

## 93

## RED GUARDS

*The most turbulent period in the People's Republic's first four decades was the first three years of the Cultural Revolution. Begun by Mao Zedong in 1966, ostensibly as a campaign to produce a new socialist culture and give young people born under the new regime the experience of a revolution, the Cultural Revolution soon grew to much larger proportions than any previous campaign. The formation of the Red Guards played a key role in the course of the Cultural Revolution. Maoist leaders strongly encouraged middle school, high school, and college youth to organize themselves into Red Guard units. As Red Guards they would learn revolution and provide the Maoists with important allies in their combat with less radical leaders. In June, 1966, almost all schools and universities were closed as students devoted full time to Red Guard activities. That fall eight massive Red Guard rallies were held in Beijing, attracting, it is said, more than eight million youths.*

*The four selections below each take up a distinct strand in the Red Guard experience. "Long Live the Revolutionary Rebel Spirit of the Proletariat!" is a passionate manifesto demanding that young people learn revolution by practice. "Red Guards in Nanning and Liuzhou Take to the Streets to Clean Up the Four Olds" is a newspaper article describing the enthusiasm Red Guards displayed for purging China of objects and habits that they judged to reflect feudal or bourgeois influences. "March Forward Valiantly Along the Road Pointed Out by Chairman Mao" is a report issued by eleven middle school Red Guard units. It recounts the experiences of one band of young people who marched to Beijing in emulation of the Red Army's legendary march from southeast to northwest China in 1934-35. Such activities were later encouraged by the government, eager to keep Red Guard traffic from completely overwhelming China's limited rail system. Massive nationwide travel by youth was unprecedented in Chinese society and contributed to the development of national, rather than local identity among the younger generation. All three of these pieces date from the summer and fall of 1966. "Factual Account of the September 11 Bloodshed" is from a Red Guard newspaper published during the following year, in September, 1967. It shows the violence that resulted as Red Guard factions fought against each other. To overcome this violence, the army was called in and Red Guard organizations were placed under the supervision of worker and soldier "Mao Zedong Thought Pro-*

*paganda Teams." In late 1968 Red Guard units were disbanded and many of the former Red Guards were assigned to the countryside.*

### LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY REBEL SPIRIT OF THE PROLETARIAT!

Revolution is rebellion, and rebellion is the soul of Mao Zedong's thought. Daring to think, to speak, to act, to break through, and to make revolution—in a word, daring to rebel—is the most fundamental and most precious quality of proletarian revolutionaries; it is fundamental to the party spirit of the party of the proletariat! Not to rebel is revisionism, pure and simple! Revisionism has been in control of our school for seventeen years. If today we do not rise up in rebellion, when will we?

Now some of the people who were boldly opposing our rebellion have suddenly turned shy and coy, and have taken to incessant murmuring and nagging that we are too one-sided, too arrogant, too crude, and that we are going too far. All this is utter nonsense! If you are against us, please say so. Why be shy about it? Since we are bent on rebelling, the matter is no longer in your hands! Indeed we shall make the air thick with the pungent smell of gunpowder. All this talk about being "humane" and "all-sided"—let's have an end to it!

You say we are too one-sided? What kind of all-sidedness is it that suits you? It looks to us like a "two combining into one" all-sidedness, or eclecticism. You say we are too arrogant? "Arrogant" is just what we want to be. Chairman Mao says, "And those in high positions we counted as no more than the dust." We are bent on striking down not only the reactionaries in our school, but the reactionaries all over the world. Revolutionaries take it as their task to transform the world. How can we not be "arrogant"?

You say we are too crude? Crude is just what

we want to be. How can we be soft and clinging towards revisionism or go in for great moderation? To be moderate toward the enemy is to be cruel to the revolution! You say we are going too far? Frankly, your "don't go too far" is reformism, it is "peaceful transition." And this is what your daydreams are about! Well, we are going to strike you down to the earth and keep you down!

There are some others who are scared to death of revolution, scared to death of rebellion. You sticklers for convention, you toadies are all curled up inside your revisionist shells. At the first whiff of rebellion, you become scared and nervous. A revolutionary is a "monkey king"\* whose golden rod is might, whose supernatural powers are far-reaching and whose magic is omnipotent precisely because he has the great and invincible thought of Mao Zedong. We are wielding our "golden rods," "displaying our supernatural powers" and using our "magic" in order to turn the old world upside down, smash it to pieces, create chaos, and make a tremendous mess—and the bigger the better! We must do this to the present revisionist middle school attached to Qinghua University. Create a big rebellion, rebel to the end! We are bent on creating a tremendous proletarian uproar, and on carving out a new proletarian world!

Long live the revolutionary rebel spirit of the proletariat!

### RED GUARDS IN NANNING AND LIUZHOU TAKE TO THE STREETS TO CLEAN UP THE "FOUR OLDS"

According to a *Guangxi Daily* report, on August 23, Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and

\* The Monkey King is a famous character from the Ming novel *Journey to the West*.

students in the city of Nanning, inspired by the revolutionary spirit of revolt shown by the Red Guards in the capital, and filled with great revolutionary pride, took to the streets to post revolutionary leaflets and big-character posters and carry out oral propaganda. Using the thought of Mao Zedong as a weapon, they violently attacked all old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits. They demanded that Nanning be built into a great school of Mao Zedong's thought.

A group of Red Guards in the Second Middle School in Nanning climbed up to a traffic policeman's stand and, through the medium of loudspeakers, read aloud to the people their Manifesto of Revolt: "Today, the clarion call for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has been sounded, and the battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has begun. We must promote the fearless spirit of the proletariat—the spirit of staining our bayonets with blood—and the revolt against feudalism, capitalism, and all demons and monsters. Backed by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, this revolt is sure to succeed. Let the thought of Mao Zedong shine upon every corner. . . ."

Revolutionary "young generals" of the Guangxi College of Arts formed four propaganda teams for the purpose of replacing bourgeois ideology with proletarian ideology and getting rid of the old to make way for the new. In no time they composed a revolutionary song entitled "Raise the Iron Broom of the Revolution," and sang it in the streets and shops. With revolutionary pride, they sang: "Sweep and break. Raise the iron broom of the revolution to sweep away the vestiges of feudalism, uproot the bourgeois ideology, hold aloft the red banner of the thought of Mao Zedong, establish proletarian and destroy bourgeois ideology, destroy a lot and build a lot, and construct a new socialist country." The masses around them sang with them.

Red Guards of the Guangxi Nationality College in a remote suburban area arrived in the morning at the Station for the Reception of the Masses operated according to the revolutionary

rules. These Red Guards proposed to change the names of streets, places, and stores—such as People's Livelihood Road, People's Rights Road, Emperor Ridge, and White Dragon Bridge—into new names with revolutionary content. They proposed getting rid of all poisonous things in barber shops, tailor shops, and book-lending shops immediately. In shops that the Red Guards of the Nanning Ninth Middle School and revolutionary teachers and students visited, they were received warmly by the workers and employees, who were determined to respond to their revolutionary proposals.

The workers of the Handicraft Product Center of Nanning said, "We have long wanted to discard artistic products decorated with emperors, kings, generals, prime ministers, scholars, and beauties. Now that you have come to support us, we'll take immediate action." They immediately tucked away the carved standing screens and hanging screens and hung more portraits of Chairman Mao in the shop.

The workers of the New South Barber Shop at the suggestion of the Red Guards took down the pictures showing decadent bourgeois hair styles such as the "wave-type" and "big western style" and indicated that they would in future refuse to do such bizarre hair styles for their clients.

Fourteen Chinese and Western medicine shops under the Medical Company of Nanning held workers' forums one after the other and, after discussion, that same night adopted new signboards expressing revolutionary ideas.

The revolutionary masses of the city's cultural palace and museum listened to the broadcasts at eight o'clock in the morning and by nine had posted a big character poster at Prince Liu Park. They thought that the term "Prince Liu" reflected feudal bureaucratic ideas and was incompatible with the spirit of the times. They thought the name should be changed into "People's Park," so immediately wrote "People's" on a piece of paper and pasted it on top. This suggestion was warmly supported by the revolutionary masses passing by.

### MARCH FORWARD VALIANTLY ALONG THE ROAD POINTED OUT BY CHAIRMAN MAO

Our long march team was made up of eight boys and three girls averaging eighteen years of age. We started out from Bengbu on September 11, and crossed Anhui, Jiangsu, Shandong, and Hebei provinces. After forty-four days of walking we had covered a thousand kilometers and arrived in Beijing to be alongside our beloved leader Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao has said, "Our policy must be made known not only to the leaders and to the cadres but also to the broad masses." Vice Chairman Lin Biao has said, "The whole country should become a great school of Mao Zedong's thought." As Red Guards of Mao Zedong's thought, it was our glorious duty to disseminate his ideas. We decided to organize our long march team to spread propaganda and to do our bit in the great cause of turning the whole country into a great school of Mao Zedong's thought.

At the same time, we knew we had never been tested in revolutionary struggles, even though we all come from railway workers' families and have been brought up under the red flag. In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution we learned that young people cannot become worthy successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause if they have not tempered themselves in the storm of class struggle, integrated themselves with the workers and peasants, and remolded their world outlook. The long march, we decided, was a good way of tempering and remolding ourselves.

These were the considerations that became decisive in our determination to undertake a long march. Before we left, we spent several days studying "The Orientation of the Youth Movement," "Serve the People," "In Memory of Norman Bethune," "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains," and some other writings by Chairman Mao. We armed ourselves with Mao Zedong's thought; his teachings unified our ideas and increased our confidence and courage.

When the day for our departure arrived, we were all very excited. We made a pledge addressed

to Chairman Mao: "Our most beloved leader Chairman Mao! The brilliance of your ideas is the light that guides us in heart and mind. We are resolved to fulfill your words, 'Be resolute, fear no sacrifice, and surmount every difficulty to win victory.' We shall not falter in getting to Beijing." . . .

To make a start is always difficult. The first day we walked twenty-seven kilometers. Many of our schoolmates suffered swollen feet and had to clench their teeth with each step they took. Even when we stopped and rested, our backs and feet really ached. A few of us debated about going back home; whether to go forward or retreat became a question of revolutionary determination. It was a crucial moment. To solve the problem, we studied a passage in Chairman Mao Zedong's works in which he says, "How should we judge whether a youth is a revolutionary? . . . There can only be one criterion, namely, whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice."

We took this as a mirror in which to examine our own ideas and decided that the purpose of our long march was to integrate ourselves with the masses, to learn from the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and to train ourselves as proletarian revolutionary successors who can truly stand all tests. "How shall we wage revolution if we can't even pass this first test?" we asked ourselves. "No! We must keep on. To go forward means victory!" In this way we applied Mao Zedong's ideas and prevailed over the vacillating muck in our minds. We all became more confident than ever.

We all carried knapsacks as well as gongs, drums, and study material. On the average we each carried a load of about fifteen kilograms. But we plucked up our courage and kept going, though the weather was very hot. At the time our clothes, and even our knapsacks, were soaked through with our perspiration.

We sang. At any difficult moment we all sang the wonderful lines from Chairman Mao's poem: "The Red Army fears not the trials of a distant march; to them a thousand mountains, ten thousand rivers are nothing"; and we also sang: "We count the myriad leagues we have come already; if

They reach not the Great Wall, we are not true men!"

Each of us had a quotation from Chairman Mao Zedong written on a placard fixed to his knapsack. The one behind read it aloud in turn, and all of us took it up in chorus. It raised our spirits and helped to shore up our determination. For Chairman Mao's words brought to mind what the old Red Army did on its 12,500-kilometer Long March. It gave us fresh energy and the will to persist. Each step we took, we told ourselves, brought us a step closer to our great leader, Chairman Mao.

Our journey from Xuzhou to Hanchuan presented us with another difficult test. That day we arrived at a small place where we had planned to eat, only to find the public mess hall closed. We could have asked the peasants to cook a meal especially for us but decided not to, since we knew that they were busy with farm work. We put on our regular propaganda performance and walked on, very thirsty and hungry. The weather was broiling. We felt almost completely exhausted. But we read aloud Chairman Mao's statement: "Give full play to our style of fighting-courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting." We recalled that the Chinese people were hungry every day before Liberation. When the old Red Army on the 12,500-kilometer Long March crossed snow-capped mountains and marshlands, they were reduced to boiling their leather belts and digging up roots for food. They often went hungry. What did it matter if we missed our meals for one day? It was an opportunity to show our determination. Our revolutionary predecessors endured hunger for the sake of those to come. If we now tempered ourselves we could make a better contribution to the Chinese and the world revolution, so that the great masses in the world would not go hungry. This was the gist of our talk and our thoughts, and so we no longer felt hungry. In fact, we marched on with greater vigor, and, as we walked, we beat our gongs and drums and sang revolutionary songs. That day we kept our average of four propaganda performances.

On the way we met a number of leading members of various institutions. With the best of intentions, they advised us to go to Beijing by train. We must have looked tired to them. Some of them even offered us train tickets, but, in every case, we refused. We felt that come what may, we would not give up our objective halfway. We persisted northward on foot to gain and exchange revolutionary experiences.

We Red Guards are reserves of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. We knew we had to follow its example, the finest example of adherence to Chairman Mao's teachings. The army feared no trials, strictly applied the Party's policies, and maintained high discipline. We consciously tried to emulate it during our long march by applying the three main rules of discipline and the eight points for attention which Chairman Mao himself formulated for the Chinese People's Liberation Army long ago.

None of us ever bought any sweets on the way or had any food other than our regular meals. We never wasted a grain of food and took great care of public property. We washed our own clothes, did our own mending, and cut one another's hair instead of going to a barber. In short, we were very thrifty in our way of living. We made a particular effort to temper ourselves by plain living, especially in the matter of food. The more we did so, we felt, the better we could remold our ideology. Guided by Mao Zedong's thought, we overcame one difficulty after another and successfully stood the test we had set ourselves—the first real test in our lives.

Chairman Mao said, "The Long March is a manifesto, a propaganda force, and a seeding machine." On our long march, too, a fundamental task was to spread Mao Zedong's ideas. And we persisted though we were often very tired. Altogether we gave some 120 performances in over a hundred villages and small railway stops. We estimate our total audience at more than ten thousand people. We also distributed four hundred pamphlets containing the decisions of the party central committee, speeches by party leaders, and editorials of the *People's Daily* and ten

thousand leaflets and posters with Mao Zedong's ideas.

Our first performances were, indeed, a test for us! Only three of us had any experience. We were afraid people would laugh at us, but we remembered Chairman Mao Zedong's words: "It is often not a matter of first learning and then doing, but of doing and then learning, for doing is itself learning." We decided we must "learn to swim by swimming," as the Chairman taught. There was plenty of enthusiasm once we arrived at our decision. We composed our items at odd rest moments and rehearsed them on the way, gradually mastering the art of putting on a show including choral singing, solo singing, ballad recital, dialogue, and singing combined with acting.

One evening we arrived at a village where the people asked us to put on a performance. It was just one kilometer from the railway station where we were to have a meal and rest. We had been walking most of the day and were very tired, and what is more, we had missed our lunch and were very hungry. What were we to do? We held a discussion and decided to give the performance. What were hunger and fatigue to us compared with the joy of meeting the people's wishes and disseminating Mao Zedong's thought!

We put down our knapsacks and performed whenever there was an audience. One day, we put on a show for three housewives. Our persistence in spreading Mao Zedong's thought insured us of a hearty welcome everywhere from the revolutionary masses. One old worker said to us very sincerely after watching us perform: "You are really good Red Guards of Chairman Mao! We of the older generation feel more assured with such good successors growing up." . . .

One young worker at a Dengxian railway station presented us with his most prized possession—a small plaster cast of Chairman Mao—together with a letter in which he wrote: "Though we are at different revolutionary posts, we are one and the same in our determination to give our very lives in defense of Chairman Mao and to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. We shall safeguard our impregnable pro-

letarian state whatever the cost. In presenting you with this likeness of our great leader Chairman Mao, I am sure it will give you infinite strength on your journey." These deeply felt words greatly moved us, and thereafter wherever we stayed, we placed the statue in the most conspicuous place. Indeed, it always gave us fresh strength. . . .

At Fengtai station near Beijing, we went to see the nationally famous engine, the "Mao Zedong Special," and had a talk with members of the crew. It was a great experience, for they are fine students of Chairman Mao's works. What they told us opened our minds and made us all the more determined to study Chairman Mao's books and work for the revolution, and especially to study the three much-read articles and use them in remolding our ideology. We decided we would devote the whole of our lives to becoming truly reliable successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

All along the way the workers and peasants showed great concern for our well-being. Very often a railway worker's wife would insist on doing our washing and mending. Keeping close to the railway line all along our route, we had many indications of the deep class comradeship of the workers. It brought to mind the popular verse: "Great as are Heaven and earth, they are not as great as the good brought by the party. Dear to us as our parents are, they are not as dear as Chairman Mao. Fine and good as many things are, none is as fine as socialism. Deep as the deepest ocean is, it is not as deep as class comradeship." Our hearts were linked by this class comradeship with the hearts of these people whom we had not met before.

Our forty-four-day trek gave us the chance to learn how excellent traveling on foot is as a means to gain and exchange revolutionary experience. For it tempers your proletarian ideology, steels your willpower, and helps you to revolutionize your thinking. We learned a great many things we could not get from books and also gained personal experience of many things we had read about. In particular, we have deepened our understanding of the brilliant thought of Chairman Mao.

Of course, we have taken only the very first step in the 10,000-li long march that lies before us, the first step along the glorious road which Chairman Mao has shown us. We need to improve our creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and to continue to temper and remold ourselves in the furnace of the great Cultural Revolution. We must revolutionize ourselves and become young militants who are really reliable successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution, for that is what Chairman Mao expects of us.

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#### FACTUAL ACCOUNT OF THE SEPTEMBER 11 BLOODSHED

The appalling September 11 bloodshed which shook the municipality took place after the signing of the September 1 Agreement and the announcement of the September 5 Order approved by Chairman Mao. This was not a mere accident; it was a bloody slaughter of the revolutionary rebels and revolutionary masses, instigated by the handful of bad leaders of the conservative organizations manipulated by the capitalist-roader authorities in the party. Its aims were to provoke large-scale violent struggle, to sabotage the implementation of the September 5 Order, to apply pressure on the Party Central Committee and the Guangzhou Military District Command, to interfere with the ongoing movement of supporting the army and cherishing the people, and to alter the direction of the struggle to criticize Tao Zhu [Mayor of Guangzhou]. It was a deathbed struggle waged by the bourgeois reactionaries. After this incident, the conservatives—manipulated by the capitalist-roaders in the party—cranked up the propaganda machines. They screamed “stop thief” while they themselves were the thieves. They confused right and wrong, wantonly started rumors, and vilified and attacked the revolutionary rebels in an attempt to cause trouble for other people and acquit themselves of their crimes of murder. How malicious their intentions were!

To rectify any misconceptions, we give below a

comprehensive though brief account of the on-the-spot investigations of the incident made by the Red Flag Commune of Jianguo Restaurant under the Food and Drinks Section of the “Workers’ Revolutionary Alliance” and by the Elementary Education Red Headquarters.

On September 11, the “Spring Thunder,” “District Headquarters,” “Doctrine Guards,” and other conservative forces in Guangzhou gathered their men in Foshan, Shaoguan, Zhonghua, and other suburban areas to attend the so-called inauguration of the “Revolutionary Committee of Workers in the Guangzhou Area” held at Yuexiushan Stadium. A little past nine o'clock in the morning, seventy-two trucks loaded with peasants from Zhonghua arrived in Guangzhou via Zhongshan No. 5 Road. Because there were crowds of people at the junction with Beijing Road, the trucks had to move slowly. As the thirty-second truck approached the intersection, the masses discovered some weapons in it and immediately mounted the truck to investigate. There they found a pistol, a hand grenade, and a dagger. The onlooking revolutionary masses felt deep indignation at this open violation of the agreement to keep arms under bond and unanimously roared their condemnation, some of them indignantly tearing from the truck the flag of the Alliance of Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants in Areas Around Zhonghua. Seeing that their secret had been uncovered, one of the men in the truck, in order to escape being caught, pulled out a pistol and was about to shoot. Fortunately, the masses were highly vigilant and immediately ran forward to snatch it. Later when the men of the Red Garrison Headquarters and the Workers’ Pickets arrived, the masses handed the man over to them, together with the arms found in the truck.

The masses did not reproach the members of the suburban peasant's alliance, but instead had friendly chats with them and carried out ideological work among them, giving them water to drink and cigarettes to smoke. The peasants came to realize that they had been deceived and that they should not have come into the city. A leader of these peasants said, “We don't know what we