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No. 2, 1967

- Communist China -

No. 46

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This serial publication contains translations of articles from the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No. 2, 1967. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article. This completes the translation of Hung-ch'i, No. 2, 1967.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Message of Greetings to Revolutionary Rebel Organizations in Shanghai	1
Take Firm Hold of the Revolution, Promote Production and Utterly Smash the New Counter-Attack Launched by the Bourgeois Reactionary Line	3
Revolutionary Workers of Newspapers Send Telegram Saluting Chairman Mao	8
32 Shanghai Revolutionary Rebel Organizations Issue "Urgent Notice"	10
Shanghai Revolutionary Rebels Launch Major Attack on Bourgeois Reactionary Line	17
Shanghai Revolutionary Rebel Organizations Send Telegram Saluting Chairman Mao	21

	<u>Page</u>
· Letter Saluting Chairman Mao	24
Oppose Economism and Smash the Latest Counter-Attack by the Bourgeois Reactionary Line	27
Proletarian Revolutionaries, Unite	32
Thoroughly Smash the New Counter-Attack of the Bourgeois Reactionary Line	38
I Firmly Put in Check the Evil Wind of Economism	41
Money Cannot Change Our Will to Rebel	43
Resolutely Oppose Economism	45
Proletarian Dictatorship and Proletarian Extensive Democracy	48
First Step in Forming One with the Workers	53

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS TO REVOLUTIONARY REBEL
ORGANIZATIONS IN SHANGHAI

- From the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee -

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 2, 16 January 1967, pages 2-3.]

To the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters and 31 other revolutionary mass organizations:

Your "Urgent Notice" issued on 9 January 1967, is indeed excellent. The guiding principles which you have put forward and the actions you have taken are entirely correct.

You have held aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. You are models in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works.

You have taken a firm stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. You have seen through and exposed in time the schemes of the bourgeois reactionary line in starting a new counter-attack and have launched a forceful counter-offensive.

You have upheld the dictatorship of the proletariat, persisted in the general direction of socialism and put forward the fighting task of opposing the economism of counter-revolutionary revisionism.

You have formulated a correct policy in accordance with Chairman Mao's principle of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production."

You have brought about a great alliance of the proletarian revolutionary organizations and become the nucleus uniting all revolutionary forces. You have taken firmly in your hands the destiny of the proletarian dictatorship, the destiny of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the destiny of the socialist economy.

Your revolutionary actions have set a brilliant example for the working class and all laboring people and the revolutionary masses throughout the country.

We hereby call on Party, Government, Army and civilian circles, on the workers, peasants, revolutionary students, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres throughout the country to learn from the experience of the revolutionary rebel groups in Shanghai, to take concerted action and to beat back the new counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line, so as to ensure that the great proletarian cultural revolution will forge ahead triumphantly along the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

The Central Committee of the
Chinese Communist Party

The State Council

The Military Commission of the
Central Committee of the
Chinese Communist Party

The Cultural Revolution Group
Under the Central Committee
of the Chinese Communist
Party

11 January 1967

CSO: 3530-D

TAKE FIRM HOLD OF THE REVOLUTION, PROMOTE PRODUCTION
AND UTTERLY SMASH THE NEW COUNTER-ATTACK LAUNCHED
BY THE BOURGEOIS REACTIONARY LINE

- Message to All Shanghai People -

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 2, 16 January 1967, pages 4-6.]

Jen-min Jih-pao editor's note: The "Message to All Shanghai People," published in the Shanghai Wen-hui Pao on 5 January, is an extremely important document. It holds high the great red banner of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and sounds a clarion call to continue the vigorous counter-offensive upon the bourgeois reactionary line. It resolutely responds to Chairman Mao's great call to take firm hold of the revolution and promote production and raises the current key question in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This question does not just concern Shanghai alone but the whole country as well.

With the growth of the revolutionary forces in Shanghai, the Wen-hui Pao and Chieh-fang Jih-pao have appeared as two completely new and revolutionary newspapers. They are products of the victory of the proletarian revolutionary line over the bourgeois reactionary line. This is a great event in the history of the development of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China. This is a great revolution. This great event will certainly play a tremendous role in pushing ahead the development of the movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution throughout east China and in all the cities and provinces in other parts of the country.

Under the guidance of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, the great proletarian cultural revolution has won tremendous victories in the mass movement over the last few months to criticize the bourgeois reactionary line. We have entered the year

1967 to the sound of militant songs of triumph. It was pointed out in the New Year's day editorial of the Jen-min Jih-pao and the journal Hongqi: "1967 will be a year of all-round development of class struggle throughout China. It will be a year in which the proletariat, united with other sections of the revolutionary masses, will launch a general attack on the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road, and on the ghosts and monsters in society. It will be a year of even more penetrating criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line and elimination of its influence. It will be a year of decisive victory in carrying out the struggle [to overthrow 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 not in correspondence with the socialist economic base]." In other words, it will be a year in which the bourgeois reactionary line will totally collapse and disintegrate completely, a year in which the great proletarian cultural revolution will win a great victory of decisive importance.

The broad revolutionary masses of Shanghai have also won an initial victory in the struggle to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line followed by a handful of people within the Party in the Shanghai area and have carried the struggle to a deeper and broader new stage.

The mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution in our Shanghai factories is surging forward vigorously, smashing through all resistance with the might of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt. We, workers of the revolutionary rebel groups, follow Chairman Mao's teachings most closely and resolutely carry out the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" advanced by Chairman Mao himself. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work." We of the revolutionary rebel groups clearly understand that if the great proletarian cultural revolution is not carried out well, we will lose our orientation in production and slide back in the direction of capitalism. What we ourselves have experienced in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution has increasingly proved to us that only if the great proletarian cultural revolution is carried out well, will production develop on a still greater scale. Any idea of counterposing the great cultural revolution to the development of production is erroneous.

However, a handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and those who obstinately follow the bourgeois reactionary line have a bitter hatred for the great proletarian cultural revolution. They have been trying by every means to resist the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" put forward by Chairman Mao. Their schemes and devices may be summarized in the following ways:

At the beginning of the movement, they used the pretext of "taking firm hold of production" to repress the revolution and oppose taking firm hold of the revolution. When we workers of the revolutionary rebel groups wanted to rise up in revolution and criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, they used the tasks of production to bring pressure to bear on the workers and tagged us with the label of "sabotaging production." Did they really want to "take firm hold of production?" No, they wanted to defend their own positions and attempted to obstruct our revolution. We exposed their schemes and rose up bravely in rebellion.

Then they resorted to another trick, that is, they played with high-sounding revolutionary words, giving the appearance of being ultra "Left" in order to incite large numbers of members of the Workers' Red Militia Detachments whom they have hoodwinked to undermine production and sabotage transport and communications under the pretext of going north to "lodge complaints." They did this to attain their aim of undermining the great proletarian cultural revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. More recently, a handful of reactionary elements were even plotting to cut off water and electricity supplies and bring public transport to a standstill. We must drag out these reactionary elements and exercise proletarian dictatorship over them, punish them severely and never allow them to succeed in their criminal schemes.

Comrade revolutionary workers! Go into action at once! Resolutely carry out the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" advanced by Chairman Mao! We, workers of the revolutionary rebel groups, must become models in "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production." We must serve as the vanguards and the backbone not only in taking firm hold of the revolution, but also in promoting production. Our city of Shanghai, China's biggest industrial producer, plays an extremely important role in the overall economic life of the country. But lately, in many factories and plants, it has occurred that some or even the majority of the members of the Red Militia Detachments have suspended production and deserted their posts in production. This runs directly counter to the stipulation by the Party Central Committee on taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production and directly affects the people's livelihood and the development of national economic construction. We, workers of the revolutionary rebel groups, bearing in mind the teachings of Chairman Mao, have stood our ground in the face of this adverse current, have given proof of our high sense of revolutionary responsibility, and, under extremely difficult conditions, have shouldered all the production tasks of our factories and plants, thus dealing a telling blow against the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, and smashing the big plot whereby they have attempted to thwart the revolution by sabotaging production. The actions of these workers are correct and splendid! All of us comrades of the revolutionary rebel groups should learn from them. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports." We, workers of the revolutionary rebel groups, have the lofty

aspiration, the determination and the strength to do still better in both the revolution and production and to carry out Chairman Mao's great call for "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production."

Masses of class brothers of the Workers' Red Militia Detachments who want to make revolution! "Taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" is a policy put forward by Chairman Mao, a policy stressed time and again by the Party Central Committee, an important policy which guarantees the carrying through to the end of the great proletarian cultural revolution. To support or not to support, to carry out or not to carry out this policy is itself a matter of principle, a cardinal issue of right and wrong. In allowing yourselves to be incited by those people and by deserting your posts in production, whose interests are you serving? By acting in this way, whose hearts, after all, are you gladdening and whose are you saddening? We hope that you will follow Chairman Mao's teachings, that, on this important question of principle, you will see things more clearly, make a clear distinction between right and wrong, stop being deceived, wake up quickly, return to your posts in production, and return to the proletarian revolutionary line. We, comrades of the revolutionary rebel groups, will certainly welcome you back warmly to make revolution along with us and improve production with us. There is no question of our reprimanding you, because we are all close class brothers, and because the overwhelming majority of you are victims of the poison of the bourgeois reactionary line, are revolutionary masses who have been hoodwinked by those within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and by those who are stubbornly following the bourgeois reactionary line.

All revolutionary students and revolutionary government cadres of the city! Let us closely unite with the masses of revolutionary workers, and in order to carry out resolutely the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" put forward by Chairman Mao, let us undertake widespread propaganda work and struggle, open fire fiercely and with still greater resolve at the bourgeois reactionary line, crush all new counter-attacks by the bourgeois reactionary line and launch a new upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution in the factories and plants!

In the radiance of the boundless brilliance of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, we look towards the future and see the splendid and magnificent prospect of the revolution. We the working class, poor and lower-middle peasants, and all working people must unite with the revolutionary students, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres, must make a common effort, fight shoulder to shoulder and continue our victorious advance so as to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the red sun in our hearts, the greatest leader Chairman Mao and long life, long, long life to him!

The Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel
General Headquarters

The Red Guards' Revolutionary Committee of
the Colleges and Universities of Shanghai

The "Rebel to the End" General Liaison Head-
quarters of Shanghai

The Revolutionary Rebel Committee of the
Shanghai Journalists

The "Bombard the Headquarters" United Corps
of Shanghai

"The East is Red" Corps of Tongji University

The "Rebel to the End" Corps of the Shanghai
Jiaotong University

The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Third
Headquarters of the Red Guards of the
Capital (Peking)

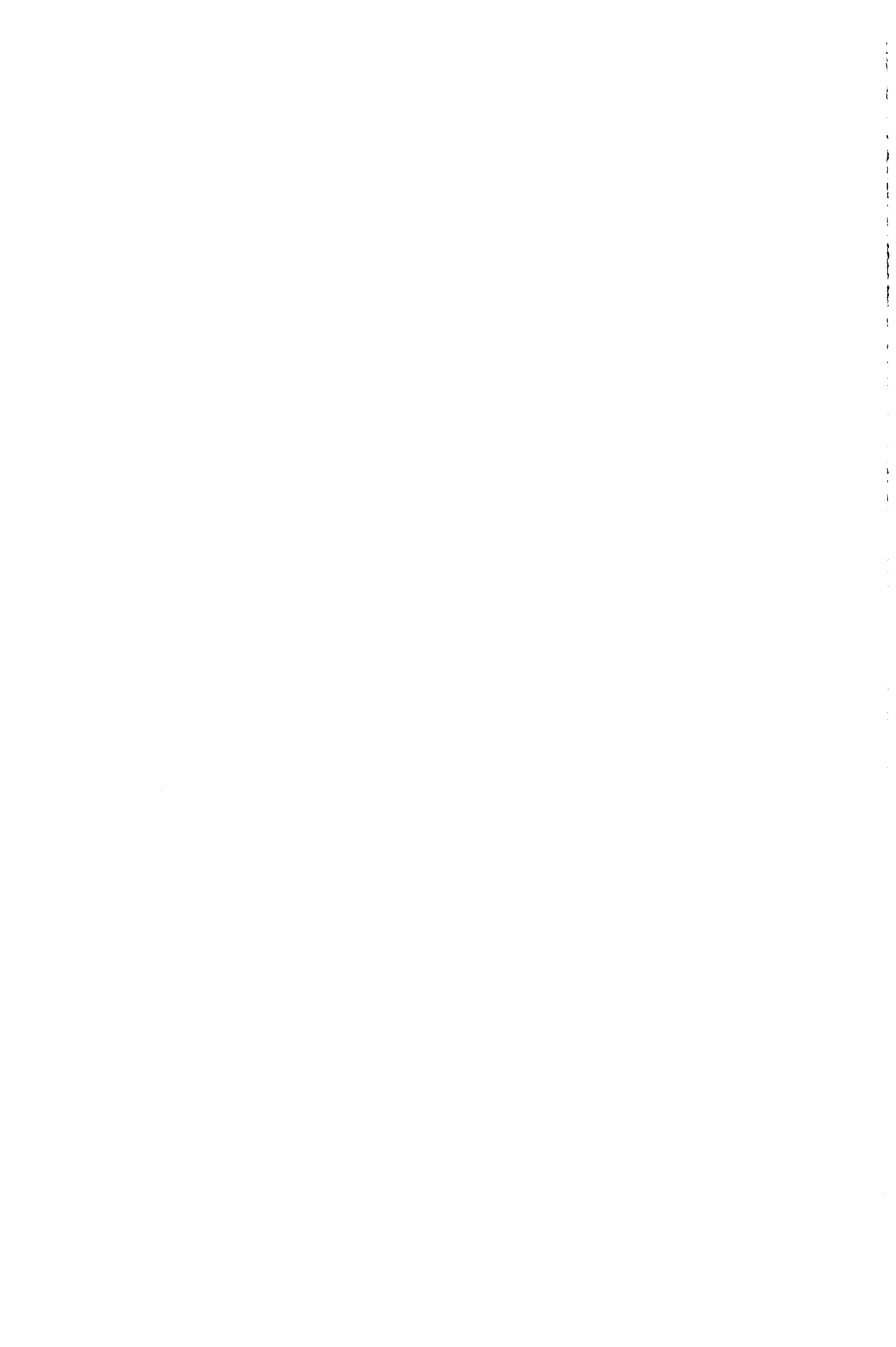
The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Red Flag
Fighting Detachment of the Peking Aero-
nautical Engineering Institute

The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Red Rebel
Regiment of the Harbin Military Engineer-
ing Institute

The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Provisional
Cultural Revolutionary Committee of the
Sian Military Telecommunications Engineer-
ing Institute

4 January 1967

CSO: 3530-D



REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS OF NEWSPAPERS SEND
TELEGRAM SALUTING CHAIRMAN MAO

- From the Revolutionary Workers and Staff of
Wen-hui Pao and Chieh-fang Jih-pao -

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 2, 16 January 1967, pages 7-8.]

Chairman Mao, Our Most, Most Respected and Beloved Great Leader:

We, the revolutionary workers and staff of Wen-hui Pao and Chieh-fang Jih-pao which were reborn in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, extend to you, the red sun that shines most brilliantly in our hearts, our loftiest salute in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

We felt our blood tingle with excitement when this morning we heard the good news that Jen-min Jih-pao had reprinted the "Message to All Shanghai People" that appeared in the Wen-hui Pao on 5 January, and when we read the extremely important editorial note that Jen-min Jih-pao had written to introduce the message. Respected and beloved Chairman Mao! In this you have shown the greatest concern and support for us, and given us the greatest inspiration and encouragement. With boundless revolutionary enthusiasm, we will hold still higher the great red banner of the proletarian revolutionary line that you represent; together with the revolutionary people of Shanghai, we will continue the vigorous counter-offensive against the bourgeois reactionary line and do a good job of running the revolutionary newspapers Wen-hui Pao and Chieh-fang Jih-pao.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao! We can report to you with great joy that, under the brilliant guidance of the proletarian revolutionary line you represent, the revolutionary forces in the Shanghai area are growing in strength and maturity with each passing day. The Shanghai

workers' movement especially is developing vigorously. The situation in the great proletarian cultural revolution in the Shanghai area is getting better and better. The handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and the diehards who persist in the bourgeois reactionary line are becoming more and more isolated. Increasing numbers of the revolutionary people have clearly discerned their reactionary features. The revolutionary forces in the Shanghai area are now forming a great alliance and achieving a great unity. They are launching a general offensive against the bourgeois reactionary line and are resolved to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production is an important principle that you have put forward and repeatedly stressed. What angers us is that the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority in Shanghai and are taking the capitalist road and the very few persons who are persisting in the bourgeois reactionary line are not reconciled to their defeat; they are playing new tricks. Using material benefits as a bait to corrupt some workers ideologically, they have vainly attempted to lead the masses on to the evil road of economism, so as to shift the general direction of the struggle, disrupt production and the state finances, and sabotage the great cultural revolution. However, the staunch revolutionary Left have seen through their schemes completely, resolutely stood out against the lure of economic benefits, and firmly rebuffed these attacks of "sugar-coated bullets." The broad revolutionary masses have put it aptly: The great proletarian cultural revolution is aimed precisely at destroying selfishness and fostering devotion to the public interest, destroying what is bourgeois and fostering what is proletarian; what we want is precisely to put politics in command; we are firmly opposed to putting banknotes in command; we must persevere in the general direction of the struggle and seize complete victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao! It is hard for us even in thousands of words to describe our present feelings of elation. We are resolved forever to study your writings, follow your teachings and act according to your instructions. We are resolved to follow you and advance in the teeth of the great storms and waves and temper ourselves into red rebel newspaper militants who will be forever loyal to the Party, the people and to you!

Sincerely wishing you a long, long life!

All the revolutionary workers and staff of
Wen-hui Pao and Chieh-fang Jih-pao

9 January 1967

CSO: 3530-D

32 SHANGHAI REVOLUTIONARY REBEL ORGANIZATIONS
ISSUE "URGENT NOTICE"

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 2, 16 January 1967, pages 9-11.]

The Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters and 31 other revolutionary rebel organizations issued an "Urgent Notice" in the Shanghai Wen-hui Pao and Chieh-fang Jih-pao on 9 January, following the publication of the "Message to All Shanghai People" earlier by 11 Shanghai revolutionary rebel organizations. ¶

Both the Shanghai newspapers printed this quotation from Chairman Mao Tse-tung alongside the Notice: "We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports," and wrote introductory editorial notes.

The Wen-hui Pao editorial note states:

We fully support the ten-point proposal contained in the "Urgent Notice." We hope that all revolutionary rebels of the city will implement this ten-point proposal conscientiously.

At present, the spread of economist thinking is a question which deserves serious attention. This is a new counter-attack launched by the bourgeois reactionary line against the proletarian revolutionary line. Within the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, both the handful of persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road and the extremely small number of persons who obstinately cling to the bourgeois reactionary line have begun to collapse politically. It is inevitable that they should launch a new attack from the economic angle. This new attack is aimed directly at the proletarian headquarters and at the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" put forward by Chairman Mao. We must most resolutely repulse this latest counter-attack launched by the bourgeois reactionary line.

Any act that disrupts production, sabotages state finances and undermines the great cultural revolution is counter-revolutionary. Masses of the revolutionary rebels and revolutionary workers and staff members, go into action to fully implement the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production!" Expose the latest schemes of the handful of persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road and those who obstinately follow the bourgeois reactionary line within the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, while remaining fast at your posts of production and construction and undertaking to do productive work well so as to seize a double victory in the cultural revolution and in production!

The Chieh-fang Jih-pao editorial note states:

Following the issue of the "Message to All Shanghai People," the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters and other revolutionary rebel organizations have issued an "Urgent Notice." This Notice is extremely important. We give it our firmest support. It points out a current serious problem in the great proletarian cultural revolution: both the handful of persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road and the extremely small number of persons who obstinately cling to the bourgeois reactionary line within the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee are now playing new tricks in order to undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution. They are doing so to counter Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" which he put forward. They are attempting vainly to use material incentives to corrupt the revolutionary will of the masses. The comrades of the revolutionary rebel groups and the masses of revolutionary people promptly saw through this big plot and have smashed it. This is another great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Economism and material incentives are outright counter-revolutionary revisionist wares. The masses of revolutionary people who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought firmly reject such rubbish. They fully understand that the great proletarian cultural revolution aims precisely to destroy what is bourgeois and establish what is proletarian, to eradicate self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest, to transform people to the core of their being, to revolutionize people's thinking, so as to eliminate the source of revisionism and consolidate and develop the socialist system. The ten-point proposal contained in the "Urgent Notice" expresses precisely the common will of the revolutionary masses, and represents the highest interests of the proletariat. It once again deals a heavy blow at the latest counter-attack by the bourgeois reactionary line. All departments concerned must firmly and seriously carry it out.

The text of the "Urgent Notice" follows:

At present, when the great proletarian cultural revolution in Shanghai is entering the moment of decisive battle between the two lines, when the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, which stubbornly clings to the bourgeois reactionary line, is being defeated, the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road are once again hatching new schemes. Colluding with the capitalist forces in society, they are making use of economic benefits to divert the general orientation of the struggle and to incite one group of people against another, causing breakdowns in factory production and railway and road traffic. They have even incited dockers to stop work, causing difficulties in running the port and damaging the international prestige of China. They are making free with the state's money and property, arbitrarily increasing wages and material benefits, and granting all kinds of allowances and subsidies without limit, stirring people up to take over public buildings by force. These are the latest forms under which the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee perseveres in carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line.

In resorting to such base and treacherous means, the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road aim at none other than: (1) Setting themselves against Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee, and putting pressure on the Cultural Revolution Group under the Party's Central Committee, by sabotaging production, interrupting communications and jeopardizing the national economy and the livelihood of the people, to attain their purpose of undermining the great proletarian cultural revolution; (2) Making use of economic benefits to divert the general orientation of the struggle in the attempt to turn the serious political struggle into an economic struggle, and at the same time to corrupt the revolutionary will of the masses by material gains, and to promote peaceful evolution and allow bourgeois ideas to run riot.

We hereby solemnly warn the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee that no schemes aimed at shifting the line of struggle through disrupting production, interrupting communications and increasing wages and material benefits will ever succeed. The revolutionary rebels who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought firmly expose this conspiracy and resolutely repulse the attacks by the bourgeois reactionary trend of thought. We must firmly implement the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" put forward by Chairman Mao and, on the one hand, take an active part in the great proletarian cultural revolution while on the other hand remain fast at our posts of production and construction, persist in the eight-hour workday, strive to fulfill and overfulfill production plans, and do our best to turn out high quality products. We believe that the masses of revolutionary workers have a high sense of political responsibility towards their great socialist motherland; they will certainly be able to put the public interest at the fore, and, proceeding from the overall interests of the state, correctly handle the questions mentioned above and seize a double victory in the cultural revolution and in production.

In order swiftly to retrieve the grave situation in social production created by the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, we appeal to comrades-in-arms of the revolutionary rebel groups of the whole city:

1. The workers, functionaries and students of revolutionary rebel groups must firmly carry through Chairman Mao's instruction of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production," take an active part in the great cultural revolution, and, at the same time, remain fast at their production posts and set an example in "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production."

2. They should appeal to all revolutionary rebels throughout the country to take prompt action to persuade those workers, functionaries, staff members of enterprises, and apprentices from Shanghai who are exchanging revolutionary experience in other parts of the country to return to Shanghai immediately, so that the great cultural revolution in their own units can proceed effectively and the 1967 production plans can be overfulfilled.

3. All certificates authorizing people to leave and exchange revolutionary experience in other parts of the country issued in the past by those in authority in the various organizations and enterprises are declared null and void on the day this document is published. These persons in authority should be made responsible for the return (by installments if necessary) of the big sums of money to cover exchanges of experience (excluding transport fares) they issued.

4. Apart from necessary expenditure on production, wages, the cultural revolution, office administration and for other appropriate purposes, the circulating funds of all government offices, organizations and enterprises should be frozen as from the day of the publication of this document. This should be effected by the financial organizations at the municipal level and at all other levels under the joint supervision of the revolutionary rebel groups and the revolutionary masses, so as to ensure that the economy of the state will not suffer losses (this does not apply to personal savings accounts).

5. To avoid shifting the general orientation of the struggle, matters related to the readjustment of wages, back payment of wages and material benefits, shall in principle be dealt with at a later stage of the movement. (Special cases shall be handled otherwise after asking the central authorities for instructions.)

6. The integration of students with workers and peasants is the inevitable road by which the students will transform their world outlook and carry to success the great cultural revolution. In order to stir up dissatisfaction among the workers against the students, to sabotage the integration of the students with the workers and to practice "peaceful evolution" among the students, some persons in authority have gone to

the length of paying the students relatively high wages for labor. This is entirely a revisionist practice, and should be stopped as from the day this notice is published.

7. All public buildings and houses confiscated from capitalists are the property of the whole people, and shall be handled in a unified way by the state at a later stage of the movement. No one is allowed to seize public buildings by force. After investigation, offenders shall be punished by the Public Security Bureau. Those who incite citizens to seize public buildings shall be dealt with by law in accordance with the gravity of the offense. Those who have moved into houses seized by force must move back to their original lodgings within one week.

8. Strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. Those who oppose Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, the Party Central Committee's Cultural Revolution Group, and those who undermine the great cultural revolution or sabotage production, shall be immediately arrested by the Public Security Bureau in accordance with the law. Those who in the course of the movement undermine social order, beat people up or commit atrocities, commit robbery or larceny must be dealt with by law in accordance with the gravity of the offense; stolen goods must be returned immediately. Those who repeat such offenses or after repeated education, refuse to turn over a new leaf, shall be severely punished.

9. The rebel organizations of various units and the revolutionary masses of the city are expected immediately to carry out the above points, and set in motion all organs of propaganda to publicize them and educate the masses.

10. The Municipal Party Committee and the Public Security Bureau are enjoined to act upon the above points. Those who act against the above points shall, after investigations, be immediately punished on charges of undermining the great cultural revolution.

The Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel
General Headquarters

The Second Corps of Shanghai Workers Returned
from the North

The Red Guards' Revolutionary Committee of
the Colleges and Universities of Shanghai

The Red Guard Army (Hongweijun) Command of
the Shanghai Revolutionary Rebel United
Committee

The Revolutionary Rebel Liaison Centre of
Organizations of the Shanghai Municipal
Party Committee

4

The Revolutionary Rebel Committee of Shanghai Journalists

The Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters of the Shanghai Sports Front

The Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters of Shanghai Medical Circles

The Revolutionary Rebel United Command of Workers of Shanghai's Pharmaceutical Industry

The Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters of Paper Mill Workers in Shanghai

The Rebel Revolutionary Committee of Apprentices in Shanghai

The Third Corps of the Rebel Army of Revolutionary Shanghai Apprentices

The Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters of Shanghai Publishing Circles

The Revolutionary Rebel United General Headquarters of Shanghai Primary School Teachers

The Shanghai Workers' Rebel United Committee

The Red Guards' Shanghai Revolutionary Rebel Committee

The "Bombard the Headquarters" United Corps of Shanghai

The Red Guard Army's (Chiweijun) Revolutionary Committee of Shanghai Colleges and Universities

The Northeast Regional Command of Mao Tse-tung-ism Red Guards

The "Rebel to the End" General Liaison Headquarters of Shanghai

The Anting Corps of Shanghai Workers

The Third Corps of Shanghai Workers Returned from the North

The Whangpoo District Command of the Nationalities Rebel Headquarters

The Mao Tse-tung's Thought Red Guards' "East is Red" General Headquarters of Tongji University

The Revolutionary Rebel United Command of the Shanghai First Medical College

The Revolutionary Rebel Command of the Shanghai Jiaotong University

The "Rebel to the End" Corps of the Shanghai Jiaotong University

The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Capital's Red Guard Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters (The Third Headquarters)

The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Red Rebel Regiment of the Harbin Military Engineering Institute

The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Provisional Cultural Revolutionary Committee of the Sian Military Telecommunications Engineering Institute

The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Red Flag Fighting Detachment of the Peking Aeronautical Engineering Institute

The Shanghai Liaison Centre of the Ching kang Mountains Corps of Tsinghua University

9 January 1967

CSO: 3530-D

SHANGHAI REVOLUTIONARY REBELS LAUNCH MAJOR
ATTACK ON BOURGEOIS REACTIONARY LINE

[Following is a translation of a commentary by Wen-hui Pao and Chieh-fang Jih-pao reporters in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 2, 16 January 1967, pages 12-14.]

Under the correct direction of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, great victories have been achieved for the proletarian cultural revolution in Shanghai. The situation of the revolution is excellent. Enthusiasm has reached a high peak and triumphant songs are being sung. The situation is improving all the time.

The revolutionary rebels, united as never before, and the broad masses of revolutionary people are thoroughly repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line while holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, grasping the revolution, and promoting production. They have launched a general offensive against those in positions of authority in the party in Shanghai who are taking the capitalist road and against those diehards who are clinging to the bourgeois reactionary line. These people now face total ruin. In a deathbed struggle these people are resorting to more covert and malicious measures. The great cultural revolution of Shanghai is now entering a more profound and extensive stage.

The first significant indication of the excellent situation of the great cultural revolution in Shanghai is that the broad masses of workers and peasants have arisen in rebellion. Eliminating all handicaps, they have set up their own revolutionary organizations for their own emancipation and revolution. The millions of production workers with their glorious revolutionary tradition have organized themselves into a gigantic cultural contingent and with irresistible force they have surmounted various obstacles and given a strong impetus to the cultural revolution movement in industrial and mining enterprises.

The rebels of these enterprises are resolutely acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching that "rebellion is justified." They are not afraid of being attacked or suppressed. They have finally broken through all kinds of obstacles. They have all along held fast to the principle of getting a firm hold on the revolution and promoting production, and have frustrated the plot of the small handful of people in the party who are persisting in their bourgeois reactionary line and have tried to suppress revolution on the pretext of promoting production. They have dealt telling blows against these people.

They have also frustrated the vicious plot of these people in undermining the work of production and the great cultural revolution by permitting workers who have been deceived to desert their working posts. While carrying on their struggles in exposing these people, many revolutionary rebels of the factories are maintaining their positions in production in order to smash the fresh onslaught of the small handful of people. Their revolutionary action has gradually won the support of the masses, and many who have been deceived are now awakening. The ranks of the revolutionary workers are becoming stronger daily and one brilliant victory after another is being achieved.

The peasants in the suburbs are also actively joining the main current of the great cultural revolution. Revolutionary organizations have sprung up like mushrooms. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, along with the revolutionary people, are determined to overthrow those in positions of authority in the party taking the capitalist road in the countryside and to thoroughly exterminate all remnants of capitalism and revisionism.

Recently many counties have held rallies, attended by tens of thousands of people, to launch fierce attacks against the small handful of people in power in the party who are taking the capitalist road and against diehards who are clinging to the bourgeois reactionary line. They have whipped up a fervent upsurge in the peasants movement.

The second significant indication of the excellent situation of the great cultural revolution in Shanghai is that the revolutionary rebels in party and state organs of the municipality have broken through. They have broken down the various barriers such as those separating them from the outside, joined the workers and revolutionary students in repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line, and are waging struggles against those in power in the party who are taking the capitalist road. Their revolutionary action is exerting a strong influence on workers at various levels in the party and state organizations of Shanghai.

The revolutionary rebels in the field of journalism in Shanghai have taken over the management of the Liberation Daily and Wen-hui Pao. With the tools of propaganda in their hands, these revolutionary rebels are with the greatest enthusiasm disseminating Mao Tse-tung's proletarian revolutionary line. This greatly strengthens the will of the

revolutionary rebels and deflates the arrogance of the bourgeois overlords, much to the joy of the broad masses of revolutionary people.

The third significant indication of the excellent situation of the great cultural revolution in Shanghai is that the ranks of the revolutionary rebels are strengthening daily. Furthermore, their methods of struggle are becoming more mature. They have learned to swim by swimming; they have learned to struggle by struggling; they have tempered and steeled themselves in the teeth of storms and waves and along the arduous, complex, and tortuous path of class struggle.

They have unswervingly held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, persisted in the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao, firmly grasped the general orientation of the revolutionary struggles, put daring above all things, fearing neither heaven nor earth, neither ghosts nor death, and forged ahead, giving full play to the spirit of Lu Hsun's unyielding integrity.

The revolutionary rebels units, whether they belong to the working class, colleges or middle schools, or state or party organizations, all have a glorious and praiseworthy past. They fully understand that the most fundamental guarantee of success for their work is the great invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, which is the guide for action in the proletarian cultural revolution. Therefore, they perseveringly study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively in the course of their struggles.

Particularly since the great call of Comrade Lin Biao to advance to a new stage the mass drive for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, they have studied all the more conscientiously, treating the "three much-red articles" as permanent reminders. They have completely eliminated selfishness and rigorously fostered devotion to the public; they have waged struggles painstakingly and bravely, and have fiercely opened fire on the bourgeois reactionary line and the small handful of people in power in the party who are taking the capitalist road. In the course of their struggle they are further consolidating their unity, and this unity has even been extended to embrace the majority of the masses.

It is particularly heartening that many revolutionary youths of the colleges and middle schools are participating in the work of the factories and the countryside in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions. They are learning from the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants, participating in the proletarian cultural revolution, disseminating Mao Tse-tung's thought, and beginning to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants. Many revolutionary rebels from the factories have also sent representatives to the schools, thereby exchanging experience and advancing the proletarian cultural revolution through mutual encouragement.

For over a month, by means of several struggles on a municipal scale and several rallies for repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line, the revolutionary rebels from factories, countryside, schools, and organizations have formed extensive, closely knit alliances. Sharing a common goal, they have united as one, fought together, and won victories together. At the same time, they have carried out extensive political and ideological work after each struggle and each rally so that many people who have been deceived can come to know the real features of those persisting in the bourgeois reactionary line. Anyone who is in doubt can thus see what is right and what is wrong and come over to the side of the revolutionary rebels.

The fourth clear indication of the excellent situation of the great cultural revolution in Shanghai is that the bourgeois reactionary line is now approaching total collapse. The ugly features of those in power in the party who are taking the capitalist road under the protection of the bourgeois reactionary line is being exposed to broad daylight. In the course of their fierce attack on the bourgeois reactionary line, the revolutionary rebels and the masses have come to see more clearly that some of the small handful of people in Shanghai clinging to the bourgeois reactionary line and taking the capitalist road are also in power in the party.

The commentary lists a large number of facts showing how this small handful of people have used various mean tricks to undermine the proletarian cultural revolution. It points out: It is by no means incidental that they persist in this bourgeois reactionary line. Some of them have committed many crimes against the party, socialism, and Mao Tse-tung's thought. They have desperately clutched the straw of the bourgeois reactionary line just because of the desire to protect themselves and their jobs. However, the torrent of the proletarian cultural revolution is irresistible. Faced with the revolutionary rebels and masses armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, no monster can avoid being exposed no matter how cleverly he may hide or what tactics he may use. "With power to spare, we must pursue the tottering foe and not ape Hsiang Yu, the conqueror seeking idle fame."

The revolutionary rebels and masses are well aware that, despite the present excellent situation, there are still zigzags and reverses in the course of the struggle in view of the profound effects and prevalent virulence of the bourgeois reactionary line. The revolutionary rebels and masses still face an arduous task. They must therefore cast away all illusions, continue the struggle, and carry the proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

CSO: 3530-D

SHANGHAI REVOLUTIONARY REBEL ORGANIZATIONS
SEND TELEGRAM SALUTING CHAIRMAN MAO

- From the Rally Held by the Revolutionary Rebel Organizations of Shanghai and the Shanghai Liaison Centres of Revolutionary Rebel Organizations of Other Places to Celebrate the Message of Greetings of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee of the Party, and Completely Smash the New Counter-Attack by the Bourgeois Reactionary Line -

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 2, 16 January 1967, pages 15-16.]

Most, Most Respected and Beloved Chairman Mao:

We, fighters of the revolutionary rebel organizations in Shanghai, loyal to you forever, extend our loftiest salute in the great proletarian cultural revolution to you, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander, and great helmsman, and the red sun that shines most brilliantly in our hearts.

Most, most respected and beloved Chairman Mao, we heard your voice from Peking -- the Message of Greetings sent by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee to the revolutionary rebel organizations in Shanghai, at the very moment when we were acclaiming your decision to broadcast to the whole country the "Message to All Shanghai People" and the "Urgent Notice," issued by the various revolutionary mass organizations here. This is a voice expressing the greatest

concern and support for us, the voice of the greatest inspiration and encouragement to us. We rejoice and sing. Thousands of words would not suffice to express our happiness. Thousands of songs would not suffice to express our gratitude. We can only leap for joy and shout: Long live Chairman Mao! Long life and long, long life to him!

Most, most respected and beloved Chairman Mao, you always point out for us the main direction in which the struggle must go at the most critical moments of the revolution; you always give us boundless spiritual strength at the moment when the struggle grows sharpest. You always show warm solicitude and support for the revolutionary rebel groups. You always nurture and give active help to all new revolutionary things. At the present time, when we, the revolutionary rebel groups, are waging a fierce battle to deal severe blows at the new counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line, you have approved our general orientation, confirmed our fighting task and encouraged us to bring about a great alliance of the proletarian revolutionary organizations and unite all the revolutionary forces, so as to take firmly into our hands the destiny of the proletarian dictatorship, the destiny of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the destiny of the socialist economy. Your great and wise decision will quickly kindle the fierce flame spreading the all-encompassing class struggle throughout the country. All such things as counter-revolutionary economism, the new counter-attack organized by the representatives of the bourgeois reactionary line and the stubborn citadel of the bourgeois reactionary line will be burnt to cinders, discredited and burnt to ashes in this raging fire.

You, most, most respected and beloved Chairman Mao, have consistently taught us that the enemy will not perish of himself nor will he step down from the stage of history of his own accord. The facts show this precisely. The counter-revolutionary scheme of economism concocted by the handful of persons who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and the extremely small number of diehards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line within the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has been exposed; they have been surrounded by the revolutionary masses ring upon ring and have begun to collapse along the whole front, but they are still struggling frantically and are trying by every means possible to break up the great alliance of our revolutionary groups in Shanghai in a vain attempt to create splits and stir up disputes among our revolutionary rebel organizations. In this way, they hope to slip through, get an opportunity to catch their breath and stage a come-back. We must not allow this scheme to succeed. We must follow your instructions: "With power to spare we must pursue the tottering foe and not ape Hsiang Yu the conqueror seeking idle fame," take concerted action and vigorously pursue and fiercely beat the wild dogs already in the water and smash them utterly, so that they can never rise again. We must firmly carry out the correct policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" advanced by you and thoroughly sweep away the bad influence of counter-revolutionary economism. We will not disappoint your expectations, and, under the great

banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, we will unite more completely the revolutionary rebel groups, unite together the overwhelming majority of the masses and firmly hold the leadership of the great cultural revolution and production in Shanghai, so as to ensure that the great proletarian cultural revolution in the Shanghai area forges ahead triumphantly along the proletarian revolutionary line represented by you!

Wishing our most, most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao a long, long life!

Rally Held by the Revolutionary Rebel Organizations of Shanghai and the Shanghai Liaison Centres of Revolutionary Rebel Organizations of Other Places to Celebrate the Message of Greetings of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee of the Party, and Completely Smash the New Counter-Attack by the Bourgeois Reactionary Line

12 January 1967

CSO: 3530-D

LETTER SALUTING CHAIRMAN MAO

- From the Rally to "Take Firm Hold of the Revolution and Promote Production, and Thoroughly Smash the New Counter-Attack of the Bourgeois Reactionary Line" at the Peking No. 1 Machine-Tool Plant -

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 2, 16 January 1967, pages 17-18.]

Chairman Mao, Our Most, Most Respected and Beloved Great Leader:

We, all red rebels and revolutionary workers and staff of the Peking No. 1 Machine-Tool Plant, extend the loftiest salute in the great proletarian cultural revolution to you, the red sun that shines most brilliantly in our hearts!

At today's rally "to take firm hold of the revolution and promote production, and thoroughly smash the new counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line" in the Peking No. 1 Machine-Tool Plant, we report to you with immense elation: Under the correct guidance of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by you, the revolutionary forces in our plant are growing ever stronger and the situation is becoming ever better; the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and who are taking the capitalist road and the very few diehards who are stubbornly clinging to the bourgeois reactionary line are ever more isolated, and increasing numbers of the revolutionary masses have seen through their reactionary features. As in the rest of the country, the great proletarian cultural revolution in our plant is now breaking through numerous obstructions with the momentum of a landslide and the power of a thunderbolt; it is surging ahead to an even deeper and broader new stage.

"Taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" is a very important policy that you put forward and have repeatedly stressed.

What angers us is that the handful of persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road and the very few diehards who are stubbornly clinging to the bourgeois reactionary line in our plant have tried every kind of trick to sabotage the great policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production." At the beginning, they used "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" as a pretext and actually practiced "suppression of the revolution by production" so as to sabotage the movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution! When their tricks were bared, they started using the new ones of simply dropping work and folding their arms. What is even more despicable is that they have used economic benefits and material incentives as bait in a vain attempt to lead this serious political struggle on to the evil road of economism so as to shift the general orientation of struggle, sabotage production and attain their criminal goal of undermining the great proletarian cultural revolution in our plant.

In the face of the schemes of the new counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line, we, the revolutionary rebels of the No. 1 Machine-Tool Plant, firmly reply: We'll bring about their doom! "The world is ours, the country is ours and society is ours. If we don't speak, then who will? If we don't act then who will?" We can hold up heaven even if it falls! We can fill in the earth even if it caves in! We are dauntless revolutionary rebels! There has never been a saviour, we depend solely on ourselves to liberate ourselves!

We, the revolutionary rebels, are most clear-minded and sharp-sighted and we most faithfully follow the instructions given by the Party's Central Committee and by you!

No "white terror" can frighten us, nor can any "sugar-coated bullets" topple us. Who cares for their stinking money? We want socialism!

We know very well that, unless the bourgeois reactionary line is repudiated, unless the very roots of revisionism are dug out and unless the great proletarian cultural revolution is carried through to the end, our plant might slide down the capitalist road, our country might change color, we ourselves might be plunged again into the sea of suffering, and the revolutionary people of the world might suffer disaster!

"When we raise our heads we see the lodestar; day and night we think of Mao Tse-tung." It is you who gave us courage in struggle when our plant was under a reign of white terror; it is you who pointed out to us the direction of advance at every crucial moment in the course of the revolution. Today, the bourgeois reactionary line, in utter fury when faced with a complete fiasco, is willfully disrupting production, unscrupulously practicing economism and frantically launching an all-out counter-attack on the proletarian revolutionary line represented by you. We will never remain under the same roof as the enemy! Respected and beloved Chairman Mao: You are supporting us and we will not

disappoint you! We will never rest in peace until we smash the wild counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line.

We are determined to resolutely carry out the principle advanced by you, making big efforts to take firm hold of the revolution and promote production. We firmly pledge to take an active part in the great cultural revolution, on the one hand, and remain at our posts in production and construction, on the other, persevering in the eight-hour workday, striving to fulfill or overfulfill production plans and working hard for high quality in output.

Our slogan is: While acting as the pioneers in the revolution we shall also be path-breakers in production. We pledge to be models in "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production!" We pledge to win a twin victory, in the revolution and in production, in 1967!

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, no amount of words can convey our feelings today. We vow to you in all solemnity: We will study your writings, follow your teachings and act according to your instructions all our lives. We will follow you in marching forward valiantly in the teeth of the great storms and waves of class struggle all our lives. We will always remain red rebels loyal to the Party, loyal to the people and loyal to you!

Finally, we heartily wish you long life, a long, long life!

Rally to "Take Firm Hold of the Revolution and Promote Production, and Thoroughly Smash the New Counter-Attack of the Bourgeois Reactionary Line" at the Peking No. 1 Machine-Tool Plant

12 January 1967

CSO: 3530-D

OPPOSE ECONOMISM AND SMASH THE LATEST COUNTER-ATTACK
BY THE BOURGEOIS REACTIONARY LINE

(12 January 1967)

[Following is a translation of a Jen-min Jih-pao and Hung-ch'i editorial in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 2, 16 January 1967, pages 19-21.]

The decision taken personally by our great leader, Chairman Mao, to broadcast to the whole country the "Message to All Shanghai People" and the "Urgent Notice" issued by revolutionary mass organizations in Shanghai is an event of great historic importance. It marks the beginning of a new stage in our country's great proletarian cultural revolution.

The salient features of this new stage are:

The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao is being grasped to an ever greater extent by the broad masses. The citadels in which the bourgeois reactionary line has entrenched itself are being captured one by one.

The revolutionary workers' movement, peasants' movement, students' movement and the revolutionary mass movement in the different fields of culture and in Party and government institutions are uniting into a mighty, irresistible revolutionary torrent. They are launching an all-out general offensive against the bourgeois reactionary line.

The forces of the revolutionary rebel groups of the proletariat are growing in scale and strength. They are arming themselves more fully with Mao Tse-tung's thought in the course of the struggle, adhering firmly to the general orientation of the struggle, constantly improving the art of struggle and becoming the backbone force of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The majority of the masses are becoming united, with the proletarian revolutionary rebel groups as their core. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the revolutionary masses are taking into their own hands the destiny of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the destiny of the struggle to overthrow 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 not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, the destiny of production and work, and the destiny of the proletarian dictatorship and the socialist state.

Under the impact of this mighty, irresistible revolutionary torrent, the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and an extremely small number of diehards who are stubbornly pursuing the bourgeois reactionary line are being forced to retreat again and again. Their ferocious, counter-revolutionary features have been or are being exposed. They have been heavily besieged by the revolutionary masses and have begun to collapse all along the line.

However, will these reactionary persons lay down their arms and surrender of their own accord? Will they step down from the stage of history of their own accord? No! They will never do so! Like all other reactionaries in the past, they will never lay down their arms and surrender, nor step down from the stage of history of their own accord.

As Chairman Mao reminds us:

"The enemy will not perish of himself. Neither the Chinese reactionaries nor the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism in China will step down from the stage of history of their own accord."

"Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. This is also like sweeping the floor; as a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself."

The facts of the development of China's great proletarian cultural revolution are further proof of this brilliant thesis of Chairman Mao's.

In capturing each fortress, the revolutionary fighters will meet frenzied resistance from the class enemy. At every step forward taken by the revolution, the enemy will play new tricks and resort to whatever schemes they can devise. When one way fails, they fall back on another. When tough tactics do not work, they try kidglove tactics. When using force does not serve, they use non-violent methods. They mix tough with kidglove tactics and combine force with non-violence. Their specialty is to wave "red flags" to oppose the red flag and to instigate one section of the masses to fight against another. More often than not, they cunningly take over the revolutionary slogans raised by the Party Central

Committee and Chairman Mao and distort them in order to serve their counter-revolutionary political purposes. They are now appearing to be ultra "Left" and pretending to hoist the flag of "opposition to the bourgeois reactionary line" so as to hoodwink and deceive part of the masses. They call white black and switch the target of the struggle by turning its spearhead against the proletarian revolutionary line, the proletarian revolutionary headquarters and the revolutionary masses, by which means they seek to protect themselves and the bourgeois reactionary line and to preserve the old order of capitalism and revisionism.

At the present time, the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and the extremely small number of diehards who are stubbornly pursuing the bourgeois reactionary line are colluding with bourgeois elements, speculators, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists in society and using economism to deceive the masses and incite them to undermine production, disrupt financial work and sabotage the great proletarian cultural revolution and to wage a struggle against the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party and against our socialist state of the proletarian dictatorship.

The "Urgent Notice" issued by the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters and the other revolutionary mass organizations in Shanghai has vividly and penetratingly revealed the big conspiracy of the reactionary elements in the Shanghai area -- the conspiracy of using the "sugar-coated bullets" of economic benefits to lure a part of the masses. The reactionary elements freely squander the wealth of the state, arbitrarily increase wages and benefits, wantonly distribute all kinds of funds and materials and stir up the masses to take over public buildings by force and use them as their own. They instigate violent struggles, create incidents, incite a number of workers to desert their posts in production, thus bringing some factories to a standstill and disrupting railway and road traffic. They even incite harbor personnel to stop work. Some leading members of the railway departments use similar means to disrupt rail transport in a vain attempt to sabotage the great proletarian cultural revolution. The reactionary elements fancy themselves clever, but in fact they are lifting a rock only to crush their own toes. The more actively they operate, the more clearly they expose their counter-revolutionary revisionist features. They are creating the conditions for their own total collapse.

The game of economism that these people are playing has provided the revolutionary masses with very good teaching material by negative example. It has enabled the broad masses to recognize the real nature of economism and the need to expose and attack it until it is utterly crushed.

What kind of stuff is economism?

It is a form of bribery that caters to the psychology of a few backward people among the masses, corrupts the masses' revolutionary will and leads the political struggle of the masses on to the wrong road of economism, inviting them to disregard the interests of the state and the collective and the long-term interests, and to pursue only personal and short-term interests. Its aim is to strangle the great proletarian cultural revolution, to disintegrate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system.

This economism disrupts social production, the national economy and socialist ownership. It promotes the tendency towards the spontaneous development of capitalism and encourages revisionist material incentives in a vain attempt to destroy the economic base of socialism.

This economism is opposed to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought; it is out-and-out counter-revolutionary revisionist stuff. It is garbage picked up from the rubbish dump of old-time and modern revisionism. Under the capitalist system, economism is an instrument for preserving the reactionary rule of capitalism and opposing the proletarian revolution. Under the socialist system, it has an even more reactionary nature and is an instrument for counter-revolutionary capitalist restoration.

In a word, this economism uses bourgeois spontaneity to replace proletarian revolutionary consciousness, uses bourgeois ultra-democracy to replace proletarian democratic centralism and proletarian sense of organization and discipline, uses bourgeois reactionary illegalities to replace proletarian dictatorship and the extensive democracy operating under it, and uses capitalist ownership to replace socialist ownership. Economism is a new form in which the bourgeois reactionary line launches a big counter-attack against the proletarian revolutionary line.

All revolutionary people and all revolutionary organizations must heighten their vigilance a hundred-fold, see through the class enemy's intrigues and subterfuges of economism, completely smash the latest counter-attack by the bourgeois reactionary line and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

The "Urgent Notice" issued by the revolutionary mass organizations in Shanghai has held high the great red banner of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and resolutely upheld the correct policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" advanced by Chairman Mao, thus setting a good example for the struggle against counter-revolutionary economism, or, in other words, against counter-revolutionary revisionism.

In their "Message of Greetings to Revolutionary Rebel Organizations in Shanghai," the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the

Party Central Committee call on Party, Government, Army and civilian circles, on the workers, peasants, revolutionary students, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres throughout the country to learn from the experience of the Shanghai revolutionary rebel groups, to take concerted action and beat back the latest counter-attack by the bourgeois reactionary line, so that the great proletarian cultural revolution will forge ahead triumphantly along the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. This call will undoubtedly be a great encouragement to the working class and the revolutionary people throughout the country.

In order to smash economism completely, all proletarian revolutionaries should, in the manner of the revolutionary rebel groups in Shanghai, bring their forces into closer alliance under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and take the leadership of the great cultural revolution and of production firmly into their own hands.

We must carry on patient and painstaking political-ideological work among those people who are temporarily hoodwinked. We must have the conviction that the overwhelming majority of them want to make revolution. The moment they comprehend the truth, they will be able to distinguish clearly between right and wrong on cardinal issues and take their stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

The present all-embracing class struggle has been provoked by the bourgeoisie and their agents. To those who obstinately cling to the bourgeois reactionary line, we sound the following warning: pull back right away from the brink of the abyss while there is still a chance to atone for your crimes before the Party and the people by future good conduct. If you do not surrender to the revolutionary people, then, you can plunge to destruction.

Let the working class unite!

Let the working class, the poor peasants and the lower-middle peasants and all other working people unite!

Let all working people unite with the revolutionary students, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres!

People of all nationalities unite!

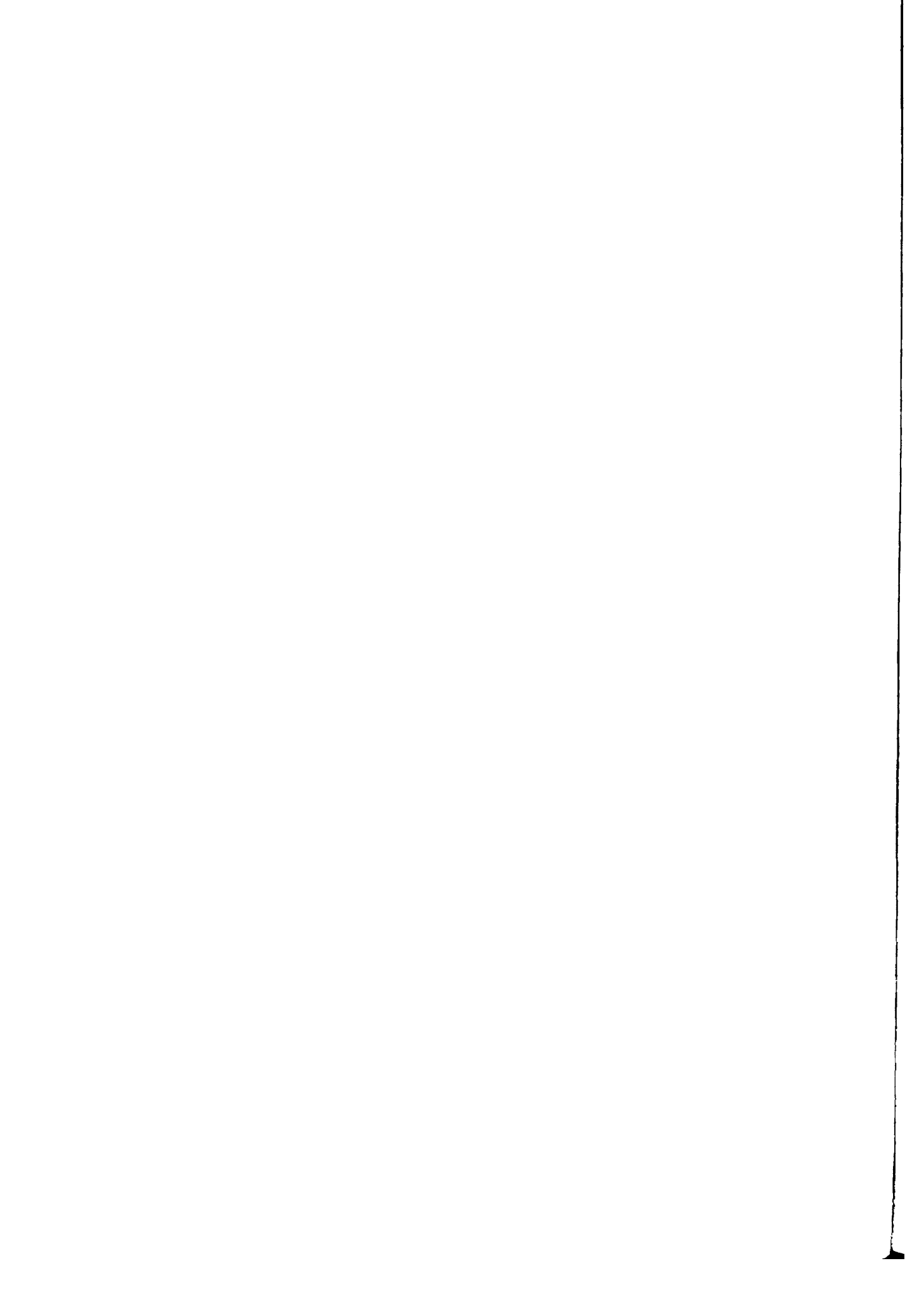
Unfold the all-embracing class struggle on a nationwide scale!

Totally smash the latest counter-attack by the bourgeois reactionary line!

Carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

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

CSO: 3530-D



PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARIES, UNITE

[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 2, 16 January 1967, pages 22-25.]

"The golden monkey wrathfully swung his massive cudgel,
And the jade-like firmament was cleared of dust."

Guided by the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the glorious Shanghai working class has formed a million-strong, mighty army of revolutionary rebels. Uniting with other revolutionary organizations, they have been meeting head-on the new counter-attacks by the bourgeois reactionary line, seizing power from the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, and establishing the new order of the great proletarian cultural revolution. With a power as irresistible as that of a sharp knife splitting bamboo, they are pressing forward in triumphant pursuit, sweeping away rubbish that impedes the advance of the wheel of history.

This revolutionary action of the working class and other revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres in Shanghai marks a new turning point in our country's great proletarian cultural revolution and the beginning of a new stage in it. This is a great new victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The revolutionary principle adopted, and the revolutionary actions taken, by the working class and other revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres in Shanghai have set an example for the whole country and provided invaluable new experience for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Their experience is many-sided. The focal point is that proletarian revolutionaries have united to seize power from the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist

road, thus taking the political, economic and cultural power of the Shanghai municipality firmly into their own hands.

Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, teaches us that the basic question of a revolution is that of political power. The central task of the great proletarian cultural revolution, in the last analysis, is the struggle by which the proletariat seizes power from the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. This is the focal point of the class struggle in our country at the present stage, a concentrated expression of the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road.

On 1 June 1966, our great leader Chairman Mao himself made the decision to broadcast the text of a big-character poster from Peking University, the first Marxist-Leninist poster in the country. This was in support of the struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries of Peking University to seize power from the Lu Ping anti-Party clique in the university. It was a great strategic move which kindled the flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution now raging throughout the country.

Now our great leader Chairman Mao himself has decided to broadcast the "Message to All Shanghai People" and the "Urgent Notice" issued by Shanghai's revolutionary mass organizations. This is in support of the struggle of the working class and other revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres in Shanghai who united to seize power in the municipality from the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and the extremely small number of dishards who persistently pursue the bourgeois reactionary line. It is yet another great strategic measure taken in the new situation, one which will stimulate a new leap in the great proletarian cultural revolution throughout the country.

Those within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road are just a handful, but in varying degrees they still hold Party, political and financial power in the localities and units where they are entrenched. They always use the power in their hands to attack the masses and undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution.

How do this handful of people use their power to undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution?

They use the Party power in their hands to deceive, hoodwink and repress a number of cadres and Party and Youth League members. They attempt to break down our Party's extremely strict proletarian discipline which is based on Mao Tse-tung's thought, that discipline which is essential for the proletariat to defeat the bourgeoisie. They distort our Party's discipline into bourgeois discipline, into "discipline" to oppose the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, into "discipline" to resist the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, turning it into an inhibiting magic phrase to repress the

masses and oppose the revolution. They stigmatise whoever opposes them as an "anti-Party" element.

Making use of that portion of political power they exercise in those departments and localities under their control, this handful of persons have practiced bourgeois dictatorship to suppress the revolutionary masses wherever they can. They want to brand as a "counter-revolutionary" anyone who rises up and rebels against them and even dismiss or imprison him. They have incited the masses to struggle against each other. They have used the slogan "Defend the proletarian dictatorship!" in a distorted way to deceive certain people into establishing under their control such organizations as "the army of defenders of red state power" to protect themselves.

This handful of persons have used the financial power in their hands to get certain befuddled people to protect them. They have used money to buy over people so as to corrupt the revolutionary masses. They have made use of economic measures of all kinds in an attempt to lead some people on to the evil road of economism, of pursuing purely immediate individual interests. They have wanted not only to restore but even to extend some erroneous measures adopted in the past in regard to wage and welfare systems. They have issued cheques and materials freely, in an effort to win the hearts of the people by liberally giving away what belongs to the state. In doing so, they have attempted to sabotage production, finances and communications and transport. They have with ill intentions "submitted the contradictions to their superiors." This is the current manifestation of the death-bed struggle of the handful of those within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. It represents a counter-attack in a new form by the bourgeois reactionary line at the present time.

These people have protected this or that old thing of capitalism and revisionism; in the final analysis, they have been protecting their own power. In the face of the pressure from the revolutionary masses, they may make this or that false "concession." But they do all this in an attempt to hit hard at our dictatorship of the proletariat and preserve their power to suppress the masses. On the question of power, they struggle for every bit of it and never make any concession. They have attempted to take all kinds of measures and schemes to disrupt our socialist national economic life so as to achieve their goal of preserving their own power.

The most fundamental thing in our struggle against this handful of persons is to wrest power from them. Only by seizing their power and exercising dictatorship over them can they be completely refuted, overthrown and utterly discredited.

Chairman Mao teaches us that to wrest power from these persons means the revolution of one class to overthrow another class in the

conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., a revolution of the proletariat to liquidate the bourgeoisie.

The struggle between the proletarian revolutionaries and the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road is acute, complicated and tortuous. The strongholds in which the counter-revolutionary revisionists are entrenched must be seized, one by one. The positions recovered by the proletariat have yet to be consolidated, one by one.

We must heighten our vigilance against these cunning enemies. Hypocritically, they have raised the flag of "revolution" to wrest power from the proletariat. They are accustomed to fabricating rumors, sowing discord, transposing black and white, confusing right and wrong, and inciting the masses to shift the target of struggle and point the spearhead of attack at revolutionaries, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary headquarters of the proletariat. All revolutionary comrades must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, keep their eyes open, and distinguish between the enemy and ourselves, and between right and wrong on vital questions. Those bad elements who behind our backs stir up the winds of evil and point the spearhead against the dictatorship of the proletariat and the proletarian revolutionary headquarters must be firmly exposed and overthrown, one by one.

The great contribution of the Shanghai working class and other revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres is that they firmly stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, fearlessly launched an extensive counter-attack against the new counter-offensive of the bourgeois reactionary line, and gained experience in seizing power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that they have advanced correct principles and policies, correct forms of organization and correct methods of struggle.

These are the most essential things worth studying by Party, Government, Army and civilian circles, by workers, peasants, revolutionary students, revolutionary intellectuals, and revolutionary cadres throughout the country.

The great revolution in Shanghai is an embodiment of the leading role and the initiative of the working class, their sense of revolutionary organization and discipline, and it has developed extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Shanghai's experience proves that only by seizing power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat can extensive proletarian democracy be ensured.

Shanghai's experience proves that extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat is absolutely not ultra-democracy nor "small group" mentality [considering only the interests of a small group and ignoring the overall interest -- Ed.]. Only by giving effect to democratic centralism, and the great unity of proletarian revolutionaries under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought can there be extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat, can excellent battles be fought with concentrated forces and can new revolutionary order be established.

Shanghai's experience proves that the principle of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" advanced by the Party Central Committee represented by Chairman Mao must be firmly grasped, that resolute and uncompromising struggles must be waged against all sorts of bourgeois revisionist economism, anarchism, liberalization, etc., and that the general orientation of socialism must be maintained and socialist ownership must be upheld; only this can be called extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The purpose of Shanghai's revolutionary masses in practicing extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat is very clear. It is to arouse the masses to topple the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, and the ghosts and monsters in society, and uphold and develop the politics, economy and culture of socialism.

The message of greetings sent to the revolutionary rebel organizations in Shanghai by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party Central Committee states: "You have brought about a great alliance of the proletarian revolutionary organizations and become the nucleus uniting all revolutionary forces. You have taken firmly in your hands the destiny of the proletarian dictatorship, the destiny of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the destiny of the socialist economy." This is a high appraisal of the Shanghai proletarian revolutionaries, as well as a great call to the revolutionary people throughout the country.

The latest counter-attacks by the bourgeois reactionary line do not indicate that this handful of reactionaries are powerful but that they are having fits of hysteria. Such fits merely emphasize the fact that they are on the verge of collapse.

Our dictatorship of the proletariat is strong and firm. We have the powerful People's Liberation Army which is infinitely loyal to Chairman Mao, loyal to the people. We have hundreds of millions of people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is the greatest strength and is capable of vanquishing any enemy.

We must bear in mind this teaching of Chairman Mao's: "All views that overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people are wrong."

We are facing an excellent situation, full of brightness. We must grasp "the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they [the revolutionaries] themselves are approaching victory." Like the revolutionary masses in Shanghai, we must courageously beat back the challenges of the handful of agents of the bourgeoisie. We must dare to struggle and be good at struggle, dare to win victory and be good at winning victory.

Proletarian revolutionaries, unite and rally with the broad masses, and, led by the great supreme commander Chairman Mao, carry on an all-round class struggle throughout the country!

Resolutely carry out the principle of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" advanced by Chairman Mao!

Crush the latest counter-attacks of the bourgeois reactionary line!

Crush bourgeois economism!

Resolutely seize power from the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the ever-victorious Mao Tse-tung's thought!

CSO: 3530-D

THOROUGHLY SMASH THE NEW COUNTER-ATTACK OF THE
BOURGEOIS REACTIONARY LINE

[Following is a translation of an article by the Red Rebels of the First Lathe Factory of Peking in the Chinese-language periodical, Hongqi (Red Flag), Peiping, No 2, 16 January 1967, pages 31-32.]

The "Message to All Shanghai People" and the "Urgent Notice" issued by the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters and other revolutionary organizations are very good. They expressed what the workers' revolutionary rebels of Peking wanted to say. They exposed right to the point the plot of the bourgeois reactionary line for launching a counter-attack. They dealt a severe blow to a small handful of power-holders in the Party who take the capitalist road and an extremely few diehards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line, and greatly heightened the zeal of the proletarian revolutionary rebels. The revolutionary workers' rebel groups, holding high the red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and resolutely implementing Chairman Mao's directive of "grasping the revolution, promoting production," have set us a brilliant example.

Under the guidance of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, the revolutionary forces in the First Lathe Factory of Peking are growing ever larger and stronger, and the situation is getting ever more favorable. The small handful of people in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road are becoming more and more isolated, and their reactionary line is being recognized by more and more people. At present, the great proletarian cultural revolution in our factory, like in many parts of the country, is developing ever more widely and penetratingly and is entering a new stage of development after it has shattered with a tremendous force all the obstacles.

"Grasp the revolution, promote production" is an important policy stressed by Chairman Mao. However, a small handful of people in our factory who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, together with

an extremely few diehards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line, have tried all in their power to break this policy. At the early stage of the movement, they took "grasp the revolution, promote production" as a plea to raise the production target, increase production tasks, and put aside the revolution in the name of production. When the workers rose to make revolution, they attacked them. When the revolutionary students came to the factory to establish revolutionary ties, they considered them as a great menace and resorted to every method they could find to spread rumors, sow discord, incite the workers to fight the students, and make the workers fight the workers.

This small handful of people in authority and taking the capitalist road and the extremely few diehards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line, harbored bitter hatred for the proletarian cultural revolution and were scared to death by the revolution. In order to protect their positions, they played a new trick: in the name of leading production, they sabotaged production. Some leading personnel sat idle, some stopped work, some ceased to assign the workers by production task, and some transferred the workers from important production posts, causing unnecessary loss to production. What is particularly annoying is that they incited certain people deceived by them to leave their production posts, or even told them to "go south to establish revolutionary ties," in an attempt to cause suspension of production and sabotage the great cultural revolution. Their tricks are extremely mean and utterly pernicious, causing us indignation beyond words.

The revolutionary workers armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, seeing through their intrigues, carried out a firm struggle against them. Chairman Mao has taught us, "Social wealth is created by workers, peasants and laboring intellectuals themselves." We revolutionary workers are most concerned with production. The small handful of people want to sabotage production, but we work all the harder to make a good job of production. They gave up work but we take it over. We use reasoning supported by facts, firmly carry on the struggle, and have succeeded in convincing some of those deceived by them to return to their production posts. They are against the "grasp the revolution, promote production" policy, but we are definitely for it and want to thoroughly carry it out. They want to break down the great cultural revolution, but we absolutely will not permit it.

Recently, these reactionaries have resorted to another trick which is even more noxious and more cunning. They launched a counter-attack against the revolutionary masses and put forward counter-revolutionary, revisionist economics. They gave promotion to a few people, increased their wages, issued them big amounts of working suits and safety articles. They even personally led and incited the workers to ask the state for public buildings, in which to live. They used material benefits as baits in an attempt to beramb and weaken the fighting will of the masses, shift the major direction of struggle, and lead the revolutionary masses

onto the road of economism for the criminal purpose of sabotaging the cultural revolution.

We revolutionary Red rebels think fast, and our eyes are sharp. We listen to the words of Chairman Mao. We have no fear for "white terror." We cannot be hoodwinked by "sugar-coated bullets." What we want is socialism. We want the firmly established power of the proletariat to remain red forever. Who wants the stinking money which comes in a filthy way!

We revolutionary workers deeply realize that if we do not knock down this handful of people in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, if we do not scathingly criticize the bourgeois reactionary line, if we do not carry the proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, and if we do not uproot revisionism, our factory will slide down the road of capitalism, our nation will change color, and millions upon millions of laboring people will again sink into the bitter sea.

"We see the Polar Star when we raise our heads. Day and night we think of Mao Tse-tung." This is because Chairman Mao gives us the courage to fight when our struggle is the bitterest, and because he points out the direction for us to march forward when the revolution reaches the crucial stage. Today, this small handful of people in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and the extremely few die-hards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line, having been badly defeated, are trying in every way possible to sabotage production and push up economism desperately, in their frantic counter-attack on the proletarian revolutionary line. We are not a bit afraid, because we have the support of Chairman Mao. We will not halt until we have completely smashed the frenzied counter-attack of the reactionary line.

We will firmly carry out Chairman Mao's directive, lay a firm hold on the revolution, and promote production. Those who are most concerned with the revolution will feel most concerned about production. We Red rebels are the trail-blazers for the proletarian cultural revolution and also the vanguards on the production front. We definitely guarantee: we will actively take part in the great cultural revolution, on the one hand. On the other, we will keep close to the production posts, stick to the system of working eight hours a day, strive to fulfill and over-fulfill production plans, and endeavor to improve the quality of products, in a bid to reap a twin bumper harvest in revolution and production in the year 1967.

CSO: 3530-D



I FIRMLY PUT IN CHECK THE EVIL WIND OF ECONOMISM

[Following is a translation of an article by Jen Chao-ti (0117 2156 1229), Workers' Revolutionary Rebel Corps of Shanghai Electric Bulbs Factory, in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 2, 16 January 1967, pages 33-34.]

Recently, some stubborn elements in Shanghai who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line, have stirred up a gust of evil wind of economism, incited the workers to demand back pay and more amenities, and caused them to occupy public buildings. We workers must resolutely repulse and wipe out this black wind and evil aura which undermine the foundation of socialism.

I am a product-inspection worker in the Shanghai Electric Bulbs Factory, with a family of eight living in a rather small house. In recent years, many comrades have persuaded me to apply to the State for more living space, but I always told them that if everybody should do so, how could the socialist construction be expedited. Sometimes, my children also raised the question of moving to a large place but I enlightened them by comparing the workers' living today with that of the old society. I said, "You young people have never experienced the kind of suffering we had under the old order. In the past, the place I worked was a thatched hut with 17 people crowded together in it. Now, we never had it so good!"

Recently, I have been thinking of doing some repair to my house. Then some people learned of this and came to me saying, "Your house is so small that it isn't worth repairing. Why don't you go out and 'occupy' some house right away?" I disagreed and said, "The houses belong to the State and if everybody should 'occupy' one, then who it is that we rebel against?"

I originally worked in Factory No. 2 of the Great China Rubber Manufactory of Shanghai. On 6 January this year, a message was brought

to me by some worker there, asking me to go back to claim for back pay, saying that when we worked in the past on the basis of piece wages, we should have received 94 yuan a month. Now the wage is fixed at 74 yuan, a difference of 20 yuan compared with the past. I showed no response at the time. On the second day the factory sent someone over again, asking me to go back. I thought it was not right and said, "Let's discuss the matter some other time. On the third day, another message came through asking me to go back. I then put it clearly, "To rebel for the sake of money is going after personal interest. That doesn't interest me and I don't want to go."

It occurred to me at the time: First, the persons we rebel against are the small handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. It is absolutely not for self-interest that we start the rebellion. Second, as I figure it out, if back pay were to be made, then more than 2,000 yuan would have to be paid to each person. What a tremendous loss this would mean to the State! Besides, after it is received this money would all be thrown into the market. The more I thought, the more I found it incorrect. For this reason, I definitely refused to go back but decided to stay where I am to make revolution and engage in production.

Now that the revolutionary rebel groups of Shanghai have repulsed the counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line, I realize all the more that all the troubles stirred up in Shanghai, such as forcible occupation of public buildings and demand for back pay, have been plots contrived by the stubborn elements clinging to the bourgeois reactionary line among the Party committee members of Shanghai municipality. These bad elements will not be reconciled to their defeat but will resort to new tricks in the future. We must raise our vigilance and struggle against them through to the end.

We must resolutely listen to Chairman Mao's words -- make revolution and promote production, and win a twin victory in the cultural revolution and production.

CSO: 3530-D

MONEY CANNOT CHANGE OUR WILL TO REBEL

[Following is a translation of an article by Pao Li-nien (0545 4539 1628) and Ho K'ang-p'ing (0149 1660 1627), Shanghai No. 3 Steel Mill's Corps, and Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebels Headquarters, in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 2, 16 January 1967, page 34.]

Just when the great proletarian cultural revolution in industrial and mining enterprises reached an upsurge while the revolutionary rebels launched their general offensive against the bourgeois reactionary line, a handful of people within the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and a minority of people who stubbornly cling to the bourgeois reactionary line, suddenly changed their usual ways and took great interest in "establishing revolutionary ties in a big way." They agitated a large number of workers and apprentices to proceed to other places to establish revolutionary ties and issued each of them a large amount of money, in a bid to strangle the great proletarian cultural revolution in the industrial and mining enterprises under the pretext of "support the revolutionary action of the revolutionary masses."

We are apprentices from the No. 3 Steel Mill of Shanghai. At first, due to our failure to see through the plot of the bourgeois reactionary line at counter-attack and our minds being preoccupied with "self-interest," we were duped.

These bad elements, digging deeply into the people's pockets and opening widely the purse of the State, issued each of us apprentices a large amount of money -- 250 yuan -- and paid us three months' wages in advance, and allowed us to go to other cities to establish revolutionary ties, in a vain attempt to evade the revolutionary rebels' criticism, to change the direction of the struggle, and to escape from the burning flame, personally kindled by Chairman Mao, of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Phew! This is truly nothing different from little

ants trying to shake the big tree. How ridiculous they do not know how far they could get! Their intrigue has been seen through and their counter-attack we must crush.

Now we declare: We definitely don't want the 250 yuan issued by the bourgeois lords as fees for going out to establish revolutionary ties, and will return it immediately. This is state property. We certainly don't want it! The small handful of bad people within the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee have tried in vain to use stinking money to cripple the strength of the revolutionary rebels. We would never fall into this big trap of theirs. We are here to stay in Shanghai to bombard this bourgeois reactionary line relentlessly. At the same time, we will keep firmly to our production posts and make a good job of our production.

"With all the bravery we have, we shall pursue the already hard-pressed enemy. We will never follow the steps of the King of Tzu for name's sake." We will hold still higher the red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and rebel, rebel, and rebel again!

To the broad revolutionary masses we cry aloud: Be vigilant! Be cautious! Be careful! We will lay bare the big sinister plot of the small handful of bad people within the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee. We will hold firmly the major direction of struggle, put in check the evil wind currently sweeping against the revolution, oppose economism, and crush the counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line.

CSO: 3530-D

RESOLUTELY OPPOSE ECONOMISM

[Following is a translation of an article by the "Buglers" Combat Detachment, Ching kangshan Group of Tsing Hua University, in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 2, 16 January 1967, pages 35-36.]

Under the present rather favorable situation, with the mass revolutionary movement being conducted with fanfare, a handful of people within certain provincial and municipal Party committees who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and an extremely few diehards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line are continuing to play new tricks. They have "generously" handed out huge amounts of money of the State to deceive and hoodwink the masses, in a vain attempt to corrode their revolutionary will, dissolve the ranks of revolutionary people, and lead the solemn political struggle to the crooked road of economism. They have left no stone unturned to sabotage Chairman Mao's directive "lay firm hold on revolution, promote production," to incite the workers into leaving their production posts, to cause disruption of communications and suspension of production, to undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution and proletarian dictatorship. This necessarily will cause us to raise high our vigilance. All revolutionary comrades must rise in action and repel this counter-attack of the enemy.

When earlier the revolutionary masses rose to bombard severely the bourgeois reactionary line, some leading personnel within the provincial and municipal Party committees immediately spread rumors, demanded for reassessment, reclassification and pay increases. They vainly attempted to use such material incentive of anti-revolutionary revisionism to irritate and cajole people, incite internal struggles, create disunity, shift the direction of struggle, and put out the burning flame of the revolution. It was through the firm struggle of the revolutionary rebels who spiked their sinister design that their plot was crushed.

Recently, in face of the stormy revolutionary struggle, the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the

capitalist road and an extremely few diehards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line, have played some new tricks. They spent lavishly the money which belongs to the state by arbitrarily approving expenses which are not at all rational, and thus freely turned on the green light of economism. Using the tactic of "luring the tiger away from the mountains," they issued large amounts of money to workers for them to go to Peking and other cities to "establish revolutionary ties," and in this way to weaken the strength of the revolutionary groups. They also provoked workers duped by them and caused conflicts among them -- to get workers to fight workers. They directed or even personally led workers to leave their production posts for Peking to complain about wages and other things. By this means they sought to escape the criticism and exposure by the masses and realized their political aim of protecting themselves.

Revolutionary comrades! Can we tolerate such a situation which seriously harm the interests of the State and the people? Can we tolerate such a great intrigue which leads the cultural revolution astray? Can we tolerate such a counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line? No, absolutely not!

Chairman Mao has always taught us: The fundamental question of revolution is the question of state power. When there is state power, there is everything; when state power is lost, everything is lost. Proletarian dictatorship is our lifeline. The present great proletarian cultural revolution, in the final analysis, is a struggle to seize power from a handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, and a great revolutionary movement which is aimed at opposing and preventing revisionism and the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship. This is a solemn political struggle. By no means can we fall into the snare of the enemy and lead this solemn political struggle onto the evil road of economism. History shows that any workers' movement solely devoted to economic struggle will always end in failure. Only the victory of political struggle can insure fundamentally the victory of political struggle. We must resolutely implement the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, firmly criticize the bourgeois reactionary line, drag out the small handful of people in authority who have sneaked into the Party and are taking the capitalist road, pull them down, cause them to collapse and make them lose their prestige, wrest from them the leadership and put it back in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries, hold firmly in our hands the destiny of proletarian dictatorship, the destiny of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and the destiny of socialist economy. Then, and then only, can we insure that the firmly established state power of the proletariat will never change color, and can the rightful demand of the broad revolutionary masses be insured. Otherwise, if the great proletarian cultural revolution is not conducted penetratingly and thoroughly while the demons and freaks in society and those in authority taking the capitalist road are permitted to ride roughshod over the people, then all the fruit of struggle will be completely lost, and

capitalism will come back. Can we permit capitalism to stage a comeback? No, absolutely not!

Economism is anti-Marxist-Leninist and anti-Mao Tse-tung's thought, and is a revisionist stuff which is thoroughly counter-revolutionary. To lead the political struggle of the masses to the road of economism is a big intrigue of a handful of stubborn people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. On the one hand, by this means they seek to sabotage social production, undermine national economy, cripple the foundation of socialism. On the other, they sling mud and put their crime of sabotaging production on the revolutionaries and the cultural revolution. See that they will lay themselves bare! Some people have said, "When wages are increased, the economic problem is solved, and the cultural revolution will have already won more than half of the victory." This intrigue we must spike and must not be duped by them.

The broad masses of revolutionaries stand firmly on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, resolutely answer his call "lay firm hold on revolution, promote production," and have shown that the working class are true heroes in the stormy sea.

On the one hand, they have plunged themselves into the great cultural revolution in their determined struggle against the small handful of people within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. On the other, they hold fast to their production posts, work selflessly day and night. Besides fulfilling their own production tasks, they have volunteered to work extra shifts so as to make up the unfinished work left by those workers who have been once duped.

The revolutionary workers and staff members in many places, in order to guard state property and defend the cultural revolution, have carried out valiant struggle against a handful of people within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road. They said, "The money belongs to the state and the people, not to that small handful of people. They may make out slips and approve payment, but we shall not let them have their way." Thus was the evil wind kept in check.

We must follow the example set by the revolutionaries of Shanghai. All revolutionary forces should close their ranks firmly to oppose economism, crush the counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line, resolutely implement Chairman Mao's directive "lay firm hold on revolution, promote production," and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

CSO: 3530-D

PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP AND PROLETARIAN
EXTENSIVE DEMOCRACY

[Following is a translation of an article by T'an Hou-lan (6223 0624 5695), Ching-kang Mountain Commune of Peking Normal University, in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 2, 16 January 1967, pages 37-39.]

"Thousands of willows sway in the spring breeze; all the 600 million people of the divine country are Shun or Yao."

In this thunderous and heroic great proletarian cultural revolution, millions of the revolutionary masses in our great country have tasted the first time extensive democracy in human history. The revolutionary people enjoy democracy in speech, in holding meetings and making demonstrations, in publishing publications and in freedom of association. They can air their views and conduct debates in a big way, put up wall posters, establish revolutionary ties and exchange revolutionary experience.

Looking through the history of human civilization over several thousand years, in which dynasty or in which country had there been such extensive democracy? No, absolutely not. The bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary revisionists sometimes also talk loudly about democracy and freedom, but all of such talks are sheer lies for deceiving people. As far as the proletariat is concerned, they mean exploitation, oppression and fascist dictatorship.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has utmost faith in the masses. He understands best the wishes of the popular masses and respects most the revolutionary creative spirit of the popular masses. It is precisely our most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao who first supports the revolutionary wall posters, the revolutionary Red Guards and the establishment of revolutionary ties and the exchange of revolutionary experience. Only so great a Marxist-Leninist and so ingenious a

revolutionary leader of the proletariat as Chairman Mao can display such a great spirit and can give birth to extensive democracy under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship.

Extensive democracy of the proletariat is great in that it is the first of its kind in the international communist movement, and is a great development of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine by Chairman Mao.

Proletarian extensive democracy means making masters of the masses of the people. The question of primary importance in extensive democracy is to arouse the masses with a free hand, to give the people the most extensive democratic rights, and to exercise dictatorship over all enemies of socialism.

With such extensive democracy, the broad masses can be aroused to the full extent to rebel against all forms of revisionism and all reactionaries, thus leaving the enemies no place to hide themselves.

With such extensive democracy, we can bring into great play the revolutionary spirit of the masses and fully arouse the activism of the masses for socialist revolution and socialist construction.

With such extensive democracy we can bring into being a social custom, and the common laborers can criticize the leading organs of the Party and the government and the people responsible for them.

With such extensive democracy, the hundreds of millions of the masses can supervise our Party and government leaders at all levels as well as our Party and government organs at all levels.

The development of proletarian extensive democracy is of great and far-reaching significance toward consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and guarding against capitalist restoration.

The extensive democracy we refer to is extensive democracy under proletarian dictatorship. Proletarian dictatorship and proletarian extensive democracy are unity of opposites. Without proletarian dictatorship, there is no guarantee for proletarian extensive democracy. For the same reason, if there is no proletarian extensive democracy, proletarian dictatorship also cannot be consolidated, and may even degenerate to become bourgeois dictatorship or fascist dictatorship.

The reason that our country can enforce such extensive democracy is that we have a consolidated dictatorship of the proletariat and the invincible People's Liberation Army. At a time when the struggle between the two classes and the two roads still exists, any departure from proletarian dictatorship will mean that we are not in position to talk about proletarian extensive democracy. This is especially so during the present scrimmage between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Proletarian dictatorship must closely coordinate dictatorship over the counter-revolutionaries with extensive democracy for the people. Proletarian dictatorship is powerful because it stands for the dictatorship of the working masses over the exploiters and the dictatorship of the majority over the minority, and also because it brings into being extensive democracy for the broad working people. Divorced from the criticism and supervision of the broad masses and their active support, there cannot be any proletarian dictatorship -- at least there cannot be any consolidated proletarian dictatorship. The more intense the class struggle is, the greater is the need for the proletariat to rely most resolutely and thoroughly on the broad masses of the people and to mobilize their revolutionary activism to triumph over the reactionary forces.

Of late, a tiny handful of power holders who are taking the capitalist road within the Party and an extremely small number of diehards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line are not reconciled to their defeat. Working in collusion with the monsters and demons in society, they launch frantic counter-attacks against the proletarian revolutionary line in the attempt to undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution, proletarian extensive democracy and proletarian dictatorship. In the name of extensive democracy, they arbitrarily accuse the proletarian revolutionaries of all kinds of crimes and direct the brunt of the struggle toward the proletarian command post. Finding that this is beyond their tolerance, the broad revolutionary masses have exercised dictatorship over the tiny handful of bad eggs at the head.

This revolutionary measure has greatly strengthened the determination of the revolutionaries and dampened the arrogance of the reactionaries. The revolutionaries jump with joy and applaud it. But the tiny handful of clowns are enraged. They become hysterical and viciously assail our revolutionary action.

"You have undermined extensive democracy!" Because we exercise dictatorship over the clowns who bombard the proletarian command post, you call this the sabotage of extensive democracy. It can be seen that the democracy you have in mind is bourgeois democracy. Dear sirs, we indeed want to undermine such "democracy."

Chairman Mao taught us: "There is in the world only concrete freedom, concrete democracy, but no abstract freedom, abstract democracy. In the society of class struggle, when the exploiting classes are free to exploit the working people, the latter have no freedom from exploitation, and when there is bourgeois democracy, there is no democracy for the proletariat and the working people." The case can only be for one to eliminate the other, and there can be no compromise. By eliminating bourgeois democracy to a greater extent and with greater thoroughness, proletarian democracy will greatly expand. As the bourgeoisie sees it, this means no democracy in this country or sabotage of democracy. Actually this is eradicating what is bourgeois and promoting what is

proletarian, and the promotion of proletarian democracy means the eradication of bourgeois democracy.

"You have contravened the freedom of speech!" Dear sirs, you are right. We mean to forbid the reactionaries to speak and act in an unruly way. Our freedom is given only to the people, but not the reactionaries. Anybody among the people can say what he wants to say, write wall posters against other persons, and put up such posters in whatever place he chooses. Just look at our factories, organs, schools, rural villages and city streets, and you will find wall posters everywhere. Let us ask: In which country is there so high a degree of freedom or democracy?

"You have no faith in the masses!" This is completely nonsense! You tiny handful of counter-revolutionaries are definitely not the "masses," and we absolutely have no faith in you. Our taking sanctions against you bad eggs is in compliance with the demand of the broad revolutionary masses, and is a manifestation of our great faith in the masses.

In refutation of renegade Kautsky, Lenin said:

"With the attitude of a learned bookworm or the innocence of a ten-year-old girl, Kautsky asked: Since you have the support of the majority, why is dictatorship still necessary? Marx and Engels explained:

"-- in order to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie.

"-- in order to strike fear in the reactionaries.

"-- in order to uphold the authority of the armed people to oppose the bourgeoisie.

"-- in order to enable the proletariat to suppress their own enemies with brute force."

These teachings of Lenin's were beyond the comprehension of renegade Kautsky, and are also beyond the comprehension of our clowns who attack us of "having no faith in the masses." Only genuine revolutionaries can comprehend them.

Some muddle-headed people always adopt the philistine view toward the current life-and-death class struggle. They fail to see the class contradiction and the great struggle of the two lines. They do not understand why we are so resolved in repulsing the frantic attack of the tiny countercurrent against the revolution. They say: "Why must dictatorial means be adopted when other people make known their views?" They see only the phenomenon but not the essence of things.

When some comrades among the people make known their views, even though they are radical and harsh, we must humbly heed what they say. But those fellows with an ulterior object in view actually attack the

proletarian command post in the name of criticism. Their criminal aim must be exposed. Otherwise we would be trapped.

Chairman Mao taught us: Democracy is a means but not the end. We use this means of extensive democracy to attain the great end of making a success of the great proletarian cultural revolution, of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and of developing the socialist cause. Only the strengthening of proletarian dictatorship can safeguard proletarian extensive democracy. Anybody who wants to bombard the revolutionary command post of the proletariat and to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is a pipe-dream which can never be done!

Right now, the great proletarian cultural revolution has entered a new stage. The proletarian revolutionaries must warmly respond to the great call of the Party and Chairman Mao and learn from the Shanghai revolutionaries. Let the proletarian revolutionaries unite, tighten their grip on the destiny of the proletarian dictatorship, the destiny of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the destiny of the socialist economy, and fight for repulsing the new counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line and winning a new victory in the great cultural revolution.

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FIRST STEP IN FORMING ONE WITH THE WORKERS

[Following is a translation of an article by all fighters of the "Red Flag" Fighting Detachment of the Peking Aeronautical Engineering Institute in the No. 1 Machine Tool Factory of Peking, in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 2, 16 January 1967, pages 39-41.]

Our great teacher and respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao said: "If the intellectuals do not form one with the workers, peasants and the masses, they will accomplish nothing. As regards whether an intellectual is revolutionary, non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, the final divide lies in whether he is willing to form one with the workers, peasants and the masses." During the great proletarian cultural revolution, in response to Chairman Mao's call, we have come to the No. 1 Machine Tool Factory of Peking.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great scrimmage between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Acute class struggle is also found in the integration of intellectuals with the worker-peasant masses. A tiny handful of power holders taking the capitalist road within the Party and an extremely small number of diehards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line are most fearful of and extremely hostile to the revolutionary students who make their way into factories to form one with the revolutionary workers and to rebel against them, and they devise all ways and means to obstruct and undermine such integration.

Before the students came to the factory, they vociferously spread rumors and were so nonsensical as to say that "the students would come to the factory to smash the machines and to carry away our files..." They incited some workers who did not know the truth into suspending production so as to bar the students from the factory. After the students came to the factory, they again incited on a number of occasions some workers deceived by them into opposing the students. They set their propaganda machines at work, and leveled against us a number of

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dark charges, such as "undermining 'grasp revolution and stimulate production,'" "No. 2 work team," "dragging one section against another," and so on and so forth. They also shamelessly provoked the relationship between the students of various schools coming to the factory and the relationship between the revolutionary students and the revolutionary workers, and undermined the integration of the revolutionary students with the revolutionary workers.

Chairman Mao said: "We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports." The more the tiny handful of power holders taking the capitalist road within the Party and the extremely small number of diehards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line are opposed to our integration with the revolutionary workers, the more resolute we must be so that we may fear no sacrifice, surmount every difficulty and steadfastly follow to the end the revolutionary road charted by Chairman Mao. The thought of Chairman Mao has pointed out the direction for us fighters and has given us unlimited strength. In firm solidarity and fighting together with the revolutionary rebel workers, we have forcefully refuted all kinds of fallacy of this handful of persons with abundant facts. We have exposed their crazy desire to drive away the revolutionary students and their plot to resist the great cultural revolution, and have repulsed the frantic attack of the bourgeois reactionary line.

The enemies are not reconciled to their failure. These fellows have at no time forgotten their desire to drive the students away from the factory and to undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution. They have now adopted a new tactic by making use of material benefit to lure the students in the attempt to incite the workers' discontent with the students. We revolutionary students and revolutionary workers have acquired sharper eyes. We have seen through their conspiracy and trick and have boycotted such revisionist material inducement. We and the revolutionary workers have united even more closely.

Chairman Mao said: "Now there are also some people going to the factories and the countryside, but the result is at variance with some persons learning something and some other persons learning none. Lying therein is the question of standpoint or the question of attitude, in other words the question of world outlook." After coming to a factory, the revolutionary students must also solve the question of how to form one with the revolutionary workers.

Should we adopt the self-righteous attitude and regard ourselves as first in the world, or should we adopt a humble attitude, discard our stinking arrogance and be willing to learn like pupils? This was the question which we first encountered after we came to the factory. We are Chairman Mao's young red fighters and must carry out work according to Chairman Mao's teachings. We must adopt a humble attitude, discard our stinking arrogance and be willing to learn like pupils. We must persist in eating together, living together and working together with

the workers, learn humbly from the revolutionary workers their steadfast proletarian stand, their consistent revolutionary spirit, their public spirit and selflessness, and their fervent love of labor. We should remold our thought in the class struggle and the struggle for production.

The sixteen-point decision points out: "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."

We must distinguish the enemies from our friends and must finally carry out the basic principle which Chairman Mao has repeatedly emphasized: "Without conducting investigation, we have no right to speak." After we came to the factory, we learned to make use of the class analysis method and earnestly carried out investigation and study. When the workshop was at recess, we lent our ears again and again to the opinion and view of each master workman in regard to the great cultural revolution in the factory. After work, we went to call on and to chat with the master workmen in their dormitories or homes. In this way we basically understood the situation of the class struggle in the factory and preliminarily found out whom we should rely upon, whom we should unite and whom we should hit.

Through repeated practice, we are of the opinion that the red rebel workers' organizations have carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Therefore, we firmly and violently attack the bourgeois reactionary line together with them, and we fight and win together with them.

Meanwhile we have penetrated deep among those master workmen who are temporarily in the dark and do not know the truth. We work together with them, and through exchange of ideas, setting out facts and reasoning, we lead them to see through the conspiracy and trick of a tiny handful of power holders who are taking the capitalist road within the Party and an extremely small number of richards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line.

The majority of the working masses who have been deceived want revolution, and once they are awakened, they side with the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and join others to criticize thoroughly the bourgeois reactionary line.

In the process of forming one with the revolutionary workers, some fellow students thought in terms of monopoly and substitution or doing nothing. We opposed both kinds of ideas. We knew that we must have full faith in the ability of the masses to liberate themselves because they are real heroes before we could overcome the idea of monopoly and substitution. We went deep into the workshop, made ourselves pupils of the revolutionary workers, and learned from them how to bring into play extensive democracy advocated by Chairman Mao and

how to grasp the general orientation of the struggle. We also energetically put our own views and suggestions to the revolutionary workers and took the initiative to discuss with them various problems appearing in the movement, but did not seek to impose our own views on other people.

At the same time, revolutionary students must think like the masters in the factory. Having come to a factory, we should not rest content with mere participation in labor and turn a blind eye on the great cultural revolution in the factory. We are ordinary red rebels in the factory, and the great cultural revolution in the factory is a great event of personal interest to us. We must closely unite with all revolutionary workers under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and resolutely carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

During our short stay in the factory, through forming one with the revolutionary workers, we have deeply sensed that the revolutionary workers have a deep proletarian affection for Chairman Mao, that they most readily accept the thought of Mao Tse-tung and are best able to heed what Chairman Mao says, and that they are most concerned with the revolution and production. The revolutionary rebel workers have aptly said: "The country will not change color and a success can be made of production only when the cultural revolution is well grasped."

Of late, a tiny handful of power holders taking the capitalist road within the Party and an extremely small number of diehards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line have incited and instigated part of the workers to stop work and to clamor for higher wages and more welfare benefits in the vain attempt to lead the movement astray onto economism. The revolutionary rebel workers are very angry with the tricks of these fellows. Uniting closely together, they have exposed the enemy plot and hit back violently at the new counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line.

We are resolved to learn in a better way from the revolutionary workers, to take over the master workmen's spirit of seeking neither fame nor gain, fearing no sacrifice and carrying the revolution through to the end, and to follow Chairman Mao to make revolution the rest of our lives.

The broad masses of the revolutionary workers and peasants are the main force of this great proletarian cultural revolution. The necessary tendency resulting from the development of this movement is for the young students to go to factories and the countryside, to learn from the masses of the workers and peasants, to propagate the thought of Mao Tse-tung, to form one with the revolutionary workers and peasants, and jointly to make a success of the great cultural revolution.

We young students have no understanding of the class struggle in society and lack experience in political struggle. We especially have

no personal knowledge of the system of oppression and exploitation in the old society. Through going to factories and forming one with the revolutionary workers, we have acquired some preliminary understanding.

Meanwhile, we have learned the most steadfast and most consistent revolutionary spirit of the revolutionary workers and strengthened our determination to carry the revolution through to the end. Only by forming one with the masses of the workers and peasants can the revolutionary intellectuals bring down by struggle the tiny handful of power holders taking the capitalist road within the Party, penetratingly criticize the bourgeois reactionary line, make a thorough success of struggle, criticism and rectification in schools, and successfully carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution.

We have just taken the first step in forming one with the worker-peasant masses. We are resolved forever to heed what Chairman Mao says, to discard our arrogance, to become good pupils of the workers and peasants, to form one with them and to win a new victory in the great cultural revolution.

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