

[Full text.]

Every revolutionary I met in Shanghai agreed that the important instruction given by Chairman Mao after his recent tour of North, Central-South and East China was a precise summation of the cultural revolution in this city.

Chairman Mao says: "As far as the great proletarian cultural revolution is concerned, the situation throughout the country is not just good, it is excellent. The whole situation is better than ever before. The key indication of this excellent situation is that the masses have been fully aroused. Never before in any mass movement have the masses been aroused so thoroughly and on so broad a scale."

The two million industrial workers of Shanghai have always been the main force in the cultural revolution. They have been in the van at every crucial moment of the movement.

They have not been fighting alone. The other revolutionary masses — including Red Guards, the workers in the field of finance and trade, and the peasants in rural parts of the Shanghai area — all have thrown themselves into the revolutionary movement. Each school, office, trading firm and people's commune, as well as each factory and workshop, has become a battlefield in which the issues involved in the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation are fought out.

Meetings have been held all over the area — meetings to struggle against the handful of capitalist-roaders in the Party at the various levels, meetings to repudiate the counterrevolutionary revisionist line pushed by

China's Khrushchev and his agents in various fields of work, meetings in each unit to discuss how to transform it in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings.

In every one of the streets of this great city, the largest in China, shop windows display big-character posters condemning the crimes of China's Khrushchev and exposing revisionist practices in different trades. And in the busy central area, whole streets have become kilometers-long galleries of big-character posters, usually with a never-ending crowd of people reading them.

In many busy parts of the city, special hoardings have been erected by large revolutionary mass organizations, carrying well-edited panels of posters. At the eastern end of Shanghai's busiest street — Nanking Road — adjoining the bund, I counted more than 40 such hoardings.

It is no exaggeration to say that the whole of Shanghai looks like a gigantic exhibition of big-character posters whose authors are the millions of workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary students and cadres and other revolutionaries.

Yet even this does not indicate the breadth and thoroughness of the movement. The lively atmosphere of the cultural revolution fills even the most out-of-the-way side-street and lane and every household of working people.

Children wearing "Little Red Soldier" armbands, old folk and pensioners, housewives, everyone, are discussing the problems of the cultural revolution and contributing a share, however small, to the great cause to insure that China will never change its political color and that capitalism never returns.

When they heard Chairman Mao's latest instruction, people said it was as though Chairman Mao lived right among them. He showed such insight into what was happening.

The revolutionary people of Shanghai have the deepest class feeling for their respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao. They study and apply his works in a living way and use them as the supreme guide in every problem they handle.

The great Lenin once declared that every kitchen maid must learn to rule the State. He was very happy when he saw ordinary workers arguing fiercely about the problems of the October Revolution, because this showed that the masses had been aroused.

It is only in this cultural revolution, this earth-shaking movement initiated and led by Chairman Mao, that the masses have acquired a really deep understanding of this maxim of Lenin's, a really deep understanding of the significance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

There are many indications of how the cultural revolution has touched everyone to his very core. The grasp of politics and the revolutionary enthusiasm displayed by retired men and women workers I met, the oldest in their seventies, were very impressive.

There is the woman worker Kuan Pao-lien, who retired in 1965, a year before the cultural revolution started, after 50 years of work. In fact, she started work at the age of six. Though she could live quietly on her pension, she refused to take things easy. She consciously set herself the goal of emulating Dr. Norman Bethune, the Canadian communist and surgeon who laid down his life in the Chinese people's war of resistance to Japan. She often went back to her factory to help when work was exceptionally heavy. She regularly lent the street cleaners a hand, rain or shine. Her purpose in doing all this, she said, was to do her small part in serving the people.

The cultural revolution brought her up sharply, particularly the exposure of the criminal scheme of China's Khrushchev to restore capitalism in China. If capitalism were restored, she thought, would not millions and millions of people like herself once again be plunged into misery? With a shock, she saw it was not enough just to work well. People, the ordinary masses, must take hold of affairs of State and make sure that the destiny of the country was firmly in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries.

At a local community meeting held by housewives and retired workers, this quiet woman took the floor and hit out hard at the shameless talk of China's Khrushchev that "exploitation has its merits." She gave instances from her own experience, describing how child workers had toiled 12 to 13 hours a day in the old days and had led a life of starvation. She contrasted the old life with the earth-shaking changes since liberation when the working class, as masters of the State, began building socialism and helping the world revolution. "Socialism saved us," she declared. "We must not let China be dragged back onto the capitalist road!"

Kuan Pao-lien, a working class veteran whose love for Chairman Mao and the Communist Party is boundless, has undergone a tremendous change in the cultural revolution. From an ordinary socially-conscious pensioner she has blossomed into an active revolutionary fighter. She places new demands on herself and on everything around her.

She has not together with other retired workers in her street to discuss how they should spend the rest of their lives. They all agree that they were spending too much time in pleasant relaxation and giving insufficient attention to their responsibilities as members of the working class.

They set up a course of study in Mao Tse-tung's thought and have been combining study of Chairman Mao's "three constantly read articles" and quotations from his writings with criticism and repudiation of all that is bourgeois. Kuan Pao-lien had no formal schooling at all. But she knows

"Serve the People" and a good many quotations from Chairman Mao by heart. They have deep meaning for her.

At the same time she and the others have taken an increasingly active part in the cultural revolution. In the stirring days of the "January storm," the sharp class struggle in which Shanghai's proletarian revolutionaries seized power from the handful of capitalist roaders, these retired workers organized patrols. They protected the young Red Guards and other revolutionaries and were directly involved in the struggle for the seizure of power.

Now these older folk say, "We retired from work but we cannot and must not retire from the ideological fight. We have our responsibilities to the future of our socialist motherland! We must turn every street, every lane, into a red school of Mao Tse-tung's thought!"

It is not only at mass meetings that China's Khrushchev has been repudiated. He has been bitterly condemned in the home of every working man and woman. One such family meeting took place in the home of 71-year-old Chang Ling-chia. Nine of her 13 children died of starvation before liberation. Two of her daughters had to be "given away" as child brides. She was furious when she heard the details of the criminal statements and actions of China's Khrushchev. She was particularly angered by his statement, "the more the capitalists exploit, the better off the workers are." Turning to her two sons she burst out: "What a vile thing to say! Why did your sisters and brothers die? Because of savage capitalist exploitation. We won't forget those miserable days!"

When the masses are aroused, their potential is inexhaustible. The mass drive to study Chairman Mao's works and condemn China's Khrushchev has reached gigantic proportions. In one street surveyed, more than 300 big and small meetings were held in the last few months. A number of these were meetings of a few families living in the same building. In addition, informal family meetings and discussions, such as the one that took place in Chang Ling-chia's home, are countless.

At one community meeting, the notion of "the dying out of class struggle," which China's Khrushchev spread, was utterly denounced. In the course of the discussion, a housewife named Yang Ling-yu told this story:

One day she saw a man about to dump a bundle in a dust bin. Something disturbed him and he went away still carrying the bundle. Her suspicions were aroused and she recalled Chairman Mao's teachings on class struggle. She followed the man and saw him furtively drop the bundle into another dust bin. As soon as the man was gone, she fished it out, it contained some 40 rounds of ammunition. This showed that the class enemy was panic-stricken by the "people's war" waged by the revolutionary masses in the cultural revolution. She reported the incident to the Security Department which was able to track down some concealed pistols and to capture a counterrevolutionary.

Yang Ling-yu said: "We working people must never forget when they read this passage from "Serve the People": "We hail from all corners of the country and have joined together for a common revolutionary objective... all people in the revolutionary ranks must care for each other, must love and help each other," they held a lively discussion. Those who could get about decided to help the staff with light chores. The nurses were very happy to have these "little soldiers of Chairman Mao" as helpers and they said that they were inspired by these young kids' living study of Chairman Mao's works.

Speaking at the mass rally, Pi Lu-min made the point that the handful of capitalist readers in the former Municipal Party Committee must have had a purpose in discouraging children from studying Chairman Mao's works. It was to cut them off from Mao Tse-tung's thought, draw them away from the working class and train them as successors to the bourgeoisie.

The study of Chairman Mao's works is now a mass movement in Pi Lu-min's school. Many children have learned all three of Chairman Mao's "constantly read articles" by heart. The pupils are holding keen debates on the revolution in education. They are exposing and condemning China's Khrushchev and his followers and making suggestions on how to create a new-type, proletarian system of education for children.

One proposal put forward by Lu Mei-chi, a 12-year-old pupil in the sixth grade, is that two days a week should be spent on the study of Chairman Mao's works, general knowledge, arithmetic and other school subjects, two days working in a factory or in the countryside, one day on military training and one day on analyzing and repudiating all that is bourgeois, imperialist and revisionist, with each pupil making his own summary of the week's work.

The curriculum of the school has been revised, drawing on the proposals of the pupils. Emphasis is placed on lessons in Chairman Mao's works and on productive labor.

The "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution," drawn up under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao, states explicitly: "The outcome of this great cultural revolution will be determined by whether or not the Party leadership dares boldly to arouse the masses."

My experience in Shanghai is that all the masses have indeed been aroused. With Mao Tse-tung's thought as their guide, they are educating themselves, emancipating themselves, and making great advances in ideological revolutionization. This increasingly active and conscious participation in political life by the revolutionary masses, in their tens and hundreds of millions, is insuring complete victory for the cultural revolution and guaranteeing that China will always remain red and revolutionary, will never change its political color.