for posterity. If we do not have faith in Chairman Mao and the masses, and if we are overly self-confident, then we will not be able to preserve our integrity.

The erroneous line in this cultural revolutionary movement was initiated primarily by Liu and Deng, but it was implemented in far too many places. This is a problem that concerns many comrades, and, of course, it should be dealt with in a discriminating fashion. There is a difference between initiating and implementing a policy, and between what is serious and what is light. Our general appraisal is that a majority of comrades were not self-conscious and did not at all intentionally resist Chairman Mao’s line. In most cases it was a question of understanding and not a question of opposing the Party, socialism, and Mao Zedong Thought. We are all quite aware of this. The majority of our Regional Bureau secretaries, provincial Party secretaries, and municipal Party secretaries are good old fellows. There is the occasional bad guy, but a majority is good. Of course, you too have your responsibilities. The erroneous line was implemented to a varying extent in different regions, and your responsibilities are all different. In each case, the individual problem must be handled properly, without any over- or underestimation. People are often prone to forget that quantitative changes can cause qualitative changes. They look upon different quantities as being equal quantities and upon different qualities as being equal qualities. For instance, water freezes at zero degrees; it changes into water when the temperature rises above zero and into steam when the temperature passes a hundred. As the temperature changes, it changes into different things. Thus we should accord differential treatment to cadres at various levels instead of treating them uniformly. There are some serious cases and some light ones, but on the whole it is largely a question of understanding. There is only a small handful that has resisted Chairman Mao’s correct line.

As long as our comrades strive to grasp Mao Zedong Thought, master the policies of the Party Center, have faith in the masses, and adopt a correct attitude toward the deviations and mistakes that may occur in their own work, they will be able to rectify them, perform their own tasks well, and come to work in a good mood and thus enable the entire Party under the banner of Mao Zedong Thought to unite even better and further.

3

“Mao Zedong Thought Is the Sole Criterion of Truth”

Zhou Enlai


Students and fighters of the Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters of Red Guards in the Capital’s Institutions of Higher Education:

Yesterday I gave a speech at a Red Guard mass rally organized by your headquarters in which I made one rather incomplete remark. I now correct and complement that remark of mine as follows:

Immediately after “which you consider to be correct, and consider to be the truth, you may adhere to for some time,” it should say “If in discussions or in practice, if you yourselves or someone else has proven that indeed they are wrong or partially wrong, then you should admit your mistakes and rectify them. If it has been proven that indeed they are correct or partially correct, then you should continue to adhere to those words or actions which are correct.” This is, as Chairman Mao often teaches us, the principle of “adhering to the truth while rectifying one’s mistakes.” In the course of this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of ours there can be only one criterion of truth, and that is to measure everything against Mao Zedong Thought. Whatever accords with Mao Zedong Thought is right, while that which does not accord with Mao Zedong Thought is wrong. This is why Comrade Lin Biao tells us to “read Chairman Mao’s works, obey Chairman Mao’s words, and act according to Chairman Mao’s instructions.” This is something you must bear in mind constantly.

It is my hope that you shall be able to pass on these words to the Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students.

Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution greetings,

Zhou Enlai
27 September [1966]

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pointed out the following for the first time, clearly and unequivocally and on the basis of serious investigative work and scientific analysis:

Where was the root of this renegade clique? It was in the Northern Bureau [of the Party] at the time. And who, one might then ask, was the boss behind the scenes? It was none other than the biggest party person in power taking the capitalist road. “We must dig up and eliminate this black root at all costs! We must drag out and seize this back stage boss!” The big-character poster went on, in the final section, to call on “all comrades who truly care about the destiny of this nation, unite and work together with one mind and spirit and strength and follow the clues hidden for us in the names of Gao Yangyun, Bo Yibo, Liu Luyan, An Ziwai, Yang Xianzhen, Li Chuli, Liu Lantao, Kong Xiangzhen, Xu Bing, and Peng Zhen—until we are able to dig up that black root that lies at the bottom of all this! We swear to defend Chairman Mao to the death! We swear to defend the Great Mao Zedong Thought to the death! We swear to defend to the death this proletarian country of ours, so that it may never change its color!”

This revolutionary big-character poster, whose spearhead was directly pointed at the largest handful of capitalist roaders in the Party, clearly pointed out who and what stood behind the scenes propping up the big renegade clique. The poster reflected the noble and heroic spirit of the Weidong Red Guards in their pledge to wage bloody battle against Liu Shaoqi’s big renegade clique, to the death. When it was posted, it immediately created shock waves throughout the entire Nankai University campus, and also attracted the attention of revolutionary rebel factions and their comrades-in-arms throughout the country.

On November 13 the Weidong warriors published another big-character poster entitled, “An Appeal to the Revolutionary Masses Throughout the Nation: Seize the Renegades!” With it, the Weidong fighters once more expressed their heroic ambition and steadfast resolve to thoroughly destroy the Liu Shaoqi Big Renegade Clique and to stand firm, never to give up, not even in death, until this goal has been accomplished.

On November 19 the Weidong warriors published, in their “Investigation Report on the Renegade Clique,” the aliases, real names, and current official positions and titles of some forty big renegades—out of the sixty-one who had surrendered to the enemy in the “Beiping Soldiers’ Self-Examination Institute” back in 1936—whose cases have already been thoroughly brought to light, and preliminarily clarified the circumstances under which Liu Shaoqi had instigated and instructed them to surrender to the enemy and turn coat against the Communist Party. In this investigative report, the Weidong Red Guards once again iterated the following, unequivocally and clearly: “The declaration of their renunciation of the Party was made under directions and instructions from Liu Shaoqi, and they were put up to it by the Northern Bureau, which had usurped the name of the Central Committee.”

“He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor.”

Under the guidance of the invincible Mao Zedong Thought, this group of revolutionary “nobodies,” who were originally unknown and students from Nankai University who were not well recognized, once again declared war on the “Colossus of the Day”—Liu Shaoqi! They declared war on Liu Shaoqi’s Big Renegade Clique!

“Lines from the novel Dream of the Red Chamber, here most likely quoted from Mao Zedong’s “Speech at the Chinese Communist Party’s National Conference on Propaganda Work” (March 1957) in which Mao had cited them to characterize “the dauntless spirit needed in our struggle to build socialism and communism.”

20

Interrogation Record: Wang Guangmei

Qinghua University “Jinggangshan Regiment”

Red Guards


The place: Qinghua University central building, 7th floor
The time: Around six-thirty A.M. [10 April 1967]
INTERROGATOR: Why did Liu Shaoqi call the movie Secret History of the Qing Court “patriotic”?¹

WANG GUANGMEI: I never heard comrade Shaoqi referring to the movie as being “patriotic”! Comrade Shaoqi definitively would not have said anything like that. I have faith in Chairman Mao; Chairman Mao will investigate the matter and find out what really happened. (The students want her to put on the dress she wore while in Indonesia, but Wang Guangmei refuses.)²

INTERROGATOR: You must put on that dress!

WANG: I will not!

INTERROGATOR: You have no choice in this regard!

WANG (drawing in her horns and pointing at her own dress): This is good enough for receiving guests.

INTERROGATOR (sternly): Receiving guests? You are being struggled against today!

WANG: I am not going to put on that dress. It is not presentable.

INTERROGATOR: Why then did you wear it in Indonesia?

WANG: It was summer at that time, and I wore it in Djakarta.

INTERROGATOR: Why did you wear it in Lahore?

WANG: I am not going to put it on, whatever you may say.

¹The movie, shot at the end of the 1940s, dealt with the Reform Movement of 1898 and the Boxer Uprising. According to Cultural Revolutionary accounts, it “eulogized the royalists while slandering the revolutionary mass movement and the heroic struggle of the people against imperialism and feudalism.” It was the subject of the first major public salvo against Liu, Qi Benyu’s “Patriotism or National Betrayal?—On the Reactionary Film Secret History of the Qing Court,” translated in Harold C. Hinton, ed., The People’s Republic of China 1949–1979: A Documentary Survey (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1980), pp. 1686–96.

²This refers to Liu Shaoqi’s state visit to Indonesia in the spring of 1963, during which on one occasion Wang Guangmei had worn a traditional Chinese qipao.

INTERROGATOR: Let me tell you: you are being struggled against today. You’d better be careful if you are not honest with us!

WANG: Even if I have to die, that doesn’t matter.

INTERROGATOR: Death? We want to keep you alive. Put it on!

WANG: Would it not be better for us to discuss things seriously?

INTERROGATOR: Who wants to discuss things with you? Let me tell you: You are being struggled against today!

WANG (angrily): On no account can you encroach upon my personal freedom.

INTERROGATOR (amid the sound of laughter): You are the wife of a Three-Anti Element, a reactionary bourgeois element, and a class-alien element.³ You will not be given an iota of small democracy, let alone extensive democracy! Dictatorship is exercised over you today, and you are not free.

WANG (interrupting): Who says I am the wife of a Three-Anti Element?

INTERROGATOR: We do.

WANG: I will not put on that dress, come what may. If I have committed mistakes, I am open to criticism and struggle.

INTERROGATOR: You are guilty of crimes! You are being struggled against today, and you will also be struggled against hereafter. Put it on!

WANG (evasively, pointing at the fur coat she is wearing): This is already good enough for receiving guests. It was a gift from Afghani-

³A “Three-Anti Element” is someone who is allegedly anti-Party, anti–Mao Zedong Thought, and anti-socialist.
INTERROGATOR: We want you to put on the dress that you wore in Indonesia.

WANG: That was summer. There is winter clothing for winter, summer clothing for summer, and spring clothing for spring. I cannot put on a summer dress now. If I must wear a dress for spring, I can send someone to bring me one.

INTERROGATOR: Rubbish! We know nothing about such bourgeois stuff as what is good for summer, winter, or spring, for receiving guests or for travel.

WANG: Chairman Mao has said that we must pay attention to the climate and change our clothing accordingly.

INTERROGATOR (amid laughter): What Chairman Mao was referring to was the political climate. With your standpoint, even though you are now wearing a fur coat, you are likely to freeze to death.

INTERROGATOR: Let me ask you: Didn’t you wear that dress when you were in Lahore although it was colder at that time than it is now? Put it on! It will do so long as you will not freeze to death. Are you going to put it on?

WANG: No.

INTERROGATOR: All right! We’ll give you ten minutes. Watch what happens at a quarter to seven. Try to defy us by not wearing that dress. We mean what we say. (Wang remains silent.)

INTERROGATOR: Wang Guangmei: What’s your opinion of Liu Shaoqi’s fall from grace?

WANG: It is an excellent thing. In this way, China will be prevented from going revisionist.

INTERROGATOR: One day we are also going to drag out Liu Shaoqi and struggle against him. Do you believe us?

WANG: You just go on with your struggle; just carry on . . . (silent)

WANG: You members of the Jinggangshan Regiment are thoroughly revolutionary. Except, the form of struggle which you employ is no good. Could you not find a more sophisticated form of denunciation?

INTERROGATOR: Pay no attention to what she says! We shall see what you look like when your ten minutes are over.

WANG: You . . . I can ring someone up and ask for a spring dress.

INTERROGATOR: That won’t do!

WANG: This dress is made of silk. It is too cold!

INTERROGATOR: Put it on and wear your fur coat on top of it.

INTERROGATOR: “Small wonder flies freeze and perish.”

WANG: If I were really opposed to Chairman Mao, I would deserve to freeze to death.

INTERROGATOR: You are opposed to Chairman Mao.

WANG: I am not against him now, and I will not oppose him in the future.

INTERROGATOR: No more nonsense with her . . . Seven minutes left!

WANG: (silence)

WANG: How about my putting on that pair of shoes (pointing to the pair of pointed shoes she had brought with her)?

INTERROGATOR: That is not enough! You must wear everything.

WANG: You don’t have the right.

INTERROGATOR: We have this right! You are being struggled against today. We are at liberty to wage struggle in whatever form we may want to, and you have no freedom. You might as well forget about

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*A line quoted from Mao’s poem “Winter Clouds” (1962).*
your vile theory of “everybody being equal before truth.” We are the revolutionary masses, and you are a notorious counter-revolutionary old hag. Don’t try to confuse the class demarcation line!

(At the time limit set, the [Jinggangshan] “Ghostbusters” (Zhuo-guidui) begin to force Wang to put on the outlandish dress.)

WANG: Wait a moment. (They ignore her. Wang Guangmei sits on the floor and refuses to allow them to slip the dress on her. Eventually she is pulled to her feet and the dress is slipped on her.)

INTERROGATOR: Have you got it on now? (Wang Guangmei had said that the dress was too small for her.)

WANG: You have violated Chairman Mao’s instruction about not struggling against people by force.

([RED GUARDS] Reading in unison [from Mao’s “Little Red Book”]: “A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained, and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another.”)

WANG: You violate Chairman Mao’s instructions by saying ... (Wang Guangmei is interrupted and forced to wear silk stockings and high-heeled shoes and a specially made necklace. She is photographed.)

WANG: My point is that you are using coercion. Chairman Mao says that nobody is allowed to strike, abuse, or insult another person.

INTERROGATOR: Nonsense! It is you who have insulted us. By wearing this dress to flirt with Sukarno in Indonesia, you have put the Chinese people to shame and insulted the Chinese people as a whole. Coercion is called for when dealing with such a reactionary bourgeois element as you—the biggest pickpocket on the Qinghua campus! ([RED Guards Reading in unison [from Mao’s “Little Red Book”]: “Everything reactionary is the same; if you don’t hit it, it won’t fall.”])

WANG: One day we shall see if I am indeed “reactionary” or not!

INTERROGATOR: What! Are you trying to reverse the verdict? (Everybody begins listing her crimes.)

WANG: (denies the accusations) I wish you would make a proper investigation.

INTERROGATOR: Let me ask you: Who is responsible for the policy of “Hitting at a great many in order to protect a handful”?55

WANG: In any case, certainly not I ... A true revolutionary must dare to stand forth and take responsibility for what she has done.

INTERROGATOR (points out that she told Liu Shaoqi last evening that Kuai Dafu had “Hit at a great many in order to protect a handful”)

WANG: This is not true.

INTERROGATOR: Do you want to cross-examine the witness? You said this at six o’clock last evening.

WANG (embarrassed): I welcome you to try to influence the attitude of the members of my family. (Because Wang’s daughter is unwilling to face her mother, the cross-examination is put off.)6

INTERROGATOR: Of course we want to influence the attitude of the members of your family ...

INTERROGATOR: What was the intention behind the work teams?

WANG: Work teams were dispatched with the consent and according to the decision of the Politburo Standing Committee at the time. Of course the principal responsibility is Liu Shaoqi’s, as Chairman Mao was absent. I am the only person whom Liu actually dispatched himself in person.

INTERROGATOR: How many of the revolutionary masses have been branded as counter-revolutionaries by you alone? How many persons have you victimized?

WANG: We have not branded a single person as counter-revolutionary.

55This refers to the alleged practice of the work teams that entered China’s schools in June 1966.

6Wang’s stepdaughter Liu Tao was a student at Qinghua University. A translation of her long denunciation of her stepmother is in Hinton, pp. 1639–53.
INTERROGATOR: There is no way for you to deny the fact that you “hit at a great many in order to protect a handful”!

WANG: Facts are facts, and conclusions should be drawn according to facts. That is Mao Zedong Thought.

INTERROGATOR: Wrong! The standpoint is the most important thing. Taking the reactionary stand, you see only the dark side of the revolutionary masses and are opposed to the Great Cultural Revolution. The facts we have studied and collected are different from yours.

WANG: Now some people want to shift the responsibility to others. . . . A person should dare to acknowledge facts, if he is a genuine revolutionary Leftist. It is wrong to “Doubt everything.” Who was it that advocated “doubting everything”? 

INTERROGATOR: You have doubted all revolutionary things and attacked all of the revolutionary masses and cadres.

WANG: In any case it was not my idea to “doubt everything,” much less was it Liu Shaoqi’s. We are opposed to “doubting everything.”

INTERROGATOR: You are opposed to the revolutionary masses who doubt you. You mortally fear those who have their doubts about you.

WANG: I am a Communist and fear nothing. I am not afraid of death by a thousand cuts . . .

INTERROGATOR (shouting a slogan): Down with the Three-Anti Element Wang Guangmei!

WANG: Since you think in this way, I will one day . . .

INTERROGATOR (citing facts: Wang lit a cigarette for Sukarno and brought disgrace upon the Chinese people.)

WANG: I am of the opinion that I have nothing to be ashamed of. At the farewell banquet that day, he sat next to me, and as the hostess . . . I should respect the Indonesian customs.

INTERROGATOR: To hell with you! We know nothing of those foreign conventions. You flirted with such a bad fellow as Sukarno.

WANG: At that time Sukarno was quite progressive . . . in diplomacy . . .

INTERROGATOR: So tell us, how many students did you brand as counter-revolutionaries? There are quite a few of us here.

WANG: In any case, we only criticized people and did not brand them as counter-revolutionaries.

INTERROGATOR: Who told you to oppose what you called “sham Leftists”?

WANG: Not Liu Shaoqi. It was the work team, Ye Lin and Yang Tianfang, who asked me. They said that Kuai Dafu had written a comment calling for a power seizure. They also gave a very distorted description of the situation, and on the basis of what they said, I agreed.

INTERROGATOR: Did Liu Shaoqi issue any instructions?

WANG: Liu Shaoqi issued very few instructions concerning Qinghua University.

INTERROGATOR: Who authorized you to sell vegetables in the university canteen? You were fishing for political capital.

WANG: That was after Chairman Mao had asked Liu Shaoqi: “Why is it that Wang Guangmei does not live together, eat together, and work together with the masses any longer, the way she did during the Four

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The “comment” refers to a few lines that Kuai had scribbled at the bottom of a big-character poster by one Liu Caitang on 21 June 1966. Kuai had suggested that the Qinghua students ask themselves if the work team really represented their interests. If not, he said, they might themselves have to carry out a second “power seizure.”
Cleanups?" The Chairman said: "She can participate in labor ... in this way she will be able to accept criticism." I heard this and was moved. So I went to work.

INTERROGATOR: Then you should work honestly! Why did you go to three different mess halls to sell vegetables?

WANG: Was it not because my exposure to the masses was not wide enough that I went to three different mess halls? (The masses expose the facts.)

WANG: Liu Tao also criticized me for this, and I have been thinking about it.

INTERROGATOR: So let's hear it: Who was it that came up with "Hitting at a great many in order to protect a handful"?

WANG: Really, it wasn't Liu Shaoqi.

INTERROGATOR: Who branded Kuai Dafu a counter-revolutionary?

WANG: It had nothing to do with Liu Shaoqi. Also, he was almost certainly not branded. (After the students cite facts to refute her, Wang Guangmei becomes incoherent and begins contradicting herself. At first she affirms that nobody had been branded, but then she says: "I told the work team that it was not good to oppose Kuai Dafu in this way." Hereafter she says: "I said that we must not prematurely brand people as counter-revolutionaries.")

INTERROGATOR: What do you think of the criticism of the book *Cultivation*?

WANG: The book is idealist and fails to discuss the class struggle, and on this point I agree with the statement made in the *Red Flag* commentator's article. Subjectively, on the other hand, I don't agree with the claim that it opposes Mao Zedong Thought. It merely represents an insufficiently transformed worldview.

*Note: Liu Shaoqi's *How to Be a Good Communist*, a book dealing with the need to maintain absolute loyalty to the Party and to overcome bureaucratic and individualistic tendencies, mainly by practicing "self-cultivation." The book had been re-issued in 1962.

INTERROGATOR: What do you think of comrade Qi Benyu's article criticizing *Secret History of the Qing Court*?

WANG: That is a movie of national betrayal from beginning to end. Comrade Qi Benyu's criticism is quite profound and thorough. Liu Shaoqi never said that the movie was patriotic. He and I watched it together, and he saw only the first half of it; when the sun came out, you couldn't see very clearly. He did not say anything. He definitely did not comment on it. We watched it together, so I know. He said nothing. Definitely.

INTERROGATOR: So according to what you say, Liu Shaoqi did nothing wrong?

WANG: He is responsible. In 1952, Chairman Mao did tell him that the movie was one of national betrayal. As a senior leader, it was a major error on his part not to organize a denunciation of it.

INTERROGATOR: What kind of major error is that? That's only an oversight in work.

WANG: It may have been an oversight, or it may have been a major error.

INTERROGATOR: So what you're saying is that comrade Qi Benyu is a rumor monger!

WANG: It may have been somebody else who made this comment in Liu Shaoqi's name.

INTERROGATOR: Very well! Last evening you said: "Qi Benyu was once in the same Party branch with me. I know him." Only later, when we pressed further, you said that "Qi Benyu is a good comrade." Now you have revealed your true nature.

WANG (brazen-facedly): Rubbish. I said it on my own initiative and not because you were pressuring me.

INTERROGATOR: Do you think that Qi's article is correct or not? Chairman Mao has read it!
WANG: Is that so? Has Chairman Mao read it? I still think that one has to proceed from what is good for the revolution and from the facts. Chairman Mao has to be told the facts the way they are.

INTERROGATOR: Are you clear as to whom comrade Qi Benyu's article is directed against?

WANG: Then he really does refer to Liu Shaoqi.

INTERROGATOR: What do you think of the questions raised by comrade Qi Benyu?

WANG: Liu Shaoqi is only responsible for some of those things.

INTERROGATOR: So you're saying that Red Flag is spreading rumors? That Liu Shaoqi is not a person in authority taking the capitalist road?

WANG: I have faith in Chairman Mao and in the masses. In the past I made mistakes because I did not have enough faith in him. I have worked by Liu Shaoqi's side for more than a decade, and I feel that not everything [in the article] tallies with the facts. A lot of it has nothing to do with Liu Shaoqi. It never occurred to me directly that he is the biggest Party-person in authority taking the capitalist road.

INTERROGATOR: So what was telling the clique of renegades to surrender to the enemy all about?

WANG: It was not [Liu] who instructed them to do that. It was a responsible comrade's proposal. [Liu merely] agreed.

INTERROGATOR: Who was he?

WANG: I refuse to say.

INTERROGATOR: You're shielding someone! Hurry up and tell us.

WANG: (after pondering for some time) It was Ke Qingshi who proposed it; Liu Shaoqi agreed.

**This refers to the incident of the “Sixty-One Renegades.” See Document 22.**

**The ultimate responsibility was Zhang Wentian’s, who, as the then general secretary of the CCP, had approved the controversial decision to publish admissions of “surrender” to the KMT in the media. In this way, the release of hundreds of senior CCP cadres was secured.**

INTERROGATOR: (angrily) Don't you dare slander the revered comrade Ke!

WANG: It does not matter what I say, you still won't believe me. You may carry out an investigation, OK? I'm telling you, Wang Qian is a scoundrel who spreads rumors and gives vent to personal spite. Don't be fooled! I don't care if you don't believe me . . .

INTERROGATOR: Wang Guangmei, tell us how you feel about Liu Shaoqi being the biggest Party-person in power taking the capitalist road?

WANG: Subjectively, my understanding is not yet up to that level. In any case, before the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee, the Chairman entrusted Liu Shaoqi and the Central Secretariat with many tasks, and if anything happened, [Liu] would of course have been responsible. But now he has had to step aside and is no longer responsible and no longer in power! At the time of the “reactionary line,” he traversed a stretch of the capitalist road.

INTERROGATOR: Only at the time of the reactionary line? That’s all?

WANG: Of course not. Anyone who makes an error in line will have traversed a stretch of the capitalist road . . . (The students tell her to put on the necklace.)

INTERROGATOR: Tell me this! Comrade Jiang Qing had told you not to wear the necklace when you were abroad. Why did you have to wear it?

WANG: Comrade Jiang Qing only told me not to wear the brooch but said nothing about the necklace. But the question is one and the same.

INTERROGATOR: You are talking nonsense! You are a Three-Anti Element.

**Wang Qian was Liu Shaoqi’s fourth wife (Liu had divorced her in 1947) and the mother of Liu Tao. When the Cultural Revolution began, she was living on the campus of China People’s University, in Beijing.**

**The time of the “[bourgeois] reactionary line” refers to the initial period of the Cultural Revolution, prior to Mao’s return to Beijing, during which Liu Shaoqi had been left “in charge” by Mao.**
WANG: I am not!...

INTERROGATOR: We intend to struggle against you reactionary bourgeois element and big pickpocket on the Qinghua campus.

WANG: I am not what you say I am; I am a Communist Party member.

INTERROGATOR: Don't try to denigrate our Party. Haven't you done enough filthy things already? What did you do during the Four Cleanups in Taoyuan?\textsuperscript{14}

WANG: How much do you know about the Four Cleanups? From whom did you get your information? You have spent no more than five days at the grass-roots level, while I stayed there for almost one year. I understand things better than you. You must investigate things in real earnest.

INTERROGATOR: To hell with you! Your Taoyuan experience is notorious enough. You'll soon hear of it.

WANG: Taoyuan's experience is good and not bad. But there were shortcomings and mistakes...

WANG: I admit I have committed Rightist-opportunism errors!

INTERROGATOR: You were "left" in appearance and "right" in essence, waving the Red Flag to oppose the Red Flag!

WANG: I leaned to the Right.

INTERROGATOR: You leaned to the Right? If you'd been any more Leftist, we would all have been dead by now! "Hitting at a great many"—and you mean to say you leaned to the Right?

WANG: I've seen those materials and they're extremely biased.... (The masses are enraged, and they dress her up for a photograph. She is led away to be struggled against.)

\textsuperscript{14}Wang had spent the winter of 1963–64 taking part in the Four Cleanups in Taoyuan Brigade, Hebei, and her experience had been written up for emulation in a major CCP Central Document. During the Cultural Revolution, Wang's "Taoyuan experience" (Taoyuan jingyan) was widely denounced as an example of "Leftism."

WANG: You are making every effort to make me look ugly.

INTERROGATOR: This is what you have been all the time. Why feel shy about what you have done. All we do is restore your true identity. (Wang Guangmei is ready to "go to prison" and has brought with her a towel, a toothbrush, and other things.)

INTERROGATOR: Wang Guangmei! Are you afraid?

WANG: Why should I be? I am not afraid. A Communist has nothing to fear. (As she is about to go downstairs, her shaking hands are unable to put things in the proper place.)

WANG: I want a glass of water.

WANG: Where is that PLA comrade? Old Ma, I want a tranquilizer.

INTERROGATOR: Are you afraid?

WANG: My mind is calm. I have to take medicine because I am sick. My nerves are no good. (She gasps for breath.)

INTERROGATOR: Wang Guangmei's hands are trembling.

WANG: There is some trouble with my hands. I am not afraid, and I am very calm in mind. (Wang Guangmei asks for two tranquilizer tablets, but the PLA comrade gives her only one.) All right. I'll take one as you say. (As she is dragged out, she becomes downcast and turns pale. She drags her feet step by step and again asks for a tranquilizer.) Where is the PLA comrade? I want some more medicine.

INTERROGATOR: Didn't you say you were not afraid? Paper tiger!

WANG: I am not afraid, and I am willing to go through with the meeting, but I have been running a fever these past few days. Liu Shaoqi is also sick, and I have nursed him a number of days. (She then purses her lips, and the veins stand out on her hands.)

INTERROGATOR: What have you in mind now?
WANG (in a low voice): I am now ready to face the criticism, repudiation, and struggle of the masses.

21
On Case Examination Work

Kang Sheng

Our translation of this lecture given to representatives of “mass” organizations, case examination groups, and the PLA in Jilin Province on 8 February 1968 is based on the excerpt published as “Kang Sheng tongzhi tan zhu’an’ an gongzu” in Chinese Academy of Sciences Revolutionary Committee, ed., Xueji wenjian (Study Documents), Vol. 2 (April 1968), pp. 10–12.

Comrades who are involved in the work of examining special cases must, first of all, master and hold firmly to Mao Zedong Thought. Second, they must have a clear and correct class viewpoint. What they are dealing with are one traitor [after another], and the longer they deal with something like that, the greater the likelihood of their minds becoming confused, and, slowly, maybe their own ways of thinking, their own ideology, will become affected. One day you find out about a traitor here, and the next day you deal with another traitor over there; and in the meantime, all the material is concentrated here, in your hands; O good gracious! The Chinese Communist Party is such a great, glorious and correct party; how could things have become so dark, so black all over? [Maybe it is] no longer quite so great, glorious, or correct? [(Original editor’s comment) Some omissions here.] Unless you have a rock-solid firm and steadfast standpoint, slowly your own viewpoint and standpoint can be shaken, and you will begin to waver. [What you see is] Liu Shaoqi turns out to be a renegade, and Peng Zhen too; Yang Shangkun was in secret and illicit communications with a foreign government, and An Ziwen, too, was a traitor. After you have read [all the material on these cases], everywhere you turn your eyes, things are black all over; what greatness, what glory, is there to talk about? This is why I say unless your class viewpoint is clear and firm, you are liable to waver. After you have worked with case examinations for a good part of the day, you might ask yourself: Is it just that? Am I wasting my energy? The answer, I tell you, is: No. You are not wasting your energy. I have long held two sets of ideological preparedness myself [for this sort of work]. One is that the cases I deal with are indeed renegades; and the other is that they turn out not to be. When one investigates and examines the material, given that people's ideas are bound to be a bit subjective, when you are trying to nab a renegade, your mentality is likely to be biased in that direction, and you are likely to feel: That fellow must be a renegade. If, on the other hand, you are somewhat ideologically numbed, or insensitive in your thinking, you might lean to the other side in your thinking. That is why we absolutely must seek the truth from facts (shishi qiu shi). For this reason, too, in dealing with those cases we must link up with the masses. The Center has made a commentary on the case of the sixty-one renegades; have you seen it? In this matter, which entails responsibility for a person’s political life, the Center takes a very cautious attitude. Owing to the complexities of the environment and circumstances, it is possible that there could be mistakes; and sometimes it is unavoidable that mistakes would be made. In the examination of cadres at Yan’an, for instance, there were mistakes made, and subsequently, those cases were reversed and corrected. And after the Liberation of the entire country, when the matter was reviewed, it has been proven that in the vast majority of cases, the examination of cadres at Yan’an had been correct. Sometimes, there could also be mistakes in the reversal of verdicts; this is because conditions evolve and change and are not always the same, and so this matter calls for investigation and study. In this matter we must adhere firmly to policy. On the issue of people switching from Youth League to Party [membership]: In this matter, we must remember that the history of the Party...
Chairman Mao teaches us: "The question of whom to serve is a fundamental question and one of principle." The basic question of direction contained in Chairman Mao’s July instructions about the greening of gardens and parks is that of whom gardens and parks ultimately should serve. For the past seventeen years, this has been the focal point of the struggle between the two classes, the struggle between the two roads, and the struggle between the two lines in garden and park circles.

Gardens and parks are living environments created (as art forms) by people of definite classes in accordance with their own ideals, interests, habits, and customs. Consequently, gardens and parks have pronounced class characteristics. Those gardens in existence today that were created already in the old society were created by and as expressions of the likes and desires of the exploiting classes. They are permeated by the ideology and culture of the exploiting classes and reflect the hopes and demands of the exploiting classes. This is particularly true of some of the classic gardens and parks created expressly for the feudal court, e.g. the Yuhua Garden in the Forbidden City, the Summer Palace, and the Temple of Heaven. After Liberation, the greater part of these old things so full of the ideological forms of the exploiting classes were basically preserved as they were. Some were thrown open to the public in their original form and with their original contents. The greater part of their old staffs, who had served the exploiting classes in the past, were retained. These bourgeois so-called "cultural figures" were never properly remolded and some of them ever managed to grab hold of key positions in government departments managing gardens and parks. At the same time, once the working masses under the leadership of the proletariat had taken political power away from the exploiting classes, it was not yet possible to escape completely the influence of old ideology and old culture shaped by the exploiting classes over an extended period of time. Hence, it became inevitable that counter-revolutionary revisionists would extend their black hands into the departments managing gardens and parks with the aim of restoring capitalism. Was it not precisely with this sinister aim in mind that the biggest Party-person in power taking the capitalist road, Liu Shaoqi, came to Taoranting Gardens in 1959 to peddle his black wares?!

While enjoying himself in Taoranting Gardens, Liu Shaoqi publicly opposed giving prominence to proletarian politics in public gardens. He did his utmost to propagate capitalist and revisionist forms of recre-
ation and advocated capitalist forms of management. He preached the doctrine of "returning to the ancients" by insisting that gardens and parks should serve the exploiting classes and his own attempts to restore capitalism. Liu Shaoqi's visit to Taoranting Gardens led to an intensified capitalist restoration in all of Beijing's public gardens.

A mass of evidence shows that the representatives of the bourgeoisie who wormed themselves into the Party are not only reactionary politically but also invariably lead corrupt and decadent lives. In order to satisfy their craving for food, drink, and entertainment they demand that gardens and parks provide them with spaces where they may indulge. Hence gardens and parks are made to serve the needs of a handful of members of the privileged strata. The counter-revolutionary revisionist element Peng Zhen put the big capitalist Yue Songsheng in charge of the departments managing gardens and parks and furthermore informed him, "Just keep on managing them in whatever way you found appropriate in the past." This big careerist and big schemer even organized "Petofi Circles" in quite a number of public gardens. Didn't the shocking counter-revolutionary "Changguanlou" incident take place precisely in the Beijing Zoological Gardens in 1961?

But, no matter how frenzied the activities of the biggest handful of Party-persons in power taking the capitalist road may be, they are still not able to escape the splendid rays of invincible Mao Zedong Thought. In 1963, in his instructions concerning literature and art, Chairman Mao pointed out: "In many departments, very little has been achieved so far in socialist transformation. The 'dead' still dominate in many departments." "Isn't it absurd that many Communists are enthusiastic about promoting feudal and capitalist art but not socialist art?" Weren't these words also a sharp criticism of the situation in garden and park circles at the time? In July 1964, in his instructions concerning the revolutionization of flower gardens, Chairman Mao again directed severe criticism against the trend—promoted by the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique on the old Beijing Municipal Party Committee—of growing potted flowers and plants in "astronomical numbers." Hitting the nail on the head, he pointed out: "Decorating with potted flowers is something left over from the old society. It's what the feudal class of local senior officials, the bourgeoisie, pampered sons of wealthy or influential families, and people who carry birds around in cages enjoy doing. The only people who have time to grow flowers and arrange flowers are the ones who have nothing better to do once they've eaten their fill. More than a decade has passed since Liberation, yet not only has the number of potted plants not decreased, but on the contrary, it has gone up. Now is the time to make some changes!" At the same time, he also—bearing the fundamental interests of the broad laboring people in mind—set forth some basic demands as far as the greening of gardens and parks is concerned. He pointed out: "In our courtyards we should from now on plant more trees, more fruit trees, or even some grain, vegetables, and oil-bearing crops. Step by step, we should transform the Sun Yat-sen and Xiangshan Gardens in Beijing by planting some fruit trees and oil-bearing crops. In this way, the gardens will not only be nice to look at but be of some benefit as well. They should be of some good to coming generations." Proceeding from the fundamental interests of the proletariat, Chairman Mao made a profound analysis of the demands raised by different classes with respect to the greening of gardens and parks and pointed out clearly that gardens and parks are not meant to serve the exploiting classes but to serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and to serve proletarian politics. Chairman Mao demanded that in our work we should see to it that gardens and parks are "not only nice to look at but of some benefit as well," and that they "be of some good to coming generations." How profound, indeed, is the meaning of these words!

In accordance with the basic spirit of Chairman Mao's instructions, our work of turning gardens and parks ever greener must proceed in accordance with the great long-term strategic policy of preparing for war, avoiding shortages, and doing everything for the people. Step by

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1. The label "Petofi Circles" refers to informal debating clubs. The original Petofi Circle, named after a 19th-century poet, was formed in Hungary in March 1956 and its members strongly criticized the crimes of the Rakosi regime and contributed to the ferment that exploded in the Hungarian revolt.

2. The so-called "Changguanlou" incident refers to a series of meetings, held in a building by this name in western Beijing, in the winter of 1961, at which senior members of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee produced a highly critical evaluation of the Great Leap Forward.

step, we must change the face of nature in our country and achieve a universal greening as well as the integration of greening and production. The forms of recreation provided in our gardens and parks, the variety of plants, and other gardening issues must all, in every respect, give prominence to the propagation of Mao Zedong Thought; make the masses never forget class struggle; constantly get rid of what is bourgeois and foster what is proletarian; destroy "self" and establish "public"; and aim at making gardens and parks forever serve the needs in struggle and fundamental interests of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, as well as forever serve the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao’s wise instructions have been tremendously inspiring to the proletarian revolutionaries in our gardens and parks system. They were a devastating blow to the counter-revolutionary revisionist elements, and for this very reason a tiny handful of counter-revolutionary revisionist elements have remained very much afraid of them becoming known to the broad masses. They have utilized a thousand and one devices to have them suppressed, to oppose them, and to distort their meaning. theirs has truly been a case of “an ant trying to topple a giant tree—ridiculously overrating one’s own strength!” In this historically unprecedented Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the tiny handful of counter-revolutionary revisionist elements were finally dragged out. They must be overthrown altogether and never be allowed to stage a comeback.

“In June our soldiers of heaven fight against evil and rot; they have a huge rope to tie up the whale or fabulous cockatrice.” At present the situation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the gardens and parks sector is excellent throughout. Guided by Chairman Mao’s brilliant work “On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People,” the section of the front occupied by the Great Alliance with proletarian revolutionaries at its core is expanding daily, and a new high tide of great exposure, great denunciation, and great struggle aimed at the counter-revolutionary revisionist black line headed by Liu Shaoqi is surging forward. Under these circumstances, it is inevitable that a major task faced by the proletarian revolutionaries in the gardens and parks sector will be to resolve the matter of basic direction for the greening of gardens and parks by looking back at the basic reality of the struggle between the two classes, between the two roads, and between the two lines in the gardens and parks sector during the past seventeen years and by further studying and applying in a living way Chairman Mao’s “Talks at the Yan’an Forum on Literature and Art” and his 1964 instructions concerning the revolutionization of flower gardens.

In the lofty spirit of the proletariat, let us advance in the direction pointed out by our great leader Chairman Mao in his instructions, hold high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought, and blaze a new trail by creating socialist gardens and parks that will serve as front positions of education illuminated by the splendid rays of Mao Zedong Thought!

42
Red Guard Tabloids Are Great Things!

Nankai University “Weidong” Red Guards


Chairman Mao—the reddest, reddest, red sun in our hearts—said after having read the article “Dare to Employ Revolutionary Cadres” written by our Weidong editorial board commentator that the “Weidong Red Guards at Nankai University in Tianjin have written a good article in which they raise a new question. These Red Guard tabloids are great things.” This shows Chairman Mao’s tremendous concern for the Red Guards. It is a tremendous inspiration to us all and constitutes tremendous support and praise for the Red Guard tabloids. Chairman Mao’s words will forever encourage us to march forward!

The Weidong tabloid does indeed deserve praise!

The Weidong fighters, wielding their pens like knives, like rifles, and poised as if to command the wind and the clouds, launched an
Vigorously and Speedily Eradicate Bizarre Bourgeois Hair Styles

Revolutionary Workers of the Hairdressing Trade in Guangzhou


Holding high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought and displaying vigorous revolutionary spirit, young revolutionary fighters in Guangzhou have been busy putting up revolutionary big-character posters in the streets to attack the old ideas, culture, customs, and habits of all exploiting classes, in a determined effort to build Guangzhou into a city extraordinarily proletarian and extraordinarily revolutionary in character.

This revolutionary rebel spirit displayed by these young fighters is indeed splendid, for it has greatly boosted the morale of revolutionary people and provided us with profound inspiration and enlightenment. We want to learn from these young fighters and their revolutionary rebel spirit by launching a proletarian revolutionary rebellion in the hairdressing trade of the city. The following proposals are put forward by us before all revolutionary workers of the hairdressing trade in Guangzhou:

1. All revolutionary workers of the hairdressing trade should ardently and resolutely support the revolutionary actions of the young revolutionary fighters and the revolutionary masses. We should warmly welcome their criticisms and ardently support big-character posters that speak out against us. We should provide the young revolutionary fighters and the revolutionary masses beforehand with necessary facilities such as tables, benches, brush pens, ink, paper, and paste so they can write big-character posters and paste them up on the walls.

2. All revolutionary workers of the hairdressing trade should promptly take action and make revolution alongside the young revolutionary fighters and the revolutionary masses in a highly militant spirit. They should tidy things up and make corrections where necessary. They should demolish all old ideas, culture, customs, and habits and establish new culture, new customs, and new habits. With regard to bizarre bourgeois hairstyles, they should vigorously and speedily eradicate them. But with respect to new proletarian hairdos, they should energetically and promptly promote them.

3. All revolutionary workers of the hairdressing trade should take prompt action by smashing all shop signs tinged with feudal, capitalist, and revisionist ideas. They should replace old signs with new ones fraught with revolutionary significance so our shops will forever shine with revolutionary brilliance!

4. All revolutionary workers in hairdressing salons should first and foremost make self-revolution in a determined manner, whether concerning what they have in mind, what they wear, or their own hairstyles. They should vigorously rebel against all those bizarre and fantastic things that do not conform to Mao Zedong Thought. They should forgo the “cowboy” hairstyle and shed their “cowboy” outfits. They should uphold revolutionary ideas, go in for revolutionary hairstyles, and put on revolutionary clothes.

5. We refuse to serve those customers who insist on “cowboy” or “bun-like” hairstyles! We boycott all customers who are dressed like “cowboys” or “cowgirls”!

6. We welcome customers who want to change their bizarre hairdos. We may even attend to them on a priority basis so that their bizarre hairstyles and newfangled ideas may be changed as soon as possible!

7. We should give prominence to politics and put Mao Zedong Thought in the lead. We should place the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought in our shop windows, in this way turning them into a front for propagating Mao Zedong’s ideas.

8. We should seriously and creatively learn and apply Chairman Mao’s writings, remodel our thinking, and transform ourselves into both hairdressing personnel and propagandists for spreading Mao Zedong Thought.

9. We should vehemently open fire on all outmoded practices of commercial enterprises and all things that do not conform to the superstructure of the socialist economic base.

10. We should seriously learn, master, and apply the “Sixteen Points” and use them to unify our understanding and action—in this
way carrying through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to the end.

Cheng Yulian, barber, Nanyi Hairdressing Salon
Chen Shu, barber, Mufan Hairdressing Salon
Huang Songjun, barber, Guojian Hairdressing Salon

44
One Hundred Items for Destroying the Old and Establishing the New

Beijing No. 26 Middle School Red Guards


The onrushing tide of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is just now crashing down on the remnant strength of the bourgeoisie with the might of a thunderbolt, washing the old ideology, the old culture, the old customs, and the old habits of the bourgeoisie down the stream. Chairman Mao tells us: "In the last analysis, all the truths of Marxism can be summed up in one sentence. 'To rebel is justified.'" The present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution must overthrow the old ideology, the old culture, the old customs, and the old habits; to rebel all out against the bourgeoisie is to completely smash the bourgeoisie, to establish the proletariat on a grand scale, to make the radiance of great Mao Zedong Thought illuminate the entire capital, the entire nation, the entire world. Armed with great Mao Zedong Thought we are the most militant troops, the mortal enemy of the "four olds"; we are the destroyers of the old world; we are the creators of the new world. We must raise high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought, open savage fire on the "four olds," smash to bits imperialist, revisionist, and bourgeois goods and all things not in accord with Chairman Mao's thought. We must thoroughly clear the books of the utterly illogical capitalist system. We must make great Mao Zedong Thought shine out over the whole world; we must make our great fatherland revolutionary, militant, and radiant with Mao Zedong Thought; we must make a brand-new China appear in the world.

* * *

1. Under the charge of residential committees, every street must set up a quotation plaque; every household must have on its walls a picture of the Chairman plus quotations by Chairman Mao.
2. More quotations by Chairman Mao must be put up in the parks. Ticket takers on buses and conductors on trains should make the propagation of Mao Zedong Thought and the reading of Chairman Mao's quotations their primary task.
3. The management bureaus of publishing enterprises must mainly print Chairman Mao's works, and most of the sales of New China bookstores must make the radiance of Mao Zedong Thought shine in every corner of the whole country.
4. Printing companies must print quotations by the Chairman in large numbers; they must be sold in every bookstore until there is a copy of the Quotations from Chairman Mao in the hands of everyone in the whole country.
5. With a copy of the Quotations from Chairman Mao in the hands of everyone, each must carry it with him, constantly study it, and do everything in accord with it.
6. Fine art publishing companies must print large batches of stock quotations by the Chairman. Especially on anniversary occasions, they must sell great quantities of quotations and revolutionary couplets—enough to satisfy the needs of the people.
7. Plaques of quotations by the Chairman must be hung on all available bicycles and pedicabs; pictures of the Chairman must be hung and Chairman Mao's sayings painted on motor vehicles and trains.
8. The relevant departments must manufacture bicycle and pedicab quotation plaques on a scale large enough to meet the needs of the people.
9. Newly manufactured products such as bicycles, motor vehicles, trains, airplanes, etc., must uniformly bear quotation plaques. This procedure must be increased, not decreased.
10. Neighborhood work must put Mao Zedong Thought in first
place, must set up small groups for the study of Chairman Mao’s works, and must revolutionize housewives.

11. Every school and every unit must set up highest directive propaganda teams so that everyone can hear at any time the repeated instructions of the Chairman.

12. Broadcasting units must be set up in every park and at every major intersection, and, under the organizational responsibility of such organs as the Red Guards, propagate Mao Zedong Thought and current international and national events.

13. The old national anthem absolutely must be reformed by the workers, peasants, and soldiers into a eulogy to the Party and Chairman Mao; this big poisonous weed of Tian Han must be rooted out.

14. Neighborhood residential committees must put up several newspaper display cases so that everyone can take an interest in major national and world events.

15. From now on every newspaper must put Mao Zedong Thought in first place. Editorials must be few and to the point, and there must be more good articles dealing with the living study and living application of Chairman Mao’s works by the workers, peasants, and soldiers.

16. Letters and stamps must never have bourgeois things printed on them (such as cats, dogs, or other artistic things). Politics must be predominant. A quotation by Chairman Mao or a militant utterance by a hero must be printed on every envelope.

17. When members of companies celebrate brigade days, they are not permitted to visit parks. They must strengthen their class education and their education in Mao Zedong Thought.

18. Hereafter on the national day, everyone must carry a copy of the Chairman’s quotations and a bouquet, and the bouquets must be arranged in slogans.

19. Shop windows cannot be dominated by displays of scents and perfumes. They must be decorated with simplicity and dignity and must put Mao Zedong Thought first.

20. Theaters must have a strong political atmosphere. Before the movie starts, quotations from Chairman Mao must be shown. Don’t let the bourgeoisie rule our stages. Cut the superfluous hooligan scenes, and reduce the price of tickets on behalf of the workers, peasants, and soldiers.

21. Literary and art workers must energetically model in clay heroic images of workers, peasants, and soldiers engaged in living study and living application of Chairman Mao’s works. Their works must be pervaded by the one red line of Mao Zedong Thought.

22. All professional literary and art teams must gradually be transformed into Mao Zedong Thought propaganda teams like the Ulanmuqi [cultural team] and the “Sea-Borne Cultural Workers’ Company”; they must be highly proletarianized, highly militant, and highly ideologized.

23. Our nation has already been established for seventeen years. But those who drank the blood of the people and oppressed the people before the Liberation, those bourgeoisie bastards, are still collecting fixed interest and interest from stocks and living the lives of parasites. We warn you: Immediately desist from collecting fixed interest and interest from stocks; you are only allowed to honestly reform your bastardly ideology—you are not permitted to exploit the people.

24. You landowners who still rode on the people’s heads and drank the people’s blood after the Liberation, we order you bastards to hurry up and turn over all your private holdings to the state. In a socialist state we absolutely cannot allow you vampires to exist.

25. In a proletarian society, private enterprise cannot be allowed to exist. We propose to take all firms using joint state and private management and change them to state management and change joint state and private management enterprises into state-owned enterprises.

26. Our socialist society absolutely cannot allow any hooligans or juvenile delinquents to exist. We order you right this minute to get rid of your blue jeans, shave off your slick hairdos, take off your rocket shoes, and quit your black organizations. Peking is the heart of world revolution. It is not the big world you squatted on before the Liberation. We warn you: You are not allowed to go on recklessly doing your evil deeds—if you do, you will be responsible for the consequences.

27. All who are in service trades are not permitted to serve the bourgeoisie. Clothing stores are firmly prohibited from making tight pants, Hong Kong-style suits, weird women’s outfits, and grotesque men’s suits. All revolutionary comrades in service trades must strictly adhere to this.

28. All daily necessities (perfume, snowflake cream, etc.) that do not serve the broad worker, peasant, and soldier masses must be prohibited from sale right away. Merchandise trademark designs must be radically changed.

29. Photography studios must serve the broad worker, peasant, sol-
dier masses and must abolish the taking of profile photos and all kinds of grotesque pictures. Display windows should be arranged with large, simple photos of workers, peasants, and soldiers.

30. Stop producing poker cards, military chess, and all other such things that advertise bourgeois ideology.

31. Trading stores cannot sell secondhand clothes, Western clothes, or any other ridiculous things the bourgeoisie love to see.

32. Laundries must cease washing pants, stockings, and handkerchiefs for those bourgeois wives, misses, and young gentlemen and completely crush their stuck-up airs. Do not yield to their senseless demands; you should greatly enhance the pride of the proletariat and utterly destroy bourgeois pomp.

33. Public baths must consistently desist from serving those bourgeois sons of bitches. Don't give them massage baths, footrubs, backrubs; don't let them bow our heads again, or abuse and ride roughshod over us.

34. Bookstores for classical books must this minute stop doing business. Children's bookstores must immediately destroy all pornographic children's books, and all bookstores and libraries must be internally purified and must clear away all poisonous weeds; do not permit these goods of the bourgeoisie ideology to be poured into our youth ever again.

35. All the landlords, rich-peasants, counter-revolutionaries, hooligans, Rightists, and other members of the bourgeois class are not permitted to collect pornographic books and decadent records. Whoever violates this rule will, when discovered, be treated as guilty of attempting to restore the old order, and his collections will be destroyed.

36. Children must sing revolutionary songs. Those rotten tunes of the cat and dog variety must never again waft in the air of our socialist state. In this great socialist state of ours, absolutely no one is allowed to play games of chance.

37. The bastards of the bourgeoisie are not allowed to hire governesses. Whoever dares to violate or resist this rule and thus continues to ride on the heads of the laboring people will be severely punished.

38. All service industries must turn their faces toward the workers, peasants, and soldiers. They must bear a class nature; they cannot produce anything for the service of the bourgeoisie.

39. Every hospital must turn its face toward the workers, peasants, and soldiers. They must reform the old system and abolish the registration system.

40. Peddlers who make little toys to deceive and, in a disguised form, poison children, we order you to stop business right away. Not the least consideration will be shown toward those who violate this order. In addition, we order toy shops immediately to stop selling small toys such as watches, etc., that advertise bourgeois ideology.

41. Every industrial enterprise must abolish the bourgeois bonus award system. In this great socialist nation of ours, the broad worker, peasant, soldier masses, armed with the great Mao Zedong Thought, have no need for material incentives.

42. Heads of families are not allowed to educate their children with bourgeois ideology. The feudal family-head system will be abolished. No more beating or scolding of children will be tolerated. If the child is not of one's own begetting, no mistreatment is allowed. Children will be consistently educated in Mao Zedong Thought.

43. Cricket raising and cricket fights will no longer be permitted. The raising of fish, cats, and dogs and other such bourgeois habits shall not exist in the midst of the Chinese people. Whoever breaks this rule will be responsible for the consequences.

44. You old bastards of the bourgeoisie who receive high salaries, listen well: Before Liberation you rode on the heads of the people, sometimes severe, sometimes lenient. Now you still receive salaries many times more than ten times higher than those of the workers. You are thus drinking the blood of the people—you are guilty. Starting in September, you are ordered to lower your high salaries to the level of those of the workers. Landlords, rich-peasants, counter-revolutionaries, hooligans, and Rightists who have deposits in banks are not allowed to take even a penny for themselves. Whoever breaks this rule is responsible for the consequences—there will not be the least politeness.

45. Scoundrels of the bourgeoisie are not allowed to wander around or visit parks at will. The monthly tickets of those who have bought them to visit parks or ride in cars as a way to enjoy their leisure will be destroyed. They cannot indulge in wild fancies.

46. Except for the old, the weak, the sick, and the crippled who may ride in pedicabs, the bastards of the bourgeoisie are forbidden to ride in pedicabs. Whoever violates this rule will be handled with severity. The number of pedicab workers must be reduced, and suitable arrangements for good jobs will be made.

47. Landlords, rich-peasants, counter-revolutionaries, hooligans, Rightists, and capitalists, when they go out, must wear plaques as
monsters and freaks under the supervision of the masses. Whoever violates this rule will be dealt with severely.

48. All monsters and freaks and puppets of the “Black Gang” are forbidden to receive salaries without the approval of the masses. We want to lower the salaries of these old bastards. The scoundrels will get only enough to keep them alive.

49. Restaurants can no longer be places where the bastards of the bourgeoisie go to eat, drink, and enjoy themselves. Service personnel are not allowed to respond to their senseless demands and prepare for them delicacies from the mountains and seas. The finger guessing game cannot be played in restaurants. No service may be rendered these bastards.

50. Factories must not give pensions to landlords, rich-peasants, counter-revolutionaries, hooligans, and Rightists. Their payments and benefits will all be abolished, and they will be required to labor under the supervision of the masses.

51. The bastards of the bourgeoisie are not permitted to occupy a large number of houses, the [minimum] limit being three persons to one room. The surplus rooms shall be turned over to the Housing Bureau for management, lest we take action.

52. All those of the five categories of landlords, rich-peasants, counter-revolutionaries, hooligans, and Rightists who are jobless shall go back to their native place to engage in production.

53. Social youth who loaf around, we order you: Register immediately at the employment office and go to the frontier territories to participate in labor and production.

54. From now on, police stations are not allowed to find jobs in the cities for those who don’t adhere to the state assignments. Let them go to the frontier territories.

55. Old bastards of the bourgeoisie, we order you instantly to hand over to the government all the money you took by exploitation before Liberation. You vampires are no longer allowed to squander at will.

56. Wrestling areas throughout the country will be disbanded, and the wrestlers will go to police stations to register for participation in labor. You can no longer poison the people.

57. We order magicians throughout the country who depend on deceiving the people for a living: Stop your business immediately; go to police stations to register!

58. All circus and theater programs must be changed. They must put on meaningful things. Actors are not allowed to dress up in strange fashions, because we don’t need those filthy things.

59. We order all those young rabbits who have not joined pedicab associations and are driving black pedicabs (i.e., those who go out during the night to train or bus stations, large streets, and small alleys to look for customers and who unnecessarily pass through large streets and small alleys to stretch the mere two li of the original distance to five in order to charge twice as much) to immediately stop engaging in this kind of criminal business and to submit themselves to the bureaus of public safety.

60. All those athletic activities that don’t correspond with practical significance will be appropriately reduced. Physical education for national defense, such as swimming, mountain climbing, shooting, etc., will be greatly developed so that gradually every youth or adult over fifteen years of age will have a range of enemy-killing abilities. All the people are soldiers, always prepared to annihilate the invading enemy.

61. Those who repair shoes on large streets and small alleys, we order you to stop doing business at once. Under the responsible organs, organize yourselves into shoe-repair associations. The price for shoe repairs must be reduced.

62. Nobody may address letters to “Sir” so and so. The whole range of feudal practices must be abolished and new customs advocated.

63. The limousines, television sets, and motorcycles in households of “five category-elements” and “Black Gang” elements shall all be confiscated. Television sets will be turned over to residential committees, who will then give them to the families of the workers, peasants, and soldiers to watch.

64. From now on, no newspapers are allowed to give excessive payments for writing articles. This hole of black wind shall be stopped up.

65. The family-head system shall be destroyed, and children may make suggestions to grownups.

66. Hospitals must not charge in advance for emergency treatment (excepting “five category-elements”). Complicated treatment must be abolished. Specific reforms will be left for the medical workers to

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1 Hus Hayward, Political Economy, p. 521.1
decide. The old and Western frameworks shall be smashed, and everything will serve the people.

67. All the monsters and freaks (old bureaucrats, landlords, capitalists, hooligans, etc.) are prohibited from teaching the traditional military skills, boxing, and internal hygiene in parks or other places.

68. All broadcasts of literary and art performances and movies shall immediately eliminate the names of authors, actors, conductors, etc. This road to individual fame and profit will thus be blocked.

69. We order those under thirty-five to quit drinking and smoking immediately. Bad habits of this sort absolutely may not be cultivated.

70. Telling dirty jokes, uttering profanities, and doing vulgar things are strictly forbidden. Violators will be severely dealt with. The bad habits of using nicknames, job titles, etc., are strictly forbidden. Everyone shall be called comrade (with the exception of the “five black categories”).

71. Advanced elements of the workers, peasants, and soldiers are responsible for being street activists. Bourgeois elements will not be allowed to usurp their roles.

72. From now on, postmen will not deliver letters upstairs or into compounds. Letter boxes will be prepared inside multistoried buildings. For large compounds, a special man will be found to take on the responsibility. The labor of postmen comrades will be reduced.

73. Resplendent wedding ceremonies are forbidden. There must be no extravagance or squandering. New customs and new habits can be advocated.

74. The wearing of feudal things such as bracelets, earrings, and longevity chains is forbidden.

75. We recommend for the consideration of the responsible organs that the interest system in banking be abolished and the people be allowed to save self-consciously on the basis of patriotism and assistance to socialist construction.

76. We suggest that from now on no admission will be charged to any critical movies and that they be seen by organized groups. There will be no tickets sold to individuals. All elements of the “five black categories” will not be allowed to see these movies.

77. Things left over from the old society, such as buying snacks or fruits while visiting friends or relatives, will all be abolished. We hope that the worker, peasant, soldier masses will support this movement.

78. Except for urgent and crucial matters, taxis will not be hired. The bastards of the bourgeoisie will not be allowed to ride in these taxis.

79. The responsible organs must do their best to find ways to establish public toilets in the various alleys so as to reduce the heavy work of the sanitation workers.

80. The state must vigorously develop the motor-transportation industry in order to reduce the heavy labor of the cart-pulling workers.

81. From now on, the Changtian Amusement Park will not open during Chinese New Year. We must take account of economics, and we must take account of politics.

82. From now on, all universities, high schools, and vocational schools will be run as communist schools with part-time work and part-time study and part-time farming and part-time study.

83. We students must respond to Chairman Mao’s appeal. Students must also learn from the workers, the peasants, and the soldiers, and each year during their vacations they must go to factories, farms, and military camps to train themselves.

84. We are determined to demand reform in the vacation system. Vacations shall be taken during the busy season for the peasants so that we can go to the villages to help in agricultural production.

85. Sofas, couches, etc., may not be produced in great quantities.

86. Expensive articles such as gold pens, etc., shall not be produced in great quantities (except for export) because they do not serve the broad worker, peasant, soldier masses.

87. No manufactured goods in shops may be called by their Western names. Meaningful Chinese names must be used.

88. We appeal to all League members to take off and throw away their League emblems. Get rid of this poisonous weed.

89. When prescribing medicine, doctors must destroy the Western framework of writing in English and clearly explain the type of medicine prescribed. Their signatures have to be legible.

90. We are determined that the youth vanguard corps cannot be allowed to turn into an all-people’s corps. Otherwise, it would lose its significance as a vanguard.

91. Schools must use Mao’s works as textbooks and educate the youth in Mao Zedong Thought.

92. All schools must have physical training and participation in labor in a primary position and strengthen military training.

93. Schools must destroy the feudal teacher-student etiquette and establish an equal relationship between teacher and student.

94. Starting this year, normal colleges, normal schools, and schools
for training primary school teachers must absorb the sons and daughters of the "five red elements" into their schools.

95. Those who have names with feudal bourgeois overtones will voluntarily go to police stations to change their names.

96. No fences or small houses are allowed to be built inside or outside a garden. The growth of such selfish thoughts must not be encouraged.

97. Abolish the system of the sale of annual tickets for parks. If the workers, peasants, and soldiers need to rest, all tickets will be distributed to them by factories and agencies.

98. We suggest that the state consider a universal increase in wages of the workers and a decrease in wages for the authorities of the bourgeoisie.

99. "Black Gang" elements shall be fined according to their criminal acts.

100. Advocate simplified characters. From now on, all newspapers and other publications will use simplified characters in their headlines.

The Maoism School (originally No. 26 Middle School) Red Guards [August 1966]

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"Revolutionize the Spring Festival"

Shanghai Workers Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters et al.

Source: The source for the text of this proposal is a collection compiled and printed in the 1980s by the Committee for the Historical Documentation of the Shanghai Labor Movement. We have deleted from our translation the names of the thirty-four cosignatory organizations.

Chairman Mao’s Teachings:

"We are not merely good at destroying an old world, but will also be good at building a new world."

"Practice frugality while making revolution."

PROPOSAL

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has already entered a new stage. Proletarian revolutionary rebels are in the midst of achieving great unity and with the force of a thunderbolt they are embarking upon an all-round struggle to seize power from the small handful of Party-persons in power taking the capitalist road. The revolutionary situation is excellent and getting better. How should we approach the upcoming 1967 Spring Festival in the midst of this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolutionary high tide? We—the revolutionary rebels—reply without any hesitation: by making it a target of revolution!

The Spring Festival is one of the spiritual shackles forced upon the working people for millennia by the exploiting classes. In the old society, the Spring Festival was heaven for the rich and hell for the poor. Our ancestors sacrificed blood and sweat, yet for generations got no more than the "freedom" to labor like oxen, like horses. During the seventeen years that have passed since Liberation, a small handful of Party-persons in power taking the capitalist road have utilized the forces of old social conventions represented by the Spring Festival to praise the bourgeois lifestyle of eating, drinking, amusing oneself, and having fun, and to faithfully work in the service of the exploiting classes. They utilize the Spring Festival to engage in feudal superstitious activities on a massive scale, to beseech the gods and sacrifice to ancestors, to promote hypocritical etiquette, to invite guests and present gifts, to get drunk, gamble, and eat and drink excessively, and in this way to turn the Spring Festival into a marketplace for the unchecked spread of the "four olds." The working people remain subject to spiritual enslavement by the ideology of the exploiting classes. Chairman Mao leads us in carrying out a Great Cultural Revolution involving the destruction of the "four olds" on a massive scale and the establishment of the "four news" on an equally massive scale. This has made the working people demand a thorough liberation, necessitating the destruction of the old world, the cleaning away of its filth and mire, and the thorough transformation of the spiritual outlook of our entire society. Can we still put up with a Spring Festival that is so heavily tainted with the hues of feudalism, capitalism, and revisionism? No we cannot! Absolutely not! We must act in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings and promote the revolutionization of people's thinking in the course of the Great Cultural Revolution. We must make the Spring Festival a target of revolution!
To make the Spring Festival a target of revolution is to make the “four olds” a target of revolution, which is also to make economism a target of revolution. It is a revolutionary measure that revolutionary rebels are compelled to adopt, given the situation at present in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Not so long ago, the revolutionary rebels repulsed the new counteroffensive of the bourgeois reactionary line by exposing the sinister plot in which the class enemy resorted to economism. But, we must also realize that the class enemy will not perish of himself. The small handful of Party-persons in power taking the capitalist road and the tiny handful of stubborn elements who persist in the bourgeois reactionary line will not step off the historical stage out of their own free will. We must note that the devious tricks of economism are still being acted out and that the sinister ghost of economism is still hanging around. All revolutionary masses and all revolutionary organizations should heighten their vigilance one hundredfold and guard against the enemy’s latest sinister plot. This latest plot concocted by a bunch of reactionary scoundrels is to use the Spring Festival to unite the reactionary elements in society and the forces of old conventions in an attempt to stage a comeback, to whip up once more the sinister wind of economism, to deceive the masses, to damage production, to damage transport and communication, to damage finance and banking, and to damage market supplies—all with the aim of obstructing the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and of staging a new counteroffensive against the revolutionary rebels. We must absolutely not let the enemy succeed in his sinister plot. Our policy is diametrically opposed, and we shall fight for every inch of land. The revolutionary rebels “with power and courage to spare must pursue the tottering foe and not ape Xiang Yu the conqueror seeking idle fame”; we must avail ourselves of the opportunity presented by the excellent situation of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and make the Spring Festival and economism targets of revolution on a massive scale, thoroughly smash the new counteroffensive of the bourgeois reactionary line, and carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end!

1. Hold high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought and extensively propagate Mao Zedong Thought.

Mao Zedong Thought is the great pinnacle of Marxism-Leninism in the present era and a powerful ideological weapon to be used in the transformation of the objective world and the subjective world. Every revolutionary rebel organization should extensively organize the study and propaganda of Mao Zedong Thought—by linking it to the situation in the Great Cultural Revolutionary struggle at present—to destroy “self” and establish the public, destroy the old and establish the new, and promote the revolutionization of people’s thinking. A variety of forms can be utilized, such as the convention of rallies to discuss experiences gained in studying Chairman Mao’s works; singing revolutionary songs; performing revolutionary rebel operas [sic]; organizing theater troupes to perform for the workers, peasants, and soldiers in the factories, rural areas, train stations, harbor, and residential areas, etc. In this way, Mao Zedong Thought will come to occupy every sector of the battle front.

2. Pay attention to affairs of state and carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end!

Every revolutionary rebel organization should give play to the revolutionary spirit of “seizing every minute,” and on no account slacken in the present struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line. Sum up experiences from the most recent phase of the Great Cultural Revolution. We must strengthen revolutionary great alliances, follow up a victory with hot pursuit, vigorously pursue and fiercely maul, and continue to develop and deepen the all-round struggle to seize power.

3. “Grasp revolution, promote production.”

Resolutely implement Chairman Mao’s great call to “Grasp revolution, promote production.” Revolutionary comrades in all production units should remain at their production posts during the Spring Festival;

1"Economism" (jingjizhuyi) is here employed by the authors to refer to attempts to “buy off” the poorer segments of the Shanghai working class by giving them salary increases, end-of-the-year bonuses, etc.

2Lines quoted from Mao Zedong’s poem “The People’s Liberation Army Occupies Nanjing” (April 1949).

3The expression quoted here is from Mao Zedong’s poem “Reply to Guo Moruo” (9 January 1963).
revolutionary comrades on the commercial front should serve the broad workers, peasants, and soldiers heart and soul. The State Council notification about not taking days off during the 1967 Spring Festival, distributed nationwide on the 29th, is to be resolutely implemented. 4

4. “Practice frugality while making revolution.”

Act in accordance with the spirit of Chairman Mao’s instruction “Practice frugality while making revolution.” Revolutionary rebels must always persist in hard work and plain living while making revolution—strike down economism; staunchly oppose ostentation, extravagance, and luxury; oppose excessive eating and drinking and inviting guests and presenting gifts; practice strict economy; and vie with each another in saving money in the bank.

5. Destroy the “Four Olds” and establish the “Four News.”

Revolutionary rebels should be models when it comes to destroying the “four old” and establishing the “four new.” They should establish Mao Zedong Thought on a massive scale while thoroughly eradicating every remnant of feudalism and capitalism. In the rural areas, the broad poor and lower-middle peasants should together with the revolutionary rebels extensively propagate the destruction of the old and establishment of the new, and firmly ban feudal superstitious practices and practices such as gambling, etc.

6. Heighten revolutionary vigilance and be strictly on guard against enemy disturbances and sabotage.

Strengthen public security work and be strictly on guard against enemies taking the opportunity to sabotage production and to sabotage the Great Cultural Revolution. The small handful of Party-persons in power taking the capitalist road as well as the ox-monsters and snake-demons out there in society must be kept under strictest surveillance. They are only allowed to behave themselves, not to speak and act irresponsibly. Anyone who violates these rules should immediately be dealt with severely! The broad revolutionary masses are to self-consciously respect and maintain order in traffic, maintain social order, and aid the departments concerned in strengthening market controls and in clamping down on profiteering and other illegal activities.

7. We hope that revolutionary rebel organizations in all sectors will formulate concrete proposals and measures according to the prevailing concrete circumstances, as well as engage in extensive propaganda.

Proposing units:
Shanghai Workers Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters

30 January 1967

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“Let Us Celebrate a ‘Proletarian Cultural Revolution Holiday’”

Beijing No. 1 Middle School Red Guards


PROPOSAL

First of all, we propose turning this great day of “August 18th” into a “Proletarian Cultural Revolution Holiday” during which, in years to come, there will be gatherings and parades to commemorate and celebrate.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution aims at destroying on a massive scale all old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits; it aims at reforming all superstructures not suited to the socialist economic base.

We think that a number of our present “holidays” such as the Spring

4The text of this notification appeared in the People’s Daily on 30 January 1967.