

Declaration of the Congress of the Red Guards

Following are excerpts of the Declaration adopted by the Congress of the Red Guards of universities and colleges in Peking on Feb. 22. — Ed.

SINCE their first appearance on the eastern horizon, the Red Guards, a new thing and one of great vitality, have received loving care and tremendous support from Chairman Mao, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman. Nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Red Guards have grown in strength and scope.

The Red Guards are an inevitable outgrowth of the new stage in China's socialist revolution and a great pioneering undertaking in the international communist movement in the sixties of the twentieth century!

Since their birth, the Red Guards have been active on the historic stage of the proletarian revolution as a political shock force, showing a dauntless, revolutionary rebel spirit. Since their birth, the Red Guards, taking the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung as their

weapon and having the powerful support of the workers, peasants and soldiers, have swept aside ghosts and monsters, battered the bourgeois reactionary line, energetically destroyed the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes and vigorously fostered the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat, performing immortal exploits for China's great proletarian cultural revolution. Today, under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, we Red Guards from Peking's universities and colleges meet here victoriously to form our own new, revolutionary organization — the Congress of the Red Guards.

Chairman Mao, our most respected and beloved great leader, is our supreme commander.

The Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao is our supreme command.

The great invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung is our guiding thought.

Democratic centralism is our organizational principle. We will resolutely exercise extensive democracy

under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and institute a system of general elections like that of the Paris Commune.

The main body of the Red Guards should be formed by revolutionary students from families of the working people (workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and other working people). Students of non-working-people family origin who have deep feeling for Chairman Mao and a proletarian revolutionary spirit and who have consistently showed a rather good political and ideological stand, can also be enrolled.

We will resolutely implement the class line of the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Mao, draw a distinction between ourselves and our friends and the enemy, firmly rely on the revolutionary Left, win over the middle, unite with the great majority, and thoroughly isolate and strike at the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and the most reactionary bourgeois Rightists.

Our battle cry is: "Revolution by proletarian revolutionaries is no crime, to rebel is justified!"

We must always hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and run our organization as a great red school of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Our congress will unswervingly stand on the proletarian revolutionary line that Chairman Mao represents, thoroughly defeat the bourgeois reactionary line, take the 16-point decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution as the key, and strive to win victory in fulfilling the great historic task of struggling (against and overthrowing those persons who are in authority and taking the capitalist road), criticizing and repudiating (the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes), and transforming (education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base).

Chairman Mao teaches us that the basic question of revolution is political power. **"All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it."** From the very start, the great proletarian cultural revolution has been a struggle to seize power. We stage rebellion in order to seize power: that is, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to recapture power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, and keep it firmly in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "We are not only good at destroying the old world, we are also good at building the new." The Marxist principle of smashing the old state machinery must be carried out in those organizations which have become rotten because a handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road entrenched themselves there for a long time. Organs of the dictatorship of the bour-

geoisie there must be completely smashed and organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat must be rebuilt there; eclecticism, conciliation, reformism and peaceful transition must never be practised. The proletarian revolutionaries must ceaselessly strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and establish and consolidate the revolutionary new order in the course of struggle. This is the basic guarantee for carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Chairman Mao teaches us that we must never forget class struggle. The struggle between seizure of power and counter-seizure of power is at present the focus of the struggle of the two classes and the two roads. Like all reactionaries, the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road will never be reconciled to their own failure. In line with Chairman Mao's teaching we must **"cast away illusions, and prepare for struggle."**

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In order to attack the forces of the counter-revolution, what the revolutionary forces need today is to organize millions upon millions of the masses and move a mighty revolutionary army into action." In order to develop the struggle to seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, the proletarian revolutionaries must form a great alliance. We advocate that revolutionaries of all circles first form separate alliances among themselves and then bring about the great unity and alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries of the capital led by the working class and with the workers, peasants and soldiers as the main body.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Policy and tactics are the life of the Party." In the struggle to seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road we must act in accordance with the principles and policies of the Party and unswervingly implement the principle of the "three-in-one" combination. Class analysis must be carried out in regard to persons in authority. We must regard those revolutionary leading cadres who are on the side of Chairman Mao as the treasure of the Party, cherish them, defend them, actively support them and warmly welcome them in fighting shoulder to shoulder with us. We must modestly learn from their experience in struggle and accept their correct leadership which conforms to Mao Tse-tung's thought. We should, with profound class feeling, earnestly criticize and repudiate their shortcomings and mistakes and help them to make amends in line with the principle of **"learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and curing the sickness to save the patient"** which Chairman Mao teaches us. The idea of excluding all, opposing all and overthrowing all is contrary to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

We, the Red Guards, while seizing power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, must at the same time carry out the struggle of seizing power in our own

minds, to seize the power of "self-interest," to rebel against it and to defeat it!

To defeat "self-interest," it is necessary to study the works of Chairman Mao seriously and diligently. At present, those brilliant works like the "three constantly read articles" and another five—*On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party, Combat Liberalism, On the Reissue of the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention—Instruction of the General Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, Rectify the Party's Style of Work, Methods of Work of Party Committees*—should be particularly studied and applied in a creative way.

To defeat "self-interest," it is necessary to follow the teachings of Chairman Mao, to integrate ourselves with the workers and peasants and, in the course of the three great revolutionary movements (class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment) thoroughly to remould our world outlook and foster the concept of wholeheartedly serving the workers, peasants and soldiers.

We, the Red Guards, are the firm and reliable reserve force of the People's Liberation Army. We must vigorously promote the "three-eight" working style* and strengthen our revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline.

We, the Red Guards, pledge to be thoroughgoing proletarian revolutionaries. We will always hold high

the great revolutionary banner of criticism, be always full of the youth and vitality of revolutionary rebels. Whoever dares to oppose Chairman Mao, to oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought, and foster revisionism in China, no matter how high his position, how senior his service and how great his renown, we will resolutely rebel against him, and we will rebel to the end! We must always keep New China bright red and smash the dream of the imperialists and modern revisionists to bring about a "peaceful evolution."

We, the Red Guards, will always be vanguard fighters against imperialism and revisionism. We will give all-out support to the struggle of the oppressed people and nations for liberation, firmly stand with them, and thoroughly bury imperialism, revisionism and all reactionaries in order to carry the world revolution through to the end!

We firmly believe that communism will triumph! Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed. The globe in the future will be a world with red flags, will be a world shining with the great thought of Mao Tse-tung!

*The Chinese People's Liberation Army, under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao, has established a fine tradition. This tradition is summed up by Chairman Mao in three phrases and eight additional characters, meaning firm, correct political orientation; a plain, hard-working style; flexibility in strategy and tactics; and unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness.