

SELECTED ARTICLES OF THE RED GUARDS

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

Hung-ch'i Editor's Note:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

has energetically promoted the ideological revolutionization of man.

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

Dated September 1, 1966.

By the Red Guards of No 6 Middle School
Peking Municipality

2. Firmly Implement the 16-Point Decision

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a revolutionary undertaking

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dated September 13, 1966

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dated September 15, 1966.

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

4. Our Proposals

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

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

To this end we put forward the following proposals:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dated September 6, 1966.

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

CSO: 3530-D