

## THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AT PEKING UNIVERSITY

[ Following is a translation of a Chinese-language monograph entitled "Hsin Pei-ta Wen-hua Ko-ming Chan-lan-hui" (New Peking University Cultural Revolution Exhibit), undated. ]

### FOREWORD

The storm of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is sweeping over the country and shaking the whole world! This is the greatest event in the sixties of the twentieth century!

With incomparable political far-sightedness and stupendous courage, our greatest leader Chairman Mao has personally started and led this unprecedented great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, advancing our country's socialist revolution to a new stage and resolving the historically significant problem of how to maintain political power and how to prevent restoration of capitalism after seizure of power, thus establishing a great new example for the proletariat the world over and creating a new era in the history of international communism.

On 1 January 1966, our great leader Chairman Mao decided to publish the first Marxist-Leninist poster of the nation at Peking University, which ignited the fire of the great Proletarian Revolution and smashed the stubborn reactionary fortress of the old Peking University. The proletarian revolutionaries of our school won the first victory in the struggle to seize power.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "All revolutionary struggles in the world are to seize and consolidate political power. That counter-revolutionaries wage a deadly struggle against the revolutionary forces is also entirely for the sake of maintaining their political power." LIU and TENG, in order to preserve the old capitalist order,

followed the bourgeois reactionary line and opposed the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and attempted energetically to smother this great cultural revolution. At the critical moment of the cultural revolution of our school, Peking University proletarian revolutionaries, under close concern of the great teacher Chairman Mao and under guidance of the Central Cultural Revolution Team, have waged a fierce fight against the work team and attained the second victory in the struggle to seize power.

In August 1966, our great helmsman Chairman Mao personally called the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Party Congress, of great historical significance, drew up the Sixteen Articles of the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which announced the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the defeat of the bourgeois reactionary line, and guided the great Cultural Revolution in the correct direction. The proletarian revolutionaries of our school are singing and advancing along the course of revolution charted by Chairman Mao and have defeated one counterattack after another of the bourgeois reactionary line and won victory after victory.

Our infinite joy is that the reddest sun in our hearts, Chairman Mao, has written the three glittering characters "New Peking University" for our school; this is a mobilization order for destroying the old and erecting the new and for advancing the cause of the proletariat and wiping out the bourgeoisie. The entire body of revolutionary teachers, students, and workers of our New Peking University will never disappoint Chairman Mao, and will concern themselves with important affairs of the country and carry to the end the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution! A New Peking University of brightly red Mao Tse-tung's thought was born in the storm of the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

## PART I A STUBBORN REACTIONARY FORTRESS

Chairman Mao instructs us: "When the armed enemies have been vanquished, unarmed enemies still exist. They will inevitably wage a deadly struggle with us; we must not take them lightly."

For a long period of time, the old Peking University was controlled by the power holders taking the capitalist road within the Party led by LU P'ing (7120/1627) and bourgeois reactionary academic "authorities." They controlled all powers of the Party and administration in Peking University, and under the control of the P'ENG Chen black gang turned the old Peking University into a stubborn reactionary fortress. They implemented a cruel bourgeois dictatorship in the old Peking University, frantically opposed Mao Tse-tung's thought, promoted by all means the revisionist educational line, did their utmost to undermine the socialist education movement, and committed monstrous crimes!

Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. The proletarian revolutionaries of Peking University have continuously waged a struggle against LU P'ing's counterrevolutionary revisionist clique. The brave struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries has forcefully dealt a blow to the reactionary rule of the LU empire.

### 1. Whose Empire Was the Old Peking University?

The old Peking University was a stubborn reactionary fortress controlled by the P'ENG Chen counterrevolutionary revisionist clique.

Secretary of the Party Committee and President of the university LU P'ing came from a landlord family, assistant secretary P'ENG P'ei-yun (1756/3805/0061) has an origin of bureaucratic capitalism. These are two criminal counterrevolutionary revisionists.

Long-time revisionist FENG Ting (7458/1353) was promoted to the position of assistant secretary of the Party Committee, anti-communist

old hand CHIEN Po-tsan (5054/0130/6363) and rightist FU Ying (0265/7751) were named vice presidents of the university. They controlled the instruction and administration.

The organizational department, propaganda department, administrative office, personnel office of the Party Committee, League Committee, and the majority of department Party branches were controlled by class outsiders and turncoats who came from landlord and bureaucratic classes. They carried out a coalition dictatorship of counter-revolutionary revisionists and bourgeois reactionary academic "authorities."

## 2. Frantically Opposed to Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Great Mao Tse-tung's thought is the greatest obstacle to all plots of counterrevolutionary restoration of the anti-Party cliques; it is the magic mirror to see through all monsters and devils. Therefore, the LU P'ing black gang first pointed their spearhead towards Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The LU P'ing black gang energetically promoted the theory of extinction of classes; they made the wild assertion that "the problem of socialism winning over capitalism has been basically solved." They were creating public opinion for counterrevolutionary restoration.

The LU P'ing black gang energetically oppressed and undermined the mass movement of studying Chairman Mao's writings. They used the excuse of "labor and rest" in obstructing the study of Chairman Mao's writings. They used the pretense of "voluntary study" in forcing a large number of teams for studying Chairman Mao's writings to disband. They propagated "politics in specialties" and led students on the road of vain specialization. But revolutionary teachers and students resolutely resisted it, organized secret study groups, and insisted on studying Chairman Mao's writings and reforming their own thoughts.

The LU P'ing black gang energetically resisted Mao Tse-tung's thought in instruction and scientific research. LU P'ing insidiously assailed the embedding of Mao Tse-tung's thought in instructional content as "substituting empty theories for scientific analysis." An academic "warlord" in the Eastern Languages Department frantically shouted: "We do not allow you to insert Mao Tse-tung's thought in our lectures; Marxist-Leninist followers cannot master the Arabic language." They cut out a large number of courses in Mao's selections and study hours, refused to implement Chairman Mao's directive of "small quantity but great depth," carried out the capitalist scientific research line, put forward the reactionary viewpoint of "theory-practice-theory," and openly challenged Chairman Mao's correct judgement.

Great Mao Tse-tung's thought is the soul of our Party, the life of the revolutionary people; we strike down whoever opposes Mao Tse-tung's thought!

### 3. The Cruel Bourgeois Dictatorship

To strengthen their rule, the LU P'ing black gang actively promoted revisionist organizational line and cadre line, and persecuted the revolutionary cadres who dared to struggle against them.

HSU Yun-ying (1776/0061/1758) and CHANG Yu-ch'un (1728/3768/2504) of the Technical Physics Department felt that the struggle against rightists in their department was not thorough and there were problems in the ranks of cadres and therefore demanded extra study hours. The LU P'ing black gang took advantage of the anti-rightist movement in 1959, carried out cruel class retaliation, fabricated more than 50 "crimes" against them and continued the struggle of criticism for seven months. Later, CHANG Yu-ch'un was attacked as an anti-Party element and sent to the countryside for remoulding through labor. HSU Yun-ying was stripped of all duties inside and outside the Party. They even forced the pregnant Comrade HSU Yun-ying to do heavy physical labor and forced her to clean up radioactive refuse. As a result, she lost her hair and teeth, and her baby suffered congenital heart disease. There were originally 101 discharged service men in the Technical Physics Department, and under the frightening oppression of the LU P'ing black gang, many of them suffered from radioactive diseases and were kicked out of the university, and finally, there remained only six of them.

The LU P'ing black gang regarded students of worker and peasant origins as thorns in the side, and did everything to persecute them. They called the students of worker and peasant origins coarse teacups not amenable to fancy carving who got into the university by "ladders." They even openly proposed to kick out these students en masse. In 1958 the Party sent 237 students of worker and peasant origins to eight natural science departments of the university to study. Some of them were treated as "seconds," some set back or dismissed; only 45 graduated with their classes.

At the same time, the LU P'ing black gang energetically protected the rich, bad, reactionary, and rightists elements, accorded them all conveniences, and even invited a large number of rightist elements to come back to school. From June 1960 to January 1962 alone, 62 rightist elements came back at their invitation.

### 4. Promoting Peaceful Evolution; Developing Bourgeois Continuers

Chairman Mao has said: "Our educational policy should enable

the educated to develop in moral education, intellectual education and physical education and make them cultural laborers with socialist consciousness." However, the LU P'ing black gang resisted the Party's educational policy and energetically propagated "learn from the Soviet Union and refer to Great Britain and the United States;" they carried out the revisionist educational line and attempted to develop bourgeois continuers.

In recruiting students, the LU P'ing black gang resisted the Party's class line and discriminated against students of worker and peasant origins and accepted large numbers of children of the exploiting classes. The proportion of students of worker and peasant origins dropped from 66.8% in 1960 to 37.7% in 1962, while that of children of exploiting classes more than doubled during the same period.

The LU P'ing black gang energetically promoted peaceful evolution and turned the old Peking University into a large dye vat. They advocated individual achievement and fame; they prevented students from taking part in production labor and joining the ranks of workers and peasants; they made use of various propanganda machinery and Party and League activities to sell revisionist black goods; they turned the Cultural Work Corps, Fine Art Club, and athletic teams into centers of activities of bourgeois ideology -- and in this big bourgeois dye vat many people were poisoned.

Chairman Mao has said: "The school system must be shortened, education must be revolutionized, and the phenomenon of our schools being controlled by intellectual elements of the bourgeoisie must not continue." We must remember Chairman Mao's instruction, and thoroughly smash this bourgeois dye vat!

The broad revolutionary teachers and students, particularly children of workers and peasants, have resolutely opposed the revisionist educational line promoted by the LU P'ing black gang; they resolutely follow the road of labor-ization and revolutionization according to the Party's educational policy, and resolve to be continuers of the proletarian revolutionary enterprise.

#### 5. A Fierce Struggle Between Restoration and Counter-Restoration

The proletarian revolutionaries of Peking University have long waged a fierce struggle against the bourgeois royalists. In the 1960 shakeup of the main Party branch of the Philosophy Department the revolutionary left finally removed the former Party main branch secretary WANG Ch'ing-shu (3769/1987/3219), a power holder taking the capitalist road, after 14 months struggle. But the struggle did not end here.

In October 1964, when Peking University socialist education movement was progressing rapidly, the revolutionary masses angrily charged the LU P'ing black gang of monstrous crime; more than 20 power holders of the Party taking the capitalist road were criticized, LU P'ing was forced to make a "self-critique," and the rule of the LU empire started to crumble.

The movement developed in breadth and depth, and the root was traced to the old Peking Municipal Committee. TENG Hsiao-p'ing and P'ENG Chen personally oppressed the social educational movement of Peking University. In March 1965, they planned the first International Hotel conference, and reorganized rightist troops for a counterattack. In April, they further called the Nationalities Hotel conference to attack the revolutionary working teams. In June they used the pretense of vacation to disband the working teams. In July they planned the second International Hotel conference, spent more than 200,000 yuan, and fabricated many crimes against the revolutionary left in the name of "straightening out thoughts." Under the instigations of P'ENG Chen, they attacked the leftists of the Philosophy Department group by group. Later, they engaged in a frantic counter-reckoning in the name of "letting a hundred flowers blossom." Thereafter they concentrated their fire on Comrade NIEH Yuan-tsu (5119/0337/2737) and attempted to dissolve the leftist ranks. They waged a seven-month long struggle against several hundreds of activists. And this is an extremely serious counter-revolutionary incident that took place in 1965. But the revolutionary leftists armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought never surrendered. Especially the leftists of the Philosophy Department saw through the enemy plot, remained united like a rock, and dealt a fierce blow to the attacking enemy with Chairman Mao's strategy of "second strike."

During the course of struggle, the revolutionary leftists deeply understood that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the source of power and a colossal ideological weapon in sustaining our struggle:

(1) In the socialist society exists the struggle between bourgeois restoration and proletarian counter-restoration, and counter-revolutionary elements of the Khrushchev type stand right next to us. We must use Chairman Mao's method of analyzing classes as the magic mirror to see through all monsters and devils.

(2) The focal point of struggle between the proletarian revolutionaries and bourgeois royalists is political power. The counterrevolutionary revisionists seized leadership power and would inevitably oppress the revolutionaries; the revolutionaries must have the courageous spirit of "sacrificing themselves to drag out the emperor," and wage struggle to seize power.

(3) Courage can come only from selflessness. Only without

selfish thoughts can one have courage and wage resolute struggle.

(4) Unity is power. In the struggle leftists must be united and give mutual support to resist the lures of the counterrevolutionary revisionists.

(5) Struggle must be based on strategy. We must know how to fight, under various conditions, the enemy who hoist a "red flag" while opposing the red flag.

The struggle of Peking University is a typical example of the struggle between bourgeois restoration and proletarian counter-restoration. In over 10 years, the struggle between proletarian revolutionaries and bourgeois royalists has been, in the final analysis, a struggle to seize power. With political power, one has everything; without it, one has nothing. The bloody facts of Peking University have taught us; once capitalism is restored, a cruel bourgeois dictatorship is inevitably imposed on the revolutionary people. All revolutionary comrades must remember this painful lesson, and must not forget proletarian dictatorship and emphasis on politics, and hoist high the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The criminal activities of the LU P'ing black gang were to prepare public opinions and to build a social foundation for a nationwide restoration of counterrevolution. This fact clearly tells us: to strengthen political power, the proletariat must carry to the end the socialist revolution not only on the political and economic fronts but also in the realm of consciousness. If we let bourgeois ideology spread freely and corrode the masses, then it would be like what Chairman Mao has said: "It will not take too long, perhaps several years, more than 10 years, or several scores of years, before the inevitable occurrence of a nationwide counterrevolutionary restoration."



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## PART II THE BRIGHT FIRE OF THE GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION

### 1. Chairman Mao Has Personally Started and Led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

Whether the proletariat can maintain political power and prevent the restoration of capitalism after seizing power is a new central topic in current international communist movement.

That the reddest sun in our hearts, Chairman Mao, has personally started and led the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the answer to this problem of great historical significance.

In 1963, under Chairman Mao's personal guidance, our country engaged in a literature and art revolution centered around the target of reforming drama, which was really the beginning of the Cultural Revolution.

Beginning in October 1965, Chairman Mao personally started the critique of the anti-Party and anti-socialist "Hai Jui Pa Kuan" and "San Chia Ts'un." The broad workers, peasants, and revolutionary masses hoisted high the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought, actively participated in the great Cultural Revolution, and opened fire on the anti-Party black line. At that time, the back-stage managers P'ENG, LU, LO, and YANG got scared, and the leader of the black gang P'ENG Chen hastily drew up the anti-revolutionary "February Proposal." This black program of oppressing the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was approved by the black commander LIU Shao-ch'i and TENG Hsiao-p'ing and sent to all Party members, and the poison spread throughout the land.

Chairman Mao immediately saw through the scheme of the anti-Party clique of P'ENG, LU, LO, and YANG, and took charge of drawing up the "16 May Notice," thoroughly discrediting the bourgeois reactionary line of the "February Proposal," and announcing the death of "Szu Chia Tien." At that moment, a large scale mass revolutionary movement was

about to sweep the country.

The bugle of the great Cultural Revolution also shook this stagnant water pond of Peking University. Under favorable conditions throughout the country, the broad teachers and students of Peking University vehemently demanded a criticism of the anti-Party black line. The old Peking University was on the eve of a big storm. LU P'ing black gang was scared to death of the coming high tide of the Great Cultural Revolution of Peking University. They energetically advertised the black goods of "February Proposal," resisted Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and frantically undermined the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The LU P'ing black gang advocated the so-called "education of philosophy of life," attempting to divert the vision of the revolutionary teachers and students; they told the teachers and students to look over 1,500 ancient books and reference materials of over 14,000,000 Chinese characters, and manufactured the anti-revolutionary "experience" of "Study in Redressing the Grievance of Hai Jui," attempting to divert a solemn political struggle to the road of "purely academic discussion." They engaged in an abnormal program of "study and work," attempting to split up the revolutionary force to protect themselves. All these schemes were to resist and undermine the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started and led personally by Chairman Mao.

By 14 May 1966, when the black screen of "San Chia Ts'un" and "Szu Chia Tien" was completely uncovered, LU P'ing black gang was still struggling and gave SUNG Shih (1345/4311) the black directive of "strengthening guidance and guarding their posts." P'eng P'ei-yun was also very active; she was making contacts to transmit P'ENG Chen's black directive and collecting information. They resisted stubbornly and continued the oppression of the great Cultural Revolution.

## 2. The Announcement of Peking People's Commune

To protect Chairman Mao and carry the great Cultural Revolution to the end, the revolutionaries of Peking University, full of anger at LU P'ing black gang, fearlessly carried out Chairman Mao's instructions, and resolved to drag out LU P'ing who undermined the great Cultural Revolution.

At two o'clock in the afternoon of 25 May, a lightning bolt split the dark clouds over Peking University. Comrade NIEH Yuan-tsu and others rose up! They hung up the poster "What Are SUNG Shih, LU P'ing and P'ENG P'ei-yun doing in the Great Cultural Revolution?" uncovering their crimes of undermining the Cultural Revolution under the guidance of the old Peking Municipal Committee.

The nation's first Marxist-Leninist poster, the announcement of the Peking People's Commune of the sixties of the twentieth century, was born!

This poster was written under the encouragement of the Party Central's "16 May Notice"; it was the result of the long struggle waged by the revolutionary leftists hoisting high the great red flag, Mao Tse-tung's thought; it was a great victory for the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao has said: "Posters are an extremely useful weapon, ...." The poster of Comrade NIEH Yuan-tzu and others resembled an angry shell that exploded in the air above Peking University, breaking the dead silence of Peking University. Suddenly, a human sea gathered in front of the mess hall. The revolutionary teachers and students plunged into the fight, and thousands of posters came to the support of Comrade NIEH Yuan-tzu. The revolutionary teachers and students of the Philosophy Department wrote: "The poster of Comrade NIEH Yuan-tzu and others is very good, and we resolutely support it!" The sophomore class of the Literature Department demonstrated with large posters, angrily accusing the LU P'ing black gang of their crimes. A great revolutionary storm was about to come.

### 3. Only Heroes Chase Away Beasts; No Brave Man Is Afraid of Bears

The nation's first poster frightened the LU P'ing black gang. However, precisely as Chairman Mao constantly instructs us: "Imperialists and reactionaries in the country will never accept their defeat; they will wage their final struggle." In the afternoon that day, LU P'ing personally made plans, and big and small running dogs all came out of their cage. They ignited evil fire, fabricated rumors, and attacked the revolutionaries. They labeled NIEH Yuan-tzu as a "schemer of the Khrushchev type," asserted wildly "to oppose the Party Committee is to oppose the Party Central; to oppose LU P'ing is to oppose Chairman Mao," and moreover said instigatively: "The first rightist poster in 1957 was posted right here." They carried out a four-hour barbarous encirclement and ridicule of Comrade NIEH Yuan-tzu. Under such circumstances Comrade SUN Yueh-ts'ai (1327/2588/2088) came forward to defend Comrade NIEH, WEI Ch'i-wen (7614/2630/2429) of the History Department insisted on his revolutionary stand, and one of the writers of the poster, Comrade CHAO Cheng-i (6392/2973/5030) solemnly announced: "I am a Marxist-Leninist Party member; I have nothing to do with LU P'ing's revisionist Party," and "Even if you cut off my head, I still engage in revolution!"

In the evening of that day, LI Hsueh-feng (2621/7185/1496) hastily ran to Peking University and talked about "A party has party

disciplines; a state has state laws," and "the difference between outsiders and insiders," in order to oppress the revolutionary movement, to promote the prestige of the bourgeoisie, and to weaken the will of the proletariat. Then and there was a tense situation of "a town threatened by the pressing dark clouds."

"Only heroes chase away beasts; no brave man is afraid of bears." The ever victorious Mao Tse-tung's thought encourages the masses to wage a resolute struggle. The revolutionaries in the face of isolation and attack repeatedly recited: "Be determined, fear no sacrifice, overcome all difficulties, to strive for victory." They studied the glorious article "To Be Opposed by the Enemy Is a Good Thing, Not a Bad Thing," and reaffirmed their confidence. During these difficult days of struggle, the revolutionary masses had an infinite yearning for Chairman Mao and firmly believed that Chairman Mao would support them.

"When dark clouds appear in the sky, we shall point out: this is merely a temporary phenomenon; the darkness will soon pass and light will come." This instruction of Chairman Mao gave the revolutionary leftists infinite confidence and power.

#### 4. Chairman Personally Lighted the Fire of Peking University Cultural Revolution

Raise the head and see the North Star; think of Mao Tse-tung in one's heart. The reddest sun in our hearts, Chairman Mao, is the outstanding leader of the proletariat of our era. Chairman Mao always has confidence in the masses and supports mass revolutionary actions. Upon reading this poster, Chairman Mao praised it as being the nation's first Marxist-Leninist poster, the announcement of Peking University in the sixties of the twentieth century. At four o'clock in the afternoon of 1 June, Chairman Mao called Comrade K'ANG Sheng over the phone, directing him quickly to broadcast the contents of this poster over radio stations and publish it in newspapers throughout the nation.

1 June 1966 is a glorious day never to be forgotten. In the evening of that day, like thunder, the sound of the announcement of Peking People's Commune was carried through the nation and shook the world. It sounded the funeral bell for all monsters and devils; it beat the battle drum of seizing power from the handful of power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road! This is a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought, a victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line!

The night of 1 June was a sleepless one. How many revolutionary teachers and students who had been persecuted by LU P'ing black gang were overjoyed and told each other! Our most respected and beloved



Chairman Mao, you supported the revolutionaries and gave them courage. It is you who have liberated us! Thousands of words cannot express the ardent love for Chairman Mao. We can only shout a thousand times, ten thousand times: Long live Chairman Mao!

The Supreme Commander raised his hand, and the revolutionary fire burst into the sky. The revolutionary teachers and students angrily condemned the LU P'ing black gang. From 1 June to 10 June, revolutionary posters fell on the LU P'ing black gang like cannon shells. The fierce revolutionary actions destroyed the Lu empire. The proletarian revolutionaries of Peking University achieved the first stupendous victory.

#### 5. Chairman Mao Lighted the Revolutionary Fire Throughout the Country

For many days and nights thereafter, Peking University was in a state of boiling. There were seas of humanity and waves of flags. Workers, peasants, Liberation Army soldiers, teachers and students from other schools came to Peking University. They resolutely supported the actions of the proletariat revolutionaries of Peking University.

Letters and gifts in support of them came from all directions to the birthplace of the nation's first poster, Peking University. According to incomplete statistics, these included: Chairman Mao's writings, 311 volumes; Chairman Mao's portraits, 73; telegrams, 1022; and posters, 30,000.

The workers of Ta-ch'ing Oil Field sent a broom to encourage us to sweep away all monsters and devils and a bottle of petroleum wishing us to build an even greater fire of revolution!

Many revolutionary warriors sent us blood letters of "Protecting Chairman Mao" and "supporting the proletarian revolutionaries of Peking University."

Beginning 1 June, under the direction of the great Supreme Commander Chairman Mao, an unprecedented Proletarian Cultural Revolution, like storms and lightning, spread from the birth place of the nation's first Marxist-Leninist poster, Peking, to various places in the country. "Call on millions of workers and peasants and move ahead together." Wage a fierce fight against the Party's power holders taking the capitalist road and against all monsters and devils of the society!

Several days following the uncovering of the black gang elements LU P'ing and P'ENG P'ei-chen, Nanking University uncovered anti-Party element K'UANG Ya-ming (0562/0068/2494) and Wu-han University uncovered anti-Party element LI Ta (2621/6671), Tsinghua University uncovered anti-Party element CHIANG Nan-hsiang (5592/0589/5046), ....

**Such favorable revolutionary conditions! In the face of the red storm, those who follow it live; those who oppose it die!**

**Workers, peasants, soldiers angrily raise the heavy stick of Mao Tse-tung's thought and resolutely smash the old world to pieces!**

### PART III UNEXTINGUISHABLE FLAME

#### Bombarding the headquarters -- My first poster

How well written are the nation's first Marxist-Leninist poster and the commentary by the People's Daily commentator! Comrades, please read over this poster and the commentary. But in more than 50 days the actions of certain leading comrades from the central government down to local governments contradicted them, and they took the reactionary bourgeois stand, carried out the bourgeois dictatorship, and oppressed the great movement of the Cultural Revolution. They confused truth with falsity, white with black, attacked the revolutionary masses, suppressed divergent opinions, carried out white terror, and heightened the prestige of the bourgeoisie while weakening the will of proletariat. How cruel! Wouldn't all these plus the 1962 rightist tendency and the trend of being "leftist" in form and rightist in reality in 1964 make people search their souls?

Mao Tse-tung  
5 August 1966

#### 1. What Did the Work Team Come to Peking University For?

When the fire of the Cultural Revolution was burning fiercely, the Party's top power holders taking the capitalist road LIU Shao-ch'i and TENG Hsiao-p'ing put forward the bourgeois reactionary line. They openly resisted Chairman Mao's directive, and taking advantage of Chairman Mao's absence from Peking and ignoring the opposition of Comrade CH'EN Po-ta and others, sent work teams to various places of the country to suppress the revolution.

In the evening of 1 June, when the Central People's Broadcast Station had just broadcast the slogan of Comrade NIEH Yuan-tzu and

others, LIU and TENG told LI Hsueh-feng to send a work team led by CHANG Ch'eng-hsien (1728/2110/0341) to put out the fire of Peking University Cultural Revolution ignited by Chairman Mao personally.

In early June, the campus of Peking University was full of posters, and thundering slogans -- such a favorable situation. "Rascals, now you know us!" The revolutionary teachers and students angrily dragged out their oppressors one by one. "People shouted to strike down the running rats." The "masters" were trapped in the ocean of people's war.

The CHANG Ch'eng-hsien work team drew up many regulations to oppress the revolutionary people and protect the LU P'ing black gang, prohibiting the study of "Report on the Peasant Movement in Hunan" and calling it "outdated." They persecuted the revolutionary left, forbade mutual incitations of the revolutionaries, and carried out white terror ...while showing deep concern for the black gang elements. They followed the black gang, dispersed the students, and played the role of savior for the black gang. CHANG Ch'eng-hsien had close talks with LU P'ing as if they were close relatives.

## 2. CHANG Ch'eng-hsien Is the Principal Criminal in Suppressing the "18 June" Revolutionary Action.

Chairman Mao has said: "Revolution is not invitation to a banquet, not writing a composition, not painting or embroidering; it cannot be that fancy, that leisurely, that mild and courteous. Revolution is up-rising, the violent action by which one class overthrows another."

For more than 10 days after their arrival at the university, the work team did not criticize the black gang, but criticized us for excesses in our struggle not in accordance with the Party's policy, thus enhancing the prestige of the reactionary enemy and weakening the will of the revolutionary people -- a situation that could no longer be tolerated by the revolutionary teachers and students.

On 18 June the broad revolutionary teachers and students smashed the obstacles of the work team and raised a revolutionary storm on the campus to fight the black gang elements.

In the morning of that day, more than 50 black gang elements and devils were dragged out and paraded in the streets. In front of Building 38 were erected "Fight-the-Devil Platforms." It was here that the revolutionary teachers and students punished over 20 black gang elements and devils within several hours. The revolutionary teachers and students exposed and condemned their monstrous crimes,

fully exposing their anti-Party and anti-socialist ugly faces.

The "18 June" action greatly strengthened the will of the proletarian revolutionaries and shattered the prestige of the bourgeois royalists. The "18 June" revolutionary action is wonderful!

Every blow dealt to the black gang pained CHANG Ch'eng-hsien. In the morning of 18 June, CHANG Ch'eng-hsien rode in a sedan everywhere to make rescues, and called an assembly of all teachers, students and workers, took the reactionary bourgeois stand, grasped the individual shortcomings in the mass struggle, and shouted that what took place in the morning was a "prepared, planned and guided counter-revolutionary incident." He assailed the revolutionary people as "anti-Party elements," "anti-revolutionary elements," "rightists," and "fake leftists;" he thus carried out a cruel bourgeois dictatorship.

The Chemistry Department dragged out three black gang elements and their claws in the morning of 18 June. The department was later attacked as "counterrevolutionary"; 38 people were encircled and attacked, and 165 people were forced to make written statements.

The revolutionary teachers and students waged a fierce struggle against the work team. They pointed out sharply: "Debts must be paid, and one day we will settle accounts with you!" "Any insidious plot you can possibly conceive will not make us surrender."

Following "18 June," CHANG Ch'eng-hsien wrote two counter-revolutionary documents entitled: "Brief Report on 18 June" and "20-Day Work Report." He confused truth with falsity, black with white, and attacked the revolutionary people as "counterrevolutionary," and assailed the revolutionary action as "counterrevolutionary incident."

However, the master of the bourgeois reactionary line LIU Shao-ch'i fraudulently used the name of "central" in publicizing CHANG's "Brief Report on 18 June" throughout the country and commented: "Similar conditions in other areas should be handled in the same way." On 1 July the counterrevolutionary double-dealing T'AO Chu (7118/6999) also came to Peking University and praised CHANG Ch'eng-hsien. The counterrevolutionary black forces united with each other and raised an evil wind of suppressing mass movement everywhere in the country.

After "18 June," CHANG Ch'eng-hsien, under the pretext of "establishing the proletarian revolutionary new order," fastened the shackles of the bourgeois reactionary line on the broad revolutionary teachers and students. They forbade the students to organize struggle meetings, all "secret activities", mutual incitations, .... in short, forbidding revolution. Anyone who dared to violate the order was

attacked as "opposed to the work team" and "anti-Party." At the so-called "struggle meetings" organized by the work team, it was not people's war of the broad masses at all; hopes were placed on "confessions" and "righteous revolt" of the claws of the black gang elements. This kind of surrenderism merely added fuel to the flames of the black gang. The black gang P'ENG P'ei-yun refused to admit her crimes, and repeated her demand to debate the revolutionary teachers and students of the History Department. How insidious is the bourgeois reactionary line!

### 3. Using the Four Great Weapons to Peel CHANG Ch'eng-hsien's Painted Skin

Where is oppression, there is resistance. On 12 July CH'EN Pi-t'ao (7115/1801/7118) and four other students, guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, wrote revolutionary posters opposing the work team. A great debate concerning the work team was conducted in the university. The CHANG Ch'eng-hsien work team hastily organized an attack.

In the evening of 19th, Comrade NIEH Yuan-tzu talked to the teachers and students of the Philosophy Department and pointed out sharply the serious rightist errors of the work team, thus pushing the great debate to a new high tide.

Through this great debate, we understand that to manage well a debate it is necessary to pay attention to the following:

(1) It is necessary to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's writings, and use Mao Tse-tung's thought in studying, analyzing, and resolving problems.

(2) One must use class struggle and take into consideration the condition of development of the movement, grasp main contradictions, and decide on debate topics with which the people are generally concerned.

(3) One must make proper preparations, stress investigations, and have a firm grasp of data. Without investigation, one has no right of speech.

(4) One must be good at independent thinking, develop the fearless spirit of daring to think, to speak, and to do, and be opposed to slave-ism and opportunism.

(5) One must prevent mere discussion without debating. One must lay out the facts and convince people with reasoning and protect the minority.

(6) One must be ready to insist on truth and rectify mistakes, and be a student and a teacher at the same time.

(7) One should listen to good words, bad words, correct words, erroneous words, and especially the words of the opposition and let them finish what they want to say.

(8) Debate must be concentrated on big issues, not dwell on minor points, and above all one should not attack the other side on minor slips.

During the debate, the shout of "stripping CHANG Ch'eng-hsien of his position" became louder and louder.

#### 4. Kick Out the Work Team; Let Us Ourselves Carry Out the Revolution

Comrade LIN Piao has said: "Chairman Mao is the most outstanding leader of today's proletariat, the greatest genius. Chairman Mao has confidence in the people, is concerned about them, supports their revolutionary movement, and is united in heart with the revolutionary people!"

At the time when the LIU-TENG reactionary line was attacking the revolutionaries and the great Cultural Revolution was facing the critical moment of life and death, our great leader Chairman Mao returned to Peking.

On 22 and 23 July, Chairman of the Central Cultural Revolution Team Comrade CH'EN Po-ta and Vice Chairman Comrade CH'ANG Ch'ing were asked by Chairman Mao to come to Peking University to look at the posters, call conferences, and carry out careful investigations.

On 15 and 26 July, CH'EN Po-ta, K'ANG Sheng, CHIANG Ch'ing and other comrades of the Central Cultural Revolutionary Team again came to the revolutionary teachers and students of Peking University. Braving torrential rains, Comrade CHIANG Ch'ing personally held two great debates involving thousands of people. At the meetings, the revolutionary teachers and students angrily condemned CHANG Ch'eng-hsien's crimes of promoting the bourgeois reactionary line. Comrade K'ANG Sheng fully analyzed CHANG Ch'eng-hsien's errors in policies, thoughts, and organization. Finally, Comrade CH'EN Po-ta accepted the demands of our school's revolutionary teachers and students and represented the Central Cultural Revolution Team in proposing the removal of CHANG Ch'eng-hsien work team.

Under Chairman Mao's close concern and the guidance of the Central Cultural Revolution Team, the revolutionary teachers and

students smashed the shackles of the bourgeois reactionary line, and achieved the second victory in their struggle. Once again Chairman Mao saved our school's Cultural Revolution.

On 18 July, the Peking University Cultural Revolution Preparatory Committee led by NIEH Yuan-tzu was established. Under the guidance of the committee, the entire body of revolutionary teachers and students rose to criticize CHANG Ch'eng-hsien's bourgeois reactionary line.

On 4 August, Comrades K'ANG Sheng and CHIANG Ch'ing came again to hold a meeting to criticize the CHANG Ch'eng-hsien work team, and this was the greatest encouragement to us and the greatest support. Comrade K'ANG Sheng penetratingly summarized the Cultural Revolution of Peking University in the past two months and pointed out the direction for us.

The practice of the more than 50-day long struggle proves:

(1) Without criticizing the LIU-TENG bourgeois reactionary line, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line cannot be thoroughly implemented, and the great Cultural Revolution would be buried.

(2) Of all important things, grasping power on the part of the proletarian revolutionaries ranks first.

(3) It is necessary to apply Mao Tse-tung's thought in observing and analyzing everything and to see through all schemes of the enemy.



PART IV      LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF CHAIRMAN  
MAO'S REVOLUTIONARY LINE

1. The Brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's Thought Has Illuminated the Road  
of the Great Cultural Revolution

Navigation in the ocean relies on the helmsman, the growth of all living things relies on the sun, and Mao Tse-tung's thought charts the course for the great Cultural Revolution. At the Eleventh Plenum of the Party's Eighth Congress called personally by Chairman Mao, the 16 articles were promulgated. This was a great victory for the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao; it created a new era in world history and forever glitters in the history of the international communist movement.

On 17 August, our greatest leader Chairman Mao wrote the three glittering characters "New Peking University" for our school paper, which is a mobilization order to destroy the old and establish the new, to advance the cause of the proletariat and wipe out the bourgeoisie. It is an infinite concern and encouragement for the revolutionary teachers and students of Peking University and all revolutionary teachers and students throughout the country. It solemnly announces: a New Peking University was born in the storm of the great Cultural Revolution.

On 18 August, our Supreme Commander Chairman Mao received a million Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students at T'ien An Men, and had a special reception for the representatives of Peking University's revolutionary teachers and students.

Chairman Mao further sent us valuable books, giving us spiritual food. We shouted and jumped with joy. To you our most respected and loved Chairman Mao, we make the pledge: We shall forever follow you advancing in the storm, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution to the end.

## 2. The New Peking University Is Singing and Advancing in the Struggle Between the Two Roads

The road of revolution is full of curves. Precisely as Chairman Mao warned us at the conclusion of the Plenum: "Never take for granted that what is written in the resolutions will be carried out by all Party committees and all comrades; there will always be a small minority who are not willing to implement it." Those people who drew up and insisted on the bourgeois reactionary line would not accept their defeat willingly. They adopted new forms, in a more covert and insidious way, to oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. WANG Jen-chung (3769/0117/6850) received instructions from LIU and TENG, and in cahoots with K'UNG Fan (1313/4907) and YANG K'o-ming (2799/0344/2494) (K'UNG was assistant chief of the University Cultural Revolution, and YANG was a committee member of the University Cultural Revolution; both have been expelled) and attempted to continue the bourgeois reactionary line in Peking University.

The preparatory committee led by Comrade NIEH Yuan-tzu and the Revolutionary Committee resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and guided by the 16 Articles, they firmly grasped the general direction of the movement and fought the LU P'ing black gang and the bourgeois reactionary line, beating back one counterattack after another by the bourgeois reactionary line. The New Peking University advanced songfully in the struggle between the two roads.

The problem of political power is the fundamental problem in revolution. With it one has everything; without it one has nothing. The broad revolutionary teachers and students represented by Comrade NIEH Yuan-tzu actively prepared the first Cultural Revolution Representatives Conference of Peking University, and consolidated their political power. WANG Jen-chung and his agents K'UNG Fan and YANG K'o-ming secretly organized a "provisional Party Committee," attempting to wrestle power from the revolutionary leftists.

After full deliberation and discussions, our school's revolutionary teachers and students elected a Peking University Cultural Revolutionary Committee according to the principle of plebiscite of the Paris Commune. It signified the advent of the new stage of self-liberation of our school's revolutionaries. It enabled the Peking University revolutionary left led by Comrade NIEH Yuan-tzu to firmly grasp the leadership of the Cultural Revolution. WANG Jen-chung's plot was abortive.

Comrade LIN Piao pointed out that in this Cultural Revolution, "the focal point of our attack is the power holder taking the capitalist road who have sneaked into our Party. We must grasp this

general direction in our struggle." The revolutionary teachers and students followed Comrade LIN Piao's instructions and smashed all the obstacles concocted by WANG Jen-chung, K'UNG Fan and YANG K'o-ming. On 15 August, a meeting involving more than 100,000 people was called on the Workers' Athletic Field to criticize the LU P'ing black gang. Chairman Mao has said: "Revolutionary wars are people's wars; the wars can be sustained only by mobilizing the people and relying on the people." In the later part of September another high tide of criticizing LU P'ing and P'ENG P'ei-yun was raised. The revolutionary teachers and students studied Chairman Mao's writings, armed their thoughts, and held troop haranguing meetings. Everyone's class sentiment was further heightened. The broad revolutionary teachers and students angrily exposed and condemned the monstrous crimes of opposing the Party and socialism committed by LU P'ing and P'ENG P'ei-yun. The LU P'ing black gang fell into the ocean of the people's war and turned into a pile of animal excrements unmentionable by a human being.

In the fight against the black gang we attained several understandings:

(1) Using class education as a political mobilization before the battle.

(2) Studying Chairman Mao's thought as our weapon, letting politics take command while opposing the command of data.

(3) Combining the small, intermediate and large criticism meetings (mainly the intermediate and small; large meetings are used to discredit the criticized, and small meetings to topple the criticized.).

(4) Combining special-topic criticisms and systematic criticisms.

(5) Combining the criticism meetings and mind-attacking meetings.

(6) Concentrating on attacking the principal enemy.

(7) Letting persecuted comrades come forward to the stage to voice their charges.

(8) Insisting on verbal criticisms without resorting to violence.

(9) Timely summarization of experiences and lessons.

### 3. The Great Fight in the Struggle Between the Two Roads

The editorial of Red Flag No 13 points out: "We must thoroughly discredit the bourgeois reactionary line." This points out the direction of struggle for the revolutionary people, and sounded the funeral bell for the LIU-TENG bourgeois reactionary line. The entire nation raised a high tide of criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line. But K'UNG Fan and YANG K'o-ming also used the slogan of "opposing the bourgeois reactionary line" in attacking the revolutionary left and shelled the proletarian headquarters. On 6 October under the instigation of K'UNG and YANG, LU Yuan (6424/6678) and CHOU Ch'uang (0719/7068) wrote a poster "Remove NIEH Yuan-tzu, and then can Peking University have a revolt." This was a signal bullet for the bourgeoisie to seize power from the proletariat. Suddenly, all forces came forward on the stage. Counterrevolutionary element YAN Hsun (2799/8133) and CH'IAO Chien-wu (0829/0369/2976) readied themselves for battle, YANG Shao-ming (2799/4801/2494), son of the black gang leader YANG Shang-k'un (2799/1424/2492) also came forward. Black gang elements were overjoyed and ready to appeal their cases.

The intensification of the struggle between the two roads caused a split and shakeup within the school Cultural Revolution organization and the people. K'UNG Fan and YANG K'o-ming and a small minority insisted on the bourgeois reactionary line, rounded up a handful of counterrevolutionary elements, deceived a number of uninformed people, carried out counterrevolutionary unity, and frantically attacked the school Cultural Revolutionary organization led by NIEH Yuan-tzu.

The revolutionaries led by Comrade NIEH Yuan-tzu resolutely stood united on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and relied on the broad revolutionary teachers and students. The Red Flag Corps, Peking Commune, Tung-feng Corps, Red Instruction and Workers Corps, and Peking University Red Guards all rose in the fierce struggle.

The revolutionary organizations and the broad teachers and students armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought wrote thousands of revolutionary posters to attack this counter-current.

On 16 October, the revolutionary led by NIEH Yuan-tzu hoisted high the flag of criticizing the LIU-TENG reactionary line and proposed the slogan of "exposing the upper echelons and sweeping the lower echelons."

To expose the upper echelons is to expose the representatives who drew up and stubbornly executed the bourgeois reactionary line: LIU Shao-ch'i, TENG Hsiao-p'ing, T'AO Chu, WANG Jen-chung, LI Hsueh-feng, and CHANG Ch'eng-hsien.

To sweep the lower echelons is to sweep the representatives of the bourgeois in the university, departments and the social foundation of the bourgeois reactionary line (bourgeois elements and unreformed landlords, rich, reactionaries, bad elements and rightists), to uproot their influences.

NIEH Yuan-tzu and 10 other comrades wrote the revolutionary poster "TENG Hsiao-p'ing is the Party's power holder taking the capitalist road," thus activating the mass movement of criticizing the LIU-TENG bourgeois reactionary line.

But representatives of bourgeois reactionary line would not accept their defeat and started new counterattacks. The leaders of Peking University's Ching Kang Shan Red Allied Troops, and Red Bayonet Company created the counter-revolutionary incidents of destroying the New Peking University school paper bearing the three characters handwritten by Chairman Mao, stealing documents and smashing into the broadcast station. Their destructions, attacks, and curses... all these were nothing more than the barking of a mad dog, unable to damage a hair of our revolutionaries; the banner of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao is still flying over the New Peking University.

#### 4. Thoroughly Smash the Counter-Attack of the Bourgeois Reactionary Line

Chairman Mao has said; "Disturbance, defeat, more disturbance, more defeat, until extinction -- this is the logic of imperialism and all reactionaries in the world in handling the enterprise of the people." The Party's handful of power holders taking the capitalist road and the minority of people stubbornly insisting on bourgeois reactionary line are not reconciled with their extinction and will still struggle. Under their instigations a handful of counter-revolutionary elements engaged in a frantic counterattack, blowing the evil wind of December.

How arrogant is their counterrevolutionary power! Whether it is LI Hung-shan (2621/3163/1472) of the Forestry College, or I Lin (0122/2651) and TI Hsi (3321/6007), whether it is "Hu Shan Hsing," CH'IAO Chien-wu, or YANG Ping-chang (2799/3521/4545) of Peking University, they have one thing in common: that is, they hoisted a red flag in opposing the red flag, and shouted "Long live Chairman Mao's great democracy" in attacking the proletarian revolutionary line, bombarding the proletarian headquarters and pointing their spearhead towards the Central Cultural Revolution Team, and towards our most respected and loved Chairman Mao and his closest comrade-in-arms LIN Piao. This was a frantic counterattack of the bourgeois reactionary line, a struggle

between restoration and counter-restoration. We must resolutely suppress all counterrevolutionary elements and resolutely abolish all counterrevolutionary organizations, and expose all representatives of the bourgeois reactionary line to the people! When the December evil wind just began to blow, the revolutionary Red Guards and revolutionary people of Peking used the heavy stick of Mao Tse-tung's thought and gave them a heavy blow. On 7 December, the Standing Committee of the School Cultural Revolution issued a combat slogan to all Red Guard warriors and revolutionary teachers and students of the school, calling on them to take immediate action to smash the counter-offensive of the bourgeois reactionary line. When the counterrevolutionary counter-current in the school represented by the small counterrevolutionary group "Hu Shan Hsing" appeared, Peking University's Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students followed Chairman Mao's instruction of "Anything reactionary will not topple by itself; you must strike it down" and dealt "Hu Shan Hsing" a fatal blow, and moreover traced it to its black headquarters. We arrested counterrevolutionary elements CH'IAO Chien-wu, YANG Ping-chang, YANG Hsun, WEI Hsiu-fen (7614/4423/5358) and YANG Tso-sen (2799/0155/2773), imposed the proletarian dictatorship on them, and discredited the reactionary leaders of "Hu Shan Hsing," "Red Allied Troops," "Ching Kang Shan," and "Red Bayonet Company." We thoroughly settled accounts with their counterrevolutionary criminal activities. We defeated the frantic counterattack of the bourgeois reactionary line and smashed the evil December wind raised by the handful of counterrevolutionary elements.

In January of this year, when there was an evil wind of opposing Comrade K'ANG Sheng in the society, FAN Li-ch'in (2868/4539/0530) and others again started a counter-current of bombarding the Central Cultural Revolution Team. The broad Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students carried out the routine of throwing these ugly clowns into the garbage can of history.

The great ever-victorious Mao Tse-tung's thought is the foundation of revolution, the compass of actions, the weapon for struggle, and the source of power; it is the guarantee for victory and the red sun in the hearts of the revolutionary people that never sets.

During the struggle between the two roads, our revolutionary teachers and students creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's writings, beat back one enemy counter-offensive after another, and achieved victory after victory. The "New Peking University Broadcasting Station" is an outstanding example. When the enemy was frantically attacking, they vowed to "guard the equipment with their lives," and said "It is unimportant if one or two of us get killed; as long as the station can broadcast Chairman Mao's voice, it is our victory." At every critical moment, they used Mao Tse-tung's thought

as their weapon and resolutely guarded Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Their experience in studying Chairman Mao's writings during the struggle was five learnings and three firsts. The five learnings were: repeated study of class viewpoints; study in serving the people; creatively study in the face of problems; intensified study in the face of difficulties; study before and after broadcast, before and after meetings. The three firsts consisted of: first studying Chairman Mao's writings in arranging work; first studying Chairman Mao's writings in inspecting work; and studying Chairman Mao's writings in summarizing work.

### 5. Using the Remaining Soldiers to Chase the Fleeing Bandits

The wheel of history rolls forward, the deluge of revolution rushes ahead.

We exposed the representatives of the bourgeois reactionary line in Peking University K'UNG Fan and YANG K'o-ming, and discredited them. We, in cooperation with our fraternal schools, criticized counter-revolutionary double-dealing T'AO Chu and WANG Jen-chung, peeled their painted skins, and exposed them.

To hit a snake, it is necessary to hit its head; to capture bandits, it is necessary to capture their leader. We chased all the way to the bourgeois reactionary line headquarters of LIU and TENG. LIU Shao-ch'i and TENG Hsiao-p'ing are the top Party power holders taking the capitalist road, ambitious people of the Khrushchev type by the side of Chairman Mao. A great concealed evil remains within our Party and our country if they are not struck down. We must develop LU Hsun's spirit of striking the "fallen dog," and smash the bourgeois reactionary line. Our school's revolutionary organizations cooperated with various revolutionary organizations of Peking in calling several criticism meetings. We once again achieved a great victory.

At the demand of the broad revolutionary teachers, students and workers, the school Cultural Revolution organization was reorganized on 5 February. K'UNG Fan and YANG K'o-ming were expelled from it. The plot of the bourgeois representative to seize power became bankrupt. This was another important victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought at Peking University, another victory for the proletarian revolutionary line.

The struggle of more than a half year made us understand:

- (1) It takes a long time to consolidate political power after

the proletarian revolutionaries seized power; the bourgeoisie and its agents would try all means to re-seize power, and we must not forget class struggle.

(2) To re-seize power, the bourgeoisie would use the method of infiltrating the ranks of the revolutionary troops and looking for agents, and we must resolutely carry the struggle between the two roads to the end.

(3) To accomplish the struggle to seize power and consolidate political power, the proletarian revolutionaries must be united on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought and thoroughly smash small counter-revolutionary alliances.

(4) To divert the target of struggle, the class enemy is adept at confusing black with white, truth with falsity, placing the crime of the bourgeois reactionary line on the proletarian revolutionaries, and bombarding proletarian headquarters. We must follow Chairman Mao's instructions, brighten our eyes, distinguish the enemy and our side, crush their schemes, and carry the great Cultural Revolution to the end.



## PART V THE HEROIC RED GUARDS

The Red Guard was born in the storm of the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

The Red Guard is a necessary product in the new stage of our country's socialist revolution, and a great first in international communist movement in the sixties of the twentieth century.

This new Red Guard of infinite vitality just appeared on the east horizon and immediately won the close concern and support of our most respected and beloved Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao has received the country's Red Guards eight times, giving them extremely great encouragement.

Under the nourishment of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Red Guard movement thrived and grew rapidly.

### 1. Chairman Mao, We Are Your Little Red Guards!

On 18 August 1966, our great leader Chairman Mao inspected the Red Guards at T'ien An Men. At this time, Red Guard organizations of Peking University were quickly established one after another.

Upon the establishment of the Red Guards, a world-shaking announcement was issued: "Chairman Mao is our red commander, and we are Chairman Mao's little Red Guards!" "One may lose his head or shed blood, but one must not lose Mao Tse-tung's thought!" On the day when our school's Red Guards were established, Mao Tse-tung's thought was used as the guide for all work. We studied Chairman Mao's writings hungrily and thirstily, we do whatever Chairman Mao says.

### 2. Firmly Establish Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Comrade LIN Piao points out: "We must establish the authority

of the proletariat, the new thought, new culture, and new habits of the proletariat. In one word, we must establish Mao Tse-tung's thought."

The basic mission of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution is to remold the old world with Mao Tse-tung's thought. Ever since their inception, the Red Guards of our school have regarded the study of Mao Tse-tung's thought, publicizing it, applying it, and protecting it as their sacred mission.

From schools to everywhere in the country, from streets to small alleys, in fleet trains, and in broad fields.... everywhere are Red Guard propaganda teams, dedicated to illuminating the earth with the brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The Red Guards of our school have used exhibits, plays, broadcast trucks, drawings and paintings, leaflets and other vivid activities to publicize Mao Tse-tung's thought. Under the impetus of the Red Guards, there appeared an unprecedented campaign of popularization of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

After "18 August," thousands of Red Guards travelled in the streets to sweep the four old [sic] and clean up the refuse and sewage left behind by the old society. The Red Guards of our school turned the Old Peking University upside down, and the campus now has a brand new appearance. The campus was originally the black headquarters of monsters and devils. The original couplet scroll at the gate read: "The gardens admit no vulgarity, there are only lofty sounds in the hills and streams." The Red Guards crushed the scroll and replaced it with the new one: "Breaking into the gardens to catch monsters and devils, people are overjoyed." The old "Russian Language Building" was renamed "Anti-Revisionist Building"; Nan Ko renamed "25 May" Building. The Red Guards issued thousands of announcements, and theirs is the strongest voice in destroying the old and establishing the new.

### 3. Sweep Away All Monsters and Devils

Chairman Mao instructs us: "All the complexities of the Marxist principle boil down to one sentence: 'Revolt is just.' .... According to this principle, we therefore revolt, struggle, and work for socialism."

Our Red Guards follow Chairman Mao's instruction, hoist high the great flag of "Revolt is just," and revolt against imperialism, against revisionism, against the Party's power holders taking the capitalist road, against the bourgeois reactionary line, against all monsters and devils. Our heroic Red Guards stand together with the school's revolutionary teachers and students and open fire on the LU

P'ing black gang and at the counterrevolutionary clique of P'ENG, LU, LO, and YANG, discrediting and toppling them. They open fire on the bourgeois reactionary line of LIU, TENG, and T'AO, criticizing and discrediting them. All bourgeois reactionary academic "authorities," all parasites, and vampires are dragged out, thrown on the ground and trampled under foot.

Strike down the old anti-communist hand CHIEN Po-tsan: CHIEN came from landlord and capitalist class and he was a member of Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek's drummer, and engaged in every kind of criminal activity of opposing the Party, socialism, and Mao Tse-tung's thought. For a long time he was protected by LU Ting-i (7120/1353/0001) and CHOU Yang (0719/2254) and usurped the positions of Peking University Party Committee member and representative of the People's Congress to exercise power over the people. The great Cultural revolution sounded the death knell for CHIEN Po-tsan. The critical articles of Comrades CH'I Pen-yu (2058/2609/4416) and YAO Wen-yuan (1202/2429/0337) scored a fatal hit on him. The heroic Red Guards searched his headquarters and found large quantities of reactionary evidence and reactionary books, exposing bandit CHIEN's ugly face. Moreover, he was dragged out of his hideout, thoroughly criticized and discredited.

Exposing the bourgeois reactionary academic "authority" FENG Yu-lan (7458/0645/5695): The bourgeois reactionary academic "authority" FENG Yu-lan had an origin as bureaucratic landlord, and was a member of the Kuomintang presidium, Chiang Kai-shek's notorious court philosopher, and an old anti-communist hand. After the liberation, he hid under the cloak of "scholar" and collaborated with class enemies inside and outside the country in proposing an "abstract method of continuation." However, under the protection of the CHOU Yang and LU P'ing black gang, he escaped many political movements in the past 17 years. During this glorious great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the heroic Red Guards dragged him out, and found in his house evidences of treason, reactionary uniforms, a Japanese flag, murder weapons, and many reactionary books, and manuscripts, fully exposing his reactionary face.

Dragging out many hidden monsters and devils: WANG Pao-feng (3769/1405/6265), a staff member of the Geology and Geography Department, pretended to be progressive during the early phase of the Cultural Revolution. When the Red Guards hoisted high the great flag of "Revolt is just," he was frightened and surreptitiously checked his trunks and cabinets at night. Suspicious of his activities, the brave and alert Red Guards searched his house and found large quantities of reactionary evidence and reactionary books -- he was nothing but a hidden devil for the past 17 years. The extremely reactionary parasite who read "Buddhist scriptures" everyday, LI

T'ung-fu (2621/0681/1318), murderer SUN Tsung-lu (1327/1350/7627), Leighton Stuart's Secretary YANG Ju-chieh (2799/3067/3381), former Kuomintang Lieutenant General KUAN Yu-shan (4619/3768/3790) and others who had been hiding in Peking University were dragged out one by one; none of them could escape their fate of extinction!

#### Statistics of Red Guards' Combat Results

<u>Items</u>	<u>Quantity</u>
Elements of the five types dragged out and positively identified	4 persons
Firearms	1
Ammunition	101 rounds
Sabers, knives and other murder weapons	90
Reactionary documents	129
Puppet military uniforms	38
Reactionary flags of imperialism, Chiang, and WANG (3076)	8
Reactionary diaries, poetry manuscripts, manuscripts	3,026 articles
Documents of treason (pro-Chiang)	10
Land and house deeds	68
Reactionary movable theatrical equipment	12
Reactionary yellow journalism and superstitious printed matter	9,084
Gold	451 ounces
Silver	890.6 ounces
Silver dollars	2,122
Jewelry	2,633 pieces
American money	\$181.50
Cash deposits	17,383,820.21 yuan

#### 4. Safeguard the Proletarian Dictatorship, Be Reserves for the Liberation Army

Red Guards are the vanguards of revolution, strong guardians of the proletarian dictatorship, and reserves for the Liberation Army.

Since their establishment, the Red Guards of our school have actively responded to the call of the Party Central and Chairman Mao to learn from the Liberation Army. Especially after the political and military training, they have continued the good experience of the Liberation Army in studying Chairman's writings, strengthened their revolutionary character, scientific character, organization and discipline. They continue the Liberation Army's superior tradition.

The Red Guards of our school supervised the remolding through labor of the LU P'ing black gang and other sundry monsters and devils, lectured them and forced them to hand over their work. The Red Guards have participated in various work of protection and produced important effects in safeguarding the great Cultural Revolution of our school.

During the great Cultural Revolution various monsters and devils came out of their hideouts and formed various kinds of counter-revolutionary organizations. The Red Guards of our school and the Liberation Army waged a resolute struggle and thoroughly smashed their hideouts.

"Meng Hu Chun" is a nation-wide armed counterrevolutionary organization. The Red Guards of our school and the Liberation Army comrades in charge of military training in our school used the method of class analysis and exposed their reactionary substance. They searched their hideout and arrested their reactionary leaders.

"Red Flag Army" is also a nation-wide counterrevolutionary organization. The Red Guards of our school followed the method of mass persuasion in handling the Seventh Branch directly under it and finally thoroughly smashed this reactionary organization.

In combat our Red Guards showed alertness and courage.

In a short span of several months, the Red Guards armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought broke many counterrevolutionary cases with their talents, and established immortal merits for the cause of strengthening the proletarian dictatorship.

Red Guards resolutely support people's revolutionary struggle the world over. To assist Vietnam and resist American imperialism is our duty. Our Red Guards convened meetings and demonstrated against the monstrous crimes of aggression of American imperialism in Vietnam and protested the Fascist anti-China atrocities of Soviet revisionism. Our Red Guards solemnly warn the handful of anti-China rascals: The heroic Red Guards are not to be irritated!

##### 5. Long Live the Red Guards

The Red Guard was born under the stimulation of Mao Tse-tung's thought and grew up in the storm of the struggle between the two roads. Under the command of our red commander Chairman Mao, we revolt against all exploiting classes. The revolutionary actions of the Red Guards are great!

The Party Central, Chairman Mao, and Deputy Commander LIN praise

the Red Guards highly.

The people of the country hail the Red Guards!

The revolutionary people of the world enthusiastically applaud the Red Guards!

Foreign visitors who came to visit our school wrote in the visitors' album: "The wisdom of the Red Guards is the wisdom illuminated by the great leader Chairman Mao." "The arm bands of the Red Guards symbolize the hope of all oppressed people!" ....

The last bark of all dying reactionaries cannot save them from the fate of death. The heroic Red Guards will sweep away all harmful bugs, thoroughly smash the old world, and build a new red world of Mao Tse-tung's thought! Let us raise our arms and shout:

Long live the heroic Red Guards!

## PART VI GREAT REVOLUTIONARY INCITATIONS

The great revolutionary incitation is also a new thing born in the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and is supported and led by the great proletarian revolutionary Chairman Mao. Through incitations, the revolutionary teachers and students publicized Mao Tse-tung's thought, the 16 Articles, and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, conducted mutual learning, exchanged experiences, united the nation's great Cultural Revolution, and powerfully attacked the bourgeois reactionary line.

### 1. Great Incitations Were Born in the Storms of the Struggle Between the Two Roads

After Chairman Mao personally decided to publish the nation's first Marxist-Leninist poster, the storm of revolution swept the whole country. But the representatives of the bourgeois reactionary line LIU Shao-ch'i and TENG Hsiao-p'ing, on the other hand, sent a large number of work teams to suppress the revolution. It was in the storm of the struggle between these two roads that the great incitations were born!

As early as the early part of June, the revolutionary teachers and students of the History Department and Biology Department of our school went to Tsinghua University to incite revolution and to assail CHIANG Nan-hsiang (5592/0589/5046). This angered the black Party Committee of Tsinghua who immediately organized an attack. The leader of Peking University work team CHANG Ch'eng-hsien also came to stop this revolutionary action. The revolutionary teachers and students, however, had no fear, broke through all the obstacles, and held a big demonstration on the Tsinghua campus.

On 26 July, under the direct guidance of Chairman Mao and the Central Cultural Revolution Team, the revolutionary teachers and students of our school chased away the work team. Thereupon, the

revolutionary teachers and students of our school rushed to Tsinghua, to the Nationalities Academy ... to Tientsin, where we and the revolutionaries raised a high tide of chasing away the work teams.

## 2. The Teachers and Students of Our School Working in Other Areas

The Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Party Congress drew up the 16 Articles of the great Cultural Revolution, but a handful of the Party's power holders taking the capitalist road refused to implement it, stubbornly insisted on the bourgeois reactionary line, resisted Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, suppressed revolutionary mass movement, incited people against people, and created all kinds of incidents. Urgent appeals from all quarters came one after another, and the revolutionary teachers and students of Peking University requested to go out to engage in revolutionary incitations. Precisely at this moment, the black hand of T'AO Chu and WANG Jen-chung again extended to Peking University, and under the pretext of managing well the movement within our own unit, prevented the teachers and students from going out. But the revolutionary teachers and students angrily smashed all road blocks and went out everywhere in the country. We established liaison stations in Shanghai, Kuei-yang, Wu-han, K'un-ming, Su-chou, and T'ien-lien, and fought together with the local revolutionaries to protect Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and opened fire on the handful of the Party's power holders taking the capitalist road, and achieved great victories.

Beginning in August of last year, the revolutionary teachers and students of our school continuously went to Shanghai to carry out revolutionary incitations. In middle November, Comrades NIEH Yuan-tzu and SUN Feng-i (1327/6646/0001) also went to Shanghai, and the Party's power holders taking the capitalist road were really scared. TENG Hsiao-p'ing was worried and secretly phoned TS'AO Ti-ch'iu (2580/5441/4428) to organize royal forces to instigate uninformed people, and spread rumors through the reactionary organizations "Red Allied Troops" and "Ching Kang Shan" of Peking University to raise an anti-NIEH tide, to attack CHANG Ch'un-ch'iao (1728/2504/2890) and the central Cultural Revolutionary Team. But the revolutionaries of Shanghai defeated this counter-current, and fought shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionaries from the capital. They toppled CH'ANG Ch'i-p'ing (1728/3305/5493) and dragged out TS'AO Ti-ch'iu and issued the "Letter to the People of Shanghai," and an "Urgent Communique." They raised storms of the "January Revolutionary" and achieved a great victory of seizing power.

A handful of power holders in the Kweichow Provincial Committee taking the capitalist road attempted to restore capitalism, frantically suppressed the great Cultural Revolution, and imposed a white terror on



the revolutionary teachers and students who went to the south. The more than 30 revolutionary teachers and students of our school who went to Kweichow were persecuted. The Kweichow Provincial Committee created the frightening "31 August" and "5 September" incidents, and many students were cruelly beaten, imprisoned, .... To thoroughly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and strike down the handful of power holders taking the capitalist road in Kweichow Provincial Committee, the revolutionary teachers and students courageously fought together with Kweichow revolutionary rebels, and finally won the great victory of seizing power.

### 3. Welcome You, Chairman Mao's Guests

Chairman Mao has said: "We came from the five lakes and four seas and got together for the same revolutionary cause."

Since the start of the great Cultural Revolution, thousands of workers, peasants, soldiers, and revolutionary teachers and students have poured into our school from all directions to incite revolution, look at the posters, visit the exhibits, have fought together with the revolutionary teachers and students of Peking University against the black gang, and criticized the bourgeois reactionary line. We learned from each other and exchanged revolutionary experiences, and Peking University became a boiling ocean. In the short span of several months, our school received six to seven million revolutionary teachers and students of incitation. The peak in one day was more than 200,000. Revolutionary comrades came to our school for incitation and gave us great support and encouragement.

### 4. Red Guards Are Not Afraid of Difficult Expeditions

Vice Chairman LIN has said: "Chairman Mao supports comrades travelling on foot for incitation. The advantage of travelling on foot for incitation is that one can broadly contact people, contact all aspects of the society, and more penetratingly understand the class struggle of a socialist society. It can facilitate learning from workers and peasants and propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought in an even wider scope. Doing it in this way can benefit the revolutionary teachers and students in gaining a deeper understanding of Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's correct line."

Incitation on foot is another first for the Red Guards in the great Cultural Revolution and is warmly supported by Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman LIN.

Our school altogether has more than 300 expeditionary teams consisting of more than 2,000 people. They climbed mountains and

crossed rivers, and travelled a total of over 450,000 li.

Long march is a proclamation. It announces to the world: Red Guards are not afraid of difficult expeditions, and Red Guards are brave. The imperialist hope of peaceful evolution is merely a daydream and fantasy. China will be brightly red for ten thousand generations!

Long march is a propaganda team. Acting on Chairman Mao's instructions and developing the glorious tradition of the Red Army, the Red Guards used various forms such as drama, leaflets, visits, mobile exhibits in propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought, the 16 Articles, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the good situation of the great Cultural Revolution in Peking and in our school.

Long march is a great red melting pot. The Red Guards of our school and the revolutionary teachers and students climbed mountains and forded streams and strengthened their revolutionary determination in the storms of class struggle. We must traverse the roads Chairman Mao has traversed, and taste the winds and frost of revolution. They marched towards Yen-an, Ching Kang Shan, and Jui-chin. They followed Chairman Mao's instruction: "Be determined, do not fear sacrifice, overcome difficulties, strive for victory." They overcame one difficulty after another, and marched forward bravely.

The broad Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students followed Chairman Mao's instruction and cooperated with workers and peasants. Wherever they went they became one with the local workers, peasants and people; they lived, ate and worked with the poor and lower-middle peasants. They penetrated the masses and visited the poor and the afflicted. They learned from the workers and peasants, and received a profound class education. They visited the sacred places of revolution, visited old Red Army veterans and martyrs' tombs . . . ., and received a vivid penetrating education about the revolutionary tradition.

The hard process of long march toughened their feet and reddened their thoughts. The students said: "Two months' long march surpasses three years' study."

The road of revolution is not smooth, the communist enterprise is immense. We must forever follow Chairman Mao's instructions, unite with workers and peasants, and train ourselves to be continuers of the proletarian revolutionary enterprise, and forever advance with Chairman Mao in the storm!

## PART VII MILITARY-POLITICAL TRAINING IS WONDERFUL

When the great Proletariat Cultural Revolution was entering an even more penetrating and broad stage, our great leader Chairman Mao issued the great call of developing military-political training in colleges and middle schools. Chairman Mao says: "It is a good idea to send military cadres to train the revolutionary teachers and students. The training makes a big difference. Doing it in this way, they can learn politics, military science, the Four Firsts, and the Three-Eight working style, the Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention, and strengthen the discipline of organization. The experience of training revolutionary teachers and students by military cadres stationed in Peking is very good and effective, and should be popularized throughout the country." This directive of Chairman Mao added new important content to the Cultural Revolution of the nation's colleges and middle schools, and it is another first of great strategic significance in the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

On 9 January 1967, the revolutionary teachers and students beat gongs and drums to welcome the Liberation Army sent by Chairman Mao. The revolutionary teachers, students and workers of the school erased all boundaries of the various revolutionary organizations and were reorganized into squads, platoons, companies, regiments, and divisions on the basis of the original classes, and began a military life of alliance, seriousness, solemnity and vitality.

### 1. A New High Tide of Studying Chairman Mao's Writings

Chairman Mao's writings are of the highest standard, and most authoritative, and most powerful. Every word of Chairman Mao is truth, each word representing ten thousand sentences. Comrades of the Liberation Army have studied Chairman Mao's writings well, and applied them most creatively; they read Chairman Mao's books, sing quotations from Chairman Mao, and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought. They say: Of all important things, Chairman Mao's writings rank number one; of all

supports, assisting students in studying Chairman Mao's writings is the greatest support. Comrades of the Liberation Army stress politics. Using Mao Tse-tung's thought as guide and Chairman Mao's works as basic texts, they organized the revolutionary teachers and students to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's writings in the struggle between the two roads. No matter what problems and difficulties we faced, the comrades of the Liberation Army always first assisted us in finding answers in the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Class meetings, discussion meetings, meetings to recall the better past and the sweet present -- all meetings were centered around the study of Chairman Mao's writings. The comrades of the Liberation Army brought us the superior tradition of creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings, and introduced to us the experience and vivid events in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings. Under the leadership of the comrades of the Liberation Army, Peking University raised a new high tide of creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings.

Following Chairman Mao's instructions, the comrades of the Liberation Army stressed class education and organized study of "An Analysis of the Classes of the Chinese Society" and other articles in connection with the various living thoughts existing among the students, developed activities of recalling the bitter past and sweet present, organized visits to poor peasants and land-rent collecting yards, etc. Just as Comrade LIN Piao has said: "The lack of understanding of class and exploitation is a lack of understanding of revolution." The vivid penetrating class education greatly aroused the students' class consciousness and fostered the revolutionization of thought.

## 2. Learn From the Liberation Army, Be Skillful in Revolution

Before the military training, a number of students were lax in discipline; they did as they pleased, greatly reducing their combat power.

As soon as the Liberation Army entered the school, they explained the Three-Eight working style, and motivated the students in studying Chairman Mao's writings on organization and discipline. They sang the songs of "Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention." They set good examples. From this time on, the students changed their behavior and powerfully developed the great Cultural Revolution in breadth and depth.

When the comrades of the Liberation Army just entered the school, the Party Central issued to the nation the combat call of "opposing economism, thoroughly smashing the new counteroffensive of the bourgeois reactionary line." Under the leadership of the comrades of

the Liberation Army, the revolutionary teachers and students of our school reversed their free behavior of the past and went to the workers' residences in a well-organized manner. In this struggle of opposing economism, we did propaganda work to the people and also educated ourselves. Everyone deeply realized that only the strengthening of organizational discipline and unity can result in a powerful combat force.

The military life of unity, seriousness, solemnity and vitality brought a fresh atmosphere to Peking University. Today's Peking University sings revolutionary songs and quotations from Chairman Mao; the students march to the fields, mess halls and conference halls in uniform steps while singing loudly, showing their revolutionary enthusiasm and combat spirit. Columns marching in order are now a common sight on the campus; Peking University shows boundless vitality.

### 3. The Great Unity under the Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought -- the Birth of the "New Peking University Commune"

Chairman Mao instructs us: "To organize thousands of people and mobilize an imposing revolutionary army is needed by today's revolution in its fight against the counter-revolutionaries."

The comrades of the Liberation Army made great contributions to the fostering of the great alliance of our school's revolutionaries. To overcome the show-off mentality, anarchism, small-group mentality, individualism and such bourgeois ideology, they organized the students to repeatedly study such glorious writings as "Concerning the Rectification of Erroneous Thoughts within the Party," "Three Old Articles," and "Opposing Liberalism." Following the Liberation Army's examples, the students fought against selfishness and egoism, and used Mao Tse-tung's thought as their weapon in sweeping away all selfish thoughts in their minds. In the course of realizing the great unity of revolutionaries, many moving deeds have occurred.

The Economics Department was most seriously poisoned by the influence of the reactionary line, which is well known in Peking University. Counterrevolutionary element YANG Hsun created serious factionalism among the students. The class struggle between the revolutionary organization "Yen-an Combat Regiment" and YANG's body-guard "Red Bayonet Company" was extremely fierce. Since the military-political training, the majority of the students of the "Red Bayonet Company" realized the seriousness of their mistakes, but were unwilling to admit them publicly. Some comrades of the "Yen-an Combat Regiment" were inclined to punish the other side. The comrades of the Liberation Army resolutely stood on the side of the "Yen-an Combat Regiment,"

organized them to study Chairman Mao's instructions concerning distinguishing the enemy and our side and the correct handling of internal contradictions of the people. Consequently they realized that the majority of the mistaken students still wanted revolution, and they took the initiative to approach the latter, study with them and help them in realizing their mistakes. The students who committed mistakes were deeply moved, rose up to expose the counterrevolutionary element YANG Hsun's crimes, and returned to the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Thus the phenomenon of factionalism in the Economics Department was swept away and the factions became united, the students who had not talked to each other for more than 160 days became friends again. Four comrades of the former "Ching Kang Shan" Squad (under the "Red Bayonet Company") were gloriously absorbed into the first membership of the "New Peking University Commune." What a moving song of triumph for Mao Tse-tung's thought!

On 15 February 1967, amidst thundering music and under flying red flags, the "New Peking University Commune" -- a product of the great alliance of New Peking University revolutionaries and the fruit of the military-political training -- was born, and the proletarian revolutionaries of Peking University united under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

#### 4. Heritage of the Liberation Army

The combat life of more than a month cemented our deep friendship with the comrades of the Liberation Army. When they were about to leave, the students voluntarily organized a meeting to detain them. After the meeting, representatives were sent to the Central Cultural Revolutionary Team and the Central Military Commission. "Comrades of the Liberation Army, please stay!" This was the wish of the revolutionary teachers and students of the New Peking University.

The majority of the comrades of the Liberation Army left the university and went to their new combat positions, but what they left here will forever be our family treasure.

The Liberation Army gave us three jewels: the Three Old Articles, Quotation Songs, and sewing bags. We cannot part with these three jewels even for a moment. "To learn from the Liberation Army, insist on the Four Firsts and continue the Three-Eight working style" is the standard for all our actions. The superior tradition of creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings -- daily study, mirror by the bed, discussions on applications, central teams -- has become a system internalized in our consciousness. Carry Quotations from Chairman Mao and the "Three Old Articles", and study them whenever you have time.

## 5. The New Peking University Is Advancing on the Road of Mao Tse-tung's Thought

After the military training, a fresh atmosphere appeared in the New Peking University. Now everyone is engaged in straightening out thought and organization, summarizing experiences, consolidating and developing the results of the military training. The students are actively discussing and implementing the editorials of Red Flag Nos 4 and 5, and more penetratingly and broadly advancing the struggle of criticizing the bourgeois reactionary of LIU, TENG and T'AO, and thoroughly defeating the counter-current of capitalist restoration. All students are striving to turn our school into a new red university of Mao Tse-tung's thought of the War-of-Resistance College type.

The New Peking University is bravely advancing on the road of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

## CONCLUSION

The New Peking University was born in struggle! It grew up in struggle! It advances songfully in struggle!

We look back at the history of our school's great Cultural Revolution: at every critical juncture, it was our great leader Chairman Mao and the Central Cultural Revolutionary Team that supported the leftist teachers and students of Peking University. Let us shout for a thousand times: Long live Chairman Mao!

After several setbacks, our school's great Proletariat Cultural Revolution achieved a great victory, and the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has defeated the bourgeois reactionary line of LIU, and TENG. The bourgeois reactionary line suffered a total defeat.

The struggle of Peking University is a typical example of the struggle between bourgeois restoration and proletarian counter-restoration. All revolutionary comrades can learn from these valuable experiences and lessons.

After the seizure of power, the consolidation of power in the hand of the proletariat will require a very long time. The bourgeoisie and its agents will try all means to re-seize power. The struggle is very complex, acute and at times fierce. The proletarian revolutionaries must have a sober recognition of this situation. remember class struggle, remember the proletarian dictatorship, remember emphasis on politics, and remember hoisting high the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

After the seizure of power by the proletariat, the bourgeoisie will use the method of infiltrating the revolutionary ranks and look for agents to split their ranks and carry out counter-seizure of power. Therefore, we must carry through to the end the struggle between the two classes and two roads inside and outside the revolutionary ranks,



in order to genuinely consolidate political power.

In attempting to seize power, the bourgeoisie always uses the form of hoisting a "red flag" in opposing the red flag. They are good at confusing black with white, truth with falsity, and blaming the proletarian revolutionaries for all sorts of crimes and bombarding the proletarian headquarters. Hence, the proletarian revolutionaries must realize a true alliance on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought to overcome the bourgeois counterrevolutionary small alliance. The proletarian revolutionaries must follow Chairman Mao's great teachings, brighten their eyes, distinguish the enemy and our side, see through all enemy schemes, and resolutely fight back!

Looking back at the history of our school's great Cultural Revolution enables us to have an unshakable faith: Of all important things, it is most important to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line; heads may roll, blood may be shed, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line must not be abandoned. We revolt against anyone who refuses to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and impose a dictatorship on anyone who opposes the brilliant Mao Tse-tung's thought!

"A storm is brewing in the mountains, a million crack troops are crossing the Big River." In such a favorable situation, we must realize: the bourgeois reactionary line still has its social foundation in our country, and there are still reactionary forces protecting this line. All revolutionary comrades must not take it lightly. "Use the remaining soldiers to chase the fleeing bandits, do not rest on your laurels!"

Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao!

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