee and the Government; and representatives of revolutionary teachers and students from institutions of higher learning in Peking.

The Eleventh Plenary Session after discussion adopts the Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The Plenary Session after discussion approves the important policy decisions and measures concerning domestic and international questions adopted by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee since the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee in September 1962.

Domestic

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a correct analysis of the situation at that time and once again stressed the theory of contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society. This is the guide for the socialist

revolution and socialist construction in our country. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and under the guidance of the Party's general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, the people of our country have in the past four years unfolded the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experimentation, and have won great victories. The people's communes have been further consolidated and developed. An invigorating revolutionary atmosphere prevails in the whole country and the situation is one of a new all-round leap forward emerging.

The national economy of our country is developing steadily and soundly. The policy of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising of standards advanced by the Party's Central Committee has already been successfully carried out. The Third Five-Year Plan started this year. On the industrial front, not only have big increases been registered in the output and variety of products, but their quality has also greatly improved. On the agricultural front, there have been good harvests for four successive years. The market is thriving and prices are stable. The success of the three nuclear tests is a concentrated expression of the new level reached in the development of China's science, technology and industry.

During the past few years, an extensive socialist education movement has unfolded in the rural areas, the cities and the army. At present, a great proletarian cultural revolution unprecedented in history is mounting in our country. The mass movement in which workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and cadres creatively study and apply Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works has ushered in a new era of direct mastery and application of Marxism-Leninism by the laboring people.

The Plenary Session fully approves the 20 May 1963 Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Some Problems in Current Rural Work (Draft). It fully approves the 14 January 1965 summary minutes of discussion at the National Working Conference called by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas, that is, the 23-article document. These two documents were drawn up under the personal leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and have been the powerful ideological weapon for our people in carrying out the socialist revolution. We should continue to act in accordance with the two above-mentioned documents and, in combination with the great proletarian cultural revolution, carry through to the end in both rural and urban areas the "four clean-ups" movement, that is, the socialist education movement to clean up politics, ideology, organization and economy.

The Plenary Session fully approves the series of brilliant policies of decisive and fundamental importance put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung over the past four years. These policies consist mainly of the following:

On the question of applying the principle of democratic centralism and carrying forward and developing the revolutionary tradition of the mass line;

On the question of raising and training successors in the proletarian revolutionary cause;

On the call for industrial enterprises to learn from the Taching Oilfield, for agricultural units to learn from the Tachai Production Brigade, for the whole country to learn from the People's Liberation Army, and for strengthening political and ideological work;

On the strategic principle of preparedness against war, preparedness against natural calamities and everything for the people;

On the question of breaking down foreign conventions and following our own road of industrial development;

On the question of system and deployment in economic construction and national defense construction;

On the call for the whole Party to grasp military affairs and for everybody to be a soldier;

On the question of planning and arrangements for the gradual mechanization of agriculture; and

On the call for the People's Liberation Army and all factories, villages, schools, commercial departments, service trades and Party and government organizations to become great schools of revolution.

The Plenary Session stresses that the series of directives by Comrade Mao Tse-tung concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution are the guide for action in the present cultural revolution of our country; they constitute an important development of Marxism-Leninism.

The Plenary Session holds that the key to the success of this great cultural revolution is to have faith in the masses, rely on them, boldly arouse them and respect their initiative. It is therefore imperative to persevere in the line of "from the masses and to the masses." Be pupils of the masses before becoming their teachers. Dare to make revolution and be good at making revolution. Don't be afraid of disorder. Oppose the taking of the bourgeois stand, the shielding of Rightists, the attacking of the Left and repression of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Oppose the creation of a lot of restrictions to tie the hands of the masses. Don't be overlords or stand above the masses, blindly ordering them about.

Give enthusiastic support to the revolutionary Left, take care to strive to unite with all those who can be united and concentrate our

forces to strike at the handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist bourgeois Rightists.

The Plenary Session holds that the series of questions advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung over the past four years concerning socialist revolution and socialist construction have greatly accelerated the development and success of the socialist cause in our country. These questions are of most profound and far-reaching significance for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system in our country, for preventing revisionist usurpation of the Party and state leadership, for preventing the restoration of capitalism, for ensuring that our country adheres to proletarian internationalism and actively supports the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world and for ensuring our country's gradual transition to communism in the future.

International

The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee holds that the present situation as regards the struggle of Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people throughout the world against imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism is excellent. We are now in a new era of world revolution. All political forces are undergoing a process of great upheaval, great division and great reorganization. The revolutionary movement of the people in all countries, and particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, is surging vigorously forward. Despite the inevitable zig-zags and reversals in the development of the international situation, the general trend of imperialism heading for total collapse and socialism advancing to worldwide victory is unalterable. U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in various countries cannot avert their doom by brutally suppressing and wildly attacking the masses of the revolutionary people, or by bribing and deceiving them. On the contrary, this only serves to give further impetus to the revolutionary awakening of all peoples. The activities of U.S. imperialism and its stooges in various countries against the people and against revolution are giving impetus to the revolutionary activities of all peoples. U.S. imperialism and its stooges in various countries appear to be powerful but are actually very weak. Taking the long view, they are all paper tigers.

The new leading group of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has inherited Khrushchev's mantle and is practicing Khrushchev revisionism without Khrushchev. Their line is one of safeguarding imperialist and colonialist domination in the capitalist world and restoring capitalism in the socialist world. The leading group of the CPSU has betrayed Marxism-Leninism, betrayed the great Lenin, betrayed the road of the Great October Revolution, betrayed proletarian internationalism, betrayed the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and of the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations, and betrayed the interests of the great Soviet people and the people of the socialist countries. They revile the Communist Party of China as being "dogmatic," "sectarian" and "Left adventurist." In fact, what they are attacking is Marxism-Leninism

itself. They are uniting with U.S.-led imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries and forming a new "Holy Alliance" against communism, the people's revolution and China. But this counter-revolutionary "Holy Alliance" is doomed to bankruptcy and is already in the process of disintegration.

The Plenary Session holds that our Party's comprehensive public criticisms of Khrushchev revisionism over the last few years have been entirely correct and necessary. The Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement advanced by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on 14 June 1963 is a programmatic document. This document drawn up under the personal leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the nine comments by the Editorial Departments of Renmin Ribao and Hongqi on the open letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the article "A Comment on the March Moscow Meeting," Comrade Lin Piao's "Long Live the Victory of People's War," etc., give scientific Marxist-Leninist analyses of a series of important questions concerning the world revolution of our time and are powerful ideological weapons against imperialism and modern revisionism.

The Plenary Session maintains that to oppose imperialism, it is imperative to oppose modern revisionism. There is no middle road whatsoever in the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism. A clear line of demarcation must be drawn in dealing with the modern revisionist groups with the leadership of the CPSU as the center, and it is imperative resolutely to expose their true features as scabs. It is impossible to have "united action" with them.

The Plenary Session points out that proletarian internationalism is the supreme principle guiding China's foreign policy. The Session warmly supports the just struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples against imperialism headed by the United States and its stooges and also supports the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries.

The Plenary Session most strongly condemns U.S. imperialism for its crime of widening its war of aggression against Vietnam. The Session most warmly and most resolutely supports the Appeal to the People of the Whole Country issued by Comrade Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and firmly supports the Vietnamese people in fighting to the end until final victory is achieved in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The Plenary Session fully agrees to all the measures already taken and all actions to be taken as decided upon by the Central Committee of the Party and the Government in consultation with the Vietnamese side concerning aid to Vietnam for resisting U.S. aggression.

The Plenary Session severely denounces the Soviet revisionist leading group for its counter-revolutionary two-faced policy of sham support but real betrayal on the question of Vietnam's resistance to U.S. aggression.

The Plenary Session holds that U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious common enemy of the peoples of the whole world. In order to isolate U.S. imperialism to the maximum and deal blows to it, the broadest possible international united front must be established against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The Soviet revisionist leading group is pursuing a policy of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination and has been conducting splittist, disruptive and subversive activities within the international communist movement and the national-liberation movement in the active service of U.S. imperialism. They cannot of course be included in this united front.

We must unite with all the people in the world who are against imperialism and colonialism, and carry the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys through to the end.

Together with all the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists of the world, we must carry the struggle against modern revisionism through to the end and push forward the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and the people of the world.

Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought

The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee emphasizes that the intensive study of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works by the whole Party and the whole nation is an important event of historic significance. Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way, and has raised Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. It is the guiding principle for all the work of our Party and country. The Plenary Session holds that Comrade Lin Piao's call on the People's Liberation Army to launch a mass movement in the army to study Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works has set a brilliant example for the whole Party and the whole nation. The most reliable and fundamental guarantee against revisionism and the restoration of capitalism and for victory of our socialist and communist cause is to arm the masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and cadres with Mao Tse-tung's thought and to promote the revolutionizing of people's ideology. The method of studying Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works with problems in mind, studying and applying his works in a creative way, combining study with practice, studying first what is urgently needed so as to get quick results, and of making great efforts in applying what one studies has proved effective and universally suitable and should be further popularized throughout the Party and the country.

The Communist Party of China is a great, glorious and correct Party. Founded and fostered by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, ours is a Party armed with Marxism-Leninism, with Mao Tse-tung's thought. Our Party is a proletarian vanguard that integrates theory with practice, forges close

links with the masses of the people and has the spirit of earnest self-criticism. It is a proletarian revolutionary Party which has gone through the most fierce, the most arduous, the longest and the most complex struggles in history. Our people is a great people. Our country is a great country. Our army is a great army. We firmly believe that under the leadership of our great leader, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and the Communist Party of China, the army and civilians of the whole country, relying on their own efforts and working vigorously, will surely be able to surmount all difficulties and obstacles and fulfill the mission given by history, and will surely not disappoint the expectations of the revolutionary people of the world.

The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee calls on all the workers, people's commune members, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals, revolutionary teachers and students and scientific and technical personnel of the country to raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, unite with all those who can be united, surmount the resistance coming from various directions, from the counter-revolutionary revisionists and the "Left" and Right opportunists, overcome difficulties, shortcomings and mistakes, cleanse the dark spots in the Party and society, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution to the end, carry the socialist revolution to the end, and strive to fulfill the Third Five-Year Plan and build China into a powerful socialist country.

We must be fired with great, lofty proletarian aspirations and dare to break paths unexplored by people before and scale unclimbed heights. We must do a good job of building socialist China, which has a quarter of the world's population, and make it an impregnable state of the proletariat that will never change its color. We must liberate Taiwan. We must heighten our vigilance a hundredfold and guard against surprise attacks from U.S. imperialism and its accomplices. Should they dare to impose war on us, the 700 million Chinese people under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China will certainly break the backs of the aggressors and wipe them out resolutely, thoroughly, totally and completely.

CSO: 3530-D



OUR GREATEST LEADER, OUR DEAREST PERSON

Following is a translation of an unsigned article in the Chinese-language periodical Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 11, 21 August 1966, pp. 8-12.

On 10 August 1966 the revolutionary masses of the capital, cherishing feelings of boundless affection for Chairman Mao and the party center, converged on the party center's mass reception station to celebrate the CCP's decision on the great proletarian cultural revolution.

At 7:15 that evening, just as the people were shouting "long live Chairman Mao" over and over, our most respected and beloved leader, Chairman Mao, arrived among the masses who had been thinking of him day and night.

"Chairman Mao is here!"

"Long live Chairman Mao!"

"May Chairman Mao live forever!"

There was a great surging around the reception station, for everyone wanted to see our great leader with his own eyes! They shouted and leaped and pressed toward him. People climbed onto roofs and wall tops, and everywhere one looked one saw the masses pressing in; cries of children came from trees. Chang Chen-san, a cadre in the armed units of the No. 1 Pei-ching Steel Plant who had been a guard for the party center, saw Chairman Mao coming and shouted out: "Long live Chairman Mao!" He crowded up to the Chairman's side, squeezed his hand, and said: "How are you?" Chairman Mao replied personally: "Thank you." Feeling limitless respect and affection for the great leader, Chang walked along with him for several paces. A little girl, five or six years old, leaped up to the Chairman's side and grabbed his hand. Chairman Mao picked her up and regarded her affectionately. With her eyes open wide, she happily looked at him. A steel worker standing by the Chairman's side took the little girl from him. People struggled to hug this fortunate little girl.

Smiling, Chairman Mao walked into the masses, stretched out his hands, and squeezed the hands of the masses who surged forward. Moved, the masses shouted: "How are you, how are you!" Chairman Mao

replied directly: "How are my comrades?"

The people unceasingly shouted and jumped, wishing Chairman Mao long life. At this point the Chairman said to everyone:

"You must concern yourselves with the great affairs of the country; you must carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!"

Like spring lightning, the words of Chairman Mao lighted up the hearts of the revolutionary masses.

This was Chairman Mao issuing a summons to all the citizens! This was a militant cry by Chairman Mao to 700 million people to begin on a new stage in the socialist revolution. Beloved Chairman, you may put your mind at rest: we will resolutely face the direction which you have pointed out and we will completely and thoroughly carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end; we will never rest until we achieve total victory.

After speaking, Chairman Mao departed from the speaker's rostrum. At this time, the people mutually held hands so as to form a path to let the Chairman through. People escorted him to the speaker's stand.

The party center's mass reception station is situated on the Lin-yin Road in the vicinity of the Chung-nan Hai region. On the speaker's rostrum were hung a large portrait of Chairman Mao and the national flag. The lights on the rostrum were brilliant, while there were many, many red flags in the crowd.

Amid cries of welcome, our great leader mounted the stand and surveyed the great red reports and documents on decisions which were packed on the stand. A member of the Young Pioneers, who had come to report glad tidings, put down what was in his hand and rushed forward to shake the Chairman's hand. At this point, drums began to roll making the Heavens tremble. The masses surged and cries of "Long live Chairman Mao" rang out. Chairman Mao extended greetings back, shouting out "Long live my comrades!"

Chairman Mao walked from side to side on the stand, talking with the people. Pointing at the slogan hung on the stand -- "Raise High the Great Red Banner of the Thought of Mao Tse-tung; Carry the Great Proletarian Revolution Through to the End" -- the Chairman asked people nearby about the development of this movement in their own units. After Lei Jui-fang, who before the Liberation had been a slave to landlords, had moved to the capital in April this year, her first wish had been to see Chairman Mao. Today her wish came true. With eyes brimming with tears of joy, she excitedly called out: "Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao!" Chairman Mao replied to her: "Did you come to serve? Where are you from?" She said: "I have come to serve. I am a worker in the central office." Chairman Mao nodded and squeezed her hand. Kuo Wen-huan, who was on guard duty on the speaker's stand, also hoped to shake hands with the Chairman. Chairman Mao smiled and stretched out his hand. Kuo rapidly moved forward and took both the Chairman's hands in his.

So many people saw Chairman Mao and wanted to shake hands with him! Time after time the Chairman went down from the stand and stretched out his hands to the masses in front. When his hands touched those of the people, the leader's heart joined those of the people. Chairman Mao has unlimited faith in the people, and the masses cherish limitless love for the great leader.

At 7:45 Chairman Mao departed. The people wanted him to stay longer, even a minute or a second. Filled with boundless love and respect, they followed behind him, seeing him off with great emotion in their hearts. Chairman Mao kept looking back and waving at the people.

At this point, the surging masses shouted out in unison words of revolutionary songs such as "The East Is Red" and "Rely on the Navigator While on a Voyage," which praise the great leader. No sooner had the singing stopped when cries of "Long live Chairman Mao" again filled the sky and rumbled into the distance.

"We must let all the revolutionary masses know about our good fortune in seeing Chairman Mao; we must let them celebrate this happy occasion with us." Those who had seen him ran about excitedly yelling: "I saw Chairman Mao!" "Chairman Mao's red radiance diffused everywhere; he's in very good health!" Chairman Mao's good health is a great asset to the whole country, a great asset to the world's revolutionary peoples. On returning to work, many people could not eat nor sleep; all they could do was write the happy tidings about seeing Chairman Mao and express their determination to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Many workers, peasants, soldiers, and revolutionary intellectuals who saw Chairman Mao said excitedly: The fact that Chairman Mao came to the mass reception station in person has greatly encouraged and educated us. The Chairman has turned over to us the great historical task of the great proletarian cultural revolution; he wants us to "be concerned with great national events, to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end." With such faith in the masses, with such support of the masses, we will certainly raise even higher the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. We will dare to think, to speak out, to effect revolution; we will resolutely overcome all demons, smash all old ways of thinking, all old culture, old habits and customs.

Liu Yen-shan, a machine repairman who eight years ago had worked together with Chairman Mao on the Shih-san Ling Reservoir project, today happily saw Chairman Mao again. After returning home, he recalled when Chairman Mao had worked as a common laborer on this reservoir project. He also dug out a picture of Chairman Mao which he had cut out from a pictorial magazine at the time of the Aid-Korea Resist-America War. This photograph, cherished for so many years, was a great historical mirror which recalled Chairman Mao writing political reports at the time of the Japanese war. How much he wanted to say to the Chairman! Chairman Mao, our great leader, our most beloved person,

you are constantly with the masses, working with them, showing them the way to victory after victory. Today, you are again mobilizing and guiding us to undertake a new stage in the socialist revolution; you are personally formulating the great program for the great proletarian cultural revolution. Chairman Mao, we will be forever with you, carrying to the finish the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The good news that 40-odd cadres and masses from the Hung-men People's Commune had seen Chairman Mao spread like wild fire throughout the commune. Many were so excited that they could not sleep. The following day this commune held a congress of commune members. At the meeting a letter by all the members to Chairman Mao was read. The letter stated: Beloved Chairman Mao, when we saw you we were filled with a boundless strength. With your leadership we will overcome all difficulties; we vow that we will build the socialist motherland into a proletarian fortress.

On this day several people's militia of the Second Communications Brigade of the Peiping Municipal Public Security Bureau, who were on duty in the area, also saw Chairman Mao. When getting off duty and returning to their unit, they cried out together as soon as they entered: "We saw Chairman Mao." Everyone crowded around them, greeting them, hugging them, shaking their hands, talking with them. They vicariously enjoyed their pleasure at seeing Chairman Mao. They said that the fact that he could still see us despite his being so busy showed his great concern for us; this should encourage us greatly. As regards the decisions of the party center and Chairman Mao, they expressed their determination to be revolutionaries all their lives, to read the works of Chairman Mao, to resolutely arm themselves with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, to take a firm proletarian stand in the turbulent storms of class struggle, to safeguard the dictatorship of the proletariat, to safeguard the thought of Mao Tse-tung, to be Public Security fighters forever revolutionary in nature.

The glad tidings of Chairman Mao's visit with the capital's revolutionary masses spread throughout the factories, villages, schools, organs, armed forces; this gladdened the heart of every revolutionary. After hearing this news, an entire class at the second-year level in the Peiping No. 2 Normal School quickly wrote a letter to Chairman Mao. The letter stated: "Beloved leader Chairman Mao: We have taken what you said to heart; we will follow you and be firm revolutionaries. Following along with you, we can brave all storms. We are willing to undergo the severest trials in the turbulent storms; we want to be forged into inheritors of the proletarian cause which you expect of us. We vow that we shall never rest until we have completely smashed all the anti-party, anti-socialist right-wing, bourgeois elements. Beloved party, beloved Chairman Mao, put your minds at ease. We will strictly adhere to your instructions: 'Concern yourselves with great national events; carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.'" (A draft provided especially for Hung Ch'i by NCNA.)

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CSO: 3530-D

COMRADE LIN PIAO'S SPEECH

- At Peking's Mass Rally Celebrating the Great
Proletarian Cultural Revolution -

[Following is a translation of an article from the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No 11, Peiping, 21 August 1966, pages 13-14.]

Comrades, Students:

First of all, on behalf of our great leader Chairman Mao and on behalf of the Party's Central Committee, I give you greetings!

We firmly support your proletarian revolutionary spirit of daring to break through, to act, to make revolution and to rise up in rebellion!

Our Chairman Mao is the highest commander of this great proletarian cultural revolution. Chairman Mao is the supreme commander. Under the guidance of the great supreme commander and faithfully following the instructions of our supreme commander -- Chairman Mao, we will certainly carry the great cultural revolution forward triumphantly and win a great victory!

The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated by Chairman Mao is a great creation in the communist movement, a great creation in the socialist revolution!

The great proletarian cultural revolution is aimed precisely at eliminating bourgeois ideology, establishing proletarian ideology, remolding people's souls, revolutionizing their ideology, digging out the roots of revisionism, and consolidating and developing the socialist system.

We will strike down those in authority who are taking the capitalist road, strike down the reactionary bourgeois authorities, strike down all bourgeois royalists, oppose any act to suppress the revolution, and strike down all ghosts and monsters.

We will energetically eradicate all the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits of the exploiting classes, and transform all those parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base. We will sweep out all the vermin and clear away all obstacles!

We will make vigorous efforts to establish proletarian authorities and the new ideas, new culture, new customs and new habits of the proletariat. In a word, we will work with great energy so that Mao Tse-tung's thought achieves complete ascendancy. We will enable hundreds of millions of people to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought, ensure that it seizes all ideological positions, apply it in transforming the mental outlook of the whole of society, and enable Mao Tse-tung's thought, this great spiritual force, to transform into a great material force!

The current great cultural revolution is a tremendous event affecting the destiny and the future of our Party and our country!

On what do we rely to make this great cultural revolution successful? We rely on the great thought of Mao Tse-tung as well as on the wisdom and strength of the masses!

Chairman Mao is the most outstanding leader of the proletariat in the present era and the greatest genius in the present era. Chairman Mao has the strongest faith in the masses. He pays the greatest attention to them. He gives the strongest support to the revolutionary movement of the masses. His heart is one with the hearts of the revolutionary masses!

Mao Tse-tung's thought marks a completely new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism. It is the Marxism-Leninism at the highest level in the present era. It is Marxism-Leninism of the present era for remolding the souls of the people. It is the most powerful ideological weapon of the proletariat.

The masses are the makers of history. Once they master Mao Tse-tung's thought, they will become the wisest and the most courageous people, capable of exerting inexhaustible strength!

With the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao and having mastered Mao Tse-tung's thought which is the keenest weapon, we will be invincible and all-conquering and will achieve complete victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution!

The Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution recently promulgated by the Party's Central Committee was drawn up under the personal direction of the great leader Chairman Mao. It is the magnificent programme of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the latest embodiment of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is imperative to act resolutely in accordance with this decision, to arouse the masses boldly, resolutely to oppose monopolizing things which should be done by the masses themselves, rely firmly on the revolutionary Left, win over the

middle and unite with the great majority, concentrate all forces to strike at the handful of ultra-reactionary Rightists, and thus carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

The great cultural revolution is a long-term task. In-between, there are big campaigns and small campaigns. It will last a very long time. So long as bourgeois ideology exists, we will fight on to the end!

The present campaign is a big one; it is a general attack on the ideas of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, we must launch fierce attacks on bourgeois ideology, old customs and old forces of habit! We must thoroughly topple, smash and discredit the counter-revolutionary revisionists, bourgeois Rightists and reactionary bourgeois authorities, and they must never be allowed to rise again!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the great Chinese people!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

Long live the great thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the great leader Chairman Mao! Long live, long live Chairman Mao!

CSO: 3530-D

COMRADE CHOU EN-LAI'S SPEECH

- At Peking's Mass Rally Celebrating the Great
Proletarian Cultural Revolution -

[Following is a translation of an article from the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No 11, Peiping, 21 August 1966, pages 15-16.]

Comrades, Students:

How are you all?

Greetings and proletarian revolutionary salutations to you!

We express our warm welcome to the revolutionary students, teachers, staff members and workers who have come from different parts of the nation! You've travelled a long way and worked hard!

The Central Committee of the Party has just held its Eleventh Plenary Session. This session was presided over by Chairman Mao himself. It was a meeting of great historic significance. Its success is a new victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the last few days all Peking has been astir with joy as have been the towns and rural areas throughout the country. To the accompaniment of gongs and drums, people everywhere are sending their messages of greetings, holding celebration meetings and giving their pledges. Hundreds of millions of people have plunged into the mighty current of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Today, together with our great leader Chairman Mao, we are holding a celebration rally here too in Tien An Men Square to greet the new upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution!

The 16-point decision [concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution] adopted by this session was formulated under the personal leadership of Chairman Mao and is the programme of the great proletarian cultural revolution. All revolutionary comrades should conscientiously

study it, become familiar with it, grasp it and apply it. It is the weapon with which we fight in the great proletarian cultural revolution and it is our compass for action. We must study and apply this great programme well and carry it through in our practical action.

Chairman Mao has taught us that we must rely on ourselves to make revolution. We will educate ourselves, liberate ourselves and rise up ourselves to make revolution. All revolutionaries should serve the people wholeheartedly and be the servants of the people. They should be pupils of the masses before becoming their teachers. They should set themselves firmly against monopolizing things which should be done by the masses themselves, against acting as high and mighty bureaucrats, standing above the masses and blindly ordering them about.

We hope that the revolutionary students of Peking and those from other parts of the country will learn from each other, support one another, exchange their revolutionary experience and strengthen their revolutionary unity. You students of the capital are the hosts; you should receive the guests well, develop the spirit of proletarian class friendship, enthusiastically help them solve difficulties and when questions crop up properly consult with them.

The main task of the revolutionary teachers and students both in Peking and in other parts of the country is to carry out the great cultural revolution well in their own schools: do a good job, first, in struggling [against and crushing those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road], second, in criticizing and repudiating [the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes], and third, in transforming [education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base]. This is both a very glorious and arduous task. You must dare to shoulder this task by yourselves and we believe you can certainly do it!

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must eradicate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology with the utmost vigor, that is, vigorously establish the complete ascendancy of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Sailing the seas depends on the man at the helm and our great helmsman is Chairman Mao. We must respond to the call of Comrade Lin Biao to unfold to an even greater extent the mass movement to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works throughout the Party, the army and the country.

We must hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, carry through to the end the great proletarian cultural revolution, build socialist China into an impregnable proletarian state and fulfill the glorious historic mission entrusted to us by the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world.

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the Communist Party of China!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! Long live, long live
Chairman Mao!

CSO: 3530-D

GROW UP BRAVING STORM AND STRESS

- Speech on 16 August at a Mass Meeting of Students Who Have Come to Peking from Other Parts of the Country -

[Following is a translation of an article by Chen Po-ta in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No 11, Peiping, 21 August 1966, pages 17-18.]

Comrades! Students!

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought with one heart and mind, you are determined, in response to Chairman Mao's call, to struggle against the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to sweep away all ghosts and monsters for the great cause of our great proletarian cultural revolution, for our dear and beloved motherland, for the linking up of this generation of yours with the older generation of revolutionaries to march forward, together and always, under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, for building our country into a great socialist country, for ensuring that our great motherland never changes its color, and for supporting all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world in their revolutionary struggle against imperialism and its lackeys. You have come to Peking, our great capital, to our motherland's capital, to the center of revolution in our motherland, to the center of the proletarian revolution. We cordially welcome you all.

Just as our great leader Chairman Mao has often told us, all revolutionaries, all revolutionary young people should face the world and brave the storm. Revolutionaries cannot grow up in hot-houses; they must grow up braving storm and stress. We must temper ourselves in the crucible of revolution. In coming to Peking, to the capital of the proletarian revolution, to the fount of the great proletarian cultural revolution, you have gone through much hardship, unafraid of storm and stress. What you have done is quite right!!! Your actions and your struggles show promise, show that you can really become Chairman Mao's worthy students, that you

can be successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The hardships you have been through speak for your heroic spirit. However, this is only the initial test. You have yet to undergo countless tests, tests over long periods of time. You must live and breathe with the masses, get covered with mud and grease with them over and over again and turn yourselves into revolutionaries struggling for the people, for socialism and communism.

Revolution is not an easy thing. To win victory in revolution, it is necessary to crush all resistance and overcome all difficulties. Comrades, you must be absolutely fearless, you must steel and temper yourselves over and over again, and you must be able to withstand all trials and tribulations and all possible unforeseen setbacks. You must be able to bear all kinds of ordeals and the sharp conflicts between individualism and collectivism, between individualism and communism. You must do all this till old age, study to old age and study until the day you die. Only by so doing can we contribute what we must and what we can to the motherland, and to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

Comrades! Students! We must never forget our origins. We are sons of the people, raised and reared by the sweat and blood of the working people! Never, never forget this. Remember at all times that the working people are our father and our mother. We must conduct ourselves respectfully as sons of the people and as pupils of the people. We must always be with the masses of the people and always keep the masses of the people in our thoughts. Chairman Mao has often said: We must never for a moment stray from the masses. Only thus can we know the masses, understand the masses, be with the masses, and so serve the people well.

With regard to the great proletarian cultural revolution, the Central Committee of the Communist Party has made a decision, a decision worked out under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao, our great leader and our great helmsman, a great programme for the great proletarian cultural revolution which Chairman Mao has called on us to make. You must all study it well, know it well, master it, apply it. In doing so, we shall become possessed of an ideological weapon for struggle so as to carry to success this great cultural revolution, which has no parallel in history, and turn this momentous revolution into a great motive force for all spheres of work and for our efforts to equal and surpass all advanced levels in the world.

We wish you all good health. Your present visit to Peking, I believe, will remain fresh in your memories for the rest of your lives, will always awaken the throb of revolution in your hearts and will always encourage you to move ahead in storm and stress. It will enable you, the new generation educated under Chairman Mao, to carry forward the great proletarian cultural revolution in our motherland under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and further transform our motherland into a model of the advanced in the world.

Revolution depends on one's own efforts and on educating oneself; it cannot be made by others. Do study the 16 Points well. Master this great spiritual weapon and you will fight well. It is the summing up of the experience of struggle over the last two months, a summing up by Chairman Mao, which is not easy to come by and which must be conscientiously studied.

Long live Chairman Mao, our great leader and our great helmsman!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live Mao Tse-tung's great and invincible thought!

GSO: 3530-D



VICTORIOUSLY MARCH FORWARD ALONG THE ROAD OF
MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT

[Following is a translation of an editorial from the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No 11, Peiping, 21 August 1966, pages 19-21.]

The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party is a session of great historic significance.

From beginning to end, the meeting was presided over by Comrade Mao Tse-tung himself. Its success is a new, great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The meeting deserves to be given a place of very great importance in the history of our Party, the history of China's socialist revolution and the history of the international communist movement.

A most important feature of the meeting is that, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, it has scientifically expounded the significance and position of the thought of Mao Tse-tung in the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism.

The communique of the Plenary Session emphatically pointed out: "Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way, and has raised Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory."

In the last four years, both domestically and internationally, in the extremely fierce, extremely sharp and extremely complicated class struggle, it has been further proved that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the great truth of our era and that Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest proletarian revolutionary of our time.

Every victory in our cause is a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In our era, departure from Mao Tse-tung's thought means breaking away from the very root of Marxism-Leninism. Just as at the time when Marxism developed into the stage of Leninism, departure from Leninism also meant breaking away from the very root of Marxism.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the powerful ideological weapon for combating imperialism headed by the United States, for combating modern revisionism with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as its center and for combating the reactionaries of all lands.

Mao Tse-tung's thought has made great development in the tit-for-tat struggle against modern revisionism. The modern revisionist line is to preserve imperialist and colonialist rule in the capitalist world and to realize the restoration of capitalism in the socialist world. This line is the line of out-and-out renegades and scabs. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has thoroughly repudiated modern revisionism, brought forward a complete general line for the international communist movement, a complete set of strategy and tactics to defeat U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, the road for the international proletariat to win victory in the present epoch, the road for the oppressed nations to smash the shackles of colonialism and achieve thorough emancipation, and a complete set of theories and policies for the socialist countries to prevent revisionism from usurping Party and state leadership, from restoring capitalism and to carry the socialist revolution through to the end. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has added important, new weapons to the general treasure house of Marxism-Leninism.

In the last four years, the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country has marched forward victoriously along the road of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Every step in our advance has gone through the struggle to shatter the resistance that has been met. Such resistance comes mainly from international and domestic counter-revolutionary revisionism and from all shades and all descriptions of "Left" and Right opportunism inside the Party. This is the objective law of class struggle in socialist society, independent of human will.

In 1962, at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a speech on the situation, contradictions, and classes and class struggle, repudiating the trend of "going it alone" [i.e., the restoration of individual economy], which was incited by the bourgeoisie and its exponents inside the Party, and rectifying the Right deviation. This speech has shown the whole Party and the people of the entire country the firmest direction.

It was a grave class struggle. The victory in that struggle has enabled us to make the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the two roads, socialism and

capitalism, the lever in all our work, thereby helping bring about the brilliant victories we have won on various fronts.

Following the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, the socialist education movement in city and countryside, that is, the "four clean-ups" movement, has been unfolded under the personal leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. This is a new form for the proletariat to carry out revolutionary class struggle against the bourgeoisie and push ahead the socialist revolution under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship. This movement has become the motivating force of socialist construction in our country. In 1964, mistakes which looked like "Leftist" but were actually Rightist again appeared inside the Party. Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas, that is, the 23-article document drawn up under Comrade Mao Tse-tung's personal guidance, was the very product of the victory of the struggle against these mistakes. The 23-article document has ensured that the "four clean-ups" movement forges ahead along a correct path and keeps it from going astray.

In the latter part of 1965, Comrade Mao Tse-tung himself initiated and led the great proletarian cultural revolution. This revolution is a great strategic task of profound and far-reaching significance. It is a new creation in the communist movement and the socialist revolution, and it is indispensable to socialist construction. This is a great revolution which touches the very souls of the people. Those in authority inside the Party who are taking the capitalist road and the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" are the main targets of this great revolution. They are putting up unprecedentedly strong resistance. They are stubbornly taking the position of the reactionary bourgeoisie and are relentlessly striking out at the revolutionary masses who have risen up "in rebellion" against them, in a vain attempt to put down this vigorous great revolution. An error on matters of orientation and an error of line took place during a short period. At that crucial moment, Comrade Mao Tse-tung personally presided over the formulation of the Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, i.e., the 16 Points. The 16 Points have summed up the new experience of the mass revolutionary movement, rectified the erroneous line, reversed the erroneous orientation and pointed the way for continuous and victorious advance.

The 16 Points are the beacon for the great proletarian cultural revolution. All revolutionary comrades should conscientiously study them, familiarize themselves with them, grasp them and apply them. They should use the 16 Points to unify their understanding and their action.

From the Tenth to the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee were four unusual years. During these four years, miracles on earth have constantly appeared on various fronts in our country. An extremely fervent revolutionary atmosphere prevails on a nationwide scale. The situation of a new, all-round leap forward is appearing in our country.

All this has been achieved as a result of serious struggles against erroneous trends and erroneous lines. All this is a victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guide to all work in our Party and country as a whole. Our Party should use Mao Tse-tung's thought to arm the worker, peasant and soldier masses, the revolutionary intellectuals and the broad masses of cadres so as to further promote the ideological revolutionization of man, prevent revisionism and the restoration of capitalism and promote the victory of our cause of socialism and communism.

The first and fundamental prerequisite for the successors to the cause of proletarian revolution is to uphold Mao Tse-tung's thought -- Marxism-Leninism of the present era, study and grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought and faithfully act according to Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In regard to anyone who does not act according to Mao Tse-tung's thought and opposes Mao Tse-tung's thought, his wrong views must be resolutely blocked and he must be resolutely struggled against even to the extent of depriving him of his post and dismissing him from office, no matter how high his post, how long-standing his qualifications, or how great his "fame and prestige."

Comrade Lin Piao advocates that the whole Party, the whole army and the whole country should "vigorously study Mao Tse-tung's thought and establish its complete ascendancy." He said: Our country is a big nation of 700 million people and it is necessary for the whole country to have unified thinking. Only when it is unified by Mao Tse-tung's thought can there be unified action. Without unified thinking a big country of 700 million people will still be like loose sand. The thinking of the people of the entire country can be unified only with the great power of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

What Comrade Lin Piao said was perfectly correct and very profound.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is to vigorously destroy bourgeois ideology and establish proletarian ideas. To establish proletarian ideas is to spread Mao Tse-tung's thought extensively and make Mao Tse-tung's thought penetrate the people's minds still further.

When meeting the revolutionary masses in the capital, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "You should pay attention to state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!"

This is a great call to the whole Party and the people throughout the country.

Let us unite still more closely under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Let us triumphantly advance along the road of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

CSO: 3530-D

SELECTION OF REVOLUTIONARY BIG-CHARACTER POSTERS

[Following is a translation of a group of articles from the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No 11, Peiping, 21 August 1966, pages 22-30.]

1. What Have Sung Shuo, Lu P'ing, and P'eng P'ei-yun Done in the Cultural Revolution?

People throughout the country are enthusiastically launching the great cultural revolution with a high revolutionary spirit and boundless love for the party and Chairman Mao and with limitless indignation at the antiparty and antisocialist black gang. They are struggling for a complete victory over the attacks by the reactionary black gang and for safeguarding the Central Committee of the party and Chairman Mao.

However, the Peking University has not yet made a move. It has been deathly still and quiet. The strong revolutionary demands of the broad masses of teachers and students have been suppressed. What is the matter after all? Why? There must be something behind this stillness. Let us look at recent facts!

Certain events took place after 8 May, when the article by Ho Ming (0149 2494) and Kao Chu (7559 3515) was published and throughout the country there has been an upsurge in the struggle to denounce the "Three-Family Village." On 14 May, Lu Ping, president of the Peking University and secretary of the party committee, hurriedly relayed the "instructions" of Sung Shuo, deputy director of the University Scientific Work Department of the Peking Municipal CCP Committee, given at an emergency meeting of the department of the municipal committee.

Sung Shuo had instructed: It is "urgently necessary to strengthen leadership" over the movement. "The party organization of the school is urged to strengthen its leadership and to hold firmly to its position."

"The masses have stood up. It is necessary to lead them on to a correct road." "This ideological struggle is a solemn class struggle. It is necessary to thoroughly refute theoretically the antiparty and antisocialist remarks. It is necessary to adhere to reason and to use convenient devices to repudiate the remarks. It is necessary to properly lead the study of documents, conduct group discussions, publish wall newspapers in small characters, and write articles criticizing the remarks. In short, this solemn struggle should be carried out meticulously and profoundly so as to thoroughly smash the antiparty and antisocialist remarks. We must refute them theoretically.

"Problems cannot be solved completely merely by holding meetings." "If the masses are indignant and ask for meetings, don't suppress them, but lead them to hold group discussions, study documents, and publish wall newspapers in small characters."

Lu Ping and Peng Pei-yun, cadres of the University scientific work department of the Peking Municipal CCP Committee and vice secretary of the party committee attached to Peking University, made arrangements for the movement at Peking University along the same lines. They said: "The situation in the cultural revolution at our school is favorable." "More than 100 articles had already been written before 8 May. The movement is healthy . . . When the movement develops, we must be active in leadership." "There is an urgent need now for leadership to lead the movement in the correct direction." "Only when we actively strengthen the leadership, can we lead the movement to develop normally." "Peking University should not post wall newspapers in large characters." "Don't lead the masses to post wall newspapers in large characters, but when the masses want to post them, we must actively lead them."

Is this the line of cultural revolution mapped out by the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao? No, absolutely not! This is a 100-percent revisionist line against the party Central Committee and Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

"This is an ideological struggle;" "it is necessary to thoroughly refute theoretically the antiparty and antisocialist remarks;" "it is necessary to adhere to reason" and "this solemn struggle should be carried out meticulously" -- what do these mean? How can the struggle be a theoretical problem? Is it limited to remarks only? Where do you want to "lead" our life-or-death political struggle to counterattack the antiparty and antisocialist black gang? One major means of Teng To and his instigators against the cultural revolution was to lead the serious political struggle toward "purely academic" discussions, was it not? Why do you still do the same thing? Who are you, after all?

"The masses have stood up; it is necessary to lead them on to a correct road," "lead the movement in the correct direction," "only when we actively strengthen the leadership, can we lead the movement to develop normally" -- what is "a correct road?" What does it mean "to develop normally?"

You have "led" the great political class struggle into "purely theoretical" and "purely academic" traps. Not long ago, did you not personally "guide" the comrades of the law department to check the data totalling 14 million characters in 1,500 volumes to study the problem of how Hai Jui "squared a wrong case" and to widely popularize the so-called "correct road and right method" and to ask the people to learn from "a good experience?"

In fact, this is the "good experience" engineered by you and Teng To's black gang. This is also the truth of what you call "the healthily developing movement." You have in effect shut your mouths by not talking of the correct road of the cultural revolution, as earlier pointed out by the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, but you have spoken of the so-called "correct road" differently. You want to bring the revolutionary mass movement into your revisionist orbit. To tell you frankly, this is wishful thinking!

"Refute them theoretically," "problems cannot be completely solved by merely holding meetings;" "Peking University should not post wall newspapers in large characters;" "we should lead them to hold group discussions and to write wall newspapers in small characters" -- why are you so afraid of wall newspapers in large characters? Why are you afraid of holding condemnation meetings? To counterattack the black gang which launched a frenzied attack against the party, socialism, and Mao Tse-tung's thinking is a life-or-death class struggle. The revolutionary people must be well organized to enthusiastically and indignantly make condemnations. To hold meetings and to post wall newspapers in large characters are mass militant styles in the best forms. You would "lead" the masses not to hold meetings and not to post wall newspapers in large characters. You have made such regulations. Have you not oppressed mass revolution, forbidden mass revolution, and opposed mass revolution? We absolutely do not agree with you!

You have shouted for "strengthening the leadership and holding firm to the position." This has laid bare your ulterior motives. While the revolutionary masses are enthusiastically responding to the call of the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao to deal a resolute counterblow to the antiparty and antisocialist black gang, you call loudly: "Strengthen the leadership and hold firmly to the position." What "position" do you hold firmly to? For whom do you hold firmly to the "position?" Who are you? What evil things are you doing? Is it not clear?

Even today, with your backs to the wall you still want to resist. You still think of "holding to your positions" to undermine the cultural revolution. Let us tell you: The mantis cannot stop a chariot with its foreleg and flying ants cannot eat away a big tree. You are daydreaming!

All revolutionary intellectuals, now is the time to fight! Let us be united, hoist high the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, rally ourselves around the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, break the controls of revisionism and all its plots and tricks, so as to resolutely

wipe out, lock, stock, and barrel, all the monsters and goblins and all the Khrushchev style counterrevolutionary revisionists and to carry out to the end the socialist revolution.

Safeguard the party Central Committee! Safeguard Mao Tse-tung's thinking! Safeguard the proletarian dictatorship!

The philosophy department: Nieh Yuan-tzu, Sung I-hsiu, Hsia Chieh-chi, Yang Ko-ming, Chao Cheng-i, Kao Yun-peng, and Li Hsing-chen. 25 May 1966.

(Originally carried in Jen-min Jih-pao, 2 June 66)

2. Long Live the Revolutionary Rebellious Spirit of the Proletariat

Revolution means rebellion, and there is rebellion in the soul of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. When we say it is necessary to lay emphasis on "application," we mean to say it is necessary to lay emphasis on "rebellion." Daring to think, to speak out, to take action, to blaze the trail and to make revolution -- in one word daring to rise in insurrection -- is the most basic and most valuable quality of a proletarian revolutionary, and is the basic principle of the Party spirit of the proletariat. Failure to rise in insurrection is out-and-out revisionism!

Revisionism has ruled the schools for seventeen years. Now is the time for us to rise in insurrection. Why wait?

Some persons who have daringly opposed rebellion suddenly turn shy today, and they hesitatingly repeat the same thing over and over again. They say this is too much one-sided, too frantic, too rough and goes to excess.

All this is fallacious! If you want to oppose anything, just oppose it. Why be shy?

Since we want to rise in insurrection, you cannot be left alone! We must make things smell strongly of gunpowder. Demolition bombs and hand grenades will be thrown, and there will be a tug of war and melee. Let what is called "human affection" and what is called "wholeness" get out of the way!

Do you say that we are too much one-sided? What kind of wholeness do you want? As we see it, your wholeness is "to combine two into one" and eclecticism.

Do you say we are too frantic? We want to be "frantic." Chairman Mao said: "Regard as dung the lords of ten thousand households in those years." We want to knock down not only the reactionaries of the middle

school attached to [Ch'inghua University] but also the reactionaries of the whole world. Revolutionaries regard themselves as responsible for the world, and how can we do anything if we are not "frantic?"

Do you say we are too rough? We want to be rough! How can we be sentimental to revisionism? Those who are sentimental to the enemy are ruthless to the revolution!

Do you say we go to excess? To be honest, what you consider to be not exceeding the limit is reformism and "peaceful evolution." This is wishful thinking! We want to knock you down and put a foot on you!

There are also some persons who are scared to death at the thought of revolution and rebellion. You submit to conventions, always answer in assent, and hide yourselves in the shell of revisionism. You are nervous once you hear anything pertaining to rebellion. In these days, you hear the voice of merciless denunciation every day and you shudder from fear every day. Don't you find this uncomfortable? How can you live on?

A revolutionary is Monkey Sun. His staff studded with gold is most powerful and his magic power knows no bounds. This is nothing less than the invincible great thought of Mao Tse-tung. We want to wield such a big staff and invoke such magic power to upset everything in the old world and to bring disorder to it. The more disorderly it becomes, the better it will be! To deal with the revisionist middle school attached to Ch'inghua University today, such rebellion must be launched and carried through to the end! The proletariat must make trouble at the Palace of Heaven and bring into being a new world of the proletariat in the melee!

Long live the revolutionary rebellious spirit of the proletariat!

The Red Guards,
Middle School attached to Ch'inghua University

Dated 24 June 1966

3. More on Long Live the Revolutionary Rebellious Spirit of the Proletariat

The thousands of Marxist doctrines mean, in the final analysis, to say one thing: There is logic in rebellion...According to this logic, there is resistance, struggle and socialism.

-- Mao Tse-tung

In the past, when the workers knock down the capitalists and the peasants knock down the landlords, the exploiting classes vilified them as rising in insurrection. The label of proletarian rebellion is glorious indeed!

Today, have the old ideas, old culture, old customs and habits and all things engendering revisionism been completely eradicated?

No!

Have the black line and the black gang now been wiped out entirely in all places and units?

No!

Does it mean that with the black line and the black gang eliminated now, there will be no new black line or black gang in the future?

No!

Have imperialism, revisionism and all reactionaries been destroyed?

No! No!! No!!!

Under such a circumstance, how can we proletariat help from rising in insurrection? What else can we say but long live the revolutionary rebellious spirit of the proletariat?

Rightist gentlemen of the bourgeoisie, these rebels of ours are well led, well armed, well organized and "ambitious." They are backed by no mean force and cannot be considered as of no significance.

We are led by the CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao!

Our weapon is the ever-victorious great thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Our organization is based upon the thoroughly revolutionary Red Guards!

Our "ambition" is to sweep away all demons and freaks!

It is easy to rock the mountain but difficult to rock the Red Guards!

Rightist gentlemen of the bourgeoisie, we understand quite well how you feel. You have found our dictatorship agonizing and you also want to "rise in insurrection." No wonder that of late there has emerged a strange phenomenon in which both the Left and the Right make a concerted clamor for rebellion. We must tell you honestly that fish eyes cannot pass for pearls. We permit only the Left to rise in insurrection, but not the Right! If you dare to rise in insurrection, we will promptly suppress you! This is our logic. After all, the State machinery is in our hands.

Long live the revolutionary rebellious spirit of the proletariat!

Dated 4 July 1966

The Red Guards,
Middle School attached to Ch'inghua University

4. Third Comment on Long Live the Revolutionary Rebellious Spirit of the Proletariat

All reactionaries of China and other countries in ancient and modern times said: there is logic in exploitation, there is logic in oppression, there is logic in aggression, there is logic in revisionist rule, but there is no logic in proletarian rebellion. It is our most respected and beloved leader and greatest revolutionary tutor, Chairman Mao, who has turned this nonsensical theory the other way round. Chairman Mao said: "The thousands of Marxist doctrines mean, in the final analysis, to say one thing: there is logic in rebellion." The great proletarian cultural revolution of today is a big revolutionary rebellion. We will rise in insurrection against those who are revisionists or are opposed to the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

We, the most honest Red Guards of Chairman Mao's, are boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao. We will most steadfastly, most valiantly and most loyally implement the highest directive for the great proletarian cultural revolution -- Chairman Mao's highest directive on rebellion.

The attitude adopted toward the revolutionary rebellion is the watershed for discerning whether one is loyal or opposed to the highest directive, whether one is revolutionary or counterrevolutionary.

Are you a revolutionary? You will necessarily welcome and support the revolutionary rebellion. You will participate in the revolutionary rebellion to the end.

Are you a counterrevolutionary? Out of class instinct, you will necessarily curse and oppose the rebellion. You will boycott and suppress the rebellion.

The revolutionary Left of the proletariat depends upon revolutionary rebellion to make a living! Bourgeois revisionism rises in insurrection against us every day. If you do not rise in insurrection against it, it will rise in insurrection against you. Fence-sitting eclecticism doesn't work. A big revolutionary rebellion must be launched against the old ideas, old culture, old customs and habits and all things opposed to the thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Those gentlemen who palpitate with fear, whose flesh creeps, who knit their eyebrows, fly into a rage, curse and become hysterical as soon as they hear revolutionary rebellion are senseless persons if not counter-revolutionaries! These bad eggs permit only rebellion against the proletariat, but brook no proletarian rebellion against them. They permit only high officials to commit arson but not the common people to light their lamps. This is really insulting and there is no such rule!

Rebellion is a tradition of our proletarian revolutionaries, a tradition which the Red Guards must inherit and glorify. We rose in

insurrection in the past, we rise in insurrection now, and we also shall rise in insurrection in the future! So long as classes and class struggle exist and so long as contradictions exist, rebellion is called for. The revolutionary rebellious spirit will still be needed in a hundred years, in one thousand years, in ten thousand years and in one hundred thousand years!

The present great proletarian cultural revolution is a hurricane vibrating with the rebellious spirit of the proletarian revolution. Fighters of the Red Guards, all revolutionary comrades, let us soar like the brave petrels in this great storm!

Fighters of the Red Guards, since we have risen in insurrection, let us carry the rebellion through to the end! Move forward, and let the revolutionary storm become even more stormy!

Long live the revolutionary rebellious spirit of the proletariat!

The Red Guards,
Middle School attached to Ch'inghua University

Dated 27 July 1966

5. Bring Out the Proprietary Attitude

The revolutionary faculty and students, especially the revolutionary young people, are the masters of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Being masters, they must take the proprietary attitude and stand in front. To revolutionize, they must take control, and concentrate their firing power against the dark gang. In the past, the authorities following the capitalist road controlled our school for 17 years and dictated to us. Now, the Party Central and Chairman Mao handed us the power, and we must use it properly. This is a struggle over power!

The Party Central and Chairman Mao exhort us to emancipate ourselves in the movement, educate ourselves, manage ourselves, and pursue the revolution. Now that the great revolutionary storm has arrived, what are we waiting for? Chairman Mao tells us: "Revolutionizing is not like asking guests to dinner, writing articles, or painting or embroidering. We cannot be gentle and relaxed. A revolution is an uprising. It is a violent act whereby one class overthrows another." Can we let the bourgeois authorities take their ease beyond the law? Can we let the bourgeois reactionary academic "authorities" do what they wish? Can we let the irrational old education system continue its poisoning? Can we remain unmoved over the life and death event of our party and father country? Definitely not!

We must diligently study Chairman Mao's works, learn the 16 articles, take prompt action, and prosecute the revolution. What do we do after eating our fill? It is to prosecute the revolution!

Nevertheless, there are those among us who only wish to rely on others. In this powerful great cultural revolution, they live from day to day, and wait for others to make the arrangements. As stated in the 16 articles, "each and every revolutionary must be good at independent thinking, and develop the communist style of courage in thinking, speaking, and acting." If one truly wishes to revolutionize, one must bring out the proprietary attitude! There are those who, with the attitude of an onlooker, stay out of the movement, saying that, "as I am not clear about the matter of the authorities, how can I reveal anything?" All our 700 million people are critics. Whom do we rely on to criticize? We must rely on the large masses, on the worker-farmer-soldier masses, the revolutionary cadres and intellectuals, and the revolutionary successors like us! If we do not rise up now to criticize all old bourgeois ideas with Mao Tse-tung's thinking and rebel against imperialism, revisionism, and the bourgeoisie, when will we do so? Chairman Mao places his hopes in us, and make us the masters, permitting us to temper ourselves and mature in the great proletarian cultural revolution and reenforce our ability to discern all bourgeois and revisionist ideas. His hopes in us are great, and we must shoulder the heavy burden of the revolution. We must strengthen our revolutionary responsibility feeling, and each and every one of us must serve as the proprietor of the movement!

We hope that our true revolutionary comrades will take control and plunge into the powerful revolution with the proprietary attitude!

The Second Small Fighting Team, Senior Third (3) Year Class, First Girls' Middle School, Peiping Municipality.

6. A Letter to Seven Comrades

Dear Comrade Nieh Yuan-ch'in (5119/0337/8589) Et Al.:

Beloved comrades, when we heard the stirring news from the heart of the Fatherland, the red-colored Peking, we were so excited that we almost leapt out of our skins. For many days now, we have been looking forward to this day, the day when the dastardly elements would collapse completely, the day when the entire citizenry would totally repulse the evil-doing demons.

After we heard about the large-character poster which you had written, we truly wanted to stand together with you, linking arms and calling out for the great victory of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. This afternoon the teachers and students of this school express our confidence in your heroic struggle; the entire body sent a telegram to Chairman Mao and the party center, as well as the newly chosen Peking Municipal Committee. At that time, we were so moved that our eyes were brimming with tears and our hands were as numb as ice. We are sisters. This morning my older sister was determined to paste up her decision, but it was not easy to find the place to do, because all the walls of the school are completely covered with large-character posters. This afternoon when my younger sister returned from work at a peoples' commune several miles distant, she didn't even bother to wipe the perspiration from her brow; she simply shouldered her burden and went to take part in the meeting. We think that you will certainly be able to understand our feelings which are essentially inexpressible.

We know that Pei'ching University is a school with a glorious revolutionary tradition. Before Liberation, in the days of the dark rule of the reactionaries, the revolutionary teachers and students of this school, under the leadership of the CCP and with guidance of the thought of Mao Tse'tung, left their classrooms and surged out into the streets. With their bare hands, they fearlessly struggled with the enemy, and they made contributions to the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary struggle. Yesterday the legions, the swords, the weapons and the armies of the enemy were trampling upon and cutting down the brave patriots of Pei'ching University; today in this socialist era, how could it be possible that a few villainous devils could frighten the young proletarian revolutionaries who are armed with the thought of Mao Tse'tung. Your large-character poster was well written. You did this extremely well! It dissolved the black melancholy atmosphere of Pei'ching University, smashed to smithereens the most stubborn fortresses of the anti-party elements. The revolutionary peoples rejoiced at hearing this, the class enemies lamented at hearing this, You do not shirk from being youth in the era of Mao Tse'tung; you do not shirk from being leaders in the proletarian cultural revolution. You have set an example for us. "Seven comrades of Pei'ching University" -- this seems to be one name already, which encourages us to struggle. We deeply believe: this large-character poster of yours was born under the direct inspiration of the party center and Chairman Mao; it is another great victory for the thought of Mao Tse'tung.

Our most beloved Chairman Mao has constantly taught us: Never forget the class struggle. True enough, how could we forget in suffering old China who gouged out the eyes of our brothers, who peeled off their skins, who drank their blood and consumed their flesh; how could we forget who presented our beautiful mountains and rivers to the imperialists, so that one day there came to be hung upon China's territory a sign reading "Dogs and Chinese forbidden to enter;" how could we forget who constructed a shameless degraded garden of pleasure upon the bones of the laboring people.... How could we forget who it was

who lit the fires of aggressive war everywhere in the world today, killing people in our territory of Taiwan, in Vietnam, in Congo (Leopoldville)... How could we forget the many white mansions and slums still existing in the world, and the many class brothers and sisters still suffering hardships... How could we forget the muddy capitalist current now sweeping through the home of Lenin, the home of the great October Revolution? The remains of our revered Stalin were insulted, and thousands and tens of thousands of true bolsheviks beheaded, jailed, or dismissed. The anti-US demonstrators on the streets of Moscow were ruthlessly suppressed. It was also on the streets of Moscow that the young people danced the "ah-fei" dance and played the "Beattle" music... The red star on the Kremlin Palace was smeared with a layer of black dust by Khrushchev and others. How could we forget that the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang which fled to Taiwan still attempts to coordinate with the reactionaries of the mainland, dreaming of overthrowing the new China and riding herd again over the laboring people? The rightist bourgeois lords recklessly wish to upset the party leadership, wipe out the proletarian revolutionaries by one stroke, reestablish their "law and order," regain control, make the new China copy the example of the old China, and force the Marxist-Leninist China to follow the revisionist Soviet steps. We will never forget all the old grudges and new rancors!

Whom to love and whom to hate? It is clearest in the heart of us revolutionary progenies. We will never forget who lit the spark in darkness, led the people of China to rise up and save themselves, crush the shackles of slavery, and overthrow the three great mountains sitting on their head, and made them stand up and be the masters, or who led the people of China to build a powerful socialist new China on the ruins in a period of 16 years. The worker-farmer-soldier masses have thoroughly turned around, and a powerful and unprecedented great cultural revolution has been stirred up. All these are bestowed on us by the great party and our revered Chairman Mao. Without the party and Chairman Mao, the two of us would long ago have picked up mother's broken basket to dig wild vegetables for the family. The party and Chairman Mao saved us. We deeply love the party and Chairman Mao. We like most of all to sing "the East is red, and the sun rises" and "without the Communist Party, there is no new China." The party and Chairman Mao are the red sun in our heart. Whoever dares to touch our mother -- the party and Chairman Mao, he will be plucking at our heart. We will fight him with our lives! We feel that you will feel the same as we do.

We know well that US imperialism places its hope of restoration on our younger generation. The sugar-coated cannon balls fired by the bourgeoisie are also mostly aimed at us. But we will never abuse the expectations of the party and Chairman Mao. We will receive and pass on the revolutionary red banner in the hands of the older generation and swear to serve as the reliable successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. We will never forget the patriots who sat in jail and shed blood in order to spare us the hardships and tribulations.

We will never forget our dear father resting under the patriots' memorial in Tsinan's Szu-li-shan who shed all his blood for the revolution and who are waiting for us to continue his revolutionary cause. We believe that you will not forget the People's Heroes' Memorial in the T'ien-an-men Plaza in Peiping, nor the thousands and tens of thousands of revolutionary patriots.

We know well that this great proletarian cultural revolution is an uncompromising struggle between the classes, a struggle linked with the destiny of our party and country. We will never let the blood of our revolutionary forbears shed in vain! We will never permit China to return to the capitalist abyss! We, children of workers, children of poor and low-middle peasants, and children of revolutionary soldiers and cadres, and all the revolutionary progenies, will block with our chest the poison arrows shot at our most revered mother -- the Party Central and Chairman Mao, and defend Mao Tse-tung's thinking until our death! Defend the proletarian dictatorship! Defend the socialist new China!

Dear comrades, with the intelligent leadership of the Party Central and Chairman Mao, and with the support of the worker-farmer-soldier masses of the entire nations and the revolutionary cadres and intellectuals, your struggle will gain final victory! Fight, comrades! The people of the entire country must use the "thousand-ton stick" of Mao Tse-tung's thinking to destroy the big and small "Sanchia-ts'un's" in all corners in the country, and eliminate firmly, thoroughly, and completely the anti-party and anti-socialist dark gang!

We clasp your hands tightly!

Your unknown but intimate fighting friends,
P'eng Hsin-sheng (1756 2450 3932), communist
youth league member, and P'eng Hui-sheng (1756
0565 3932), youth vanguard member, students of
the Shantung Experimental Middle School.
Night of 4 June 1966, Tsinan.

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CSO: 3530-D

HAIL THE BIG-CHARACTER POSTER OF PEKING UNIVERSITY

[Following is a translation of an article by the Jen-min Jih-pao commentator in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No 11, Peiping, 21 August 1966, pages 31-32.]

The wall newspapers in large characters prepared by Nieh Yuan-tzu and other comrades have laid bare the big scheme of the "Three-Household Village" black gang elements!

Although Teng To, manager of the "Three-Household Village" black store, has been exposed, this antiparty clique is not taking its defeat lying down. Its members are still putting up a stubborn struggle with their backs to the wall, clamoring about "strengthening leadership, holding firm the position," as uttered by Sung Shuo, a member of the "Three-Household Village" antiparty clique.

What "position" are they trying to "hold firm?" They are "holding firm" a reactionary bulwark which they have been occupying in the past years.

What "leadership" are they trying to strengthen? They are directing their assistants to put up a last ditch struggle in an attempt to maintain their antiparty and antisocialist position.

Sung Shuo's clamor about "strengthening leadership" and "holding firm the position" is a signal which reflects the activities of all freaks and monsters in this sweeping proletarian cultural revolution. They will not step back a pace or give up an inch of territory without a struggle.

The "Three-Household Village" black gang is full of tricks. Earlier, they employed the tactics of "sacrificing the pawns and preserving the supreme commander." With the downfall of the "supreme commander," they now resort to the trick of preserving as many pawns as they possibly can. They scheme to preserve their strength and await an opportunity for action.

Peking University, for years controlled by Lu Ping, Peng Pei-yun, and others, is an important bastion of the "Three-Household Village" black gang and an antiparty and antisocialist strong bulwark. By 14 May, Lu Ping still tried to carry through a so-called urgent directive from Sung Shuo, deputy director of the university work department of the Peking Municipal CCP Committee, and hurriedly made arrangements to deceive, hoodwink, and suppress the broad masses of youthful students, revolutionary cadres, and revolutionary teachers, forbidding them to answer the call of Chairman Mao and the CCP Central Committee to be revolutionaries.

Peng Pei-yun is a mysterious character, evasive and active in liaison work. In this incident, he went underground and remained active as liaison agent between the Ming Tombs, where the History Department of Peking University is located, and Sung Shuo and Lu Ping, scheming and secretly giving out orders.

All this has shown that the branch of the "Three-Household Village" black store and the "pawns" of the "Three-Household Village" black gang are still putting up stubborn resistance under orders and in an organized and planned manner.

Taking advantage of his title of "secretary of the CCP Committee" of Peking University and in the name of the "organization," Lu Ping carried out threats against the revolutionary students and cadres, saying that those who ignored the command of a handful of persons in his gang would be violating discipline and opposing the party. This is a shopworn trick played by the antiparty elements of the "Three-Household Village" black store.

Please ask Lu Ping: What party, what organization, and what discipline are you referring to? In fact, we can give you this answer: Your "party" is not a genuine communist party but a fake one; yours is revisionist "party." Your "organization" is an antiparty clique. Your discipline means dealing ruthless blows to the proletarian revolutionaries.

The tricks played by Lu Ping and his ilk can fool no one. As proletarian revolutionaries, we abide by the disciplines of the CCP, we accept unconditionally the leadership of the CCP Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, we look upon Mao Tse-tung's thinking as the supreme guide of all our work. We must strictly follow Chairman Mao's teaching on socialist social classes and class struggle and his instructions on carrying out proletarian cultural revolution in the realm of ideology to foster proletarian ideology and destroy bourgeois ideology.

Whoever opposes Chairman Mao, Mao Tse-tung's thinking, and the instructions of Chairman Mao and the CCP Central Committee will encounter the opposition from the people throughout the country regardless of what banners they raise, no matter how high their positions, or how long they have been in the service.

Since they are actually the representatives of the interests of the overthrown exploiting class, they will be overthrown and their black gang, black organization, and black disciplines will be thoroughly destroyed.

The pounding waves of the great proletarian cultural revolution unknown in the history of mankind are surging forward; the clowns who attempt to stand in the way will inevitably perish.

Workers, peasants and soldiers, and proletarian cultural fighters under the leadership of the CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao are pressing ahead vigorously to seize counterrevolutionary cultural positions one after the other and are destroying counterrevolutionary cultural bulwarks.

The so-called "Three-Household Village," is nothing but a paper tiger. Their "supreme commander" cannot be spared nor can their "pawns."

The proletarian revolutionaries in Peking University will raise high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and exert still greater efforts to unite with the masses to carry forward the struggle. Those who cannot discern the situation clearly for the moment will soon raise their awareness and join in the rank and file of the struggle.

The revolutionary struggle waged by the broad masses of teachers of Peking University against the representatives of the bourgeoisie will score victory. A flourishing and truly socialist Peking University will soon emerge in the people's capital city.

(Originally carried in Jen-min Jih-pao, 2 June 66)

CSO: 3530-D

SALUTING THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTHS AND TEENAGERS

[Following is a translation of an article by the Hung-ch'i commentator from the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No 11, Peiping, 21 August 1966, pages 33-35.]

Under the illumination of the radiance of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, a great proletarian cultural revolution that knows no precedent in history is luxuriantly spreading -- like a tempest and with the speed of lightning -- from Peking, the revolutionary capital of the proletariat, in all directions to various places throughout the country.

What is most pleasing to people is that a large number of revolutionary youths and teenagers -- who are hitherto the unknown -- have become the brave trail-blazers in the great revolution. They are wise and full of drive and are able to do what they say.

The big-character poster is a powerful weapon which these young leaders use to attack those overt and covert factions in power who follow the capitalist road and all demons and freaks. Their big-character posters, like swords and daggers, hit the vital part of the enemy and make his sore spot hurt. They boost the morale of the revolutionaries and dampen the enemy's prestige. Therefore, they are warmly welcomed by the broad revolutionary masses and are widely copied and circulated. However, some persons find fault with these good big-character posters in a number of ways and shake their heads. As to the counterrevolutionary revisionists and the factions in power who follow the capitalist road, they ruthlessly hit at these revolutionary youths and teenagers and vilify their revolutionary big-character posters as counterrevolutionary big-character posters.

This magazine especially selects a few big-character posters for publication so that the broad masses of the people may appraise them.

We are of the opinion that these big-character posters are highly revolutionary and militant, are full of drive and are strong in bearing.

After they are read, one feels more broad-minded and finds them most stimulating to the spirit. They are so strongly worded that they are capable of sweeping away one thousand troops and still have power to spare. They are so pungent that they can "cut through the blue sky without damaging the hook." Everywhere between the lines, there is a flood of heroism.

They are the magnificent poems of the great proletarian cultural revolution. They are the crystallization of the ingenuity and wisdom of the revolutionary youths and teenagers. They are the outcome of the nursing of the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The roars of the revolutionary young leaders rock the sky: we want revolution and we want to rise in insurrection! With thunder and lightning, the tempest of the cultural revolution comes in full force. It is like Mount T'ai that hangs over the head and the surging tide. Those who submit to it will survive while those who defy it will be destroyed.

Confronted by the revolutionary attack of these young leaders, those lords in power who follow the capitalist road feel that a calamity is approaching and that they cannot carry on in a bungling way. So they misrepresent things, confuse right and wrong, scheme in secret, shoot secret arrows, spread rumors, and arbitrarily level various charges against the young leaders so that they may persecute them.

"You are counterrevolutionary." The factions in power who follow the capitalist road regard themselves as the incarnation of the Party. "We are the Party," they say. Those who oppose them are anti-Party and counterrevolutionary.

The revolutionary youths and teenagers fear neither Heaven nor the Hades, neither ghosts nor gods. They are not afraid of death, and how can they be cowed by the label of "counterrevolution?" They know that their action is revolutionary, that they are supported by their great leader Chairman Mao, and that there is the great thought of Mao Tse-tung to inspire them.

With Chairman Mao personally starting and leading this great proletarian cultural revolution, they have acquired sharper eyes, and straightened their thought. It suddenly dawns upon them that they must make revolution and rise in insurrection. They must rebel against the bourgeoisie, against imperialism, against revisionism, against all demons and freaks, and against the ideologies of all exploiting classes. They hail: Let the revolutionary conflagration rage and burn merrily!

"You are making trouble." You have said the right thing. The revolutionary youths and teenagers want to make trouble with you. They want to make use of this sharpest weapon -- the thought of Mao Tse-tung -- to throw the old ideas, culture, customs and habits as well as the rule of those factions in power who follow the capitalist road into confusion. How could

this be called revolution if this course of action were not taken? The cultural revolution of the proletariat seeks to upset the old rules and regulations and the old order of the bourgeoisie and to make a clean sweep of the stable of capitalism and revisionism with the revolutionary iron broom.

"What a mess." The revolutionary trail-blazers make use of big-character posters and big debates to practice blossoming, contention, exposure and criticism in a big way and blaze away at the reactionary representatives of the bourgeoisie. The factions in power who follow the capitalist road are mercilessly exposed and the reactionary academic "authorities" of the bourgeoisie are sharply criticized. Their prestige is completely swept away. They therefore roar: "What a mess." It is rather strange that some comrades also join them to raise a hue and cry. If you are a man who affirms the revolutionary viewpoint, go among the masses to take a look and you will find that you are never so pleased. By bringing down the palace of the king of the demons, the revolutionary little devils have liberated themselves. They wield their staffs studded with gold, and the reactionary citadels of the bourgeoisie are hit so hard that they are at sixes and sevens. This is a grand festive day of the multitudes and an unprecedented spectacle.

"You are crazy and childish." The young people who are jeered at by people as "green and unfledged" despise all bourgeois "authorities" and dare to challenge them. They dare to order the factions in power who follow the capitalist road to dismount. The youths and teenagers want to make use of the thought of Mao Tse-tung as weapon thoroughly to criticize and reshape the old world, and thoroughly to eradicate the old ideas, culture, customs and habits which have been heaped upon each other over the course of several thousand years. They want to turn over the whole old world and to create a new world according to the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Is this crazy? No, this is the Herculean revolutionary ambition.

From days of old, those who dare to make revolution and to create new things are in most cases young people who are "childish." Once they lay hold of truth, they regard the old school with disdain and declare war on it. The "learned" old school always represses them. But victory always goes to those young people who are hitherto unknown in "the classics."

More than a hundred years ago, two young men -- Marx and Engels -- wrote the epoch-making masterpiece of great brilliance called the "Communist Manifesto." They declared that they meant to declare war on the old world, "to make a clean break with traditional ideas" and to cause the reactionary ruling class "to tremble before the communist revolution."

When our great leader Chairman Mao was a young man in the twenties, he edited Hsiang-chiang P'ing-lun and published many well-known revolutionary articles. He issued the thoroughly revolutionary, militant

slogan: Down with the old world, let the aristocrats and capitalists tremble before us.

Revolutionary dialectics is merciless. Those personages who represent the old forces appear to be so colossal that they are irresistible. But they cannot escape the punishment of revolutionary dialectics. As to those persons of little significance who represent the new-born forces, although their course is arduous and devious in struggle and the obstacles may seem to be unsurmountable, yet they are bound to overcome the old forces in the end.

The great thought of Mao Tse-tung is like the spring wind and rain. How lovable those revolutionary youths and teenagers who have been brought up under the nursing of the thought of Mao Tse-tung are!

They are best able to heed what Chairman Mao says and love most fervently our great leader Chairman Mao.

They follow a steadfast and definite political direction. Their revolution is at all times correctly oriented. They seek neither fame nor gain, but work wholeheartedly for the revolution and the people.

They lay chief emphasis on "daringness." They dare to think, to speak out, to take action, to blaze the trail and to make revolution. For the sake of safeguarding the thought of Mao Tse-tung and of the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, they dare to go into the mountain studded with knives and the blazing sea. The sea may dry and the rock may erode, but they will never change their mind. They are "stormy" figures who dare "to break away from the net," but are not commonplace politicians who are very cautious, fearing that the revolutionary conflagration may burn their own fingers. They are the heroic eagles which dare to strike in the great revolutionary storm, but are not the house birds which hide themselves under the eaves.

They clearly distinguish between what they love and hate. They show a purple heart and unlimited warm love for the people; they hate intensely the factions in power who follow the capitalist road and the reactionary academic "authorities" of the bourgeoisie.

The sole fountainhead of their revolutionary thought and revolutionary strength is the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

To be sure, they have not much struggle experience, and it is inevitable for them to show shortcomings in this or that respect. But in the stormy revolutionary struggle, they certainly will arm themselves further with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and steel themselves into successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, complete with virtue and ability, wisdom and bravery.

They represent the future and hope of the proletarian revolution. With such staunch revolutionary heirs, our great fatherland can forever preserve its red color.

Our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao all along shows concern for the revolutionary youths and teenagers like a kind father. He pins unlimited hope on the revolutionary youths and teenagers. He says: "The world is yours as well as ours, but in the final analysis, it is yours. You young people are full of the vernal spirit of youth and are at the thriving stage. You are like the sun at eight or nine o'clock in the morning. We pin our hope on you."

The revolutionary youths and teenagers certainly will firmly commit to memory what Chairman Mao has amiably taught them and the earnest hope which he pins on them. They certainly will make greater efforts in studying and applying flexibly Chairman Mao's writings and the sixteen points. They certainly will dare to wage and be good at waging struggle. They certainly will unite all forces which can be united to hit out at a handful of the most reactionary rightists and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Guided by the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the revolutionary youths and teenagers certainly will grow up quickly in the furnace of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The new-born force is invincible. The future belongs to the revolutionary youths and teenagers.

We extend our highest regards to the revolutionary youths and teenagers!

CSO: 3530-D

THE GENERAL ELECTION SYSTEM OF THE PARIS COMMUNE

[Following is a translation of an article by Liu Hui-miny (刘惠敏 1914-1994) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 11, 21 August 1966, pages 36-37]

Ninety-five years ago, the French worker class, with a powerful revolutionary spirit, smashed the bourgeois government machine, and created the first proletarian dictatorship -- the Paris Commune. It was an unprecedented undertaking in human history.

The Paris Commune fundamentally rejected all state political powers of the past and took a true opposite standpoint. The political powers of the past were all tools of the exploiting class to oppress the people. The Paris Commune turned the masters of society into its public servants. The Paris Commune was not a parliamentary organ, but a work structure in charge of both the legislative and the administrative.

To assure its own proletarian essence and the realization of the function of the proletarian dictatorship, the Paris Commune created and enforced the historically significant general election system.

The general election system of the Paris Commune was entirely opposite to the spurious democratic election system of the bourgeoisie.

The Paris Commune declared that all leaders were to be elected by the people. This was the most fundamental principle of the general election system. In No. 3 of the Commune Bulletin published at that time, it stated: "The election system should be compatible to all social functions. This principle is the soul of democracy... The administrative and legislative authorities are all elected." The public notice of the Central Committee of the Citizens' Self-defense Army stated: "The people have the right to elect all their own leaders."

The Paris Commune required strictly of those elected. It asked that those elected to undertake public duty must serve the people, and they must not be bourgeois style bureaucrats or politicians oppressing the people. Prior to the election of commune committee members, the Central Committee of the Citizens' Self-defense Army issued an appeal to the people: "Only those elected from among you who have ^{shared} hardships with you can serve you best. Do not trust those looking for fame or showing off... Do not trust those who cannot accomplish anything but only indulge in empty talk... Please elect those who are firm, elect those with determination and capability among the people, who are known for their sincerity and honesty."

The Paris Commune asked the elected commune committee members to be responsible to the people and to accept their supervision. During their term of office after election, the bourgeois parliamentary members are not subject to the control of the people who elected them, but usurp the power to ride herd over the people. On the contrary, the commune committee members must work among the masses, personally implement the laws passed, personally examine the result of the implementation in practical life, maintain a close contact with the people, listen carefully to their opinions, make work reports to the people, and carry out self-criticism. Many of the leaders of the Paris Commune at that time possessed such service spirit toward the people. Marx praised them by saying: "These service personnel perform their work under constant supervision... They openly and concretely do their work... Carrying out their activities in open view, they do not consider themselves as absolutely accurate, they are free from the dilatory tactics of bureaucraticism, and they are not ashamed to admit or correct their errors." ("First Draft of the Civil War of France," see Complete Works of Marx and Engels, volume 17, page 590, People's Publishing House. Slight variation in translation.)

The Paris Commune provided that the electors had the right to dismiss or change the elected at any time. In regard to the officials of bourgeois countries, the people basically had no power to dismiss or change them, while the Paris Commune fully guaranteed the power of the electors to exercise their right of dismissal. The Commune Bulletin, No. 3, stated: "The principle of dismissal gives the electors the means to correct errors... The power of dismissal must not be deprived at any time." When summarizing the commune experience, Engels pointed out: "For the purpose of preventing the loss of its newly gained control, the worker class must, on the one hand, wipe out the entire old machine which was used to oppress it all along, and, on the other hand, declare its right to dismiss or change all of the officials representing it without exception, in order to assure its own power over them." (Introduction to "the Civil War of France," op. cit., volume 2, page 227.)

The Paris Commune also provided that all the elected commune committee members, similar to all public service personnel, could

receive only/wages equivalent to those of the workers, and it abolished all the special privileges enjoyed by the parliament members and high officials of bourgeois countries. Engels said that it "effectively stopped the pursuit of promotion and wealth." (Ibid., page 228).

The general election system of the Paris Commune fully expressed the desire and demand of the vast worker class and other laboring people. With its introduction, the people could, according to their own free will, elect those most trusted by them to undertake public duties, represent their interests, and serve them.

The general election system of the Paris Commune won the enthusiastic support of the worker class and other laboring people.

The election of the Paris Commune was extremely dignified and solemn. On election day, the electors of the worker district were especially enthusiastic. With the joy of emancipation, they formed into groups, raised high the red flag, stuck the voting ticket in their hat, marched through the Bastille square, and came to the voting hall. It was the very first time for the laboring people to elect their own true representatives by voting. There was no policeman at the gate of the voting hall, nor the filthy campaign activities of the bourgeoisie. The election was free and democratic.

The committee members of the Paris Commune at that time were elected by the residents of the 20 districts of Paris according to the population. Generally, one member for every 20,000 population was elected, and the total number was 90. The worker class was especially active in attending the election. As a result, 86 persons were elected as committee members of the Paris Commune. A large group of new model public service personnel undertook the important work of the commune, and the majority of them were workers or publicly recognized representatives of the worker class.

Though the Paris Commune failed, it left many extremely valuable experiences gained by blood to the international proletariat. The general election system was one of its important experiences.

The general election system of the Paris Commune possesses a powerful vigor. It will intensify and develop with the proletarian revolutionary movement, and become more forceful and perfect.

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