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"HIT HARD AT MANY IN ORDER TO PROTECT A HANDFUL"
IS A COMPONENT PART OF THE BOURGEOIS REACTIONARY LINE

- An investigation into how the Tsinghua University Work Team carried out the bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres in June and July of 1966 -

[Following is a translation of an article by the investigator of the Editorial Department of Hung-ch'i in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 5, 30 March 1967, pages 26-30.]

Tsinghua University formerly had eleven leading cadres at the university level (one Party committee secretary and concurrently the President, five deputy secretaries of the Party committee, five vice presidents), 145 middle level cadres including former deputy section chiefs of the Party committee, deputy secretaries of the Party general branches, deputy directors of the administrative departments and instruction departments. It formerly had more than 400 cadres at the basic level including deputy secretaries of the Party branches of the faculty and staff and deputy heads of the teaching research groups. In all, the university had more than 500 cadres.

When the work team came to the university to announce the "seizure of power" and to exercise the power and functions of the Party Committee on June 9, 1966, all the former Party and administrative cadres at the university level and of departments and teaching research groups were "set aside." Political instructors and secretaries of Party branches (even Party branch committee members) in the classes were not excepted.

After the work team came to the university, its measures in treating the cadres divided roughly into three stages:

The first stage -- From June 9 when the work team came to the university to June 23, the work team "dismissed" all cadres "from office," and set them aside, and "kicked the upstairs." After that, every cadre was required to pass the barrier and make self-criticism. The work team carried out a line of "hit hard at many in order to protect a handful."

The second stage -- From June 24 to July 15. The work team carried out on a big scale so-called "opposition to K'uai." Meanwhile, "opposition to K'uai" and examination "for clearance" of cadres cut across each other. The cadres were made use of to fight against the masses and were incited to encircle and attack the revolutionary Left so that they might "redeem their crimes with good deeds."

The third stage -- From July 16 to early August when the work team withdrew from the university. The work team carried out large-scale "criticism and repudiation" and "struggle" against the sinister gang. The cadres continued to make self criticism in order to obtain "clearance." Part of the cadres were "held over."

The concrete measures of the work team were:

(1) Not to make a class analysis of the cadres, excluding and over-throwing them all.

On the morning of June 11, after the work team came to the university, its deputy leader - Yang X X - summoned the cadres of the university to announce that the work team had come to "seize power" at Tsinghua and demand that the cadres should "make a clean breast of themselves."

Members of the work team spread these ideas among the students: "Since Chiang X X is rotten, everything is rotten, from the Party Committee and CYL Committee down to the Party general branches of the teaching departments, CYL sub-committees and Party branches. None of the cadres at any level is good; "Tsinghua is a sinister den;" and "the whole Party organization at Tsinghua makes up a gigantic royalist party." They even said: "The Party at Tsinghua is a sinister Party;" "the cadres at Tsinghua are all of one cut;" and "the cadres at Tsinghua could not be remolded even in eight years."

The work team forbade the cadres to read big-character posters, take part in the movement and attend any meeting. It isolated them completely from the masses and made them stay all day long in the room to read "How To Be a Good Communist." The work team told the cadres to study this book carefully, and taking it as a criterion, to write self-criticism for "clearance." The work team said: "You committed errors in the past precisely because you studied this book too little."

The posts of secretary of the Party general branches and branches in different departments were filled concurrently by members of the work team or those they appointed. They felt that the people they appointed to these posts were the "Left."

On July 12, the provisional Party general branch of the Department of Mechanical Engineering was set up. At the inaugural meeting, the work team announced and recommended full Party membership for candidate members Ho X X, Hu X X, and Chang X X, (Ho and Hu, two months before the time of their

candidateship was up), then appointed Ho X X to be deputy Party secretary and Chang X X and Hu X X and Chang X X to be members of the Party general branch committee. When this was announced, Chang X X herself felt this came all of a "sudden." When other people asked her about this, she denied it and this went the rounds as a joke.

In the Automatic Control Department, the work team hastily made Liu X X a full-fledged Party member before her time of candidateship was up and appointed her to be deputy secretary of the provisional Party general branch. This evoked a host of opinions among the masses.

(2) Confusing the two different types of contradictions so as to "hit hard at many in order to protect a handful."

Problems of the ordinary cadres were dealt with like contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. Thirty-nine out of the fifty-five cadres including Party branch committee members, heads of teaching research groups and above in the Mathematics and Mechanics Department were branded as members of the "sinister gang" or following a "sinister line," accounting for 71 per cent of the total. All twelve members of the Party general branch committee in the department were branded as members of the "sinister gang."

As soon as the work team arrived at the university some students posted a "ten-point order" to the cadres in the form of a big-character poster. The work team described this big-character poster as "boosting the morale of the proletariat and deflating the arrogance of the bourgeois royalists." The work team also had it broadcast throughout the university, announced in every department and conveyed to all the cadres. Its main contents were:

- (i) You must make a thorough confession of the "sinister organizations";
- (ii) You must confess the false uprising and expose the plotters behind the scenes;
- (iii) Hand over the "black list" to the work team before June 14;
- (iv) Without the permission of the work team, stay in your living quarters, be ready to turn up for interrogation whenever you are wanted;
- (v) Obey the orders of the work team unconditionally;
- (vi) Do nothing to harm members of the work team.

It followed that all cadres were confined indoors, writing self-criticism and reports on their ideology and activities and other matters all day long. Whenever they wanted to step off the university grounds, they had first to ask for leave. Even those teachers and students who acted as supervisors and class masters had to do the same.

On the other hand, the work team did its utmost to protect the handful of people in authority who were truly taking the capitalist road. Chiang X X stayed all the time at the Ministry of Higher Education and never returned to the university. On July 23, Wang X X told the "seventeen men group" (formed by the seventeen anti-K'uai students in Class 902 to which Comrade K'uai Ta-fu belonged): "The nature of Chiang X X has yet to be decided." Liu X (first deputy secretary of the university's Party committee) and Hu X (deputy secretary of the university's Party committee) attended a three-level cadres' conference at the Peking Hotel between May 25 and June 28. Ho X X (deputy secretary of the university's Party committee) was then convalescing at Hsiang Shan (Fragrant Hill) and he did not return to the university until July 18. After their return to the university, there was only one "struggle meeting" against Liu and Hu. The work team tried by every means to protect Ai X X (deputy secretary of the university's Party committee) who remained at the university. Owing to an upsurge of public indignation, the work team was compelled to hold a perfunctory "struggle meeting" against him.

(3) Making every cadre at the basic level write self-criticism "for clearance."

All cadres were set aside. According to the description of the masses, "a string of parades, many struggle meetings, and a brigade for transformation through labor." Because of this, those in authority taking the capitalist road did not find themselves isolated.

Every cadre at the basic level was required to write self-criticism "for clearance." Liu X got this instruction from someone on July 18: As for the question of Party-member cadres "passing their test," let the students discuss whether it is necessary to criticize all Party-member cadres and make them write self-criticism. So, Yeh X and others in their report to the Municipal Party Committee on June 20 put it in clearcut terms: As for the cadres at the basic level (including supervisors, Party branch secretaries and committee members), "the general practice is to let them make self-criticism and let the masses help them with criticism." In the Department of Mechanical Engineering, some class masters had to make self-criticism four or five times before they were reluctantly allowed to pass the barrier. Even some committee members of the CYL branches and activists were placed by the work team among those needed "to be cleared."

The policy of the work team toward cadres at the basic level was, in their own words:

"To peel layer after layer" (baring one level after another from the bottom upward, exposing first the basic level and then the Party committee);

"First to clear up the outlying areas and later attack the sinister line";

"To let the lesser devils expose the greater devils" (from bottom to top);

"To gather melons in proper order along the vines, conduct internal investigation, and transfer men to other organizations."

The work team spread this among the masses: "The cadres at Tsinghua all belong to the 'D' category" (meaning devils and demons). Tsinghua cadres at the lower and upper levels had joined together as "sworn brothers." The work team even said: "Those at the lower level are even worse than those at the upper level."

When cadres made self-criticism "for clearance," they had to comply with a number of criteria:

Examine mistakes; make a clean breast of one's offenses; voluntarily comply with the program; lay bare the black heart.

What was called "compliance with the program" meant "consciously carrying out Chiang X X's counterrevolutionary revisionist line," "consciously opposing the thought of Mao Tse-tung" and "consciously opposing the Party and the Party Central Committee."

Guided by the bourgeois reactionary line, Yang X X, deputy leader of the work team, personally made arrangements for meetings at which cadres at the basic level were to make self-criticism "for clearance." He said: "Attention must be paid to combining dampening their arrogance with waging psychological warfare -- combination of dampening their arrogance in big meetings with waging psychological warfare at close quarters in small meetings." He added that there should be no "leniency" toward the cadres and that it was necessary "to make utmost effort to insure not a single bad person sneaks away."

In fact, almost all Party-member cadres were required to make self-criticism "for clearance." The work team demanded: "Any Party member who blindly carried out the directives of the former Municipal Committee must make self-criticism" and "any Party member who blindly carried out the directives of the former University Party Committee must make self-criticism." For example, among a total of 202 Party members of the Mechanical Engineering Department, 59 were definitely refused "clearance;" 115 were "cleared" after making self-criticism; and 28 were held over (according to the statistics announced by the work team on July 12).

Because of this, the masses said: "Party members are not as good as CYL members and CYL members are not as good as the masses" in Tsinghua.

In the Mathematics and Mechanics Department, such an extraordinary thing happened: Soon after it came to the university, the work team asked

someone outside the Party -- "old professor" Tu X X (an old bourgeois intellectual) -- to call a meeting of the Party general branch committee of the department. Tu told the meeting at that time: The work team wants you to make a clean breast of yourselves. The work team even designated a Party member to act as Tu's secretary and take notes for him.

(4) Making use of cadres to purge the revolutionary masses.

Between June 24 and July 15, the work team waged the so-called "anti-K'uai" struggle. This time they used cadres to direct the spearhead of their struggle against the revolutionary masses.

Taking advantage of the cadres' eagerness to "obtain clearance" and "get liberated," the work team encouraged them to "oppose K'uai," saying that this was "a golden opportunity" for the cadres to "touch themselves to the very soul" and to "redeem their crimes with deeds of merit."

Tseng X X was the class master of K'uai Ta-fu's class. Due to the need of "opposing K'uai," the work team allowed him to "obtain clearance" ahead of schedule.

Some cadres failed to obtain the approval of the work team although they made self-criticism a number of times. But those who had done "meritorious work in opposing K'uai" could quickly obtain "clearance." In the Department of Engineering Physics for example, a person who was a "fighter" "defending Chiang" in the past was very quickly "cleared" due to his activism in "opposing K'uai."

In order to "oppose K'uai," Wang X X urged cadres to "show their support for the work team with concrete actions." She wanted the Party and CYL organizations to resume operation when "debates" with K'uai Ta-fu were organized. She wanted to Party members to make known their attitude in order to obtain "clearance." Those cadres who did not "oppose K'uai" would be "held over" indefinitely, and there was no way for them to obtain "clearance."

On July 10, Wang X X said that the criticism and repudiation of a few typical persons would serve to educate the great majority. This was not contradictory because in the course of struggle some Party members and cadres would also be elevated and liberated.

After the work team withdrew from the university, the "three provisional organizations" in Tsinghua bolstered by the work team (the Provisional Preparatory Committee for the Cultural Revolution, the Provisional General Headquarters of the "Red Guards," and the Provisional Presidium, which were all under the auspices of Ho X X and Liu X X), while they were in power, continued to carry out the bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres.

(1) In the name of opposing the work team's "rightist trend" toward cadres, they continued to spread a public opinion for "the overthrow of everything."

They stated: "Revisionism in Tsinghua University is a sinister tree whose trunk is the university's Party committee and whose branches consist of all the cadres under it." Therefore, they must be "overthrown en bloc," otherwise they "cannot be uprooted." They put up on the door of the mess hall for the teachers and cadres a pair of scrolls:

A group of despicable swine,
Who are as inert as helium, neon, argon, krypton and xenon;
Who eat, drink, gossip and sleep, and pay no attention to State affairs.

(2) They organized so-called "labor reform teams for the sinister gang" and raised the "wind of labor reform."

They divided the cadres into three categories:

Members of the sinister gang -- cadres at the university level and secretaries and deputy secretaries of the Party general branches;

People following the sinister line -- committee members of the Party general branches and secretaries of the Party branches;

Henchmen of the sinister gang -- staff of the Party general branches and activists.

Then three labor reform teams were formed:

First labor reform team (August 2 to early November): participants were cadres at the university level, secretaries of the Party general branches, and deans of departments;

Second labor reform team (August 2 to early November): participants were deputy secretaries of the Party general branches and secretaries of the CYL branch committees;

Third labor reform team (end of August to end of October): participants were secretaries of the Party branches and committee members.

Some of the political teachers and political supervisors were also reformed through labor.

Among thirteen units of the university, the committee members of the Party general branches and above who were required to be reformed through labor amounted to 100 per cent in 9 units and over 80 per cent in other units.

Among fourteen units, the persons responsible for various departments of the Party committee and various divisions of the university who were required to be reformed through labor amounted to 100 per cent in 9 units.

Of more than 500 cadres in the university, 70 per cent had to be reformed through labor. Those exempted were mostly the elderly or in poor health. In the case of some cadres at the basic level, their reform through labor were not carried out due to the opposition of the masses.

(3) Corporal punishment for cadres.

On the evening of August 25, some people of the former "Red Guards" of Tsinghua lashed the cadres of "labor reform teams" at the staircase leading to the classrooms. Most of those whipped were deputy chiefs of departments of the Party committee, and secretaries and deputy secretaries of the Party general branches. They were sent there in the middle of the night, and were whipped as they walked. Some persons had swollen faces as a result. After they were whipped, they were collectively detained in the "Biology Hall" for about a fortnight before they were released.

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FOLLOW CHAIRMAN MAO, CARRY THE REVOLUTION
THROUGH TO THE END

[Following is a translation of an article by P'an Fu-sheng (3382 1783 3932) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 5, 30 March 1967, pages 34-38.]

At present, the great proletarian cultural revolution of Heilungkiang Province is in a very favorable situation. A revolutionary storm that knows no precedent in history -- irresistible like a tempest -- is sweeping through the province. In this great proletarian cultural revolution, I have received a most profound education.

It was after the 11th Plenum of the 8th CCP Central Committee that I really stood firmly on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, supporting the revolutionary Left and learning humbly from the young revolutionary fighters. Before this, I had a very poor understanding of the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, I failed to follow Chairman Mao's thought closely and said and did some wrong things. I got myself into the position of leading others in the revolution or making revolution against others. While I regarded myself as an integral part of the revolutionary force, I failed to make myself a target of the revolution.

In the past, the fight against Japanese imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek, the land reform, the agricultural cooperativization, the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, and so on, were all struggles to make revolution against others. But the current great proletarian cultural revolution is a revolution in which I myself should be a target, and I feared it myself. My thinking based on "self-interest" was making mischief in my own mind. Since my world outlook had not been thoroughly remolded, this weakness of mine came into the open at the key moment of this class struggle.

At the 11th Plenum of the CCP Central Committee, the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao won a great victory and the

bourgeois reactionary line was declared bankrupt. The teachings by Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao enabled me to realize my mistakes. I really felt very sad and miserable when I recalled how I made revolution together with the masses in the past and looked through the present stand and sentiments of mine. From then on I made up my mind that I would stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. The teachings of Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao also made me understand that only by thoroughly criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line and eradicating its poisonous influence could the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao be implemented and the great proletarian cultural revolution be carried through to the end. In order to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, it was first necessary to draw clearly a dividing line with the bourgeois reactionary line.

After the 11th Plenum of the CCP Central Committee, I returned from Peking to Harbin. Here I saw the revolutionary Regiment of Red Rebels. They held high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and were high in spirits and firm in determination. They read Chairman Mao's books, heeded what Chairman Mao said, acted in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, and took the study, dissemination, implementation and defense of Mao Tse-tung's thought as their supreme duty. In a fine display of the spirit of daring to think, speak, act, make revolution and rebel, the regiment resolutely launched fierce attacks on the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party and against all monsters and demons, daring to declare war on all of the old world. They performed plenty of good deeds and made plenty of good suggestions. They brought forward what they dared not think about in the past, carried out what was beyond them in the past, and solved the "old, big and difficult" problems which they could not solve in the past. They made a splendid contribution to the great proletarian cultural revolution movement.

All these striking facts were a profound lesson for me. I made up my mind then to stand by the revolutionary Regiment of Red Rebels, and fight shoulder to shoulder with them. At that time, I was also aware that in doing this I would be denounced and attacked one way or the other and that I would encounter various kinds of obstacles and difficulties. But for the sake of standing for truth and correcting mistakes, I acted in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching: "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice, and surmount every difficulty to win victory. I followed Chairman Mao unswervingly in carrying the revolution through to the end.

Recalling the path I have traveled, I find that I have had to struggle at every step. These struggles -- against my own mistaken ideas, against the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, against the conservatives and against the counterrevolutionary organizations -- have all been extremely sharp and complicated. Let me discuss my understanding in respect of the following points according to the practice of struggle.

Bring Daringness to the Fore, Boldly Arouse the Masses

Whether one brings daringness or fear to the fore, whether one boldly arouses or suppresses the masses, whether one dares to carry out or is afraid of extensive democracy -- this is a question which a revolutionary leading cadre should first solve.

One salient characteristic of this great proletarian cultural revolution is that it is a revolution made under the condition of the proletarian dictatorship, one to let the masses educate and liberate themselves by the extensive use of free airing of views, big-character posters, great debates and extensive exchange of revolutionary experience. Such extensive democracy is used to overthrow and discredit completely the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party so as to guarantee that our country will never change political color. This is a great creation of Chairman Mao and an important development of Mao Tse-tung's thought under new historical conditions.

Chairman Mao long ago pointed out: "We have always maintained that the revolution must rely on the masses of the people, on everybody's taking a hand, and have opposed relying merely on a few persons issuing orders." However, prior to the 11th Plenum of the 8th CCP Central Committee, I had not followed this advice of Chairman Mao and failed to arouse the masses boldly. This was because over a long period of time I had developed the habits of behaving like a big bureaucrat. Stripped of my so-called dignity and prestige, I felt unhappy. I was also unwilling to break with the old conventions, rules and regulations, and was inclined to maintain the existing state of affairs. At the same time, I was mentally unprepared for exercising extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat and was caught unawares.

As to the handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Provincial Party Committee, they kept to the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, and were consistently opposed to the Party, socialism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. During the great cultural revolution, they would inevitably suppress the revolutionary mass movement and resolutely oppose extensive democracy, because if the masses were boldly aroused and extensive democracy was practiced they would collapse.

After the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee, acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, I resolutely stood on the side of the masses, firmly supported the revolutionary Regiment of Red Rebels, boldly aroused the masses, practiced extensive democracy, thoroughly criticized and repudiated the bourgeois reactionary line and launched a sharp attack against the handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Provincial Party Committee.

In the course of the struggle, the conservative forces inside and outside the Party attacked me by various means. They even put up posters calling for a rally to struggle against me. As I was by then fully prepared,

mentally, although I was encircled and attacked on many occasions, I still persisted in my fight. They thought that I could be isolated and routed in this way. But I was quite sure that so long as I followed Chairman Mao closely and stood on the side of the true revolutionary Left and the broad revolutionary masses who were armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, I could not be isolated. In the course of the struggle, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee gave me boundless courage and strength and the revolutionary Left also gave me extremely solid support and assistance.

No matter what they deal with, the revolutionary Left have a clearcut class viewpoint and draw a distinct line between right and wrong. They are reasonable in handling problems. They truly support whatever conforms to the thought of Mao Tse-tung and oppose whatever is antagonistic to it. Therefore, there is absolutely no rhyme or reason for a revolutionary leading cadre to be afraid of extensive democracy or of the masses.

Take a Firm Grip on the General Orientation of Struggle

"Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution." It is also a question of the first importance for the great cultural revolution. The decision concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Party clearly pointed out: "The main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road."

Before the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee I acted in contravention to Chairman Mao's instructions on this question, and called for "the simultaneous exposure of all internal and external problems" and "the exposure of all problems in existence." I failed to single out the main target of the movement, thus shifting the general orientation of struggle, and directing the movement on to the wrong road for a while.

This error was mainly due to my incorrect attitude of approaching the problems of the great cultural revolution on the basis of my own past experience, which was one of repudiating others but not myself, of repudiating the rank and file but not the leadership, and of making revolution against others but not against myself.

Comrade Lin Piao has said: "We must regard ourselves as an integral part of the revolutionary force and at the same time, constantly regard ourselves as a target of the revolution." At that time I did not fully understand the meaning of making revolution against myself and failed to do it properly.

As for the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, they had been diverting the general orientation of the movement by resorting desperately to all sorts of tricks. For instance they stirred up the masses to struggle against the masses, they tried to erode the revolutionary

will of the masses by using the sugar-coated bullets of economism, they strove to deceive the masses with a fake seizure of power, and so on.

Educated by the thought of Mao Tse-tung and through a host of facts that emerged in the course of the struggle between the two lines, I came to realize my own mistakes and at the same time I was able to see clearly the reactionary nature of the class enemy. I took a determined stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and together with those of the Left, called upon the broad revolutionary masses to "bombard" the handful of persons in the Provincial Party Committee who were in authority and taking the capitalist road. As far as my own mistakes were concerned, I welcomed the revolutionary masses to expose and criticize them. How could it possibly be wrong for a revolutionary leading cadre to have his own shortcomings and mistakes "bombardeed" and wiped out in the great mass movement?

The revolutionary masses aptly said: "We have no intention of branding some leading cadres as elements against the Party, socialism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and we hope to 'brand' as true revolutionary Left any person who is not opposed to the Party, socialism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung." These words moved me very much. Practice has shown that the Regiment of Red Rebels is closely following Chairman Mao and its general orientation is at all times correct.

Discover and Rely on the True Left

In any stage of a revolution it is always necessary to distinguish between the motive forces and the targets, that is, to clarify the fundamental question of whom to rely on, whom to unite with and whom to attack. Just as Chairman Mao has taught us, this is "the key to a clear understanding of all the problems of the revolution."

In Harbin, the Regiment of Red Rebels has proved itself to be a true revolutionary Left group through the test of a relatively long period of time. Their general orientation since the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution has always been correct. For example, their fierce attack against a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, their criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line, their opposition to economism, their grasping the revolution and stimulating production, their great alliance to seize power, etc. The Regiment of Red Rebels has resolutely acted in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and has always marched in the front rank. And finally, they uncovered the class struggle and dragged out a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road in Heilungkiang Province. The great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries in the province was realized, and the power in the Party and government and in financial and cultural affairs, which had been usurped by a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, was seized back. These victories should be attributed to the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the vast number of red rebels.

In the course of the long struggle I have forged a militant friendship with the red rebels and have gradually grown to share their stand and their feelings. I have encouraged and supported what is correct on their side, criticized their shortcomings and mistakes, and made suggestions to them in good time. Concretely speaking, I have: first, disseminated the thought of Mao Tse-tung among them and helped them closely follow Chairman Mao and carry out work according to the thought of Mao Tse-tung; second, stood for principle and disseminated the specific and general policies and strategies of the Party; third, firmly helped the red rebels hit back at those who are opposed to the red rebels. The great mass of red rebels have given very great support to each of my revolutionary actions and criticize or help me when I speak or act in any way which is not in keeping with the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

It is precisely because of this that a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party have made desperate efforts to oppose me and to attack me, and have even fabricated rumors to undermine my relations with the Left. They have repeatedly seized on some shortcomings of the red rebels, attacking them for a single fault without considering their actions as a whole. In this way they have tried to make me come out and speak against the red rebels, and vainly attempted to use me as a tool to suppress the student movement. I have been able to spot their intrigues and counterattacked them resolutely by means of Mao Tse-tung's thought. As a result, the several incidents in Harbin, when the revolutionary students were encircled and attacked, were promptly dealt with.

In the course of the struggle to discover and support the Left, I have been denounced a number of times. For example, someone has said: How do you know who is the Left? Should the Left change in midway, what are you going to do? As a matter of fact, so long as we act according to the thought of Mao Tse-tung, these questions are easy to solve. In the final analysis, to discover and to rely on the Left is a question of stand, a question of trusting the masses, and a major question of carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Distinguish Between the Main Current and the Side Issues

Chairman Mao pointed out forty years ago in the "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" that there were three different kinds of attitude toward the revolutionary mass movement: "To march at their head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? Or to stand in their way and oppose them?"

In the great cultural revolution movement, these attitudes also exist here among us. As far as the leaders of the former Provincial Committee were concerned, those who adopted the first or third kind of attitude were in the minority, but there were quite a number of persons who gesticulated to the masses. Since taking the lid off the class struggle inside the former Provincial Party Committee, the movement has moved forward very, very rapidly

and irrepressibly and the situation has been excellent. Notwithstanding the emergence of some shortcomings and problems at that time, the main current of the movement has been healthy and the general orientation has always been correct. However, some persons regarded the situation of that time as "a mess," saying that "the scope of attack is too broad," and that "some good cadres are hurt" and that "there are no people to carry out work." At that time, I was in a very difficult environment. Conservative forces on every side attacked and blamed me, clamoring and claiming without reason that the general orientation of the movement was wrong.

At each of these crucial moments, Chairman Mao promptly pointed out the correct direction, enabling us to spot and smash the enemy's plots and schemes of all kinds and to constantly push the movement forward. For instance, last September, in order to undermine the great cultural revolution, a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party and the conservative forces incited some workers who did not understand the actual situation to oppose the student movement. At that time, the Jen-min Jih-pao published the editorial, "Let the Worker-Peasant Masses and the Revolutionary Students Unite under the Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought." Again, in December last year, when a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party vainly attempted to switch the general orientation of the movement by means of economism, the Central Committee promulgated a directive on opposing economism. Facts have proved that every victory we have won in the movement is a victory for the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

There are of course also shortcomings and problems in the movement, but they are after all side issues. In regard to this question, people taking different kinds of stand hold different kinds of view. Those who support the great proletarian cultural revolution always notice first the main current of the movement, and their conclusion is that it is "very good indeed." Those who oppose the great proletarian cultural revolution always see only the side issues of the movement, and they therefore clamor: "What a mess." There is nothing strange with such a phenomenon.

Overthrow Self-Interest, Foster Devotion to Public Interest

The decision of the Party Central Committee concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution -- that is, the Sixteen-Point Decision -- points out that it is necessary to put daring above everything else and boldly arouse the masses. From my personal experience, I have realized that if you want to put daring above everything else and boldly arouse the masses, you must first discard all selfish ideas and not be afraid of giving up your personal interests. Otherwise, you cannot adhere to principle and cannot therefore win the confidence of the masses.

There are these cases in the movement. Some are shy and are afraid of pain and loss of office, and they dare not openly admit mistakes and stand a penetrating examination. Some do not actively support the rational

suggestions and revolutionary actions of the revolutionary masses and do not solve problems which ought to be solved, thus turning small problems which are easy to solve into big problems. Under the pressure of the conservatives, some have done things which are not in accord with the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the policies of the Party so as to absolve themselves. Practically speaking, self-interest is the mischief-maker in all cases.

To be afraid of the masses and the revolution is an expression of political wavering. We revolutionary cadres, every one of us, must thoroughly rebel against self-interest and make revolution to the core of our being; we must eliminate bourgeois ideas and foster proletarian ones, eradicate self-interest and foster devotion to public interest, take the stand of the proletarian revolutionaries and actively participate in the mass movement.

For a veteran cadre to survive the test of the great cultural revolution, the key lies in discarding self-interest and "looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life." From the very day I spoke up openly in support of the Regiment of Red Rebels after the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee, I knew that the conservatives would be out to make endless trouble for me. And things turned out just as I expected. Beginning on August 18, the "August 8 Regiment" of the conservatives at all times took turns to encircle and attack me. They spread rumors and slanders, made provocations and resorted to abusive remarks in an attempt to overthrow me.

In such sharp and complicated class struggle we should never consider personal gain or loss. You must support the Left and rely on them, and of course, the conservatives and reactionaries will be hostile to and deal blows at you. It would be completely wrong to harbor the illusion that you can stand aloof, without leaning toward either side, without offending either side, in an attempt to evade the struggle and avoid being attacked. This is simply not possible. To think that it is and to act on that assumption, is in effect, to side with the conservatives and the Right.

At present, the proletarian revolutionaries in Heilungkiang Province, guided by the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, have won a major victory in seizing power from a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. However, this is only the first step in a long march; greater and more formidable tasks still lie ahead. I myself have also been touched to the soul, but not deep enough. From now on, I will stand more firmly on the side of the red rebels, will strive to be a pupil of the masses and will follow our great leader Chairman Mao forever in carrying the revolution through to the end.

CSO: 3530-D

TRANSPORTATION SITUATION EXCEEDINGLY FAVORABLE AFTER POWER SEIZURE IN HARBIN RAILWAY BUREAU

Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 5, 30 March 1967, pages 58-60.

Since the proletarian revolutionaries seized power in the Harbin Railway Bureau during the second 10-day period of January, transportation has taken a turn for the better. The situation is getting ever better. At present, the highest level in the history of the Harbin Railway Bureau has been attained or exceeded in the rate of turnover of rolling stock and in punctuality of transportation.

I. Situation Exceedingly Favorable

The broad masses of the workers of the Harbin Railway Bureau are now in very high spirits. They are full of vigor. Order is well maintained in the railway stations, and railway transportation proceeds with initiative.

The number of wagons loaded each day has increased steadily: from 2,598 in January and 2,617 in February to over 3,000 in March.

The rate of turnover of rolling stock has risen by 15 percent, thereby saving more than 200 wagons for the state each day.

The proportion of goods trains departing and traveling punctually has reached 95 percent, and the proportion of passenger trains departing and traveling punctually has reached 95 percent. In both cases, the standard set by the state for the end of March has been met.

The workers have raised the slogan: "When a train passes Ch'angch'un Station, it comes under the jurisdiction of our bureau. We will insure that it will be punctual." One day, an international train, No. 2, came in from the north. It reached the Harbin Station late by 19 minutes. After take-over, the locomotive service-guarantee staff of Sank'osha Engines Section

tried all conceivable ways for saving a single minute or a single second. The service staff cooperated closely. Speed was raised as much as possible, and the tracks were promptly cleared at all stations. As a result, the 19 minutes were regained within a distance of 120 kilometers. The train was completely punctual again when it came under the jurisdiction of Ch'angch'un Bureau.

To meet the needs of personnel who had gone out for purposes of inter-linking and who were returning, the workers additionally operated six passenger trains between Harbin and Peking on January 15-21. Since January 25, they have additionally operated two passenger trains, one between Harbin and Suihua and the other between Harbin and Shenshu. When staff was short, they "performed in two shifts the duties of three shifts, and performed in three shifts the duties of four shifts." The job was completed smoothly without additional staff. In addition, passenger train service between Harbin and Tsinan, which had been suspended for nearly two months, was restored. What is more, 10 locomotives have been despatched to help the Liuchow Bureau.

II. Class Enemies Creating Confusion Before Power Seizure

Before the power seizure, a small handful of intra-Party power holders who followed the capitalist road deliberately created confusion, supported the reactionary "Red Flag Corps" and sabotaged production in an attempt to apply pressure on the Central Committee.

They practiced economism extensively. Sank'oshu Engines Section alone squandered ¥50,574 in expenses. Eoodwinked, a small number of workers quit production. Some went to Peking to "petition." Others quit their productive posts on the trains in the middle of journeys. At the time, there was nobody guaranteeing service in 15 locomotives, and some of these stopped for as long as 13 days.

Railway transportation was once in a half-paralyzed state.

A large number of wagons were damaged. Large quantities of goods were piled up. In Harbin Station alone, over 6,000 tons of goods were piled up in the goods compound.

The speed of loading fell markedly. Normally, it takes one to two hours to load one train with sugar beet. At the time, it took more than two to four hours. In the Harbin Bureau, over 800 wagons were help up each day. This seriously affected the turnover of wagons in the nation.

The command system was paralyzed. A succession of incidents took place in January. Heavy damage was caused to the state.

The proportion of goods trains arriving punctually fell to about 50-60 percent. The proportion of passenger trains arriving punctually fell to below 50 percent. Sometimes, trains were late by one day.

The proletarian revolutionaries realized deeply that they must at once change such chaotic conditions, and that the key to the change was to seize power from the small handful of intra-Party power holders who followed the capitalist road.

III. Red Rebels in Control of Power Can Change Heaven and Earth

During the second 10-day period of January, the red rebels responded to the great appeal of Chairman Mao and seized all powers from the small handful of intra-Party power holders in the Harbin Railway Bureau who followed the capitalist road. Many old workers said excitedly, "These bad eggs have been holding power (meaning the small handful of intra-Party power holders who follow the capitalist road). We have not really become our own housekeepers. It is not until now that we are really our own housekeepers and masters."

The red rebels firmly executed the policy in respect of cadres formulated by Chairman Mao, practiced revolutionary "triple combination," and set up a revolutionary committee. The revolutionary committee of the Harbin Railway Bureau included in the combination Li Po-t'ao, former director of the Bureau and secretary of the Secretariat of the Party Committee. Each sub-bureau, station, and section also included revolutionary cadres in the combination. The Harbin Station included two deputy directors of the Passenger Transport Workshop and absorbed them into the Red Rebel Group. The Goods Transport Workshop included two deputy directors in the combination. The Operation Workshop included a deputy chief engineer in the combination. These cadres' participation in the work played a huge role in attending to revolution and promoting production.

The red rebels in control of political power can change heaven and earth. They accomplished many useful exploits in the short period of less than two months. Three examples follow:

(1) Fierce Battle in the Goods Compound.

In early January, over 6,000 tons of goods were piled up in the Harbin Station. Seeing this, the red rebels were worried. They actively suggested to the original person in charge (who had been exposed as a cadre of the fourth category) to try to have the goods shipped out. But he said with complete indifference: "This is how it is at present. Push around and get the job done." The red rebels of the Harbin Station saw through his plot to sabotage production. They immediately called a meeting to study the matter. At the meeting, some workers said: Since he does not look after things, we will. We red rebels must respond to Chairman Mao's great appeal and carry up the double burden of revolution and production. The revolutionary comrades promoted the style of taking great pains, enduring great hardship, and fighting continuously. They adopted the measure of raising efficiency and quick loading and unloading. They worked hard for five days and nights. Every day, they shipped out goods in more than 160 wagons. This was more than twice

times the normal volume of transportation. Four loading and unloading workers, Chiang Yeh-ch'ing, Hsu T'ai-pang, Chou Pen-te, and Wei Chan-t'ing, never stepped back from the firing line during the five days and nights. Depending on the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, they dispelled tiredness and won a victory. They said, "The intra-Party power holders who follow the capitalist road want to make a laughing stock of us. But we workers have our pride. We will let them see something impressive. We will work well." After five days and nights of hard fighting, all the goods piled up during several months were shipped out. At the same time, the supply of materials for the Spring Festival in Harbin was safeguarded.

The goods despatching units had been very dissatisfied with the Railway Bureau because of the piling up of goods. They said: The Railway Bureau is "hard to get along with, hard to make good friends with, and yet indispensable." Now, goods are shipped away as soon as they arrive. They are very satisfied. Sun Chiu-ch'eng, a transport personnel of Harbin Electric Motors Factory, said, "I used to be critical of your railways. Sometimes, goods that came to you were piled up for a month or two. Now, they are carried away as soon as they arrive. You red rebels are really full of vigor."

(2) Raising Vigilance, Smashing Class Enemies' Sabotage Activities.

In Sank'oshu Rolling Stock Section, some people took part in the reactionary "Red Flag Corps." After the Rebel Group had seized power, a small handful of people did not take their defeat lying down. They continued to sabotage production. On the morning of January 17, they filled with water the warm air tubes in over 100 passenger carriages and put out the fire in the furnace in a vain attempt to make the tubes burst because of freezing and to paralyze transportation. When the temperature in the train fell to 2° (the temperature in a passenger carriage which is not moving should be at least 18°), a red rebel, Kao Yu-lin, discovered the trouble. Immediately, emergency measures were adopted. Loss to the state was averted. Afterward, in accordance with law, the Public Security Bureau arrested the head of the counter-revolutionary "Red Flag Corps."

(3) Emergency Repair of Locomotive.

During the first 10-day period of February, the higher levels transferred 10 locomotives to the Liuchow Bureau to help in work. On its own initiative, Sank'oshu Engines Section assumed the task of providing five locomotives. Five hours before the locomotives were due to leave, a serious defect was found in one of them. According to regulations, a locomotive with such a defect must enter a factory for repairs. It would take at least one day to have it fixed. The revolutionary committee immediately held a meeting to discuss the matter. It was decided to go all out and do an emergency repair job. Responsible comrades of the Red Rebel Group and revolutionary cadres came to the spot and carried out the emergency repair job together with the masses. The job was completely finished in less than five hours. They

said, "We red rebels are not afraid of difficulty however great when we hold power."

The red rebels and the broad masses of the revolutionary workers of the Harbin Railways deeply realize that the successes they have achieved on the transportation front are but the first step in a 10,000-li long march. They are determined to raise even higher the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, respond actively to CHAIRMAN MAO'S GREAT APPEAL: "ATTEND TO REVOLUTION, PROMOTE PRODUCTION," and march courageously onward.

CSO: 3530-D

PUT REVOLUTION IN COMMAND OF PRODUCTION

- Basic experience of a certain unit of the Shansi Military Region in managing industry together with the proletarian revolutionaries of Taiyuan Thermo-Electric Plant No. 1. -

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 5, 30 March 1967, pages 61-65. This article was jointly written by the PLA Work Team of the Shansi Military Region in Support of Industry and the Revolutionary Committee of Taiyuan No 1 Thermo-Electric Plant.]

A certain PLA unit of the Shansi Military Region is cooperating with the local administration to control industry. Working together with the proletarian revolutionaries of Taiyuan Thermo-Electric Plant No. 1, it holds high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and goes all out to grasp revolution and stimulate production, gives the workers of the whole plant a new spirit and look, and makes production shoot up, thus enabling the equipment to work at the highest level since it was commissioned for production in 1955. Two months after the seizure of power, the increase compared with the corresponding period of last year amounts to 28 per cent in aggregate output value, 39 per cent in volume of generated power and 11.86 per cent in heat supply. Under the condition that the equipment is working at a rate 5.2 per cent above its load, the economic targets in respect of coal consumption and electric power consumed by the plant are also in line with the requirements of the State plan, and there have been no accidents.

In Managing Industry in Cooperation with the Local Administration, an Armed Force Unit Must, According to Chairman Mao's Instructions, Firmly Support the Broad Masses of the Left, Give First Place to the Revolution, Establish the Revolutionary "Threeway Alliance" in the Class Struggle, and Bring the Power of the "Threeway Alliance" into Full Play.

For a number of years, a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party in Taiyuan Thermo-Electric Plant No. 1 called in capitulationists and collected renegades, formed factions for selfish ends, tried their utmost to push revisionism, and led the socialist enterprise astray. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, they again obstinately clung to the bourgeois reactionary line, incited the masses against the masses, made use of economism in a big way, instigated some workers who had been deceived into leaving their production posts, and exposed the production of the whole plant to the danger of grinding to a halt. The broad masses of the workers were extremely angry with what they had done, and they rose to rebel against them and to seize power from them. At the crucial moment of the struggle to seize power, in accordance with the great leader Chairman Mao's directive that the PLA should support the broad masses of the Left, a certain unit of the Shansi Military Region came to this plant.

Prior to the arrival of the PLA at the plant, the mass organizations within the plant -- "Red Alliance" and "East Wind" -- had seized power from a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. Another organization called "General Detachment of Red Guards" was on its way to seize back such power. The struggle between the two sides was extremely acute, and both urgently called for the support of the PLA. Which side should after all be supported? According to Chairman Mao's directive, "No investigation, no right to speak," the troops went deep into the workshops, shifts and units to study quotations from Chairman Mao together with the workers and cadres. They held discussions and chatted with them and listen to the views of different quarters. They set their eyes on five things: first, to find out how their organizations were born and formed; second, to see who fought most bravely, most resolutely and most thoroughly against those in authority taking the capitalist road; third, to find out who heeded Chairman Mao's instructions and consistently clung to the specific policy of "grasping the revolution and stimulating production" and "making revolution on the basis of economy;" fourth, to see who were discriminated against and hit by those in authority taking the capitalist road; and fifth, to find out who were capable of uniting the great majority of the masses to realize the great alliance. Through making investigation and study and carrying out class analysis, it was affirmed that the "Red Alliance" and the "East Wind" were revolutionary organizations. Therefore the troops resolutely supported their revolutionary actions.

Chairman Mao said: "The enemy will not perish of himself." The handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party promptly made a frenzied counterattack. They mustered the scums in society and made use of conservative organizations. They raised an evil wind and lighted the sinister fire. They misrepresented things, and spread rumors to mislead the public. They even did violence to the revolutionary workers and directed the spearhead straight at the great PLA. The troops stationed in the plant and the revolutionaries firmly crushed the arrogance of the counter-revolutionaries and arrested the criminals. They repeatedly made known the policies of the Party to the masses who had been deceived, aroused their

class consciousness, and made them draw a clear dividing line with the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road.

At the general meeting of the workers of the whole plant, the masses who had been deceived used striking facts to expose and denounce the crimes of those in authority taking the capitalist road. Within three days, the overwhelming majority of the masses who had been deceived in the whole plant had pulled themselves out from the conservative organizations. Quite a number of them tightly grasped the hands of the servicemen and said excitedly: "The PLA has brought us back to the correct road. Hereafter, we certainly must learn from the PLA and follow Chairman Mao to make revolution for life."

The heroic and thunderous great proletarian cultural revolution has sternly tested the ranks of cadres and proved that the great majority of them are good or quite good. However, some comrades among the revolutionaries harbor some kinds of mistaken understanding toward the question of cadres. First, they fear that the cadres will stand forth, yield power once again, and strike back to wreak vengeance. Second, they fear that with the cadres supporting the revolution standing forth, they themselves will be attacked by others as "royalists." Among the cadres, there are also three kinds of fear: they fear that they may stand on the wrong side due to their inability to distinguish who are revolutionaries; they fear that the masses will not trust them when they stand forth; they fear that the masses may call their standing forth as "political speculation."

In light of these mistaken ideas the unit stationed in the plant organized the revolutionaries to study Chairman Mao's articles on cadre policy and the related editorials of the Hung-ch'i magazine. On the basis of raising understanding, the revolutionaries worked energetically among the revolutionary cadres, and welcomed their standing forth to make revolution together with them. In regard to some cadres who had made mistakes, they took the initiative to contact them according to the guidelines of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and "unity/criticism/unity," and helped them recognize and correct their mistakes, lay down their mental burden and advance unburdened. With the painstaking assistance of the PLA and the revolutionaries, many revolutionary cadres and revolutionary engineers and technicians have stood forth. Some cadres who have made mistakes have also returned to the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

The revolutionary "threeway alliance" of this factory has thus been formed in the class struggle. The whole plant has set up the revolutionary committee -- a provisional organ of authority formed on the basis of the "threeway alliance" of the revolutionary cadres (leading cadres, ordinary cadres and technical personnel), the representatives of workers (old and young workers) and the representatives of the PLA. In the production shifts and units, service groups formed on the basis of the "threeway alliance" of the representatives of workers, the militia representatives and the technical

personnel have also been established. According to Chairman Mao's teaching that "organizational task must submit to political task," the broad masses of the revolutionary workers have formed a great alliance from bottom to top based on departments, shifts and units.

The revolutionary "threeway alliance" has manifested its unsurpassed strong vitality. Under the leadership of the revolutionary committee, the proletarian revolutionaries have established the revolutionary authority, crushed the arrogance of the counterrevolutionaries, and consolidated and enlarged the results of the struggle to seize power. At present, it is advancing in the flush of victory to realize the tasks of first struggle, second criticism and third reform.

In Managing Industry in Cooperation with the Local Administration, an Armed Force Unit Must Pass on the PLA's Good Experience in Persisting in the "Four Firsts" and Promoting the "3-8" Style of Work to the Factory, Bring Politics to the Fore, Bring the Dynamic Factor of Man into Full Play, Thoroughly Eradicate the Old Rules and Regulations that Fetter the Productive Forces, and Establish a New Order of Socialist Production.

Chairman Mao has said that politics is the supreme commander and the soul. "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work." "Of all things in the world, man is most precious. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, so long as there are men, any miracles can also be performed in the world."

Over a long period of time, a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party in this plant opposed the thought of Mao Tse-tung and insisted on peddling revisionist stuff. They disseminated the idea that "the accomplishment of target tasks brings the god of wealth" and that "the ability to survive the test of technique is equivalent to the ability to survive the test of everything." They repressed the revolutionary activism and creativeness of the working masses, fettered the development of productivity and caused the enterprise to slide toward the evil capitalist road. The working masses said with great anger: "This handful of persons think in terms of material in command and ruling people with regulations. They do not carry out ideological revolutionization, but only recklessly add rules and regulations."

After the unit stationed in the plant worked in cooperation with the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power, it gave firm support to the revolutionary masses who fired violently at old things of capitalism and revisionism and all kinds of superstructure not in conformity with the foundation of socialist economy.

At that time, some people thought that a power plant is a special setup that could brook no reckless action. Some people were of the opinion that rules and regulations were like a nest of hornets which could not be

molested, and that things should first be left as they were for a period of time. All these things were poisonous stuff instilled by a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party.

After the root cause was found, the proletarian revolutionaries studied Chairman Mao's teachings: "No construction without destruction and no flow without damming;" "Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall." Following this, a general meeting of the workers of the whole plant was convened in which the handful of power holders taking the capitalist road within the Party were exposed and accused of their crimes to restore capitalism. Pointing at the handful of persons, the workers said angrily: "It is you who make use of material incentives to corrode the workers. It is you who cling to the revisionist junks and oppose the thought of Mao Tse-tung." Such exposure and criticism have made everybody understand further that in order to establish in a big way the new order of socialist production, it is necessary to put "destruction" above everything.

The proletarian revolutionaries then destroyed old things and establish new things with surging enthusiasm.

By destroying in a big way the management which is overlapping in level, overstuffed, too bulky and unwieldy, the working masses have established a system of management which brings politics and the mass line to the fore. Two leading groups have been established within the revolutionary committee to deal with the revolution and production, and the redundant management personnel have been sent to shifts and units at the lower level to participate in production. In the past, shifts were divided into units and units were divided into groups. Now, on the basis of democracy, each shift or unit elects three to five service personnel to form a service group which is not detached from production. This has greatly reduced the number of people detached from production, improved efficiency in work, and basically accomplished "training of picked troops and simplification of administration."

In its supporting the revolutionary masses to destroy old things and establish new ones in a big way, the PLA has maintained a tight grip on two important points: One is to have faith in the masses, to rely on and arouse them, and to respect their originality. The process of the destroying the old and establishing the new is also one for the masses to educate and liberate themselves. Another is to give useful leadership according to the situation and to integrate the revolutionary spirit of the masses with the scientific attitude. Everything is based on reality, revolutionary interests and what is of advantage to the development of productivity. All rules and regulations which are not in conformity with the thought of Mao Tse-tung are firmly abolished and destroyed. All technical work rules and safety work rules which mirror the objective laws of the struggle for production, and labor discipline representing revolutionary interests, are firmly carried out and consciously observed.

In the final analysis, destroying the old to establish the new seeks to eradicate bourgeois ideas and promote the thought of Mao Tse-tung in a big way; to persist in the "four firsts" and promote the "three-eight" style of work after the fashion of the PLA, so as to give the plant a thicker political atmosphere, bring man's class consciousness to a higher plane, boost revolutionary and production efforts, and bring about a greater number of good persons and good deeds. As soon as the armed force unit came to the plant, according to Chairman Mao's teaching that "the army is not only a fighting force but also and mainly a work force," it magnified the glorious tradition of the PLA, brought the "four firsts" and the "three-eight" style of work to the plant, and applied them in the practice of "grasping the revolution and stimulating production." Led by the PLA, the working masses studied Chairman Mao's writings and sang revolutionary songs in a big way. With everybody doing ideological work and grasping living ideas, the depressed atmosphere of everybody burying his head in production and showing no interest in politics and the slack and perfunctory style of work of the past were swept away.

The squad of fitters was not well united in the past. They waited for work to be brought to them and carried it out in a perfunctory manner. Very often, the fulfillment of the overhauling plan of the whole plant was affected due to their inability to rush out the accessories and parts in good time. When the workers of this squad worked together with the PLA, they were so impressed by the hard-working PLA men that they said: "The exemplary action of the PLA has taught us a political lesson." They followed the example of the PLA, grasped political and ideological work in a big way, strengthened their unity and made a greater success of cooperation. They looked for work of their own accord, and delivered accessories and parts directly into the hands of overhauling workers.

The distribution overhauling squad also worked in a perfunctory manner in the past. After they learned from the PLA, when they carried out the task of overhauling the No. 8 furnace on a small scale, they gave full play to the style of bravely fighting successive battles in a short time without rest -- i.e., courage in battle, no fear of fatigue and continuous fighting -- and launched activities to carry out "a full load of work." As a result, they took only 22 work units to accomplish an overhauling project which normally needs 72 work units to carry out.

In the past, the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party in this plant had only eyes for material but not the people, and when they carried out anything, they extended their hands to the State for money and material. After the seizure of power, the proletarian revolutionaries brought into play the spirit of self-reliance and insisted on running the enterprise with hard work and thrift. In the past the steel balls for the coal-breaking machine were at all times bought from other places. Now they have made a daring new attempt and successfully manufactured such balls themselves. The high-tension ceramic thimbles which have been lying

unused in the junk store for three years, filament transformers which are urgently needed for production purposes, and machine spindles for coal-breaking machines have either been repaired or manufactured. Over the course of more than one month, the working masses recommended at different times 45 important items of innovation. At present, 32 items have been realized and the sum of more than 270 thousand yuan has been saved for the State.

Having overthrown the handful of power holders taking the capitalist road within the Party and destroyed the revisionist management system, a political phase as described by Chairman Mao -- with both centralism and democracy, with both discipline and freedom, with both unified will and personal happiness and liveliness -- has begun to emerge in the whole plant.

The workers said: "In the past, those at the lower level carried out what those at the higher level mapped out for them. Without instructions from the latter, the former would do nothing. Now, without waiting for those at the higher level to arrange work for them they all work of their own accord." They also said: "When problems were encountered in the past, such problems were referred to the next higher level, and persons were looked for to solve them. Now, people are looking for problems, and they solve all contradictions themselves."

The communist style of work is brought into full play throughout the plant. Many workers voluntarily eradicate self-interest and foster devotion to public interest. They rush for heavy work and take up difficult jobs. They work in coordination of their own accord, and aid and support each other. Between one man and another, a brand new kind of relationship has appeared.

In Managing Industry in Cooperation with the local Administration, an Armed Force Unit Must Pass on the Good Experience of the PLA in Making Creative Study and Application of Chairman Mao's Writings to the Factory, Run the Factory as a Big School for the Thought of Mao Tse-tung, Promote the Ideological Revolutionization of Man, and Build a Most Proletarianized and Militant Contingent of Red Workers

The handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party in this plant consistently opposed the thought of Mao Tse-tung and forbade the workers to study Chairman Mao's writings. They openly held "meetings to discuss self-interest" in which they stated that "self-interest must be met as far as possible before the activism of the broad masses can be aroused," and that "it is necessary to gratify self-interest in order to make a success of public interest." They forbade the workers to bring Chairman Mao's books into any working place, and anyone who read a passage from the "Quotations from Chairman Mao" at rest time would be denounced as "violating the labor discipline."

The frantic opposition of the class enemies to the thought of Mao Tse-tung aroused the great indignation of the PLA commanders and fighters stationed in the plant. The fighters said: "In the final analysis, all things to be

grasped can be summed up into one: to grasp the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings and to promote the ideological revolutionization of man." They said: "Only by arming the minds of the workers with the thought of Mao Tse-tung can we guarantee that the socialist enterprises will never change political color." Because of this, as they worked in cooperation with the proletarian revolutionaries to "grasp revolution and stimulate production," they placed helping the workers to make creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings in struggle at the head of all kinds of work.

During the period of more than one month since they came to the plant, acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching: "Make propaganda among the masses, organize the masses and arm the masses," they energetically propagated the thought of Mao Tse-tung and widely disseminated the experience of the PLA in making creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings. They took the lead in studying Chairman Mao's writings, and helped the workers introduce the system of "reading them every day." Many commanders and fighters went deep into the shifts, units and dormitories, and with the "Quotations from Chairman Mao" as a weapon, they carried out ideological and political work among the masses, and answered and solved various problems appearing among the workers. The fighters also bought more than 570 copies of the "three old articles" with their own money and presented them to the worker brothers.

When the proletarian revolutionaries set out to rectify their style of work, on the basis of Chairman Mao's teaching that "we must be able to get well versed with and apply the theories of Marxism because the object of getting well versed with them is for application," the troops stationed at the factory energetically popularized the method taught by Comrade Lin Piao -- "Study with reference to problems, make creative study and application, combine study with application, study first what is urgent for application, yield prompt results, and make great exertion in 'application'." They actively helped the revolutionary masses use the thought of Mao Tse-tung to seize power from the thought of "self interest," and turn the rectification movement into a mass educational movement for the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Led by the PLA, a mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings has been brought into being in the whole plant. With deep class feelings, the working masses regard Chairman Mao's books as supreme directives for all kinds of work. They launch such activities as "studying quotations before a shift, observing actions during a shift and examining actual results after a shift," and reading, teaching, discussing and applying the "three old articles" in a big way.

In light of problems found in production, some shifts and groups wrote related quotations from Chairman Mao in the register when handing over work to another shift. They said: "This is the use of Mao Tse-tung's thought to hand over a shift." The working masses regard the "three old articles" as mottoes for waging struggle against self-interest in thought, against

difficulties in work, and against flippancy in style of work. They said: "The 'three old articles' are like a dressing mirror the size of the sky, and a washbasin the size of the earth. They shed light in our mind, and give us sharper ears, deft hands, a red heart, hard bones, and a bright mind."

Through learning from the PLA and making creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings, the workers of the whole plant have greatly changed their mental features. Some workers of the tile squad talked all the time about high or low skill and how much wages they received in the past, but now everybody discussed politics. Recently five new apprentices came to the squad, and the old workers said: "We must foster these apprentices as heirs to socialism and can never lead them astray by teaching them to give over-simple pursuit to technique." They bought Chairman Mao's writings and presented them to the apprentices. The apprentices said gratefully: "We will heed what Chairman Mao says and work in the plant for life."

Facts prove that once the masses take a firm grip on the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, the theory of putting self-interest above everything as disseminated by the handful of power holders taking the capitalist road within the Party will go bankrupt. The workers have thoroughly exposed, criticized and repudiated those reactionary fallacies. Pointing at these people, they angrily said: "The Party wants us to read Chairman Mao's books and bring public interest to the fore, but you want us to bring self-interest to the fore and hold meetings to discuss self-interest. What is after all the place you want to lead us to?"

Facts prove that once the masses take a firm grip on the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, they will survive every test in production. The general overhaul of the No. 1 furnace began in the tense days of the struggle to seize power. The conservatives made things difficult for us, and although two-thirds of the time limit set for the work project had passed, less than half of the work was completed. We asked that the deadline for completing the task be extended by five days, but the revolutionaries refused and said: "We are proletarian revolutionaries and we would be unable to face Chairman Mao should we fail to complete the task." We cooperated with each other and fought bravely day and night. Finally we completed the task two days ahead of schedule.

During the last ten days of February, the outlet of No. 8 furnace was blocked, and according to normal practice, the furnace would have to be put out of service for three days for overhaul. The workers studied the "three old articles," and put the spirit of "be resolute, fear no sacrifice, and surmount every difficulty to win victory" into practice. Braving a high temperature of 60 degrees, they carried out the overhaul without interrupting production, thus creating the striking deed of carrying out an overhaul without suspending production.

Now, under the leadership of the revolutionary committee and with the assistance of the PLA, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary workers of

Taiyuan No. 1 Thermo-Electric Plant are holding high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and striving to change the plant into a big smelting furnace for cultivating and remolding people with the thought of Mao Tse-tung and a big school red with such thought.

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