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No. 12, 1966  
- Communist China -  
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TRANSLATIONS FROM HUNG-CH'I (RED FLAG)

No. 12, 1966

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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. 12, 1966. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

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## COMRADE LIN PIAO'S SPEECH

At Peking Rally To Receive Revolutionary Teachers and  
Students From All Parts of China  
(August 31, 1966)

[Following is a translation of the text of a speech in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 12, 17 September 1966, pages 2-3.]

Comrades, Students, Red Guard Fighters:

On behalf of our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao, I extend greetings to you students coming from all parts of the country; greetings to you all! On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, I greet you all!

Students! You have come to Peking and have been exchanging experience in the great cultural revolution with the revolutionary teachers and students at Peking. You have travelled a long way and worked hard! We are confident that after your return, you will work even better, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and the Party Central Committee's 16-point decision, to smash all resistance, overcome all difficulties and develop the great proletarian cultural revolution with even greater vigour and vitality!

The present situation in the great proletarian cultural revolution is very fine!

The Red Guards and other revolutionary organizations of the young people have been springing up like bamboo shoots after the spring rain. They take to the streets to sweep away the "four olds" [old ideas, culture, customs and habits -- Ed.] The great cultural revolution has already touched on politics and on economics. The struggle against and crushing of those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, the criticism and repudiation of the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and the transformation of education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base in the schools have been extended to the whole of society. The revolutionary torrents of the masses are washing away all the

sludge and filth left over from the old society, and are transforming the whole face of society in our country.

Young revolutionary fighters! Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee warmly acclaim your proletarian revolutionary spirit of daring to think, to speak, to act, to break through and to make revolution. You have done many good things. You have put forward many good proposals. We are greatly elated, and we warmly support you! Firmly oppose any attempt that is made to suppress you! Your revolutionary actions are very fine! We hail you, and salute you!

Comrades, students!

We must act in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings; dare to struggle and dare to make revolution and be good at waging struggles and at making revolution. We must take Mao Tse-tung's thought as our compass in the great proletarian cultural revolution and carry out the 16-point decision seriously, fully, thoroughly and without reservation.

We must, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, distinguish who are our enemies and who are our friends. Attention must be paid to uniting with the great majority, and concentrating forces to strike at the handful of bourgeois Rightists. The main target of the attack is those persons in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. It is essential to hold fast to this main orientation in the struggle.

We must act in accordance with the teachings of Chairman Mao, and carry out the struggle by reasoning and not by coercion or force. Don't hit people. This applies also to the struggle against those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road as well as to the struggle against landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. Coercion or force in the struggle against them can only touch their skins. Only by reasoning is it possible to touch their souls. Only by reasoning, by exposing them fully and criticizing them profoundly, is it possible to expose their counter-revolutionary features thoroughly, isolate them to the fullest extent, discredit them, pull them down and smash them.

The Red Guards and other revolutionary organizations of the young people in the colleges and middle schools are the shock force fighting in the van in the great cultural revolution and a powerful reserve force of the People's Liberation Army.

Students and Red Guard fighters! Always be loyal to the Party, to the people, to Chairman Mao and to Mao Tse-tung's thought. Work hard to study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively; make big efforts to apply what you study. Serve the people wholeheartedly, keep in close contact with the masses, be exemplary in carrying out the Party's policies, safeguard the interests of the people, protect state property, and abide by the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention.

Students! Provided we earnestly study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings and act in accordance with his instructions, the great proletarian

cultural revolution can certainly achieve great victories! Let imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries tremble before our victories!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the Communist Party of China!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

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

CSO: 3530-D





## COMRADE LIN PIAO'S SPEECH

At the Peking Rally To Receive Revolutionary Teachers  
and Students From All Parts of China  
(September 15, 1966)

[Following is a translation of the text of a speech in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 12, 17 September 1966, pages 4-5.]

Comrades, Students, Red Guard Fighters:

In order to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution well, you have come from all parts of the country to Peking, and are here by the side of our great leader Chairman Mao. You have travelled a long way and worked hard! I greet you on behalf of Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party. We extend you a warm welcome!

Led by Chairman Mao, and guided by the 16-point decision drawn up under his leadership, the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country is advancing triumphantly on a nationwide scale. The situation is very fine! It is getting finer every day.

Red Guard fighters, revolutionary students, the general orientation of your struggle has always been correct. Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee firmly support you! So do the broad masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers! Your revolutionary actions have shaken the whole of society and given a blow to the dregs and left-over evils from the old world. You have scored brilliant successes in the vigorous fight to destroy the "four olds" [old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits] and foster the "four news" [new ideas, new culture, new customs and new habits]. You have created utter consternation among those in power who are taking the capitalist road, the reactionary bourgeois "authorities," and blood suckers and parasites. You have acted correctly and done well!

Chairman Mao teaches us that the fundamental contradiction to be solved by the great proletarian cultural revolution is the contradiction between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the two roads, the socialist and the capitalist. The main target of attack in

the present movement is those in the Party who are in power and are taking the capitalist road. To bombard the headquarters is to bombard the handful of persons in power who are taking the capitalist road. Ours is a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The leadership of our country is in the hands of the proletariat. It is precisely for the purpose of consolidating and strengthening our dictatorship of the proletariat that we must struggle against and overthrow the handful of persons in power who are taking the capitalist road. Quite clearly, the handful of reactionary bourgeois elements, and those belonging to the five categories of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who have not really turned over a new leaf are different from us. They oppose the dictatorship exercised over them by the broad masses of revolutionary people headed by the proletariat, and they are trying to bombard our headquarters of the proletarian revolution. Can we tolerate these actions? No, we must smash the plots of these ghosts and monsters, we must see through them, we must not let their schemes succeed. They are only a small handful, but they can deceive some good people at times. We must keep firmly to the general orientation of our struggle. Any deviation from this general orientation will lead us astray.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary students have a common aim and their orientation is the same. All of them must unite and go forward hand in hand under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Some people are now going against Chairman Mao's instructions and the 16-point decision. By exploiting the profound class feelings of the masses of workers and peasants for the Party and Chairman Mao, they are creating antagonism between the masses of workers and peasants and the revolutionary students and are inciting the former to struggle against the latter. Under no circumstances must we let them hoodwink us!

The masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao, have always been the main force of the revolution in our country. Today, they are the main force of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country and also the main force in the country's great proletarian cultural revolution.

Our masses of workers, peasants and soldiers must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and stand fast at their posts in production and combat stations. They must stand firmly on the side of the revolutionary students, support their revolutionary actions and give them powerful backing.

The Red Guards and all revolutionary youth are good sons and daughters of the Chinese people. You must learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers. Learn from them their extremely firm revolutionary stand and their most thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit. Learn from them their high sense of organization and discipline and all their other fine qualities. Like the workers, peasants and soldiers, be for ever loyal to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought, to the Party and to the people and temper yourselves in the great storm of the revolutionary struggle to become successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, our great leader, great teacher, great supreme commander and great helmsman, and under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, let the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary students unite, let all revolutionary comrades unite, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

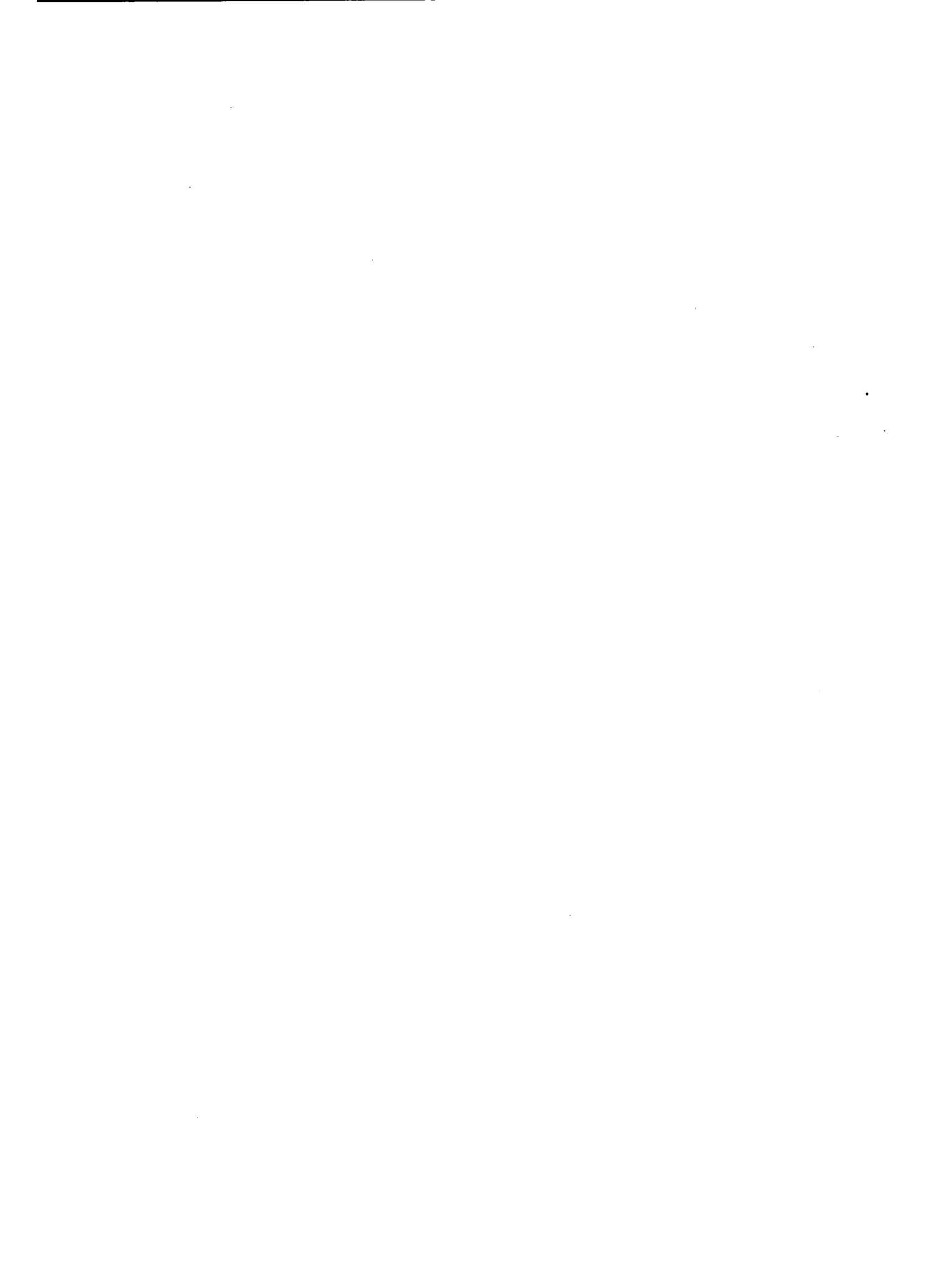
Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

Long live the ever-triumphant 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 Rally To Receive Revolutionary Teachers and  
Students From All Parts of China  
(August 31, 1966)

[Following is a translation of the text of a speech in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 12, 17 September 1966, pages 6-7.]

Comrades! Students!

Greetings to you!

You have come from all parts of the motherland to Peking, the centre of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the people's capital. We extend a warm welcome to you.

Peking is where Chairman Mao lives. Our great leader, Chairman Mao, is the great supreme commander of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Chairman Mao is our great teacher and great helmsman. He is the red sun that shines in our hearts.

The great proletarian cultural revolution was initiated by Chairman Mao himself. His heart is linked with the hearts of the masses. He has boundless faith in the masses and supports their initiative. The revolutionary people of the whole country have enthusiastically responded to Chairman Mao's call and have brought about a vigorous upsurge in the great cultural revolution.

The Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which was drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance, is the program of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This document tells us that it is imperative to let the masses themselves educate themselves, to let the masses themselves liberate themselves, and to let the masses themselves rise up and make revolution. We must use this decision as our weapon in the fight and take it as the guide for our actions in carrying forward the great proletarian cultural revolution. All revolutionary comrades should earnestly and repeatedly study this decision, know it well, grasp it and apply it.

A new upsurge is now under way in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Young people in all parts of the country have formed Red Guards and other revolutionary organizations. This is a great revolutionary creation. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, our young Red Guards have acted as shock forces in the assault against enemy positions, destroying the "four-olds" [old ideas, culture, customs and habits] and fostering the "four news" [new ideas, culture, customs and habits]. Your spirit of daring to think, speak, act and break through and daring to make revolution and daring to rebel has the warm support of the worker, peasant and soldier masses and revolutionary cadres throughout the country. We acclaim the heroic Red Guards! Salute to our Red Guards! Salute to the revolutionary young people!

Our Red Guards have been set up with the Liberation Army as their example. It is their militant slogan to make all-out efforts to learn from the Liberation Army. Like the Liberation Army, our Red Guards hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings, act in accordance with his instructions, and study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a creative way; always be the good students and good soldiers of Chairman Mao; always be loyal to the Party, to the people, to Chairman Mao, and to Mao Tse-tung's thought. Like the Liberation Army, they should serve the people wholeheartedly, maintain close ties with the masses, implement the mass line and always be faithful servants of the people. They should learn the "three-eight" working style of the Liberation Army, observe the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention, protect the interests of the masses, defend state property and create a good new atmosphere of socialism. The Red Guards must be built into a highly organized and disciplined militant army with a high level of political consciousness and become the reliable reserve force of the Liberation Army.

We must have the daring to struggle and we must be good at struggling. Pay attention to all times to using the method of class analysis, developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle, uniting with the great majority and concentrating all forces to strike at the handful of bourgeois Rightists. Use reasoning, not coercion or force in struggle. Only through reasoning, can we educate the masses, can we most effectively crush the enemy. Our Red Guards will surely mature in the struggle and become path-breakers who display both wisdom and courage.

At present, students in various parts of the country are coming to Peking to exchange experience and students in Peking are going to other places to establish revolutionary ties. We think that this is a very good thing. We support you. The Party's Central Committee has decided that all college students and representatives of middle school students in the other parts of the country should come to Peking group after group at different times. Local students and students from other places should strengthen their revolutionary unity on the basis of the principle of making joint efforts to carry through the great cultural revolution well. Questions and differences of opinion should be solved through investigation, study and through consultations on an equal footing. Everybody knows that the great cultural revolution in every locality and in every unit must be carried out by relying on

the masses themselves in that locality and that unit, for only then can it really be carried out well and thoroughly. We believe that the revolutionary action of building contacts on a nationwide scale will certainly and potently deepen the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Comrades! Students!

Revolution is no easy matter. To win victory, all resistance and difficulties must be overcome. We are confident that you will surely hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, grasp and apply the 16-point decision which was formulated under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao, and, together with the worker, peasant and soldier masses, with the broad revolutionary masses while relying on your own efforts, overcome all resistance and difficulties to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the very end.

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the great proletarian dictatorship!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

Long live the great, invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

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

CSO: 3530-D





COMRADE CHOU EN-LAI'S SPEECH

At the Peking Rally To Receive Revolutionary Teachers  
and Students From All Parts of China  
(September 15, 1966)

[Following is a translation of the text of a speech in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 12, 17 September 1966, pages 8-9.]

Comrades, Students:

We warmly welcome you! We welcome you who have come from all parts of the country to Peking, the center of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and are here by the side of our great leader Chairman Mao.

By cordially meeting us, Chairman Mao -- our most respected and beloved leader -- shows his greatest concern for us and gives us the greatest encouragement! This is our greatest happiness, our greatest honour!

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution transforming the very souls of people; it is also a great revolution promoting social production.

The 16-point decision drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance stipulates:

"The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country."

"The aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to revolutionize people's ideology and as a consequence to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all fields of work."

With the upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution, a newer and more flourishing situation is appearing in our country's industrial and agricultural production.

It is very important to do a good job in industrial and agricultural production. It is important for our socialist construction, for our Third Five-Year Plan, for the people's livelihood in town and country, and for the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is also important for the support and assistance we are giving to the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and to the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world.

We must respond to Chairman Mao's call to take a firm hold of the revolution with one hand and spur production on with the other so as to ensure victory in both the great cultural revolution and in industrial and agricultural production!

The broad masses of workers, commune members, scientific and technical personnel and functionaries of Party, of government and public organizations and enterprises should remain firmly at their jobs, grasp the link of production in good time and apply the soaring enthusiasm and energy generated in the great cultural revolution to industrial and agricultural production and scientific experimentation!

Comrades, students!

In order to facilitate the normal progress of industrial and agricultural production, the Red Guards and revolutionary students from the universities, colleges and middle schools are now not to go to the factories and enterprises and to Party, government and public organizations of country level and below, the people's communes in the rural areas to establish revolutionary ties. The revolution in these places is to proceed in a planned and systematic way in accordance with the original arrangements for the "four clean-ups" movement.\* Factories and rural areas cannot take time off like the schools and stop production to make revolution. Revolutionary students should respect the masses of workers and peasants, trust them and have confidence in their being fully able to successfully make revolution on their own.

The tremendously busy autumn season of harvesting and sowing is here. The Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students from the universities, colleges and middle schools should organize themselves and go and work in the countryside, help bring in the autumn harvest and learn from the poor and lower-middle peasants their revolutionary zeal and fine qualities of diligence.

Comrades, students! You have played a very big role in the great proletarian cultural revolution. We warmly acclaim and firmly support your revolutionary action. We are convinced you will hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, learn how to make revolution in the revolution, and temper yourselves to become good soldiers and pupils of Chairman Mao -- a new generation of communists!

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\*The socialist education movement to clean things up in the fields of politics, ideology, organization and economy. -- Tr.

Carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

Take firm hold of the revolution, spur production and usher in a new upsurge in socialist construction!

Long live the great people of all the nationalities in China!

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



## HOLD FAST TO THE MAIN ORIENTATION IN THE STRUGGLE

[Following is a translation of an editorial in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 12, 17 September 1966, pages 10-12.]

The great proletarian cultural revolution, like a mighty red torrent, is sweeping away the old things, old ideas and old forces of habit of the exploiting classes in all their manifestations, educating hundreds of millions of people and propelling our history forward.

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

This is also a question of the first importance for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Comrade Lin Piao said: "We must, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, distinguish who are our enemies and who are our friends. Attention must be paid to uniting with the great majority, and concentrating forces to strike at the handful of bourgeois Rightists. The main target of the attack is those persons in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. It is essential to hold fast to this main orientation in the struggle."

Our Party organizations at various levels, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, and the broad masses of revolutionary youth must hold most tightly to this main orientation in the struggle. They will go astray if they act counter to this main direction.

In this great campaign, the present stage of the proletarian cultural revolution, it is essential to concentrate forces to strike at the handful of bourgeois Rightists, that is, to concentrate forces to strike at the most reactionary and most stubborn political representatives of the bourgeoisie. By pulling down the bourgeois Rightists, it will be possible to forcefully crush the schemes of the bourgeoisie for a counter-revolutionary come-back.

Ours is a great country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Ours is a great Party which is armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao-Tse-tung's thought. In order to seize state power under such conditions, the bourgeoisie

invariably rely on the extremely small number of people in power within the Party who are taking the capitalist road, that is, the counter-revolutionary revisionists. This handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists is the chief and the most dangerous enemy. Where they have usurped leadership, they pursue bourgeois policies and exercise bourgeois dictatorship. They make use of the power they have seized to shelter the bourgeois Rightists and suppress the proletarian Left. If they are not struck down, they will, like Khrushchev, rise up to usurp the leadership of our Party and state whenever they see the chance, and make our whole country change color.

The main orientation in the struggle is to concentrate forces to strike at the handful of bourgeois Rightists, at those persons in power within the Party who are taking the capitalist road. To hold most firmly to this main direction in the struggle can guard against bad people fishing in troubled waters and can avoid the mistake of missing the main objective while laying hold of problems of secondary importance in the struggle.

If those in power are not proletarians, then they must be bourgeois. There is no such thing as persons in power who are above classes and who are abstract. Support should be given to those in power who are proletarian and to support them is precisely for the purpose of striking down those in power who are taking the capitalist road. Those in power who are taking the capitalist road should be struck down, and striking them down is precisely to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat further.

Our country is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Fundamentally, those in power are the proletariat. Most of the cadres who are responsible for leadership at various levels in the various departments of the Party, government and armed forces and in industrial, agricultural, trade, educational and military circles, in general, support the Party and Chairman Mao and resolutely take the socialist road. They include cadres of the first and second categories as stated in Point 8 of the 16-point decision of the Party's Central Committee concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution. Only a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists who are against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Tse-tung's thought have wormed their way into leading posts in the Party and the state. This refers to the fourth category of cadres as stated in the 16-point decision.

These are the basic, objective facts of China's political life. Exactly because of this, our state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat is consolidated. Exactly because of this, it is possible in our country to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and score extremely brilliant successes on various fronts in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Comrade Lin Biao pointed out that a handful of reactionary bourgeois elements, and landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who had not really turned over a new leaf, "oppose the dictatorship exercised over them by the broad masses of revolutionary people headed by the proletariat, and they are trying to bombard our headquarters of the proletarian revolution. Can we tolerate these actions? No, we must smash the plots of these ghosts and monsters, we must see through them,

we must not let their schemes succeed."

Those ghosts and monsters who attempt to bombard our headquarters of the proletarian revolution are only a handful of people, but they can sometimes deceive some good people who do not know the true facts. As soon as we use the monster detector of Mao Tse-tung's thought on them, their true features will be exposed and they will be encircled by the broad masses who ardently love the Party and Chairman Mao.

The aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely not to struggle against all leading cadres, nor struggle against the masses. It is certainly impermissible to use any pretext, in any form, to attack revolutionary activists or incite the masses to struggle against the masses.

In the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution, there will be different views among the masses and sometimes even sharp contention. The different views and contention among the masses, including wrong opinions, should be appropriately handled in accordance with Chairman Mao's principle of the correct handling of contradictions among the people.

The "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" says:

"A strict distinction must be made between the two different types of contradictions: those among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. Contradictions among the people must not be made into contradictions between ourselves and the enemy; nor must contradictions between ourselves and the enemy be regarded as those among the people.

"It is normal for the masses to hold different views. Contention between different views is unavoidable, necessary and beneficial. In the course of normal and full debate, the masses will affirm what is right, correct what is wrong and gradually reach unanimity.

"The method to be used in debates is to present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning. Any method of forcing a minority holding different views to submit is impermissible. The minority should be protected, because sometimes the truth is with the minority. Even if the minority is wrong, they should still be allowed to argue their case and reserve their views."

Every one of our revolutionary comrades should seriously and thoroughly carry out the above-mentioned decision which was formulated under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls. This great revolutionary movement of a mass character inevitably concerns all kinds of questions existing in the innermost souls of the people. This movement is a great socialist education to the broad masses of our cadres and masses. It is an extremely good thing, a thing of profound and far-reaching significance to destroy the old ideas, culture, customs and habits and to establish new ideas, culture, customs and habits and to have the revolutionary spirit prevail quickly

throughout the country. All the revolutionary comrades should enthusiastically welcome and resolutely support it; they should consciously temper themselves in the flames of the revolution, and following the teachings of Chairman Mao, persevere in the truth and correct mistakes, and their attitude towards the criticism of the masses should be one of "correcting mistakes if you have committed them, and guarding against them if you have not."

As to the movement as a whole, we must grasp the principal contradictions and main targets, and correctly handle the relations between the principal and the ordinary contradictions. People who have ordinary shortcomings and mistakes in their style of work should consciously correct them in the course of this great cultural revolutionary movement and they should not be taken as the main targets of the movement. Questions of this type should be solved by using the method of correctly handling contradictions among the people. It is necessary to persuade and educate and to guard against over-simplification and being crude, not to use the method of handling contradictions between us and the enemy where questions of ordinary shortcomings and mistakes in style of work are concerned, and not to treat this kind of question as the main target of struggle in the movement, in order to avoid interfering with the main orientation of our struggle.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great torrential class struggle. This struggle is sharp, complicated, and there will be twists and turns and reversals. We must be fully aware of this. As long as we hold fast to the main orientation of the movement, use the viewpoint of class struggle and the method of class analysis to treat all the kinds of problems and contradictions that crop up in the movement, and sum up our experience from time to time we will certainly make this great revolutionary struggle advance triumphantly step by step.

CSO: 3530-D



## TAKE FIRM HOLD OF THE REVOLUTION AND STIMULATE PRODUCTION

[Following is a translation of an editorial in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 12, 17 September 1966, pages 13-14. The editorial was originally published in the Jen-min Jih-pao of 7 September 1966.]

The 16-point decision [of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution -- Ed.] which was drawn up under the guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, correctly points out: "The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country."

The great proletarian cultural revolution in our country is powerfully promoting the revolutionization of people's ideology, is further liberating the social productive forces and unleashing the productive initiative and creativeness of the mass of workers and of rural people's commune members on an increasing scale, so creating new, favorable conditions for a vigorous development of industry and agriculture.

Towards the end of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "The widespread movements for rectification and for production which began in 1942 and 1943 respectively have played and are still playing a decisive role, the one in our ideological and the other in our material life. Unless we grasp these two links at the right time, we shall be unable to grasp the whole chain of the revolution, and our struggle will not advance."

The rectification movement initiated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung at that time was in fact a movement for the revolutionization of ideology. His explanation of the role of the movements for rectification and for production and his views on the need for a timely grasping of these two links so that our struggle would continue to advance are entirely applicable for us today.

The movement for proletarian cultural revolution and the movement for socialist production are interrelated. The aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to revolutionize people's ideology and consequently

to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all fields of work. We must look upon the great proletarian cultural revolution as the key link and take a firm hold of the revolution on the one hand and of production on the other so as to guarantee that both the cultural revolution and production go forward without a hitch.

In building socialism, we have both an ideological front and a material front. On the ideological front we remold old ideas and enhance our socialist revolutionary consciousness. On the material front we transform nature and develop our socialist national economy. Progressive thought takes the lead. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the engine for our advance on both fronts. By using Mao Tse-tung's thought to remold the very souls of men and promote the revolutionization of their ideology, victory will be won on the ideological front. As a consequence, this will inspire people to use their initiative consciously and guarantee the winning of still greater victories on the material front too.

This year is the first year of China's Third Five-Year Plan. The broad masses of our workers, commune members, scientific and technical personnel and other working people should carry their soaring revolutionary enthusiasm, called up by the great cultural revolution, into the struggles for industrial and agricultural production and scientific experiment. Acting as masters, we should stand firm at our posts in production and grasp the links in production promptly at the proper time, so that industrial and agricultural production will show still newer features and still greater prosperity.

Leaders of all factories, mines, enterprises, people's communes, units engaged in capital construction and scientific research establishments must take firm hold of these two links -- the cultural revolution and the promotion of production -- and arrange their work well. There must be a proper division of work. Two appropriate leading groups are needed; one mainly in charge of the cultural revolution, the other of production, of output, variety and quality, with special attention being paid to quality. The group in charge of production must also take part in the cultural revolution, but their main efforts must be in leading production. A unified leadership over these two groups is necessary; each should not act on its own. Once the masses are fully mobilized and proper arrangements are made, victories are assured in both the cultural revolution and production.

The cultural revolution movement in factories, mines, enterprises, units engaged in capital construction, scientific research establishments and service trades, and the socialist education movement in the countryside, i.e., the "four clean-ups" movement [to clean things up in the fields of politics, ideology, organization and economy -- Ed.], should be carried out by the revolutionary masses there. If the original arrangements for the "four clean-ups" movement in the countryside or in the cities are considered appropriate by the masses and the movement is going well, then no change is necessary. The Red Guards from the schools and the revolutionary students ought not to go there to interfere in those arrangements. They need not take part in the debates there. Workers, poor and lower-middle peasants are the main force of the revolution. They are fully capable of handling the

revolutionary movement in their own organizations well. Besides, conditions in these units differ and they have very big tasks in production. Interference from outsiders who do not understand the situation can easily affect the normal progress of production.

The autumn harvest is drawing near. It promises to be a year of good harvests. Leaders at all levels, and particularly those at county level and leaders of the rural people's communes, must be sure not to let the farm season slip by them and must concentrate all their efforts on making a good job of this year's autumn harvest. When the farm work is heavy, the "four clean-ups" movement may be temporarily suspended. The Red Guards from the schools and the revolutionary teachers and students should organize themselves to go to the countryside to take part in manual labor there, help with the autumn harvest and learn from poor and lower-middle peasants their diligence, revolutionary enthusiasm and other fine qualities as working people.

The important task before the whole Party and the entire people is to take firm hold of the revolution and stimulate production by raising aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and taking the 16-point decision as their ideological weapon. We firmly believe that with the upsurge of the great proletarian cultural revolution, a new upsurge in socialist production and construction will surely emerge.

In the later stage of the Anti-Japanese War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "... there can be no doubt of the historic importance of the two great movements for rectification and production."

He also said: "Let us go forward and spread these two great movements everywhere as a foundation for the fulfilment of other tasks in our struggle. If we can do so, the complete liberation of the Chinese people will be assured."

The victory of the Chinese People's Liberation War and the victory of the great revolution of the Chinese people have fully confirmed this brilliant thesis of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Now, if we act unswervingly in accordance with Comrade Mao Tse-tung's instructions and take further steps to spread these two great movements of cultural revolution and of developing production throughout the country, we will win even greater victories in our great cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Can there be any doubt about this? We hold that there can be no doubt about it.

CSO: 3530-D



## IN PRAISE OF THE RED GUARDS

[Following is a translation of an article by a Hung-ch'i commentator in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 12, 17 September 1966, pages 15-17.]

The revolutionary people throughout China are now vying with each other in praising the Red Guards.

The revolutionary initiative of the Red Guards has shaken the whole world.

The Red Guards are something new that has emerged in the tempest of the great proletarian cultural revolution; they were born and are growing up in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The Red Guards have been nurtured in their growth by Mao Tse-tung's thought. The Red Guards say, and say it well: Chairman Mao is our red commander and we are the young, red soldiers of Chairman Mao.

What our Red Guards love most of all is to read Chairman Mao's works and follow his teachings, and their love for Mao Tse-tung's thought is most ardent. They carry with them copies of Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They take as their highest obligation the study, dissemination, application and defense of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution which was personally started and is being personally led by Chairman Mao, the Red Guards have resolutely carried out courageous and stubborn struggles against those in authority who take the capitalist road and against all ghosts and monsters, and they have become the pathbreakers in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

After the publication of the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," which was drawn up under his personal direction, Chairman Mao, the great leader, and Comrade Lin Piao, his close comrade-in-arms, reviewed the Red

Guards in the Chinese capital on August 18. With the direct encouragement of the great supreme commander Chairman Mao, the Red Guards and other revolutionary organizations of the young people set going a new high tide in the great cultural revolution.

Coming out of their schools and into the streets, the tens of millions of Red Guards formed an irresistible revolutionary torrent. Holding aloft the red banner of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and displaying the proletarian revolutionary spirit of daring to think, to speak, to act, to break through and to rise up in revolution, they are cleaning up the muck left over by the old society and sweeping away the rubbish accumulated over thousands of years of history.

The Red Guards have done many good things and put forward many good suggestions. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, they have achieved brilliant results in the struggle to eradicate the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes and to foster the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat.

The Red Guards are the shock force of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Their revolutionary actions have roused revolutionary fervour among the masses, bringing about a vigorous mass movement on a still greater scale. Such a sweeping revolutionary mass movement has engulfed in the vast sea of the revolutionary masses the handful of persons in power who have wormed their way into the Party and have taken the capitalist road. Without such a large-scale mass movement, it would be impossible to destroy the social basis on which the handful of bourgeois Rightists rests and to carry through the great proletarian cultural revolution thoroughly and in depth.

The Red Guards are a new phenomenon on the eastern horizon. The revolutionary youngsters are the symbol of the future and the hope of the proletariat. Revolutionary dialectics tells us that the new-born forces are invincible, that they inevitably grow and develop in struggle and in the end defeat the decaying forces. Therefore, we shall certainly sing the praises of the new, eulogize it, beat the drums to encourage it, bang the gongs to clear a way for it and raise our hands high in welcome.

Our Red Guards have performed immortal meritorious deeds in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party enthusiastically praise their soaring revolutionary spirit, and the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers enthusiastically acclaim their revolutionary actions.

The revolutionary actions of the revolutionary young fighters are indeed excellent! Their meritorious deeds in the great cultural revolution will go down forever in the revolutionary history of the proletariat.

The Red Guards are learning to swim by swimming, are learning to make a revolution by taking part in it. What they demand of themselves is not only to have the daring to struggle and make revolution, but to be good at struggle, good at revolution. On the basis of the experience they themselves

have gained in practice, they are now further studying the 16-point decision of the Party's Central Committee concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, grasping it and applying it.

Having received the warm praise of Chairman Mao and the broad masses of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, the revolutionary young fighters are now reminding themselves to guard against conceit and rashness and to learn modestly from the People's Liberation Army and the masses of the workers and peasants. They are determined to raise their political consciousness still further and heighten their sense of organization and discipline, in accordance with the "three-eight" working style of the People's Liberation Army and the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention. They are resolved to temper themselves in the furnace of revolution so as to become revolutionary fighters of the type of Lei Feng, Wang Chieh, Mai Hsien-teh and Liu Ying-chun, to become Communists who are utterly devoted to others without any thought of self, to become the successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Different classes take different views of the revolutionary actions of the Red Guards. The revolutionary classes regard them as extremely good while the counter-revolutionary classes look upon them as extremely bad.

Revolutionary people throughout the world have applauded these revolutionary actions and paid high tribute to the Red Guards. On the other hand, the imperialists, the reactionaries of all countries, the modern revisionists and the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang are cursing the Red Guards in the most venomous language. They have vilified the Red Guards as "young fanatics" and attacked their revolutionary actions as "violating human dignity," "destroying social traditions," and so on and so forth.

Chairman Mao has taught us that to be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us in the worst colors and without a single virtue. It is indeed a great honor for the Red Guards that they have been attacked wildly the class enemies at home and abroad.

"Young fanatics!" Invariably the enemies of revolution are extremely hostile to the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses, and they smear it as "fanatical." And it is precisely what the enemy hates that we love. Not only must the revolutionary young fighters maintain their exuberant revolutionary enthusiasm, they must also further display their soaring revolutionary spirit.

"Violating human dignity!" The Red Guards have ruthlessly castigated, exposed, criticized and repudiated the decadent, reactionary culture of the bourgeoisie, and they have exposed the ugly features of the bourgeois Rightists to the bright light of day, landing them in the position of rats running across the street and being chased by all. So they shout: "This violates human dignity." To speak frankly, we should not only violate their "dignity" but knock them down so that they can never rise up again.

"Destroying social traditions?" You are right. The Red Guards do

want to destroy the traditions of the landlords and the bourgeoisie. The revolutionary young fighters want precisely to make a clean sweep of the remaining viruses of feudalism, eliminate the germs of capitalism and dig out the evil roots of revisionism. Only by utterly destroying the various old traditions of the exploiting classes is it possible to carry on and develop the revolutionary traditions of the proletariat.

In accordance with the directives of Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee, the young Red Guard fighters are concentrating all forces to strike at the handful of bourgeois Rightists, and their main target is those in power within the Party who are taking the capitalist road. In doing so, they are removing the time bombs planted in China by imperialism and revisionism. Therefore, it is quite natural that the imperialists and revisionists should feel shocked, enraged and bitter about the revolutionary actions of the Red Guards.

That mouthpiece of the reactionary classes Pope Paul the Sixth helplessly blurted out that for them the revolutionary actions of the Red Guards were "a sign of death and not a sign of life." Yes, indeed. The revolutionary actions taken by the revolutionary young fighters are a sure sign of final destruction for the class enemies at home and abroad. And our Red Guards are a symbol that the revolutionary cause of the proletariat is prospering and has unlimited vitality.

Like the red sun rising in the east, the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution is illuminating the land with its brilliant rays.

Long live the Red Guards armed with Mao Tse'tung's thought!

Long live Chairman Mao, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman!

CSO: 3530-D



## SELECTED ARTICLES OF THE RED GUARDS

[Following is a translation of a group of articles in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 12, 17 September 1966, pages 18-27.]

### Hung-ch'i Editor's Note:

Over a short period of time, the heroic Red Guards born in this great proletarian cultural revolution movement, holding high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the victorious banner of the 16-point decision, have violently bombarded the old ideas, old culture and old customs and habits of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes, all monsters and freaks, and all superstructures not in conformity with the socialist economic foundation of China. The brunt of their struggle has brought despondency to the class enemies and dealt heavy blows on old ideas, old culture and old customs and habits.

The revolutionary action of the Red Guards is a great development of the creative spirit of the proletariat.

Any revolutionary movement of the proletariat is necessarily a mass movement, a movement greatly developing the creative spirit of the proletariat. Without the creative spirit of the masses, there cannot be any great revolution, and it is not possible to crush the old world and to create a new world. This is especially true with the great proletarian cultural revolution which touches the souls of the people.

The creative spirit of the Red Guards owes its origin to the thought of Mao Tse-tung. They say: "We support and defend all things which are in conformity with the thought of Mao Tse-tung; we oppose and fight against all things which do not conform with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. This attitude will not change in one thousand years, in ten thousand years and forever."

With the thought of Mao Tse-tung, they dare to think, to speak out, to take action, to blaze trails, to make revolution and to carry out new undertakings of the proletariat which have never been done before. With the thought of Mao Tse-tung, they can correctly do things according to the policies of the Party, analyze everything and solve all problems.

In this great revolutionary struggle, the Red Guards have written a large number of illustrious good articles. A few of them have been selected and published here for the perusal of the broad reading public.

1. The Situation of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Is Good Indeed

How is the present situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China? In one word, it is good, very good, and better and better. Every revolutionary and every person with faith in the thought of Mao Tse-tung will give this answer without hesitation. Anyone who makes use of the thought of Mao Tse-tung to observe the situation will pay attention to new-born things and the development and growth of new-born forces. It is precisely those new-born things which regulate the development of the revolutionary situation, and it is precisely those new-born forces which impel history forward.

"The four seas roar with anger, and the five continents are rocked by thunder storms." These two immortal lines of a Chairman Mao's poem represent precisely a graphic portrayal of the present situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China.

After the 16-point decision was formulated and promulgated under the auspices of Chairman Mao and after Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms--Comrade Lin Piao--received the million strong revolutionary masses in person, a new upsurge of the great proletarian cultural revolution has been swept up within a short period of time. Like surging billows, the revolutionary movement of the masses is sweeping away all dikes and embankments standing in its way, is scouring away the accumulated filth in all dark corners and is rushing forward on a broad front.

The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the guiding thought of China's socialist revolution and construction, the theoretical basis of the proletarian revolution as well as the sole pointer which can be followed in our practice of the great cultural revolution. When the thought of Mao Tse-tung is used to comprehend the new situation and great changes in the current great cultural revolution, we would not be bewildered by their appearance, but would only feel that they are the inevitable outcome of the large-scale revolutionary movement of the masses.

Under the new situation, our great cultural revolution has engendered some salient new characteristics.

These new characteristics first find expression in that the scale of this movement is quite large and that the masses have really been aroused.

The proletarian revolution is a revolutionary movement of the masses with the broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, the revolutionary intellectuals, and the revolutionary cadres as the main forces. Whether or not the masses can be mobilized holds the key to the success or failure of the current great cultural revolution movement. Launched and led by Chairman Mao in person, the great cultural revolution has raged like fire through those conventional restrictions and quickly spread to all corners of society.

The aroused revolutionary emotions of the masses erupt in the same way as the eruption of molten lava from underground, throwing into flames those factions in power following the capitalist road and other monsters and freaks, setting ablaze capitalism, feudalism and revisionism which are opposed to the thought of Mao Tse-tung. The breadth and depth to which the masses of the people are presently aroused in the great proletarian cultural revolution of China are without parallel in the history of world revolution. This is an immense victory for Chairman Mao and the CCP Central Committee's brilliant strategic concept of trusting and relying upon the masses.

The new characteristics of the great proletarian cultural revolution also find expression in that revolutionary students, youths and teenagers and their "Red Guard," "Red Banner" and other revolutionary organizations have risen like dandelions in a spring lawn. They have become the vanguard of this great proletarian cultural revolution.

In the current great revolutionary movement which touches the souls of people, there have emerged a number of outstanding young leaders of the revolution. Galloping in the battlefield of class struggle and carrying all before them, they have formed an irresistible revolutionary onflow that brings despondency to the class enemies. What they have done has fully shown that they are a generation of new men nursed and brought up by the thought of Mao Tse-tung--the Red Guards of the proletariat to safeguard the CCP Central Committee, Chairman Mao and the revolutionary people as a whole. The Red Guards most ardently love Chairman Mao and are best able to heed what Chairman Mao and the Party say. Our great helmsman and tutor, Chairman Mao, has all along great regards for the unlimited strength and revolutionary spirit of the youths and teenagers. He said: "The youths stand for the most active and vital part of the whole strength of society. They are most willing to learn and have least conservative ideas. They are especially so in the socialist era." Due precisely to their reliance upon the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the Red Guards -- who were formerly the unknown revolutionary youths and teenagers -- have become trail-blazers in this great proletarian cultural revolution.

The new characteristics of the great proletarian cultural revolution also find expression in the development of struggle, criticism and rectification from school to society.

After the rally of one million revolutionary masses held on August 18 in Peking to mark the victory of the great cultural revolution, the violent impact of the wave of the great cultural revolution is being felt in all corners of society. Brimful of revolutionary enthusiasm, the revolutionary students--especially the Red Guards--have come out of their schools to spread the revolution in the streets and the markets. Large-character posters, handbills, proposals and various kinds of Red propaganda matter appear like snow flakes in the streets. With meetings held, associations formed and publications initiated, a delightful scene has appeared. The revolution to sweep away the "four old things" from the streets and markets is very good indeed. It is wrong to underrate the significance of such revolution and to depreciate its role. Such eradication of "four old things"

has energetically promoted the ideological revolutionization of man.

The favorable situation now prevailing in the great proletarian cultural revolution of China is the outcome of the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and the CCP Central Committee, the outcome of hundreds of millions of revolutionary people holding high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Our great cultural revolution is a new type of revolution carried out under new historical conditions. It has no old rules to follow, and it is inevitable that this or that kind of shortcomings and deficiencies will appear in this revolutionary mass movement. However, every revolutionary must notice that success is of primary importance and the main current is good while the shortcomings are of secondary importance and can be rectified under the guidance of the 16-point decision and through the practice of the movement. In order to carry out penetratingly, successfully and thoroughly this great proletarian cultural revolution, we must and can only depend upon the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Because of this, the basic problem lies in learning to master and apply the thought of Mao Tse-tung. This is the direction in which the efforts of the revolutionary masses and us Red Guards should be exerted. The Red Guards should become a big school for studying the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Only in this way can the Red Guards remain invincible forever and become a new generation of communists and the successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Dated September 1, 1966.

By the Red Guards of No 6 Middle School  
Peking Municipality

## 2. Firmly Implement the 16-Point Decision

Right now, the Red Guards, holding high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, are violently bombarding and battering the "four old things" with the might of rolling thunder that is capable of overthrowing a mountain and upsetting the sea. The tempest of this great revolutionary rebellion is very good indeed! The CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao have given us the most forceful encouragement and expressed their intimate concern for us. The broad masses of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres have hailed us in unison and given us their warm support.

Chairman Mao is the supreme commander of the Red Guards. The 16-Point Decision formulated under the personal auspices of Chairman Mao is the action program of the great proletarian cultural revolution. We Red Guards are best able to heed what Chairman Mao says. Every word and action of ours must be based upon the 16-Point Decision and we must carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

The 16-Point Decision says: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution and is also a question of the first importance for the great cultural revolution." Only the correct solution of this question can victoriously carry out this great cultural revolution that knows no parallel in history.

We Red Guards are the vanguard of this great cultural revolution, while the broad masses of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres are its main force. The handful of persons in power who follow the capitalist road within the Party and other anti-Party, antisocialist bourgeois rightists are our enemies. We must unite with the workers, peasants and soldiers, rally the majority, and ferociously attack with concentrated fire those monsters and freaks-- especially the factions in power who have sneaked into the Party and followed the capitalist road. If the major direction of this struggle were not grasped, we would commit very big mistakes and the enemies would take advantage of us.

It is necessary to draw a line of distinction between contradictions among the people and the contradictions between the enemies and ourselves. This question deserves to be called to the attention of all Red Guards and revolutionary comrades. According to the policies stipulated in the 16-Point Decision, we must use this sharpest weapon of class analysis to distinguish the two kinds of contradictions of different characters. Our struggle is not a struggle between the masses and the cadres but a struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist roads. We must knock down with resolve the handful of bourgeois rightists, with emphasis laid on attacking the factions in power who have sneaked into the Party and followed the capitalist road. It is a basic mistake to obliterate the class boundary and to knock down all factions in power. If this course of action is taken, we can only bring harm to the revolutionary cause to the glee of the class enemies. Therefore, we must draw a clear line of distinction between the enemies and ourselves before we can wage an accurate and severe struggle, before we really can unite the majority and isolate the anti-Party, antisocialist rightists to the maximum extent.

We Red Guards must lay hold of the major direction of the struggle, and knock down, overthrow and discredit by struggle the handful of anti-Party, antisocialist rightists who have sneaked into the Party. We must also study the method of struggle and elevate our fighting power. Under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship, the best and most effective method to wage struggle against them is to implement struggle in a civil way and not in a militant way--as Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught us.

Struggle in a civil way means making full use of such means as large-character posters and debates to carry out blossoming and contention in a big way, to launch struggle through reasoning, to elucidate the correct viewpoint, to criticize the erroneous views, and to expose all monsters and freaks. This calls for our making use of our tongues, pens and brains to give full play to the activism and creativeness of every revolutionary in struggle. The course of such a struggle is also the course for every revolutionary of ours to steel himself, to learn the way of doing things and to increase his knowledge, the course for him to get educated, to heighten his consciousness to distinguish between right and wrong and to draw a line of distinction between the enemies and ourselves. We should strive to learn to use this method of struggle.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a revolutionary undertaking

of the masses. The program guiding the great proletarian cultural revolution--the soul of the 16-Point Decision--calls for trusting and relying upon the masses, respecting the creative spirit of the masses, freely arousing the masses and leaving the masses to liberate themselves. The 16-Point Decision points out that the fate of this great cultural revolution will be determined by whether or not the leadership of the Party dares to arouse the masses.

The Red Guards are trail-blazers and the vanguard. They should set the example in rallying the masses to implement the 16-Point Decision and can never detach themselves from the broad masses. Marx said that the proletariat must liberate not only itself but mankind as a whole. If mankind as a whole cannot be liberated, the proletariat will be unable to liberate itself in the end. The Red Guards must be in close contact with the masses. They must participate in the great cultural revolution and must also rally the masses who do not belong to the Red Guards to participate in the great cultural revolution. The principal task of the Red Guards is to propagate the thought of Mao Tse-tung, to unite well the overwhelming majority of the masses in their own units, and to work in conjunction with them to make a thorough success of the great cultural revolution in their units according to the 16-Point Decision. The Red Guards must trust the masses, study problems and execute tasks together with the masses and strive to unite all forces that can be united. Only in this way can we genuinely unite the majority, and finally unite more than 95 per cent of the cadres and more than 95 per cent of the masses after the movement.

It should be our belief that due to Chairman Mao's teachings, the majority of the cadres are good or relatively good under ordinary circumstances, and only a handful of them are anti-Party, antisocialist rightists. In regard to those who have committed some mistakes and even serious ones but are not anti-Party, antisocialist rightists, after sternly criticizing them, we also must strive to win them over and to unite them.

The revolutionary ties between the various units are very good and are of great significance in impelling the development of the great proletarian cultural revolution. However, the great cultural revolution of various units in different places must be carried out by the masses of these units themselves before it can really be carried out successfully and thoroughly. Some people have no confidence in their ability to liberate themselves and always want to rely upon aid from outside. This is wrong. In order to look for experience that meets with one's own need, the chief way is to find it from the thought of Mao Tse-tung and through implementing the practice of the 16-Point Decision. One must blaze one's own trails and make rebellion to find one's method. Difficulties, lack of experience and twists and turns are good in one sense--they can steel man. Such an opportunity of steeling is difficult to obtain and must in no case be allowed to slip away.

The 16-Point Decision formulated under the personal auspices of Chairman Mao is the most powerful weapon of our great cultural revolution. It is precisely this 16-Point Decision which has dispelled the fog, set the bow of the boat in the right direction and brought about a new upsurge to the great cultural revolution. We must exert our utmost to study and master the

16-Point Decision, and at all times do things according to it. We must most enthusiastically propagate the 16-Point Decision so that it may be known to every household and penetrate deep into people's hearts. We must resolutely, thoroughly, seriously and completely implement the 16-Point Decision, most courageously defend it, and firmly fight against all acts that contravene it.

Let us, under the illumination of the radiance of the 16-Point Decision, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Dated September 13, 1966

by the Red Guards of the middle school  
attached to Tsinghua University

### 3. It Is Necessary to Insist on Waging Struggle in a Civil Way

The current situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution is very good indeed. The surging revolutionary onflow is dashing against all kinds of decadent ideology and is washing away the filth left over from the old world. The blazing fire of revolution is burning away the factions in power who follow the capitalist road within the Party and all monsters and freaks.

The broad masses of the revolutionary people and of the Red Guards, bringing into play the proletarian revolutionary spirit of daring to think, to speak out, to take action, to blaze trails, to make revolution and to stage rebellion, have done large numbers of good deeds, put forward plenty of good proposals and scored great victories. Their major direction is at all times correct.

Chairman Mao said: "The peasants are clear-sighted. Who is bad and who is not, who is the worst and who is not quite so vicious, who deserves severe punishment and who deserves to be let off lightly--the peasants keep clear accounts, and very seldom has the punishment exceeded the crime." Our broad masses of the revolutionary people and of the Red Guards are precisely like this.

In the course of waging this struggle, we have deeply understood that learning well and making good use of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, doing things according to the 16-Point Decision and the policies of the Party offer the solely reliable guarantee of thorough victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution and hold the key to the penetrating development of the movement.

Chairman Mao said: "Policy and strategy are the life of the Party." The policy of our Party is a concentrated representation of the basic interests of the proletariat and the revolutionary masses. We Red Guards must defend till death the life of the Party and the basic interests of the proletariat and the revolutionary masses.

Chairman Mao has taught us that in this struggle of the great cultural

revolution, "it is necessary to wage struggle in a civil way, not in a militant way." This is an important policy of the Party in the great proletarian cultural revolution. We must firmly carry out this policy.

Why must struggle be waged in a civil way and not in a militant way? The reason is that the great cultural revolution is principally a class struggle in the realm of ideology, a great revolution touching the souls of the people. To wage struggle in a civil way, what is most fundamental is to use the thought of Mao Tse-tung--the sharpest weapon--to carry out the class struggle in the realm of ideology, to solve ideological problems and to solve the question of the soul. Struggle in a militant way can only touch the outer flesh, and only struggle in a civil way can touch the soul.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the most powerful and effective weapon is the ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung. Only the use of this sharpest weapon--the thought of Mao Tse-tung--can "draw blood with bayonet" deep in the souls of the class enemies, expose the ugly features of the monsters and freaks in broad daylight and thoroughly criticize the crimes of those monsters and freaks against the Party, socialism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung, thus giving the broad masses a clear idea of their reactionary essence and eradicating their reactionary poison. Only the use of this sharpest weapon--the thought of Mao Tse-tung--can destroy the ideas of all exploiting classes, eradicate what is bourgeois and promote what is proletarian, realize the ideological revolutionization of man and thoroughly remove the root of revisionism. In order to solve these problems, it is necessary to depend upon waging struggle in a civil way and such means as blossoming and contention in a big way, large-character posters, big debates, big exposure and big criticism. It is also necessary to depend upon arousing the hundreds of millions of the revolutionary masses to brandish the heavy staff of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and to sweep away all monsters and freaks. Truth is on our side and we have the ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung. It is entirely possible for us to win with struggle in a civil way and to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Why must struggle be waged in a civil way and not in a militant way? The reason is that we are in power and the scepter of government is in our hands today! We hold the guns and the swords! Before liberation, when imperialism, the landlord class and the comprador-bourgeoisie were domineering over the people, their way to deal with the revolutionary people was to carry out highly inhuman massacre. The reason was they feared truth and revolution and they could not face the sun. Things have now been transposed and we have overthrown the enemies. We are still required to overthrow and destroy with thoroughness all enemies. We must eradicate not only the exploitation system and the exploiting classes, but also the ideologies of the exploiting classes. This is a protracted and arduous task which cannot be accomplished with struggle in a militant way. Under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship, by depending upon the revolutionary masses armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, outright victory can certainly be won with struggle in a civil way. Therefore, we must not assault the factions in power who follow the capitalist road, the reactionary academic authorities of the bourgeoisie, the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and rightists. We must wage struggle in a civil way. We must



fully reveal, penetratingly criticize and thoroughly expose their counter-revolutionary features, isolate them to the maximum extent, discredit them and bring them down by struggle for the education of the masses and our younger generation. At the same time, a way out must be found for them so that they can start with a clean slate.

It is definitely not out of leniency to the enemies that we advocate waging struggle in a civil way and not in a militant way. Quite on the contrary, what the enemies fear most is precisely our method of waging struggle in a civil way to unmask them step by step, to lay bare their souls, to expose their various plots and to bring them down in the real sense politically and ideologically, thus making them so stinking before the masses of the people that they can never stand on their feet and never can stage a comeback.

We must squarely tell all class enemies: It is under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship that we wage the struggle in a civil way with guns in our hands. If you dare to carry out class reprisal, to launch counterattack or to settle accounts in the reverse, we Red Guards and pickets are entirely empowered and have the obligation to join force with the revolutionary masses in helping the government suppress with firmness the counterattack of all class enemies.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, doing things according to the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the policies of the Party and the 16-Point Decision will never bind our hands and feet or restrict our revolution. On the contrary, the policies of the Party will lead our struggle to a higher plane, give us stronger fighting power and enable us to make a better job of the revolution. They will enable our movement to penetrate deeper and the great proletarian cultural revolution to be launched with greater success and thoroughness.

Dated September 15, 1966.

by Hsich'eng Ch'u Picket Unit  
of the Capital Red Guards

#### 4. Our Proposals

Chairman Mao taught us: "You must pay attention to State affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!" The representatives of the Red Guards throughout the country were again and again received in audience by Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms-- Comrade Lin Piao. This shows that the Party and Chairman Mao have pinned the greatest confidence and hope on us, and this is our greatest happiness. It has given us unlimited strength to draw on. We feel the more that our burden is heavy and that our task is arduous. We must hold higher the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, guard against arrogance and rashness, and further develop the proletarian revolutionary spirit of daring to think, to speak out, to take action, to blaze trails, to make revolution and to stage rebellion. We must defend till death the CCP Central Committee, Chairman Mao, the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system. We must firmly accomplish the task of "first,

struggle; second, criticism; third rectification" and firmly eradicate all old ideas, old culture, and old customs and habits. We will not rest without a complete victory.

To this end we put forward the following proposals:

(1) Chairman Mao is the red sun in our hearts and the thought of Mao Tse-tung is the root of our life. The Red Guards must firmly respond to the call of Comrade Lin Piao, read Chairman Mao's books, heed what Chairman Mao says, do things as directed by Chairman Mao, and be Chairman Mao's good fighters. We must regard Chairman Mao's books as the highest directives in all kinds of work. At all times, we must exert ourselves in studying these highest directives, honestly execute them, enthusiastically propagate them and courageously defend them.

(2) The Red Guards should set the example in implementing the guidelines and policies of the Party. The 16-Point Decision formulated under the personal auspices of Chairman Mao is the compass for us to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution. We must seriously study it, get well versed with it, master it, apply it, propagate it and defend it.

(3) We must learn from the Liberation Army in a big way. Like the Liberation Army, we must forever be loyal to the Party, to Chairman Mao, to the thought of Mao Tse-tung and to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. We must wholeheartedly serve the people and be the good children of the people the rest of our lives. We must follow the example of the Liberation Army, firmly implement the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention formulated by Chairman Mao, promote the "3-8" style of work in a big way, strictly abide by mass discipline, safeguard State property, and protect the interests of the masses. The Red Guards must be built into a highly organized and highly disciplined fighting unit with high political consciousness and the reliable reserve force of the Liberation Army.

(4) The 16-Point Decision points out: "This movement lays emphasis on purging the factions in power who follow the capitalist road within the Party." We must grasp the major direction of this struggle. Those factions in power who have wormed their way into the Party and are following the capitalist road--regardless of how high their offices are, how senior they are and how great their "authority" is--must all be dragged out and firmly struggled against till they stink and are knocked down and deposed, their reputation is dragged in the dust, and they can never stage a comeback.

(5) Chairman Mao taught us: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution." In the movement, we must pay attention to strengthening the Left, winning over the middle-of-the roaders, uniting the majority and hitting with concentrated strength a handful of bourgeois rightists.

(6) The fighters of the Red Guards must dare to struggle and be good in struggle. They must learn to swim by swimming and to make revolution in the revolution. They must wage struggle in a civil way, not in a militant way. Waging struggle in a militant way can only touch the outer flesh, but

struggle in a civil way can touch the soul. Only by waging struggle in a civil way can we fully reveal, penetratingly criticize and thoroughly expose the counterrevolutionary features of the bourgeois rightists, isolate them to the maximum extent, and really discredit them by struggle.

(7) Chairman Mao taught us: "There is no right to speak without making investigation." The fighters of the Red Guards must seriously carry out investigation and research work. In whatever thing we may come across, we must clarify the situation, analyze and study it in real earnest, and fully discuss it with the masses before we set out to deal with and solve the question.

(8) The fighters of the Red Guards must actively participate in the great proletarian cultural revolution of their own units and devote their main energy in making a success of the great proletarian cultural revolution in their own units. We trust ourselves, but must also trust the ability of the revolutionary masses of other units to liberate themselves and to carry the great cultural revolution through to the end in their own units under the leadership of the CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao.

(9) Chairman Mao said: "Troops must become one with the masses, and once they are regarded by the people as their own troops, they are invincible in the world." The Red Guards must get in close touch with the masses, learn from them and humbly heed what they say. They must seriously carry out criticism and self-criticism and accept the correct criticism of the masses.

(10) The Red Guards must learn from and exchange experience with each other. They must strengthen revolutionary unity on the basis of making concerted efforts to make a success of the principles of the great cultural revolution. When there are problems or when opinions differ, they must use the methods of conducting investigation and research and holding discussion on the basis of equality to solve same. On the premise that the major direction is in accord, they must not ceaselessly contend over side issues.

Fighters of the Red Guards, it is not an easy matter to make revolution and the road of revolution is zigzagging and uneven. In order to win victory, it is necessary to overcome all kinds of resistance and to surmount all difficulties. Though the resistance is great and there are numerous difficulties, they cannot block our way forward. They will steel us and enable us to acquire experience and learn lessons. Provided we steadfastly abide by the instructions of the CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao in work, never forget the class struggle, never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat, never forget to bring politics to the fore, and never forget to hold high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, all kinds of resistance will be overcome and all difficulties will be surmounted. We must carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end and we will certainly be able to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Dated September 6, 1966.

by Representatives of the Representative  
Conference of the Red Guards, Pohnsien,  
Anhui Province.

CSO: 3530-D



**CHOU YANG IS NOT ALLOWED TO ATTACK AND  
DISPARAGE LU HSÜN**

[Following is a translation of an article by Hsu Kuang-p'ing (6079 1684 1627) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 12, 17 September 1966, pages 28-37.]

Like the rolling thunder that can overthrow a mountain and upset the sea, the tide of the great proletarian cultural revolution is surging forward and is quickly spreading throughout the country. Holding high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, millions of workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres are waging a determined struggle against all monsters and freaks. In the literary and art circles, Chou Yang -- the big intriguer who waves a red banner to oppose the red banner and the ringleader of the black line in literature and art against the Party, socialism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung -- has finally been dragged out by the revolutionary masses. This is a great victory for the great cultural revolution, a great victory for the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

I

The black line in literature and art against the Party, socialism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung represented by Chou Yang and his ilk is a conglomeration of the bourgeois literary and art thought, the modern revisionist literary and art thought and the so-called literature and art of the thirties. The flagrant publicity and glorification of the so-called literary and art line of the thirties is a most important aspect of the treacherous activities of Chou Yang and company.

In order to publicize and extol their so-called literary and art line of the thirties and to raise the bourgeois and revisionist black line in literature and art of the thirties, they can do nothing else but to distort history, misrepresent history and falsify history through attacking and disparaging Lu Hsün.

The reason is that they were originally the villains in the thirties. In order to disguise arbitrarily villains as heroes -- and as heroes who are "consistently correct" -- how can they muddle through without basically distorting, misrepresenting and falsifying history?

They publicize and extol how "revolutionary" and "correct" their literary and art line of "the thirties" is. This is a lie made out of the whole cloth.

Throughout the thirties Chou Yang and his ilk implemented an opportunist line of literature and art which came under "Left" opportunism at the former stage and Right opportunism at the latter stage. At that time Lu Hsün -- as the standard bearer of the militant left-wing literature and art movement -- had made a penetrating exposure and criticism of the erroneous line represented by Chou Yang and his ilk.

As early as 1930, when Lu Hsün spoke at the inaugural meeting of the League of Left-Wing Writers, he had issued this warning: "My view is that, right now, it is very easy for 'left-wing' writers to turn and become 'right-wing' writers." (Collected Works of Lu Hsun, Vol. IV, People's Literature Publishing House, 1957 edition, p. 182) In 1932 Lu Hsün directly made a sharp criticism of Wen-hsüeh Yüeh-pao [Literature Monthly] edited by Chou Yang in an open letter to the latter entitled "Vituperation or Intimidation Is Definitely Not Fighting." In 1934 he pointed out in a letter that "the foundation of the League of Left-Wing Writers has not been good right from the beginning." He said: "So long as the quality is good, a small membership does not matter, but even this cannot be achieved at present." (Correspondence of Lu Hsün, last volume, People's Literature Publishing House, 1952 edition, p. 780)

Chou Yang and his ilk did not accept Lu Hsün's criticism. Instead they viciously laid a siege to Lu Hsün. In 1936, in accordance with the Wang Ming Right opportunist line, they put forward a capitulationist slogan -- which they called "literature for national defense" -- to oppose the revolutionary slogan of "popular literature for the national revolutionary war" advanced by Lu Hsün. Seeing that Chou Yang and his ilk went so far as to stand on the side of the class enemy to shoot poisonous arrows at him, Lu Hsün made known his complete break with them and refused to join their "Union of Writers and Artists."

I clearly remember the despicable and disgraceful conspiratorial activities which Chou Yang and his ilk carried out when Lu Hsün was still alive and which the latter experienced in person. During the period, although Lu Hsün was ill, he wrote many illustrious satirical essays and letters to wage struggle against Chou Yang and company's capitulationism until his heart ceased to beat.

Lu Hsün pointed out:

They utilized the names of "literature for national defense" and "Union of Writers and Artists" "to forge sins for other people and to abuse authority," "to lay a big siege," and "to attack me in a big way when I was in difficulty."

They "made grand talks in daytime but carried out plots to promote estrangement, provocation and split at night." (Collected Works of Lu Hsün, Vol. VI, People's Literature Publishing House, 1958 edition, pp. 431, 440)

They "made use of the banner as a tigerskin to wrap up themselves and to intimidate other people. When they were unable to have their way, they presumed on authority (!) to level charges against others, and such charges were dreadfully serious." "They were cross and tyrannical in the extreme." (Ibid., p. 439)

Lu Hsün pointed out with emphasis that the "guidance" of Chou Yang and company was at the root of all this. "They banded together for seditious purposes, manipulated the literary circles and made a mess of them." (Correspondence of Lu Hsün, last volume, p. 975)

Lu Hsün deeply detested such acts of treachery of Chou Yang and company. He said: "We have no fear for the enemy. What we fear most are the termites in our own camp. Many things are spoiled by them." (Ibid., p. 775)

Chou Yang and his ilk wormed their way into the revolutionary camp to carry out these conspiratorial activities in the thirties. They wrought serious harm to the left-wing literature and art movement represented by Lu Hsün and played a role which the Kuomintang reactionaries could not play.

The "theory" and practice of Chou Yang's capitulationist line of literature and art and the evil results it brought about aroused the great indignation of Lu Hsün. He said: "When I am a little better, I'll make more exposure." (Ibid., p. 975)

This was the stand and attitude adopted by Lu Hsün toward Chou Yang's capitulationist line of literature and art.

In regard to the struggle between the two lines -- with Lu Hsün on one side and Chou Yang on the other -- on the cultural front of the thirties, Chairman Mao had made a historical summation in "On New Democracy." Chairman Mao unambiguously pointed out: "The road Lu Hsün took was the very road of China's new national culture," This dealt the heaviest blow at the bourgeois and revisionist line of literature and art headed by Chou Yang.

## II

Chou Yang and his ilk knew that this passage of history which

could not be shown to people was very unfavorable to their activities for the restoration of capitalism. Therefore, they all along wanted to tamper with it and to reverse the judgment. After waiting for twenty-one years, they finally found an opportunity during the anti-rightist struggle in 1957.

In the anti-rightist struggle, Chou Yang and his ilk made use of the leading positions they had usurped in literary and art circles to cover up their own rightist political features. Flaunting the signboard of opposing rightist Feng Hsüeh-feng, they engineered a big plot to misrepresent history.

From June through August in 1957, the Party group of the Union of Chinese Writers called twenty-five enlarged meetings to criticize Ting Ling, Ch'en Ch'i-hsia, Feng Hsüeh-feng and other rightists. I was notified and asked to attend these meetings at that time. Now I want to make public the conspiratorial activities of Chou Yang and company at these meetings.

At the 17th meeting held on August 14, Hsia Yen delivered a long speech. In the name of criticizing Feng Hsüeh-feng, he first raised the question of the history of literary and art struggle and the contention of the two slogans in the thirties, thus firing the first volley against Lu Hsün.

It is now known that the meeting attacking Lu Hsün at that time was personally machinated by Chou Yang. At four o'clock in the afternoon on August 11, Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han and Shao Ch'üan-lin first went to have a talk with Feng Hsüeh-feng. In this talk, Chou Yang brought up the historical question of the literary and art struggle of the thirties. This was the beginning of Chou Yang's scheme to reverse the judgment against himself.

At the order of the commander-in-chief, Hsia Yen, Ch'en Huan-mei, Chou Li-po and others promptly rose as a group to sweep up a gust of black wind against Lu Hsün at the enlarged meeting of the Party group of the Union of Chinese Writers. They centered their attack on Lu Hsün's proletarian slogan -- "popular literature for the national revolutionary war" -- and his revolutionary essay -- "In Reply to Hsü Mou-yung and on the Question of United Front against Japan." Precisely because this slogan and essay of Lu Hsün's held high the revolutionary banner of the militant left-wing literature and art movement and hit the vital part of Chou Yang and company's capitulationist line of literature and art, they hated Lu Hsün to the bone.

Someone said that the August 14 speech of Hsia Yen was an "explosive incident." This was right in every respect. It was a reactionary "explosive incident" secretly plotted by Chou Yang and company. They wanted to blast away this revolutionary, militant banner of Lu Hsün's and to pave the way for them to realize the plot of restoring capitalism.



Hsia Yen assumed the look of "a victim" in his speech and made "accusations" against Lu Hsün. He said that when Feng Hsüeh-feng came to Shanghai from Wayaopao in 1936, "he first called on Mr. Lu Hsün," and "without finding out the views of Comrade Chou Yang and other Party members, told Hu Feng to put forward the slogan of 'popular literature for the national revolutionary war'" and "wantonly carried out criminal activities to split the left-wing cultural movement."

This was a rumor as well as an attack. How ferocious he looked!

This revolutionary slogan of the proletariat -- "popular literature for the national revolutionary war" -- was put forward by Lu Hsün in accordance with the CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao's policy of forming a united front for resistance against Japan. The allegation that Feng Hsüeh-feng "asked Hu Feng to put forward" this slogan was sheerly a malicious rumor and a treacherous method of deception adopted for the purpose of knocking down Lu Hsün. We want to ask Chou Yang and company: What right had you in forbidding Lu Hsün to put forward this slogan and what right had you in requiring Lu Hsün "to lend his ears" to your "views?" When you yourselves put forward such a capitulationist slogan as "literature for national defense," did you heed Lu Hsün's view? While you did not make revolution yourselves, why must you assume the airs of "Venerable Chao" and "phoney foreign devils" and forbid others to make revolution?

Hsia Yen vituperated Lu Hsün by insinuation for "wantonly carrying out criminal activities to split the left-wing cultural movement!" What kind of "Left" were you? By implementing what was advocated by the Wang Ming Right opportunist line, you had already become the right wing advocating capitulation to the big landlord and bourgeois classes. It was precisely you who "wantonly carried out criminal activities to split the left-wing cultural movement." The great standard bearer who really held high the great banner of the left-wing cultural movement was precisely Lu Hsün whom you attacked.

Hsia Yen also started a rumor saying that Lu Hsün's article, "In Reply to Hsü Mou-yung and on the Question of United Front against Japan," was written by Feng Hsüeh-feng in the name of Lu Hsün. He then attacked this article as "untrue both in detailed description and in content."

This was really too much! I lost my patience and said at the meeting at that time: "You have heaped all things not in conformity with facts on Lu Hsün!" I also explained: "I have sent this article to the Lu Hsün Museum, and all comrades can go there to take a look at it. The manuscript bears the writing of Lu Hsün and how could it have been published without his consent? After the publication of this article, had Lu Hsün made an announcement in the newspaper saying: 'This article was written by Feng Hsüeh-feng and not by me?'" In the collection of speeches of the meeting published afterward, however, for the sake of defrauding the Party

and the masses, all their speeches spreading rumors and attacking Lu Hsün were included, but my August 14 speech which discredited the rumors was left out.

Today, I want to discredit these rumors once again here.

At that time, although Lu Hsün was convalescing after a serious illness, yet he was very serious with the publication of the article, "In Reply to Hsü Mou-yung and on the Question of United Front Against Japan," which was a contention with Chou Yang and company on major issues of right and wrong. He was the author of the whole article and he carefully revised it. Moreover, four whole pages exposing the features of such capitulationists as Chou Yang and his ilk were personally written by him in sickbed. Normally, he wrote articles containing more than ten thousand words (e.g. Postscript to Talks on Quasi-Gaiety) in one stretch in the middle of the night. This time, because he was convalescing after a serious illness, he took three or four days to finish the article. After that I made out a clean copy of the article and sent it to Tso-chia [Writers] Monthly for publication. As usual, before the article was put into print, he carefully read over the proof once again and made some revisions. Later, Lu Hsün also told other people with excitement how this article was written. He said: "He (N.B. referring to Hsü Mou-yung) was well aware that I was sick and thought that I could not write. So he wrote a letter to give me a lecture and hoped that I could not reply to his attack. Therefore, I contrived to give him a reply. I wrote one to two thousand or two to three thousand words a day, and it took me four days to finish it. (In Memory of Mr. Lu Hsün, "Messages of Condolence," Vol. III, p. 105)

Hsia Yen attacked this article as "untrue both in detailed description and in content." He especially pointed out the section about "the four fellows" because it hurt Chou Yang, T'ien Han, Hsia Yen and Yang Han-sheng -- the four "supreme masters" of the black line in literature and art of the thirties. This section was personally written by Lu Hsün!

In his speech Hsia Yen also directly slurred Lu Hsün as "ideologically antagonistic" to the Party policy of forming a united front for resistance against Japan. This was entirely a misrepresentation of things seeking to return the blow, and the object was to cover up their own capitulationism. I very clearly remember that when Lu Hsün learned of Chairman Mao's advocacy for the formation of a united front for resistance against Japan in the summer of 1936, he submitted with good grace and entirely accepted Chairman Mao's great directive. He felt that with such a great leader, there was no difficulty which could not be surmounted in China. It was precisely under such a circumstance that he put forward the correct slogan of "popular literature for the national revolutionary war" which was antithetic to Chou Yang and company's capitulationist slogan of "literature for national defense." What Lu Hsün persisted in was the revolutionary line of forming a national

united front for resistance against Japan as formulated by the CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao. It was precisely the line of class capitulation represented by Chou Yang, Hsia Yen and other persons which really contravened the Party policy of forming a united front for resistance against Japan.

After Hsia Yen spoke, Chou Yang's followers delivered speeches one after another in a series of meetings that followed. They viciously attacked Lu Hsün in concert, and at the same time, they lauded to the skies the black line in literature and art of the thirties headed by Chou Yang. According to their speeches, Chou Yang was "the Party." Those who opposed Chou Yang were opposed to the Party! Those who "ran counter to the line of literature and art led by Comrade Chou Yang" were "opposed to the literary and art line of the Party!?" They could ignore and oppose the directives of the CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao, but they regarded the Right opportunist views of Wang Ming and Chou Yang as Imperial decrees and the God.

At one meeting they said: It is said that Comrades Chou Yang, Shao Ch'uan-lin and Lin Mo-han form one line. They really are. But this is a red line -- the political line and organizational line of the Party manifested through Chou Yang and other comrades.

This was a voluntary confession. They really formed one line. However, it was not a "red line," not "the political line and organizational line of the Party," but a black line, the political line and organizational line of Wang Ming's opportunism, a black line against the Party and the thought of Mao Tse-tung!

This session lasted until September 16. At the end of the session Chou Yang summed up this big conspiracy to misrepresent history. He said: "The sectarian blow dealt by Feng Hsüeh-feng in 1936 at the underground Party organization of Shanghai led to the split of the revolutionary literary and art cause at that time. This was an act that seriously undermined the principles of the Party and damaged the interests of the revolution."

Superficially, Chou Yang was reproaching rightist Feng Hsüeh-feng, but actually he was reproaching Lu Hsün. They were like the red-faced character fighting the white-faced character on the stage, and after staging the fight they retired to the back of the stage and were members of the same family. All of them were bourgeois revisionists and they all opposed the literary and art line of Chairman Mao.

We saw a clearer picture of this after the meeting.

As soon as the meeting was over, Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han and Shao Ch'uan-lin collaborated with rightist Feng Hsüeh-feng -- whom they had just "criticized" -- to plot the annotation of "In Reply to Hsü Mou-yung and on the Question of United Front Against Japan." Rightist Feng Hsueh-

feng was entrusted by Chou Yang and company with the drafting of this annotation to misrepresent history. The name of Feng Hsueh-feng was openly printed on the letter issued on October 19, 1957, in the name of "People's Literature Publishing House." The letter said:

Herewith draft annotations to Lu Hsün's three books -- Satirical Essays of Ch'ieh-chieh Pavilion, Vols. I, II and III -- for your perusal. The annotation to "In Reply of Hsü Mou-yung and on the Question of United Front against Japan" in Vol. III has been drafted by Comrade Feng Hsüeh-feng after criticizing the Ting Ling-Ch'en Ch'i-hsia anti-Party group. Please state your view after perusal so that revisions can be made in accordance with your recommendations.

The cat was out of the bag! Chou Yang and Feng Hsüeh-feng were badgers from the same mound, and Chou Yang's object in reproaching Feng Hsüeh-feng was to attack Lu Hsün. Therefore, although the sound of denunciation was still ringing, they had promptly joined hands to prosecute the common venture against Lu Hsün.

After the annotation to misrepresent history -- which Feng Hsüeh-feng drafted -- was carefully revised by Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han and Shao Ch'üan-lin, it was finally sent back for Feng Hsüeh-feng's perusal. In a letter to Wang Shih-ch'ing, Shao Ch'üan-lin wrote:

The annotation to the article in reply to Hsü Mou-yung in the Collected Words of Lu Hsün has been revised by me together with Comrades Chou Yang and Lin Mo-han. The draft is with Comrade Lin Mo-han. After you get it back, please make out a copy for Feng Hsüeh-feng.

Was not Feng Hsüeh-feng's relationship with Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han and Shao Ch'üan-lin very clear? There might be various contradictions between them, but they were entirely in accord in their opposition to Lu Hsün and the proletarian revolutionaries.

In order to cover up their plot to misrepresent history, when Chou Yang and company selected letters for Collected Works of Lu Hsün, Vols. IX and X, which were published by People's Literature Publishing House in October, 1958, they removed all important letters criticizing the slogan of "literature for national defense" and exposing the ugly capitulationist and sectarian features of Chou Yang and company -- which were formerly included in the Correspondence of Lu Hsün edited by me. This was done to eradicate the damning evidence of their crimes -- falsification of history, disparagement of Lu Hsün and self-laudation.

It is now known that Lin Mo-han, No. 2 man of Chou Yang and company, was responsible for this performance. Through Wang Jen-shu (i.e., Pa Jen) who worked in the People's Literature Publishing House at that time, Lin Mo-han instructed Wang Shih-ch'ing in this way:

Concerning the question of the two slogans, the situation of the

literary and art circles in Shanghai was rather complicated at that time, and some persons made use of the controversy over these two slogans to attack Comrade Chou Yang. Therefore, all letters bearing on the question of the two slogans ought not be included.

This was of course private talk which could not be brought under the sun. Therefore, they displayed on the surface the signboard that "ordinary letters are not included" to defraud people.

### III

Chou Yang and company carried out many criminal activities for the purpose of attacking and disparaging Lu Hsün. Let us give here another outstanding example -- the control exercised by Chou Yang and company over the creation of a scenario for Story of Lu Hsün.

In March, 1961, when Chou Yang gave a talk to the scriptwriters of Story of Lu Hsün, he did all he could to pull down Lu Hsün and to elevate himself politically.

Chou Yang said that "Lu Hsün was after all not a political activist" and that "he had not thrown himself into the vortex of political struggle." He said: "Let us lay emphasis on portraying his activities as a writer with revolutionary activities taken as his inner, spiritual response. It is difficult to portray him as directly linked with revolutionary activities because this is in contravention with history in the first place and will render Lu Hsün passive in the second place."

Who was, after all, "in contravention with history?" He was none other than Chou Yang himself.

The life of Lu Hsün was revolutionary and militant. He went through the two historical stages of old democratic revolution and new democratic revolution. At each stage, he moved forward with the times and all along stood at the forefront of the political struggle. It won't do for Chou Yang to obliterate this.

In "On New Democracy" Chairman Mao said:

"The chief commander of China's cultural revolution, Lu Hsün was not only a great man of letters but a great thinker and revolutionary." (Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. II, People's Publishing House, 2nd edition, 1952, p. 691)

Chou Yang and company said that "Lu Hsün was after all not a political activist" and that "he had not thrown himself into the vortex of political struggle." Was not their disparagement directly opposite to Chairman Mao's evaluation of Lu Hsün? Lu Hsün was really not a No. 1 bourgeois "political activist" as Chou Yang is and had really not thrown himself into their capitulationist "vortex!" Lu Hsün was a great political

activist of the proletariat, a fighter who breached and stormed the enemy citadel and stood on the forefront of the revolution. As Chairman Mao said:

Representing the great majority of the nation, Lu Hsün breached and stormed the enemy citadel; on the cultural front he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel in our history. (Ibid.)

It was precisely for the sake of covering up their own features as bourgeois politicians favoring capitulation and compromise that Chou Yang and company were opposed to the portrayal of proletarian politician Lu Hsün. They rejected the political standing of Lu Hsün in the history of Chinese revolution so that they might elevate themselves and disguise themselves as out-and-out "Marxists" -- as though they were qualified to indoctrinate Lu Hsün. When Lu Hsün was still alive, they tried to indoctrinate him but were given a hard blow. After Lu Hsün's death, they still wanted to make use of the opportunity of shooting the Story of Lu Hsün to disparage him. How vicious the hearts of Chou Yang and company were!

Chou Yang and company also made every endeavor to oppose the portrayal of Lu Hsün's relationship with the Party and of Chairman Mao's great influence on Lu Hsün. Lu Hsün's relationship with the Party was most intimate. When he was in Peking, he was in close contact with Comrade Li Ta-chao, one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party. When he was in Canton, he held secret interviews with the responsible personages of the Party in Kwangtung at that time.

What is worthy of special mention is that although Lu Hsün in his lifetime was unable to meet our great leader, Chairman Mao, yet he voiced warm support for and expressed deep conviction in the brilliant and wise leadership of Chairman Mao.

After hearing Chairman Mao's policy concerning the formation of a united front for resistance against Japan, Lu Hsün stated that this policy "is known to and supported by me, and I unconditionally join this front." (Collected Works of Lu Hsün, Vol. VI, p. 431) At the same time, he also clearly expressed his firm opposition to the capitulationist line of Chou Yang and company.

In the summer of 1936, Lu Hsün suddenly received a letter which wantonly attacked the anti-Japanese policy of the Party and maliciously provoked Lu Hsün's relationship with the Party. From this letter, he had discerned the opinion and view of the Trotskyites. On July 7 he clearly wrote in his diary: "I received a letter from Ch'en Chung-shan. He is a Trotskyite." In his "Reply to the Trotskyites," he thoroughly refuted their counterrevolutionary fallacy. In this letter he mentioned the great leader Chairman Mao with revolutionary feelings marked by unlimited reverence and ardent love. He said: "I must regard as comrades and take pride in those who shed blood and fight for the survival of the Chinese people in a down-to-earth manner." (Ibid., p. 474)

Inspired by the great revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people under the leadership of Chairman Mao, Lu Hsün waged a resolute struggle against the counterrevolutionary campaigns of cultural "encirclement and suppression" and against the capitulationists who had wormed their way into the revolutionary camp. Chairman Mao said: "Lu Hsün, who believed in communism, became the giant of China's cultural revolution." (Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. II, p. 695) Chairman Mao rated very high the spirit manifested by Lu Hsün in the struggle -- "Fierce-browed, I coolly defy a thousand pointing fingers, Head-bowed, like a willing ox I serve the children." He said:

All Communists, all revolutionaries, all revolutionary literary and art workers should learn from the example of Lu Hsün and be "oxen" for the proletariat and the masses, bending their backs to the task until their dying day. (Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. III, People's Publishing House, 2nd edition, 1953, p. 878)

Chou Yang forbade the portrayal of Lu Hsün's relationship with the Party and of Chairman Mao's influence on Lu Hsün. He talked such nonsense as that with the Party portrayed, Lu Hsün's "own search and struggle would be weakened!" He distorted the image of Lu Hsün, a great communist, as a bourgeois man of letters who detached himself from the leadership of the Party and the masses to indulge in personal search and personal struggle. This was the criminal design of Chou Yang and company! Chou Yang even frantically clamored: "Hear not that when things are portrayed in this way, some people will say that the influence of the Party is not enough, that Chairman Mao has not been mentioned, etc." This has completely exposed his political features against the Party and Chairman Mao.

#### IV

The object of Chou Yang and company in falsifying the history of the struggle between the two lines on the literary and art front in the thirties was of course not merely for the sake of knocking down Lu Hsün. What was more important was to oppose the ever-victorious great thought of Mao Tse-tung, to extol Wang Ming's opportunist line, and to prepare public opinion for realizing the restoration of capitalism.

On May 8, 1958, Lin Mo-han sent a letter to Wang Jen-shu and other persons. The text of the letter is as follows:

I'll leave for other places for a while tomorrow. There are several things which I ought to inform you.

(1) Concerning the publication of collected works or selected works of writers since the May 4 Movement, Comrade Chou Yang is of the opinion that there should be a general plan to govern which ought to be published and which ought not to be published or ought to be published at later dates. Please discuss the matter. The collected works of Yü Ta-fu

can be published later and it would do to publish first some selected works of his.

(2) We have enjoined the Research Institute of Literature to compile a series of celebrated works of world literature and a series of books on literary and art theories. These two series of books ought to be published by the Literature Publishing House. As to how such work should be carried out and how the publishing house should collaborate with the research institute, this ought to be discussed. Comrade Chou Yang plans to discuss the above matters with the comrades concerned. Please remind him of this in case he forgets.

(3) Concerning data for the polemic on literature, it is also necessary to send hasteners to the writers of such manuscripts.

It can be seen from this letter and subsequent facts what Chou Yang and company were doing during the upsurge of the great leap forward throughout the country after attacking and disparaging Lu Hsün, and distorting and falsifying history.

First, large numbers of the works of the "supreme masters" of the opportunist line of literature and art of the thirties were published. Under the direction of Chou Yang and Lin Mo-han, the market was flooded with the collected works of T'ien Han, Hsia Yen and Yang Han-sheng, "plays for national defense," "films for national defense" and "poetry for national defense." Furthermore, through "prefaces," "postscripts," "editor's notes," etc., the bourgeois works of literature and art of the thirties were vociferously lauded as "also of universal and typical significance today!" The bourgeois men of letters of the thirties were lauded and extolled as "outstanding writers," "prophets of the times" who "appeared like comets in the republic of letters of that time," "shared breathing and destinies with the working people" and "made immortal contributions!" Chou Yang and company frenziedly lauded and extolled "the thirties" in this way because they attempted to use the bourgeois line of literature and art of the thirties to resist the proletarian line of literature and art formulated by Chairman Mao.

Second, large numbers of bourgeois and revisionist things of the West were published for propagating bourgeois literary and art theories against the thought of Mao Tse-tung on literature and art. In literary and art commentaries and in things taught in the faculty of art in universities, Belinsky, Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov, and even Plato and Aristotle were regarded as "supreme authorities!" Chou Yang and company intended to mold the younger generation in their own likeness to become successors to the bourgeoisie.

Third, through publishing the Data of the Polemic on Literature, they vainly attempted to misrepresent further the history of the struggle between the two lines on the cultural front in the thirties, to attack Lu Hsün and to overthrow Chairman Mao's historical summation of the



struggle between the two lines on the cultural front.

What a venomous program for the restoration of capitalism! Was there still a wee bit of the shadow of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and of serving socialism in the brains of Chou Yang and company? It looked as though they were so exalted at that time that they really thought they could "speed up" things in a big way. However, when things are at their worst, they begin to mend. It was precisely because of this that they had "speeded up" the thorough exposure of their own revisionist features.

According to my knowledge, following this, they also carried out many criminal activities to laud and extol Wang Ming's opportunist line, to oppose the thought of Mao Tse-tung and to restore capitalism. For example:

On March 2, 1960, the editorial departments of Wen-hsueh P'ing-lun [Literary Review] and Wen-i Pao [Literary and Art Journal] were directed by Chou Yang to convene jointly a symposium to mark the 30th anniversary of the founding of the "League of Left-Wing Writers." Reports and articles were published by Wen-i Pao. The reports went so far as to say: "We began to make preparations for the League of Left-Wing Writers in the autumn of 1929, and the organization was inaugurated in March 1930. It was voluntarily dissolved early in 1936, and the organization of the united front for resistance against Japan was set up in the literary and art circles. At all times activities were launched under the strong leadership of the Party." -- "It held high the banner of revolutionary literature of the proletariat." -- "It vested leadership over culture and art in the hands of the Left under the leadership of the Party." They simply had lauded to the skies the opportunist line of Wang Ming and Chou Yang.

As early as March 14, 1956 (i.e., immediately after the 20th Congress of the CPSU), Chou Yang -- an old hand in tempering with history -- declared: "Many of our comrades regard the Yen-an forum on literature and art as the beginning of the new literature and art movement. This is a mistake. What is especially wrong is that some people think that only those from the old liberated area represent the orthodox thought. In point of fact, whence came the forum on literature and art?" In July, 1961, he again said: "No great writers appeared during the period of old democracy. Many great writers appeared during the period of new democracy. Great writers also did not appear after the 'Talks'."

By flagrantly attacking Chairman Mao in this way, the object of Chou Yang was to appoint his own men as "orthodox" "great writers" and "great theoreticians" so that their big conspiracy to restore capitalism might be realized.

During the same period, Chou Yang and company also shot films in a planned manner to publicize and extol the black line in literature and

art of the thirties. For example, they shot in 1959 Lin's Shop and in 1963 through 1964 Early Spring in February and Sisters of the Stage -- all of which were big poisonous weeds publicizing and extolling "the thirties." This was an important component of their activities against the Party, socialism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Through rewriting the history of literature, compiling the history of motion pictures and other criminal activities, Chou Yang and company went all-out to tamper with the history of the thirties for the purposes of erecting monuments for themselves and manufacturing "bases" for pushing through their bourgeois, revisionist line in literature and art of the thirties. In this connection, some other comrades have written articles to expose them.

During the thirties the struggle between Lu Hsün and Chou Yang was one between the proletarian line of literature and art and the bourgeois line of literature and art. Chairman Mao had long ago scientifically summed up this struggle. It was 28 years ago counting from the 6th Plenum of the 6th CCP Central Committee -- 26 years counting from the "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" -- that Chairman Mao made a thorough criticism of the bourgeois line in literature and art of the thirties. Chou Yang and his ilk heard such criticism themselves. They ostensibly pretended to accept Chairman Mao's criticism but actually rejected it. At all times, they refused to remold their bourgeois world outlook and to implement Chairman Mao's literary and art line. They stubbornly insisted on the bourgeois, revisionist line in literature and art. They harbored resentment against Chairman Mao's criticism and launched frenzied counterattacks whenever opportunities arose.

Chou Yang and company made use of their own leading positions which they had usurped in literary and art circles, and consistently carried out criminal activities against the Party and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. When Chairman Mao urged that less publicity be given to "stereotyped things of foreign origin," they deliberately gave greater publicity to same. When Chairman Mao called for the orientation of "literature and art to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers," they deliberately opposed placing literature and art in the service of the workers, peasants and soldiers and gave wide publicity to "literature and art of the whole people." When Chairman Mao pointed out that Lu Hsün was "the greatest and bravest standard bearer of the new cultural army," they deliberately attacked Lu Hsün's "sectarianism." They attacked Lu Hsün in order to attack the thought of Mao Tse-tung and to vent their resentment against Chairman Mao.

Chou Yang and his ilk who are opposed to the Party, socialism and thought of Mao Tse-tung have made maximum use of their double-dealing tactics before the Party and the people. Openly they are with us but secretly they are against us. They pretend to observe all orders but secretly acted against them. They slander other persons behind their

backs. They are a group of conspirators against the Party and the people.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has completely exposed Chou Yang and his revisionist crew in broad daylight. From the thirties through the sixties, they called in renegades and gathered together rebels in the literary and art circles, made every endeavor to enlarge their ranks, sang tunes opposite to the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, and frantically opposed our wise Party Center and Chairman Mao. Their conspiracy against the Party and the people has now been thoroughly crushed. We must hail in one voice:

Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the thought of Mao Tse-tung!

- END -

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