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CHINESE LAW AND GOVERNMENT contains unabridged translations of significant scholarly works and policy documents in the field of politics and government published originally in Communist China. Occasionally, works of major significance from Japanese, Russian, and Taiwan sources are included.

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SPEECHES AND INSTRUCTIONS OF LIN PIAO, 1966-1967

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Ying-mao Kau

The Cultural Revolution and its aftermath have clearly been the most significant single development in the political system of China in the past decade. In the context of this colossal movement the downfall of Liu Shao-ch'i in the sixties and the purge of Lin Piao in the seventies are particularly fascinating for the student of Chinese politics. Liu and Lin were quite different in many ways with respect to their political orientations and career backgrounds, yet they had one thing in common. Each was officially designated by Mao at one point as his successor, the man to be entrusted with the future of China's continuing revolution; and yet each was subsequently found to be a "revisionist" and "sham Marxist." Each was at one stage of his political career regarded as the most loyal follower of Chairman Mao and the best pupil of Mao Tse-tung thought, and yet each allegedly became a traitor who plotted against his leader. To date, no single theory appears to have succeeded in providing a satisfactory causal explanation of such perplexing phenomena. However, as suggested in the last issue of this journal, two foci of analysis seem to be productive: (1) the motivational dynamics of the quest for political power and prestige and (2) conflict over ideological and policy differences.

In the last issue we presented the official version of power politics and policy struggle surrounding the purge of Lin Piao. In this issue we are letting Lin speak for himself against the charges of disloyalty, political subversion, and ideological deviation by publishing a collection of his writings, speeches, and instructions since the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution in

1966. The thirty-four documents which make up this issue represent, as far as we know, the most comprehensive collection of his writings during the Cultural Revolution it is possible to assemble outside China. They have been gathered from a wide variety of sources in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Japan; many originated with Red Guard sources in China. Due to limitations of space, this issue covers only the most critical period, between 1966 and 1967. Several writings dated after 1968 will unfortunately have to be deferred to the next issue.

As the specific significance of a number of key documents in the context of recent struggles over power and line in China has been discussed in the editor's introduction, "The Case Against Lin Piao," to the last issue of this journal, it will not be repeated here. For Lin's works from other periods, the following compilations of source materials are particularly helpful:

Chairman Mao's Successor (n.p., June 1969); translated in Current Background, Hong Kong, No. 894 (October 27, 1969).

Chinese Law and Government, V:3-4 (Fall-Winter 1972), Special Issue on "The Case Against Lin Piao."

Chūgoku Kenkyū geppō [Monthly Research Report on China, Tokyo], Nos. 261-262 (Nov.-Dec., 1969), Special issues on writing of Lin Piao, Parts I-II. Translated into English in Translations on Communist China, No. 102, JPRS 50477 (May 7, 1970).

Kung-fei wen-hua ta-ke-ming chung-yao wen-chien hsü-pien [Supplement to Important Documents on the Great Cultural Revolution of the Communist Bandits] (Taipei: Kuo-fang-pu ch'ing-pao-chü, 1969).

Li Tso-p'eng et al., About Comrade Lin Piao (n.p., 1969); translated in Current Background, Hong Kong, No. 896 (Nov. 20, 1969).

Lin Piao, Lin fu-chu-hsi chün-shih chu-tso hsüan-tu [Selected

Readings on the Military Writings of Vice Chairman Lin] (n.p., n.d.).

Lin Piao chuan-chi [Special Collection on Lin Piao] (Hong Kong: Chung-kuo wen-t'i yen-chiu chung-hsin, 1970); table of contents translated and reproduced in Chinese Law and Government, III: 4 (Winter 1970), 298-302.

Lin Piao shih-chien yen-hsi [Analysis of the Lin Piao Affair] (Taipei: Chung-kuo ta-lu yen-chiu-so, 1972).

Lin Piao yü-lu [Quotations from Lin Piao], (Hong Kong: Chung-kuo wen-t'i yen-chiu chung-hsin, 1969).

Mao chu-hsi wen-hsüan [Selected Writings of Chairman Mao, 1959-1967], (n.d., n.p., a Red Guard publication); translated into English in Translations on Communist China, No. 90, JPRS 49826 (Feb. 12, 1970) and No. 109, JPRS 50792 (June 23, 1970).

Robinson, Thomas W. A Politico-Military Biography of Lin Piao, Part I, 1907-1949 (Santa Monica, Calif.: Rand, 1971).

LETTER ON LIVING STUDY AND APPLICATION OF
CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG'S WORKS ON THE
INDUSTRIAL AND COMMUNICATIONS FRONT*
(March 11, 1966)

The industrial and communications system emphasizes putting politics in command and giving prominence to politics — it is excellent to do so. It is greatly beneficial for raising the political consciousness of the proletariat and strengthening socialist construction in our country. Doing so will further strengthen the activism and creativeness of the proletariat and make our socialist cause more prosperous. It is excellent that you are giving top priority to active study of Chairman Mao's works in the entire work and policies for the industrial and communications system.

Our country is a great socialist state of proletarian dictatorship, and it has a population of 700 million. It requires a unified ideology, a revolutionary ideology, and a correct ideology — the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Only with this thought can a vigorous revolutionary fervor be maintained and a firm, correct political orientation be upheld.

The thought of Mao Tse-tung reflects the objective laws of

*"Chiu kung-yeh chiao-t'ung chan-hsien huo-hsüeh huo-yung Mao Tse-tung chu-tso hsieh-ti i-feng hsin," Jen-min jih-pao [People's Daily], June 19, 1966; reprinted in Lin Piao chuan-chi [A Special Collection on Lin Piao] (Hong Kong: Tzu-lien, 1970), pp. 65-66. A Japanese translation may be found in Chūgoku kenkyū geppō [Monthly Research Report on China, Tokyo], No. 262 (December 1969), 1.

class struggle at home and abroad and the basic interests of the proletariat and the working people. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is not developed spontaneously from among the working people. It is the Marxist-Leninist ideology inherited and developed by the genius of Chairman Mao on the basis of the great revolutionary practice. It has synthesized the new experience of the international Communist movement and has brought Marxism-Leninism to a higher and completely new stage.

Therefore, it is necessary to instill Chairman Mao's ideology into the workers and peasants through the living study and application of his works. Only by so doing can the working people's spiritual outlook be reformed and the spiritual strength transformed into an enormous material strength.

The industrial and communications system has in the past several years started working in this way. During this current conference of the industrial and communications system, we have further summed up experiences and put forth new methods. This will certainly bring about more achievements.

Lin Piao

LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE STANDING
COMMITTEE OF THE MILITARY COMMISSION
OF THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE*
(March 22, 1966)

Comrades of the Standing Committee,

I am herewith sending you for your attention the Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces which Comrade Chiang Ch'ing convened. The Summary, which has been repeatedly gone over by the comrades attending the forum and has been personally examined and revised by the Chairman three times, is an excellent document. It applies Mao Tse-tung's thought to answer many important questions concerning the cultural revolution in the period of socialism. It is of both extremely great practical and far-reaching historic significance.

The last sixteen years have witnessed sharp class struggle on the front of literature and art, and the question of who will win out has not yet been settled. If the proletariat does not occupy the positions in literature and art, the bourgeoisie certainly will. This struggle is inevitable. And it represents an

extremely broad and deep socialist revolution in the realm of ideology. If things are not done properly, revisionism will prevail. We must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung thought and unswervingly carry this revolution through to the end.

The problems and the ideas raised in the Summary correspond fully with the realities in the work of literature and art in the armed forces, and the ideas must be resolutely carried out so as to enable this work in the armed forces to play an important role in keeping politics in the forefront and in promoting the revolutionization of people's thinking.

Please let me know your opinions on the Summary before it is submitted to the Central Committee for examination and approval.

With greetings,

Lin Piao

*"Lin Piao t'ung-chih kei chung-yang chün-wei ch'ang-wei ti hsin," Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 9 (May 27, 1967), 10. This translation is taken, with minor editorial revisions, from Peking Review, No. 23 (June 2, 1967), 9. The complete text of "The Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces with which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ch'ing" may be found in Peking Review, No. 23 (June 2, 1967), 10-16.

QUOTATION FROM A SPEECH AT THE
MILITARY ACADEMY*
(April 18, 1966)

The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the highest level of Marxism-Leninism. We must raise high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. We must use the thought of Mao Tse-tung to unify the ideologies of the entire Party and the entire army. We must further promote the ideological revolutionization of the people, and we must dig out the roots of the capitalist ideologies and prevent revisionism.

*"Tsai chün-shih yüan-hsiao ti chiang-hua," in Mao chu-hsi wen-hsüan [Selected Writings of Chairman Mao, 1959-1967] (n.d., n.p., a Red Guard publication), p. 91.

ADDRESS TO THE ENLARGED SESSION OF THE
POLITBURO OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
(May 18, 1966)

[This document has already been published under the title "Address to Politburo" in Chinese Law and Government, Vol. II, No. 4 (Winter 1969/70), 42-62.]

SPEECH AT THE ELEVENTH PLENUM
OF THE EIGHTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE*
(August 1, 1966)

There are two kinds of people with respect to the study of Mao Tse-tung thought. One kind of people make great efforts to study Mao Tse-tung thought. Some of them studied it well but were subject to attacks because the Lu Ting-i gang of the Central Committee's Propaganda Department was the highest organ in charge of ideology. Opposing the thought of Mao Tse-tung, they slandered Mao's works as "Hsüan-wei ham" — if one eats it every day, one would get sick of it. They slanderously distorted the concept of "setting up a pole to see its shadow" by saying that without the sun there would be no shadow. They even maliciously attacked those who are now studying Mao's works, saying that in the future, when war comes, they are likely to be traitors and turncoats. These black gangsters are full of hatred against the thought of Mao Tse-tung. The other kind of people do not study Mao's works, and they are in a backward or intermediate state.

There are also two kinds of people with respect to political and ideological work. One kind of people give serious attention to political and ideological work, while the other kind of people do not pay serious attention to it and may even try to disrupt it. In the matter of handling work, our cadres are also of two kinds.

*"Lin Piao t'ung-chih tsai pa-chieh shih-i chung-ch'üan-hui shang ti chiang-hua," in Mao chu-hsi wen-hsüan [Selected Writings of Chairman Mao, 1959-1967] (n.d., n.p., a Red Guard publication), pp. 95-97.

One kind of cadres are enthusiastic about work and have achieved good results, but they are impatient and offend many people. In the movement they are attacked by the largest number of big-character posters, and their dismissal from office is demanded. The other kind of cadres are good fellows; they do nothing and take part in nothing. They offend no one and have good relations with all. They are capable of winning votes at elections and are attacked in few big-character posters in the movement.

Therefore, we demand an overall examination and overall readjustment of cadres. In this connection, in the light of the five principles for the cultivation of successors to the cause of proletarian revolution set forth by Chairman Mao, we have proposed three criteria, to which the Chairman has agreed:

1) Do they hold high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung thought? Those who fail to do so shall be dismissed from office.

2) Do they engage in political and ideological work? Those who disrupt it and the Great Cultural Revolution are to be dismissed.

3) Are they enthusiastic about the revolution? Those who are entirely devoid of such enthusiasm are to be dismissed.

These three criteria are consistent with the five principles set forth by the Chairman. We must select, promote, and employ cadres in accordance with Chairman Mao's five principles and these three criteria, especially the first one.

This time a group of people is to be dismissed, another group of people is to be promoted, and still another group of people is to be retained in their posts. Organizationally there should be an overall adjustment of those who have made mistakes and those who have made serious mistakes. If they accept education and resolutely repent, they will be allowed to continue to be tested in future work. As for those who are incorrigible, they should be dismissed firmly. Unless this is done, the stalemate cannot be broken. It is they who will carry out subversive activities once trouble flares up.

My heart has been quite heavy recently. My ability does not measure up to my work. I expect to make mistakes, but I will do my best to reduce my mistakes to a minimum. I will rely on the Chairman, on the whole body of comrades of the Standing Committee, and on the comrades of the Cultural Revolution Group. Chairman Mao is the axle; we are the wheel. We must do everything according to Mao Tse-tung thought and not by any other method. We should not be two headquarters opposing each other. We should be united following the Chairman. He gives overall consideration to problems; he is farsighted. What is more, he has ideas, many of which we do not understand. We must resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's instructions, whether we understand them or not. I have no talent; I rely on the wisdom of the masses and do everything according to the Chairman's directives. I do not interfere with him on major problems; nor do I trouble him with small matters. Sometimes I cannot avoid making mistakes and fail to keep pace with the Chairman's thinking. What should I do then? The solution is to change at an appropriate time and not to persist in mistakes — be prepared at any time to correct them. The Chairman is the genius of the world revolution. There is a great distance between him and us, and we must quickly rectify the mistakes we have made. The Central Committee has given me work, and I know that my level and ability are not good enough. I have thought of it many times. But since the Chairman and the Central Committee have made their decision, I can only obey and try my best. In the meantime, I am prepared to hand it over to a more suitable comrade.

(Turning to the Central Committee Cultural Revolution Group) Your work was beset with difficulties. The movement was started in a vigorous manner, but cold water was then poured on it. The Chairman has reversed the situation. If he had not done so, the cultural revolution would have been cut short, the bourgeoisie would have gained the upper hand, and we would have suffered defeat. We must destroy the bourgeois ideas, reform...*

*All deletions are in the original — Editor, Chinese Law and Government.

wipe out the old ideas. We are not. . . . On the one hand, we must begin with the material aspect by developing production and improving technology; on the other hand, we must begin with the spiritual aspect by reforming man's ideology. The important factor of productivity is man, and we must develop the human factor, change ideas and concepts, and raise our sense of responsibility to society. This is easier said than done. In practice there will be reversals and numerous struggles. We can reform man only through criticisms and recognition by waging major struggles on the entire ideological front. Struggles will advance from many lower stages to the higher stages on the two fronts, the material and spiritual fronts. Our Cultural Revolution Group takes care of the spiritual front, but we must advance simultaneously along the two fronts. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the locomotive for our advance along both fronts. We must advance like a train along two tracks. We must not promote material incentives, as the revisionists did; we would be bound to move backward, and capitalism would be restored and revisionism would be bound to appear. In doing everything we must let the thought of Mao Tse-tung take the lead and we must firmly grasp the thought of Mao Tse-tung as a spiritual weapon and fight this battle through to the end. We shall win if we win the war against material incentives in our minds. This does not mean. . . . You comrades have played a positive role in the recent several months. . . . I hope that you will play a bigger role. Of course, if anyone pours cold water, the Chairman will see that the situation is reversed. . . . Otherwise, nobody will be able to resist pressure from the top.

The Great Cultural Revolution is an undertaking that has never been attempted before. The Soviet Union does not have it, and revisionism. . . .

Now fish eyes are mixed with pearls, and we must separate them. We must hand the pearls over to the masses of workers and peasants so that the people can have culture and can see the bright future ahead of them. When fish eyes are mixed with pearls and we choose the pearls ourselves, there will be difficulties. We must now tell them that the thought of Mao Tse-tung is the pearls, and we must all share responsibilities.

ON THE QUESTION OF THE CADRE LINE* (August 10, 1966)

On the morning of August 10 Vice Chairman Lin said:

Among army cadres some are too backward and have not corrected their errors. They should be discharged. We cannot afford to have a corrupt cadre policy.

In judging cadres we first of all want to see whether they support or oppose Chairman Mao, whether they emphasize politics, and whether their revolutionary vigor is high. We look at their main current and tributaries.

Be sure not to lose the political direction. To support the Chairman and give prominence to politics is the very best; to do otherwise is the very worst. In other things, good or bad is a matter of degree. In the final analysis, which line should be in first place and which in second place — this is the question of two kinds of cadre policy. One kind gives attention to petty details but not to major principles; the other kind also pays attention to small details but primarily heeds key principles. Some cadres have small problems: their living style,

*"Kuan-yü kan-pu lu-hsien wen-t'i," published by Pei-ching ti-chih hsüeh-yüan Mao Tse-tung ssu-hsiang ch'ih-wei-tui [The Mao Tse-tung Thought Red Guard Group of Peking Geology College], December 3, 1966. A copy of the original Chinese text was obtained from Taiwan sources. The title also appears differently as "Lin Piao fu-chu-hsi pa-yüeh shih-jih chih-shih chi-yao" [Excerpts of Instructions by Vice Chairman Lin Piao on August 10].

relations with the opposite sex, work attitude, and work methods have shortcomings. However, they support the Chairman and give prominence to politics, and their revolutionary vigor is high. Cadres of another kind do not have petty shortcomings or trouble with the opposite sex, and they are popular, get along well with everyone, and commit no petty theft. However, they oppose the Chairman and oppose giving prominence to politics. If we employ the second kind of cadres our army will become revisionist. Our cadre policy must stress the main principles.

The cadre policy has no room for men of peace and harmony. Popular persons are afraid of offending people in their work. We cannot choose this kind of cadre. We must select those cadres who support the Chairman, give prominence to politics, and have revolutionary vigor. This is a question of orientation. To act in this way is to give our army a certain outlook; otherwise it will turn into a different kind.

In order to use the person who has committed errors on small matters, we must criticize and help him. If jade is not polished, it will not serve its purpose. If he can conscientiously reform himself, he is to be warmly welcomed. We must act in accordance with the Chairman's five principles. To use a person we must criticize him; this shows confidence in him. If we really use a person he will definitely want to reform. If he does not, there is no way to use him. Good persons and able persons must be recruited into the leadership organs.

Our cadre policy from now on should be that whoever opposes Chairman Mao will be discharged. Whoever does not give prominence to politics will be discharged. It does not matter how much ability he may have. This is my opinion; please report to the Standing Committee of the Military Commission to see what their opinion is. This question must be discussed with comrades in military units. This is a question of orientation, and the spirit should be thoroughly transmitted downward.

Two policies and two lines. One is to raise high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung thought, to give prominence to politics, and to exhibit revolutionary zeal. The other is not to raise high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung thought and

not give prominence to politics. It represents the purely military viewpoint, the technical viewpoint, and emphasis on the petty and small. We do not want to transform our military forces into a spiritually corrupt army; we do not want our army to wither and stop developing. We should educate and struggle against the cadres in error whenever possible. Those who are incurable should be dismissed.

Attention must be given to the cadre policy. I would like Comrade Yang Ch'eng-wu to pay attention to this question. I would like Comrade Liu Chih-chien to discuss this with Comrade Chiang Ch'ing. At present our Liberation Army's position is very high, and the cadres should manifest no more disorder. It would be a great humiliation if opposition to Chairman Mao should again crop up among army cadres. You should all act resolutely in accordance with the five principles for successors set forth by Chairman Mao and the concrete opinions which I have expressed here today.

I am entrusting Comrade Liu Chih-chien to handle well the Liberation Army Daily [Chieh-fang-chün pao]. If it is handled correctly, the military units will give politics prominence. If this link is handled correctly, work in all areas will advance, and Chairman Mao's thought will take command.

Last winter, when I put forward the five principles for giving prominence to politics, Liang Pi-yeh had a few things to say. He indicated that an emphasis on politics meant a falling behind in military preparations. This is erroneous. Military preparations and politics should not be discussed together in that way.

On the afternoon of August 10 Vice Chairman Lin said:

There are several kinds of cadres. One kind hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung thought, support Chairman Mao, give prominence to politics, and have revolutionary zeal. But they may have shortcomings in minor details. Another kind do not stress politics and do not have revolutionary zeal; but they do not have any particular problems in small matters. Which kind should we use? We must use the first kind, not the

second. If we cannot save the second kind through education, they must be dismissed once and for all. This will ensure our army's high morale and great combat strength. We cannot allow our army to become a corrupt, depraved army or a Peiyang warlord army. Of course, we should criticize and correct the small shortcomings among the first kind. To criticize them is to use them and trust them.

There is another type of cadres who are perfect; they are correct both on the main principles and on small details. This is very good, but of course there are not many such cadres.

Through this campaign we can evaluate cadres comprehensively. Those who should be promoted must be promoted; those who should be dismissed must be dismissed. It will be a great insult if persons opposed to Chairman Mao still emerge from among our army cadres.

SPEECH AT PEKING MASS RALLY CELEBRATING
THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION*
(August 18, 1966)

Comrades, Students:

First of all, on behalf of our great leader Chairman Mao and on behalf of the Party's Central Committee, I give you greetings!

We firmly support your proletarian revolutionary spirit of daring to break through, to act, to make revolution, and to rise up in rebellion!

Our Chairman Mao is the highest commander of this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Chairman Mao is the supreme commander, and faithfully following in instructions of our supreme commander — Chairman Mao — we will certainly carry the Great Cultural Revolution forward triumphantly and win a great victory!

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated by Chairman Mao is a great creation in the communist movement, a great creation in the socialist revolution!

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is aimed precisely at eliminating bourgeois ideology, establishing proletarian ideology, remolding people's souls, revolutionizing their ideology, digging out the roots of revisionism, and consolidating and developing the socialist system.

We will strike down those in authority who are taking the

*"Tsai ch'ing-chu wu-ch'an chieh-chi wen-hua ta-ke-ming ch'un-chung ta-hui-shang ti chiang-hua," Jen-min jih-pao [People's Daily], August 19, 1966. This translation is taken, with minor editorial revisions, from Peking Review, No. 35 (August 26, 1966), 8-9.

capitalist road, strike down the reactionary bourgeois authorities, strike down all bourgeois royalists, oppose any act to suppress the revolution, and strike down all ghosts and monsters.

We will energetically eradicate all the old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits of the exploiting classes, and transform all those parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base. We will sweep out all the vermin and clear away all obstacles!

We will make vigorous efforts to establish proletarian authorities and the new ideas, new culture, new customs, and new habits of the proletariat. In a word, we will work with great energy so that Mao Tse-tung's thought achieves complete ascendancy. We will enable hundreds of millions of people to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought, ensure that it seizes all ideological positions, apply it in transforming the mental outlook of the whole of society, and enable Mao Tse-tung's thought, this great spiritual force, to transform into a great material force!

The current Great Cultural Revolution is a tremendous event affecting the destiny and the future of our Party and our country!

On what do we rely to make this Great Cultural Revolution successful? We rely on the great thought of Mao Tse-tung as well as on the wisdom and strength of the masses!

Chairman Mao is the most outstanding leader of the proletariat in the present era and the greatest genius in the present era. Chairman Mao has the strongest faith in the masses. He pays the greatest attention to them. He gives the strongest support to the revolutionary movement of the masses. His heart is one with the hearts of the revolutionary masses!

Mao Tse-tung's thought marks a completely new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism. It is the Marxism-Leninism at the highest level in the present era. It is Marxism-Leninism of the present era for remolding the souls of the people. It is the most powerful ideological weapon of the proletariat.

The masses are the makers of history. Once they master Mao Tse-tung's thought, they will become the wisest and most courageous people, capable of exerting inexhaustible strength!

With the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao and having mastered Mao Tse-tung's thought which is the keenest weapon, we will be invincible and all-conquering and will achieve complete victory in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

The Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution recently promulgated by the Party's Central Committee was drawn up under the personal direction of the great leader Chairman Mao. It is the magnificent program of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the latest embodiment of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is imperative to act resolutely in accordance with this decision, to arouse the masses boldly, resolutely to oppose monopolizing things which should be done by the masses themselves, rely firmly on the revolutionary Left, win over the middle and unite with the great majority, concentrate all forces to strike at the handful of ultra-reactionary Rightists, and thus carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end!

The Great Cultural Revolution is a long-term task. In between, there are big campaigns and small campaigns. It will last a very long time. So long as bourgeois ideology exists, we will fight on to the end!

The present campaign is a big one; it is a general attack on the ideas of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, we must launch fierce attacks on bourgeois ideology, old customs and old forces of habit! We must thoroughly topple, smash and discredit the counterrevolutionary revisionists, bourgeois Rightists, and reactionary bourgeois authorities, and they must never be allowed to rise again!

Long live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Long live the great Chinese people!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

Long live the great thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the great leader Chairman Mao! Long live, long live Chairman Mao!

SPEECH AT PEKING RALLY TO RECEIVE
 REVOLUTIONARY TEACHERS AND STUDENTS
 FROM ALL PARTS OF CHINA*
 (August 31, 1966)

Comrades, Students, Red Guard Fighters:

On behalf of our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander, and great helmsman Chairman Mao, I extend greetings to you students coming from all parts of the country; greetings to you all! On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, I greet you all!

Students! You have come to Peking and have been exchanging experience in the Great Cultural Revolution with the revolutionary teachers and students of Peking. You have traveled a long way and worked hard! We are confident that after your return, you will work even better, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and the Party Central Committee's sixteen-point decision, to smash all resistance, overcome all difficulties, and develop the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution with even greater vigor and vitality!

The present situation in the Great Proletarian Culture Revolution is very fine!

The Red Guards and other revolutionary organizations of the young people have been springing up like bamboo shoots after the spring rain. They take to the streets to sweep away the

*"Tsai chieh-chien wai-ti lai Ching ke-ming shih-sheng ta-hui-shang ti Chiang-hua," Jen-min jih-pao [People's Daily] September 1, 1966. The official English translation that appears here is taken, with minor editorial revisions, from Peking Review, No. 37 (September 9, 1966), 10-11.

"four olds" [old ideas, culture, customs, and habits.] The Great Cultural Revolution has already touched on politics and on economics. The struggle [against and crushing of those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road], the criticism and repudiation [of the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes] and the transformation [of education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base]* in the schools have been extended to the whole of society. The revolutionary torrents of the masses are washing away all the sludge and filth left over from the old society, and are transforming the whole face of society in our country.

Young revolutionary fighters! Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee warmly acclaim your proletarian revolutionary spirit of daring to think, to speak, to act, to break through, and to make revolution. You have done many good things. You have put forward many good proposals. We are greatly elated, and we warmly support you! Firmly oppose any attempt that is made to suppress you. Your revolutionary actions are very fine! We hail you and salute you!

Comrades, students!

We must act in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings; dare to struggle and dare to make revolution and be good at waging struggles and at making revolution. We must take Mao Tse-tung's thought as our compass in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and carry out the sixteen-point decision seriously, fully, thoroughly, and without reservation.

We must, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, distinguish who are our enemies and who are our friends. Attention must be paid to uniting with the great majority and concentrating forces to strike at the handful of bourgeois Rightists. The main target of the attack is those persons in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are

*All bracketed notes from the Peking Review translation — Editor, Chinese Law and Government.

taking the capitalist road. It is essential to hold fast to this main orientation in the struggle.

We must act in accordance with the teachings of Chairman Mao, and carry out the struggle by reasoning and not by coercion or force. Don't hit people. This applies also to the struggle against those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road as well as to the struggle against landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, and Rightists. Coercion or force in the struggle against them can only touch their skins. Only by reasoning is it possible to touch their souls. Only by reasoning, by exposing them fully and criticizing them profoundly, is it possible to expose their counter-revolutionary features thoroughly, isolate them to the fullest extent, discredit them, pull them down, and smash them.

The Red Guards and other revolutionary organizations of the young people in the colleges and middle schools are the shock force fighting in the van in the Great Cultural Revolution and a powerful reserve force of the People's Liberation Army.

Students and Red Guard fighters! Always be loyal to the Party, to the people, to Chairman Mao, and to Mao Tse-tung's thought. Work hard to study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively; make big efforts to apply what you study. Serve the people wholeheartedly, keep in close contact with the masses, be exemplary in carrying out the Party's policies, safeguard the interests of the people, protect state property, and abide by the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention.

Students! Provided we earnestly study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings and act in accordance with his instructions, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution can certainly achieve great victories! Let imperialism, modern revisionism, and all reactionaries tremble before our victories!

Long live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Long live the Communist Party of China!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the great leader, Chairman Mao! Long live, long live Chairman Mao!

**SPEECH AT PEKING RALLY TO RECEIVE
REVOLUTIONARY TEACHERS AND STUDENTS
FROM ALL PARTS OF CHINA***
(September 15, 1966)

Comrades, Students, Red Guard Fighters:

In order to carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution well, you have come from all parts of the country to Peking, and are here by the side of our great leader Chairman Mao. You have traveled a long way and worked hard! I greet you on behalf of Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party. We extend you a warm welcome!

Led by Chairman Mao, and guided by the sixteen-point decision drawn up under his leadership, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in our country is advancing triumphantly on a nationwide scale. The situation is very fine! It is getting finer every day.

Red Guard fighters, revolutionary students, the general orientation of your struggle has always been correct. Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee firmly support you! So do the broad masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers! Your revolutionary actions have shaken the whole of society and given a blow to the dregs and left-over evils from the old world. You have scored brilliant successes in the vigorous fight to destroy the "four olds" [old ideas, old culture, old customs, and

*"Tsai chieh-chien ch'üan-kuo ko-ti lai Ching ke-ming shih-sheng ta-hui-shang ti chiang-hua," Jen-min jih-pao [People's Daily], September 16, 1966. This translation is taken, with minor editorial revisions, from Peking Review, No. 39 (September 23, 1966), 10-11.

old habits] and foster the "four news" [new ideas, new culture, new customs, and new habits]. You have created utter consternation among those in power who are taking the capitalist road, the reactionary bourgeois "authorities," and bloodsuckers and parasites. You have acted correctly and done well!

Chairman Mao teaches us that the fundamental contradiction to be solved by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the contradiction between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the two roads, the socialist and the capitalist. The main target of attack in the present movement is those in the Party who are in power and are taking the capitalist road. To bombard the headquarters is to bombard the handful of persons in power who are taking the capitalist road. Ours is a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The leadership of our country is in the hands of the proletariat. It is precisely for the purpose of consolidating and strengthening our dictatorship of the proletariat that we must struggle against and overthrow the handful of persons in power who are taking the capitalist road. Quite clearly, the handful of reactionary bourgeois elements, and those belonging to the five categories of landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, and Rightists who have not really turned over a new leaf, are different from us. They oppose the dictatorship exercised over them by the broad masses of revolutionary people headed by the proletariat, and they are trying to bombard our headquarters of the proletarian revolution. Can we tolerate these actions? No, we must smash the plots of these ghosts and monsters, we must see through them, we must not let their schemes succeed. They are only a small handful, but they can deceive some good people at times. We must keep firmly to the general orientation of our struggle. Any deviation from this general orientation will lead us astray.

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the broad masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers and the revolutionary students have a common aim and their orientation is the same. All of them must unite and go forward hand in hand under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Some people are now going against Chairman Mao's instructions and the sixteen-point decision. By exploiting the profound class feelings of the masses of workers and peasants for the Party and Chairman Mao, they are creating antagonism between the masses of workers and peasants and the revolutionary students and are inciting the former to struggle against the latter. Under no circumstances must we let them hoodwink us!

The masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao, have always been the main force of the revolution in our country. Today, they are the main force of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country and also the main force in the country's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Our masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and stand fast at their posts in production and combat stations. They must stand firmly on the side of the revolutionary students, support their revolutionary actions and give them powerful backing.

The Red Guards and all revolutionary youth are good sons and daughters of the Chinese people. You must learn from the workers, peasants, and soldiers. Learn from them their extremely firm revolutionary stand and their most thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit. Learn from them their high sense of organization and discipline and all their other fine qualities. Like the workers, peasants, and soldiers, be forever loyal to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought, to the Party and to the people, and temper yourselves in the great storm of the revolutionary struggle to become successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, our great leader, great teacher, great supreme commander, and great helmsman, and under the banner of Mao-Tse-tung's thought, let the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers and the revolutionary students unite, let all revolutionary comrades unite, and carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through the end.

Long live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!
 Long live the ever-triumphant thought of Mao Tse-tung!
 Long live the great leader Chairman Mao! Long live, long
 live Chairman Mao!

INSTRUCTION ON RAISING THE STUDY OF
 CHAIRMAN MAO'S WRITINGS TO A NEW STAGE*
 (September 18, 1966)

The kind of attitude one maintains with respect to the thought of Mao Tse-tung is a very important question. We must therefore grasp the question of attitude toward Chairman Mao and toward the thought of Mao Tse-tung. The political colleges in particular must be sure to conduct themselves in this manner. The other colleges, schools, and all educational offices must also do things in the same manner.

The thought of Mao Tse-tung is a program of unified action for the entire Party, the entire army, and the people of the whole country. Nothing in the world can replace the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Such people as Reed, Konstantinov, and Yudin

*"Kuan-yü hsüeh-hsi Mao chu-hsi chu-tso t'i-kao tao i-ko hsin chieh-tuan ti chih-shih," in Mao chu-hsi wen-hsüan [Selected Writings of Chairman Mao, 1959-1967] (n.d., n.p., a Red Guard publication), pp. 99-102; reprinted in Kung-fei wen-hua ta-ke-ming chung-yao wen-chien hsü-pien [Supplement to Important Documents of the Cultural Revolution of the Communist Bandits] (Taipei: Kuo-fang-pu ch'ing-pao-chü, 1969), pp. 173-176. The speech was given at a reception held for responsible cadres from the higher military academies, political institutes, and the Propaganda Office of the General Political Departments. Some of the instructions were transmitted by Hsiao Hua to an Air Force cadre conference and were reported in Chieh-fang-chün pao [Liberation Army Daily], October 10, 1966. See Mao chu-hsi wen-hsüan, pp. 91-94.

will not do. How can their writings even compare with Chairman Mao's? Right now, in all of China and in the entire world, there is nothing that can unify the thoughts of men like his works can. The writings of Marx and Lenin are too numerous; they cannot be finished. Moreover they are too far removed from us. In the classical works of Marxism-Leninism, we must devote ninety-nine percent of our efforts to the study of Chairman Mao's works; they are our revolutionary textbooks. The thought of Mao Tse-tung must be completely adhered to by the entire Party, the entire army, and all of the people in the country. We must use the thought of Mao Tse-tung to unify our thinking. At present the entire country is learning from the PLA and studying the works of Chairman Mao. The conditions now are different from the past, and the situation has changed. Our military forces are the main pillar of the proletariat; they have to study well. The troops must participate in many things, such as the "four clean-ups," the Great Cultural Revolution, production, and mass work. Also many cadres are constantly being transferred to work at the local level. Because of this, the armed forces should truly become a great school of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. This has to be fully carried out, and ideology has to be corrected. If the cadres are studying, then they must do a good job. They must not act perfunctorily; they should truly grasp the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the science of revolution. It is the supreme truth of the proletariat tested by the experience of protracted revolutionary struggles; it represents the most realistic Marxism-Leninism. Chairman Mao's theory is the summation of decades of revolutionary practice. Once the thought of Mao Tse-tung is mastered, the cadre's political level will be raised and his revolutionary spirit bolstered. He can then carry out the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the Party's line and policy.

Now the whole country is engaged in the Great Cultural Revolution. The Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee raised still higher the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and proposed that the entire Party and the entire

nation study the works of Chairman Mao and raise the study to a new stage. In studying Chairman Mao's works the army units must reconsider the new situation. They must adjust themselves to the new conditions of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. They must make a maximum effort to truly master and grasp the thought of Mao Tse-tung. There are three months before your schools recruit new students for the next year. It is necessary to carry out the Cultural Revolution well this year. Through the Cultural Revolution, we can simplify and streamline organizations and offices. We would rather have a fewer people than have bad sorts. To put organizations in good order and strengthen the teaching faculty are matters of extreme importance. If the organizations are not correctly strengthened and the ideology not unified, and there are even bad people in the organizations, how can we do a good job? It is necessary to improve our understanding of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and to sternly criticize the tendency toward underestimating the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Some people show a blind faith in foreign dogmas. They always feel that the Soviet Union is better than we are. Things far away are better than those close to home. They say such things as that Marxism-Leninism cannot emerge from mountain ditches. How can their doctrines be compared with the thought of Mao Tse-tung? Chairman Mao stands much higher than Marx, Engels, Lenin, or Stalin. There is no one in the world today who has reached the level of Chairman Mao. Some people say that Capital is the basis of all theories. In fact, it only sets forth the laws and problems of capitalist societies. In our country we have already overthrown capitalism; we are now setting forth the laws and problems of a socialist society. To oppose imperialism, modern revisionism, and the reactionaries in various countries and to build socialism, we must rely upon the thought of Mao Tse-tung. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is Marxism-Leninism at its highest level. We must raise high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. We must use the thought of Mao Tse-tung to unify the thinking of the entire Party and the entire nation, to further revolutionize

the thoughts of the people, to dig out the roots of capitalism, and to prevent revisionism. The Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee placed strong emphasis on studying Chairman Mao's works. Now the study of Chairman Mao's works by the entire Party and the entire nation has entered a new stage, and a new posture and a new situation has emerged.

We must destroy the racial inferiority complex which holds that foreigners are better than Chinese. A racial inferiority complex undermines our revolutionary will. Some people say that the foreign moon is better than the Chinese moon and that we cannot be compared with foreigners. Actually, when Chinese go abroad the people there regard us as foreigners. Some Chinese abroad are even more "foreign" than the foreigners themselves — they are very learned. The viewpoints of foreign dogmatism and of local dogmatism are all contrary to the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Among foreigners or the ancients is there one higher than Chairman Mao? Is there anybody with such mature thinking? A genius like Chairman Mao emerges only once in several hundred years in the world and in several thousand years in China. Chairman Mao is the greatest genius in the world.

All in all, the present movement to study the works of Chairman Mao in the entire Party and throughout the country has entered a new stage of development and brought forth a new situation. The armed forces must grasp this even more firmly and seek to implement this further. They must raise the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung even higher than in the past. It is very possible that there are some people in the military units who feel that we have done about enough during these past few years — if we do it for too long, we will become numb. If we feel this way, then we will easily relax, study inadequately, and implement insufficiently; then we will not be able to maintain the high morale as in the past.

Our military forces have always relied on the political consciousness and bravery of the people in fighting. This requires political education — using the thought of Mao Tse-tung to educate the troops. The level of the troop's fighting ability depends

on political work, on whether or not political education is firmly grasped. Of the numerous methods which may be used to promote discipline and the correct work style, to produce cadres and good people and good deeds, the number one method is to educate people in Mao Tse-tung's thought. When a person's consciousness is raised, then his courage, enthusiasm, creativity, organizational discipline, and revolutionary spirit of enduring hardship will all become manifest. Despite the fact that the working conditions of the whole army are very complex, and there are different kinds of situations, on this one point complexities and differences do not matter. Everything must be united by the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

How will this be handled next year? Propaganda offices under the General Political Department and various schools and colleges must study. The study of Chairman Mao's works by the entire Party and the entire nation has created a new situation. Our military forces must move the study of Chairman Mao's works to a new stage and develop a new situation to meet the new conditions of the Cultural Revolution. As to the contents of study, the methods of study, and the amount of time for study, you must look into them.

Cadres must study the works of Chairman Mao. There are some cadres in the army units who attend to matters of an administrative nature. They are busy all day long. How can they have much time to study? The reason why they are in school is to allow them to sit down and study. If they do not study Chairman Mao's writings, they will become divorced from theory and the basic orientation. As for the specific ways of handling these matters, you work them out yourselves. You can organize training classes for a number of months — ten months or eight months will suffice.

You must also study to determine which approaches are better for the higher military academies and political institutes.

I have said in the past that with respect to studying Chairman Mao's works the army units can study in connection with whatever they are doing. Schools and units are not the same. The former have a longer time for study, and the contents of their

study can therefore be more. General studies and selective studies can be combined, and general studies and special topical studies can also be integrated. There are three methods: One is to study according to special subjects; another is to follow the order of materials as prearranged; and the third is to combine special topical studies with general studies. When there is plenty of time available, the combination of general and special studies should be adopted. When time is short, general study should not be used. However, partial general study may be used, that is, to select and study some works of Chairman Mao which are closely related to current situation and concrete needs of the units. The decision on the method to be used must be based on the amount of time available for study. In any case, do not do it superficially. A two- or four-month class should not give general study; but a seven- or eight-month class may include general study. A long-term class which conducts general study should place the main emphasis on special subjects. There should be main emphases. Do not follow equalitarianism. Equalitarianism has no place in work and in study. Equalitarianism is not compatible with dialectics. We must stress results, and not formalism. We should sum up the experiences of the past few years in order to find out how to study properly and to truly understand and skillfully apply Mao Tse-tung's thought. Whichever style or method that yields the best results should be adopted. Now the question is not whether or not to study Chairman Mao's thought; it is rather whether or not his thought has really been mastered and whether or not we know how to apply it.

How can we resolve the relationship between general study and selective study? The long-term classes may give general study with emphasis on selective study. Equalitarianism is no good. Some people have high reading ability and have good study habits, and they also have the time. They should be allowed to do general study; otherwise, they will be uneasy and afraid that they may miss something.

Some special subjects must be selected for emphasis. Some documents, like combat orders, can be read over quickly, but

key documents must be read repeatedly. Chairman Mao's philosophical works have to be studied many times before they can be understood.

In army units study must be combined with practice. By studying this article today and that article tomorrow, we can come close to achieving general study after a long period of time. Some works must be read over and over again. Some need to be read only a few times. Also, study in connection with whatever you are doing. Study with a purpose and integrate study with your own work. Studies which can be applied are easy to understand and easy to remember. For example, if those who are engaged in finance and trade study Chairman Mao's works on finance and economy, they can understand, remember, and apply them better. If practice is not integrated, the study will not be easy to understand, remember, and apply. The fundamental principle is to combine theory with practice. In sum, the main emphasis is to integrate practice with selective studies, while at the same time engaging in general studies. It is all the more important for the companies to combine practice with selective studies. They must deal with concrete problems in their study and conduct living study and application. It is permissible for individuals to engage in general studies if they so wish, but no rigid rule shall be imposed.

Although the "three constantly read articles" are required study for fighters, cadres must also study them. The "three constantly read articles" are the easiest to understand; but they are the most difficult to carry out. The "three constantly read articles" must become the motto for study. They must be studied at all levels, including ours here. From the vice chairmen of the Central Committee down to each Party member in each branch, we all must study them. Once we study them, we have to apply them so as to revolutionize our thought. The study of ideological methods and policies is also very important.

We must control well the Liberation Army Daily [Chieh-fang-chün pao] to give prominence to the thought of Mao Tse-tung and combine it with practice in the army units. To lead

the troops to study Chairman Mao's works requires repeated education and propaganda. It looks as if our troops are not changing; but in actuality the cadres and fighters are changing every day. Repeated propaganda must be integrated with new situations and conducted in new words so that it will not become dull and monotonous. In the final analysis, the principles of Marxism-Leninism are the proletarian standpoint, the theory of dialectical materialism, and the theory of historical materialism. Once they are combined with practice, they will not be redundant. This type of propaganda will not be repetitive in style, but will stress the same content. Only through repeated emphasis can a better understanding be achieved.

You will go back and study the problems I have raised today. A new situation of the Cultural Revolution has emerged in the nation, and the study of the works of Chairman Mao by the entire Party and the entire nation has entered a new stage. In order to meet the new situation and the new stage of development, the troops in particular must engage in study. The troops must adhere consistently to the thought of Mao Tse-tung and resist the thoughts of revisionism and the ideology of all exploiting classes. They must strengthen their revolutionization, raise their political consciousness, and improve the level of their policy comprehension and ideological methods.

One Hundred Quotations from Chairman Mao [Mao chu-hsi yü-lu i-pai lu], compiled by the Propaganda Office of the General Political Department for fighters to study and memorize, may be promoted. This is also a form of selective study with special topical emphasis. However, such special emphasis should be given even greater prominence and should be studied even more thoroughly.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a political class outside the classroom. It is a test without formal examination. The mass movement is politics. It is the best political class. These words were said by Chairman Mao. I have also said similar words.

I will end my discussion here today. In a month or two we can have another discussion.

SPEECH AT RALLY CELEBRATING THE
SEVENTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING
OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA*
(October 1, 1966)

Comrades and Friends,

Today is the great festival of the seventeenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. On behalf of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Central Committee of the Party, and the Government of the People's Republic of China, I most warmly salute the workers, peasants, and soldiers, the revolutionary teachers and students, the revolutionary Red Guards and other militant youth organizations, the revolutionary people of all nationalities, and the revolutionary cadres throughout the country, and extend a hearty welcome to our friends from different countries of the world!

The seventeen years that have elapsed since the founding of the People's Republic of China have been no ordinary years. They are years which have witnessed earthshaking changes in China. They are years which have witnessed earthshaking changes in the world as well.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung led the Chinese people in carrying out the revolution, and they traversed a tortuous path beset

*"Tsai Chung-Hua jen-min kung-ho-kuo ch'eng-li shih-ch'i chou-nien ch'ing-chu ta-hui-shang ti chiang-hua," Jen-min jih-pao, [People's Daily], October 2, 1966; also Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 13 (October 1, 1966), 2-4. This translation is taken, with minor editorial revisions, from Peking Review, No. 41 (October 7, 1966), 10-11.

with all kinds of hardships. Our domestic and foreign enemies were strong, but in the end they were overthrown and driven out by the Chinese people. The imperialists headed by the United States, all the reactionaries and the modern revisionists — all these paper tigers have been punctured by the Chinese people and all the revolutionary people of the world.

In the short space of seventeen years, the Chinese people have completely changed the face of old China. This is a highly meritorious deed performed by the masses of the Chinese people under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. We are convinced that all the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations of the world will take their own paths in the light of their own countries' conditions and seize final victory as the Chinese people did.

Today we are celebrating this great festival amidst the upsurge of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This revolution is a great revolution, an entirely new and creative revolution, carried out after the seizure of political power by the proletariat. It is to overthrow through struggle the small handful of persons within the Party who have been in authority and have taken the capitalist road, to sweep away all ghosts and monsters in our society, and to break the old ideas, culture, customs, and habits of the exploiting classes and foster the new ideas, culture, customs, and habits of the proletariat, with a view to further consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and developing the socialist system. The historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world teaches us that if we fail to do so, the rule of revisionism will come about and the restoration of capitalism will take place. Should this come to pass in our country, China would go back to its former colonial and semicolonial, feudal and semifeudal road, and the imperialists and reactionaries would again ride roughshod over the people. The importance of our Great Cultural Revolution is therefore perfectly clear.

At present, hundreds of millions of people have been aroused. The revolutionary people feel proud and elated, while the reactionary bourgeoisie has been completely discredited. We are

forging ahead. We have already laid the cornerstone of great victory.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is promoting the revolutionization of people's minds and has thus become a powerful motive force for the development of socialist production in our country. This year is the first year of our Third Five-Year Plan. The plan for this year's industrial production is expected to be overfulfilled, and as for agriculture another good harvest is to be reaped. New heights are being scaled in China's science and technology. Our great motherland has never been so prosperous and so full of vigor. Our national defense has never been so strong.

Chairman Mao long ago pointed out that the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the roads of socialism and capitalism exist throughout the historical period of socialism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution constitutes a new stage in the struggle between the two classes and between the two roads. In the course of this revolution, the struggle is still going on between the revolutionary proletarian line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois line of opposing revolution. Those who cling to the erroneous line are only a small handful of persons who divorce themselves from the people, oppose the people, and oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought, and this spells their certain failure.

Comrades and friends! At present, an excellent situation prevails in the world. The great upheavals of the past few years in the world show that the days of imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism, and all reaction are numbered.

U.S. imperialism is trying hard to find a way out by launching a world war. We must take this seriously. The focal point of the present struggle lies in Vietnam. We have made every preparation. Not flinching from maximum national sacrifices, we are determined to give firm support to the fraternal Vietnamese people in carrying the war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end. Imperialism

headed by the United States and modern revisionism with the leadership of the CPSU as its center are colluding and actively plotting peace talk swindles for the purpose of stamping out the raging flames of the Vietnamese people's national revolutionary war against U.S. aggression, of the national revolutionary struggles in Asian, African, and Latin American countries and of the world revolution. They will not succeed in their schemes so long as the people of the whole world keep their eyes wide open. Twenty years ago Chairman Mao said that the people of the whole world must form a united front against U.S. imperialism so as to defeat it. The revolutionary people of all countries are now advancing along this road.

Chairman Mao has said, "People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties, and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed." Such is the inevitable future of the world.

The Chinese people will continue to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and the banner of proletarian internationalism and, together with the Marxist-Leninists of the whole world and the revolutionary people of all countries, carry the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and the struggle against modern revisionism with the leadership of the CPSU as its center through to the end!

Comrades and friends!

All our achievements and successes have been scored under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and represent the victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must use Mao Tse-tung's thought to unify the thinking of the whole Party and the thinking of the people of the whole country. We must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and further unfold the mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works throughout the country. We must turn the whole country into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must build our great motherland into a still more powerful and prosperous country. This is the demand of the Chinese people as well as the hope placed in us by the people of all countries.

Long live the people of all the nationalities in China!
 Long live the great unity of the people of the world!
 Long live the People's Republic of China!
 Long live the Communist Party of China!
 Long live the ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung!
 Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! Long life, long, long life to him!

REMARKS AT A SMALL GROUP MEETING*
(October 12, 1966)

1. With respect to the great role the Red Guards play, Comrade Lin Piao remarked: "With regard to the Red Guards, now foreigners are clear-minded, while Chinese are not; and the masses are clear-minded, while the leadership is not."

2. With respect to the brilliant combat achievements of the Red Guards, Comrade Lin Piao said: "The situation, whether it is good or bad, should be analyzed, and problems should be explained with facts. Red Guards should be organized in every place, and exhibitions of the achievements of rebels should be held in all areas to educate our cadres to discard the word 'fear.' "

3. Concerning the fundamental problem in the current campaign, Comrade Lin Piao pointed out: "The fundamental problem now is that there is too much 'fear' and too little 'dare.' We should present facts to educate everybody. Since the liberation, public security work is at its best when it follows the mass line in the purge of counterrevolutionaries. We should convince others with facts and reasons. All that we fear now should be aired and analyzed to reach a conclusion. The disadvantages of 'fear,' the advantages of 'dare,' and their results should all be clearly discussed."

Chou commented: "There must be a cause for all the chaos."

4. Regarding the struggle among the masses, Comrade Lin

*"Tsai hsiao-tsu hui-i shang ti fa-yen," in Mao chu-hsi wen-hsüan [Selected Writings of Chairman Mao] (n.d., n.p., a Red Guard publication), pp. 104-105.

Piao explained: "The masses are highly dialectical in observing problems. Of struggles between one group of the masses against another, some are spontaneous and others are illegal. Even in illegal struggles there are some which are centrally organized and others which receive support from the leadership. When the main current in a problem is unclear, it is necessary to refer to facts and to adhere to reason. Some persons merely say that they have no fear, but actually they do in their thinking. When a mass movement is started, leaders should advance themselves forward, rather than hiding and dodging the issue."

5. On the question of class background, Comrade Lin Piao cautioned: "Among the five red elements, there are some who are not red; among the five black elements, there are also some who are not black. Do not rely solely on the class background, it is better to differentiate among the left, the middle, and the right."

6. Talking about the important significance of the Great Cultural Revolution, Comrade Lin Piao recalled: "A good number of achievements may be listed as follows:

"1) The campaign to study Mao's works has reached a high tide.

"2) A group of anti-Party elements has been dragged out.

"3) We have identified a group of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road as well as a group of people who committed mistakes in political orientation.

"4) The four bad elements have been severely attacked.

"5) The pompous air of bureaucrats and overlords has been destroyed.

"6) We have begun to get the feel for mass democracy.

"7) It has been a great purification of the Party and society.

"8) It has been good exercise for war preparations.

"9) It is going to promote ideological revolutionization of men, and at the same time promote production and work.

"10) We have cultivated a large group of revolutionary successors who dare to act, fight, and develop themselves through struggle.

"However, some people now fail to see the major current

mentioned above. They see only bad phenomena in isolated cases, and even exaggerate them everywhere. This is an attempt to downgrade the Great Cultural Revolution and to calumniate the Chairman. They support Chairman Mao's Great Cultural Revolution only in words, not in deeds. Some even oppose it, because they have become the objects for revolution. They do not want to attack themselves, so they have to sing the opposite tune. Now we should expand propaganda on the great achievements of the Cultural Revolution."

TALK AT THE CENTRAL WORK CONFERENCE
(October 25, 1966)

[This important document has already been published under the title "Lin Piao's Talk to the Central Work Conference" in Chinese Law and Government, Vol. I, No. 1 (Spring 1968), 13-31.]

INSTRUCTION OF VICE CHAIRMAN LIN PIAO*
(October 1966)

This directive of Chairman Mao's is very important. If you will resolutely implement this directive, and satisfactorily fulfill this important political mission, it will have political and military significance. In carrying out this mission, you must pay special attention to the cultivation of the habit of studying more of Chairman Mao's works.

In accordance with this supreme directive we have formulated a political training program for revolutionary teachers and students coming to Peking from other parts of the country. Our military training plan has already been issued. Each unit is expected to carry out the directive.

(The directive of Mao's to which Lin refers in his instruction reads as follows: The armed forces will be responsible for the organization of revolutionary teachers and students from other areas of the country who are coming to Peking into squads, platoons, companies, battalions, regiments, and divisions as prescribed in the table of organization of the PLA. After they have been so organized, they will take up training, study politics, study the People's Liberation Army, study the speeches of Comrade Lin Piao and Premier Chou En-lai, study the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention, study the three-eight work style of the PLA, study the formations of their unit, study the basic tasks of their unit, and practice

*"Lin fu chu-hsi ti chih-shih," in Mao chu-hsi wen-hsüan [Selected Writings of Chairman Mao, 1959-1967] (n.d., n.p., a Red Guard publication), p. 50.

marching. Each individual must study the song "The Three Main Points of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention" so that the revolutionary teachers and students will be orderly when they march in review. Mao Tse-tung, October 1966)

SPEECH AT PEKING MASS RALLY*
(November 3, 1966)

Students, Comrades, and Red Guard Fighters:

With boundless love and infinite loyalty for our great leader Chairman Mao, you have come to Peking in the new nationwide upsurge of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to see Chairman Mao and to exchange revolutionary experience. On behalf of Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party, I extend my warmest welcome to you!

Chairman Mao is extremely happy to receive you today. This is the sixth time in two months or more, including National Day, that Chairman Mao has received revolutionary students and teachers and Red Guards from all over the country. Chairman Mao is the greatest proletarian revolutionary; he is always with the masses, has full confidence in them, shares weal and woe with them, and wholeheartedly supports the revolutionary mass movement. Chairman Mao has set the most glorious example for all comrades in our Party and for the younger generation.

The present situation of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is excellent! The gigantic, vigorous mass movement is developing in depth with each passing day. A tremendous change

*"Tsai chieh-chien ch'üan-kuo ko-ti lai Ching ke-ming shih-sheng ta-hui-shang ti Chiang-hau," Jen-min jih-pao [People's Daily], November 4, 1966; Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 15 (December 13, 1966), 3-4. This English translation is taken, with minor editorial revisions, from Peking Review, No. 46 (November 11, 1966), 11-12.

has taken place over the whole face of society and in the mental outlook of the people. The great thought of Mao Tse-tung has become more extensively disseminated and has gone deeper into the hearts of the people. As a result of Chairman Mao's call "to take a firm hold of the revolution and promote production," the Great Cultural Revolution has promoted the revolutionization of people's thinking and spurred extremely rapid development in industrial and agricultural production and in science and technology. The recent successful guided missile-nuclear weapon test is a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought and a great victory for the Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party announced the victory of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bankruptcy of the bourgeois reactionary line. In the past two months and more, the correct line of Chairman Mao has been put before the broad masses and has been grasped by them, and criticisms have been made of the erroneous line. The broad masses have really translated into action Chairman Mao's call to "concern yourselves with affairs of the state." This is an extremely fine thing. It is an important guarantee that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution will be carried through to the end.

Chairman Mao's line is one of letting the masses educate and emancipate themselves. It is the line of putting "daring" above everything else and of daring to trust the masses, daring to rely on them, and daring to arouse them boldly. It is the application and a new development of the Party's mass line in the Great Cultural Revolution. It is the line of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The bourgeois line is one of opposing the mass line, of opposing the education and emancipation of the masses by themselves, of repressing the masses and opposing the revolution. This bourgeois reactionary line directs the spearhead of struggle against the revolutionary masses, and not against the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road, and all the ghosts and monsters in

society. It uses various ways and means to incite one group among the masses to struggle against another group, and one section of students to struggle against another section.

The proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao is as incompatible with the bourgeois reactionary line as fire is to water. Only by thoroughly criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line and eradicating its influence can the line of Chairman Mao be carried out correctly, completely, and thoroughly.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's correct line, the broad revolutionary masses of our country have created the new experience of developing extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat. By this extensive democracy, the Party is fearlessly permitting the broad masses to use the media of free airing of views, big-character posters, great debates, and extensive exchange of revolutionary experience to criticize and supervise the Party and government leading institutions and leaders at all levels. At the same time, the people's democratic rights are being fully realized in accordance with the principles of the Paris Commune. Without such extensive democracy, it would be impossible to initiate a genuine Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, stage a great revolution in the depths of people's souls, carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution thoroughly and completely, eradicate the roots of revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and guarantee the advance of our country along the road of socialism and communism. This extensive democracy is a new form of integrating Mao Tse-tung's thought with the broad masses, a new form of mass self-education. It is a new contribution by Chairman Mao to the Marxist-Leninist theory on proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

International historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat has demonstrated that without carrying out a thoroughgoing, Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of this kind and without practicing such extensive democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat will be weakened and will change in essence, while capitalism will use various ways to stage a

comeback and the exploiting classes will once again ride on the backs of the people.

Such extensive democracy must be thoroughly practiced not only between the leadership and the masses; it is also absolutely necessary to carry it out thoroughly among the masses themselves and between all sections of the masses. Unless there is such extensive democracy among the masses themselves and unless they are good at mutual consultation, at listening to dissenting views, at presenting facts and reasoning things out, at using their brains to ponder problems, they cannot possibly educate and emancipate themselves, achieve the purpose of developing the ranks of the Left, uniting the great majority and isolating the handful of bourgeois Rightists, and fully carry out the line of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution put forward by our great teacher Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao supports you comrades traveling on foot to exchange revolutionary experience, the advantages of which are widespread contact with the masses, contact with all aspects of the life of society, and a deeper understanding of class struggle in socialist society. It provides better opportunities to learn from the workers and the peasants and to propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought on an even broader scale. All this is very useful for the revolutionary teachers and students to have a better understanding of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the correct line of Chairman Mao. Of course, this kind of traveling on foot for the exchange of revolutionary experience must be undertaken in a planned and organized way and must be well prepared.

The Central Committee of the Party is convinced that with the experience gained in the last few months, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution will in the days to come make still better progress and attain still greater success!

March forward under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought!
 Long live the victory of the line of Chairman Mao!
 Long live the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!
 Long live the Chinese Communist Party!
 Long live Chairman Mao! Long life, long life, long life to him!

FOREWORD TO SECOND EDITION OF
QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG*
 (December 16, 1966)

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has, with genius, creatively, and in an all-round way, inherited, defended, and developed Marxism-Leninism, advancing it to a completely new stage.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing toward worldwide victory. It is a powerful ideological weapon for opposing imperialism and a powerful ideological weapon for opposing revisionism and dogmatism. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guiding principle for all the work of the whole Party, the whole army, and the whole country.

Therefore, the most fundamental task in our Party's political and ideological work should be always to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, to arm the minds of the people throughout the country with it, and to persevere in putting it in command of all work. The broad masses of the workers, peasants, and soldiers and the broad ranks of the revolutionary cadres and the intellectuals should all really master Mao Tse-tung's thought; they should all study Chairman Mao's writings, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions, and become Chairman Mao's good fighters.

*"Mao chu-hsi yü-lu tsai-pan ch'ien-yen"; the text in Chinese is also available in Jen-min jih-pao [People's Daily], December 17, 1966; Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1 (January 1967). This translation is taken, with minor editorial revisions, from Peking Review, No. 52 (December 23, 1966), 7.

In studying the works of Chairman Mao, one should do so with specific problems in mind, study and apply his works in a creative way, combine study with practice, study first what is urgently needed so as to get quick results, and make great efforts to apply what one studies. In order really to master Mao Tse-tung's thought, it is necessary to study many of Chairman Mao's basic concepts over and over again, and it is best to memorize some of his important passages and study and apply them repeatedly. The newspapers should frequently carry quotations from Chairman Mao in connection with the actual situation for readers to study and apply. The experience of the broad masses in their creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works in the past few years has proved that to study selected quotations from Chairman Mao with specific problems in mind is a good method for learning Mao Tse-tung's thought, a method conducive to quick results.

We have selected and compiled the Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung with the purpose of helping the broad masses learn Mao Tse-tung's thought more effectively. In organizing study, different units should select passages for study that are relevant to the situation, the tasks, the current thinking of the masses, and the state of their work.

A new era is emerging in our great motherland in which the workers, peasants, and soldiers are mastering Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought. Once Mao Tse-tung's thought is grasped by the broad masses, it will become an inexhaustible source of strength and an infinitely powerful spiritual atom bomb. The mass publication of the Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung is an extremely important measure for the broad masses to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought and for promoting the revolutionization of the thinking of our people. It is our hope that all comrades will study seriously and diligently, and bring about a new high tide in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works throughout the country and, under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, strive to build our country into a great socialist country with a modern agriculture, modern industry, modern science and culture, and modern national defense!

[REMARKS TRANSMITTED BY HSIAO HUA]*
(1966 ?)

Comrade Lin Piao said: "The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the zenith of Marxism-Leninism in the contemporary era; it is the highest and most creative form of Marxism-Leninism." He also said: "Chairman Mao's writings are the highest directives for all of the work of the entire army. Chairman Mao's words bear the highest standard, his prestige is the highest, and his ability is the greatest. Everything he says is truth, and every phrase he utters is worth ten thousand phrases."

*Mao chu-hsi wen-hsüan [Selected Writings of Chairman Mao] (n.d., n.p., a Red Guard publication), p. 87. The title in English is added; the remarks were transmitted in January 1966 at an All-Army Political Work Conference.

CRITICISM OF P'ENG TE-HUAI*
(? 1966)

P'eng Te-huai has always made alliances here and alliances there, committed this mistake and that mistake, all due to his ambition. Right-wing opportunist elements must be thoroughly exposed and the struggle against them carried through to the end; there is no other way than to make your crimes notorious. This way of proceeding will benefit both you and the Party; only in this way can you reform, otherwise it is impossible. The exposure and solution of this problem by the Lushan Plenum was a great victory which eliminated the greatest hidden danger within the Party. The several recent instances in which the Chairman mentioned the possibility of split within the Party are in fact references to P'eng Te-huai. . . . At the Lushan Plenum he was thinking whether or not this hidden danger had been thoroughly exposed and eliminated, for otherwise it would continue to develop and, per chance the Chairman should pass away, would be an even greater problem. The interests of the whole Party, the whole army, and all of the people lie in immediately exposing it and struggling against it, in guarding the General Line and educating the whole Party, and in consolidating the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. We must expose and carry the struggle through to the end. You can reform or not, but of course we hope you will.

*"Lin Piao tui P'eng Te-huai ti p'i-p'an," Chung-kung nien-pao [Yearbook on Chinese Communism], 1969, Part VII, p. 75. Translated by Douglas G. Spelman.

ON 'BIG CRITICISM'*
(? 1966)

The Great Cultural Revolution in the industrial and communications enterprises is very important; if it is handled well, they can become great schools of Mao Tse-tung thought; but if it is handled poorly, they can become important pillars of revisionism. The majority of the leading members of revisionist countries are organizational and enterprise cadres.

In the industrial and communications enterprises there is a struggle between two lines, between two roads. Without recognizing this problem, there will be no Great Cultural Revolution in the enterprises to speak of — all that will happen is the adoption of an attitude of formalism and expediency.

We must use the Great Cultural Revolution to develop the forces of production, to liquidate the influence of capitalism and revisionism and the influence of Liu, Teng, and P'eng, for theirs is the bourgeoisie line, not the proletarian line. The problem of Liu and Teng is not a matter of ninety days, but of ten or twenty years. During the period in which they were in control, never did they raise high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung thought, but rather followed their own set of policies which

'Lun 'ta-p'i-p'an,' in Kung-fei wen-hua ta-ke-ming chung-yao wen-chien hsü-pien [Supplement to Important Documents on the Great Cultural Revolution of the Communist Bandits] (Taipei: Kuo-fang-pu ch'ing-pao-chü, 1969), pp. 170-172. These are excerpts of a speech given by Lin Piao at a Cultural Revolution meeting for the central industrial and communications departments. Translated by Douglas G. Spelman.

greatly conflicted with Mao Tse-tung thought.

The core of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought is head-to-head struggle; it is destructive, revolutionary, unmasking, and critical; only in this way can it spur society's advance and effect the transition to socialism and communism. The Liu-Teng line is fundamentally opposed to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought; it is a bourgeois line, not a revolutionary one. P'eng and Po [I-po] are even worse — they use two-faced methods which are even more evil. They have had a profound influence toward us and, in the same way, toward industrial and communications enterprises. The hidden and concealed changes over the past ten or twenty years have been profound, and they have greatly interfered with Mao Tse-tung thought. Industry and communications do not lack for needed reforms, for they have been profoundly influenced by capitalism, revisionism, Liu, Teng, P'eng, and Po. Class struggle should be taken very seriously and an attitude of dauntless courage adopted for great destruction and great construction. Under the influence of capitalism and revisionism, Mao Tse-tung thought can be firmly established only through great destruction and great construction. Only in this way can a new posture emerge and new results occur. In producing a greater and even longer-lasting leap forward, the Great Cultural Revolution is the most important link in the proletarian revolution.

This Great Cultural Revolution of ours, daring as it does to give free rein to the masses and to be fully democratic, is something unknown in the past or present, in China or abroad. No country dares do this; only our great Chairman Mao dares to show this kind of resolution, to exhibit courage this great. Chairman Mao places his highest confidence in the masses. The reason that the masses must be given such free rein and things handled so democratically is due to the profound and deeply-rooted influence of the thousands-of-years old system of ownership and the concept of private ownership; the profound influence of capitalism and revisionism; and the profound influence and fettering effect of the many errors in our own minds — without this great emphasis on democracy they could not be

blasted out and no solution would be possible. The reason that so many socialist nations have become revisionist is because they could not blast out this kind of influence and the concept of private ownership — without great destruction and construction, no solution is possible. . . . If we continue to do things according to the ideas of Liu and Teng, we too will become revisionist. If China becomes revisionist, then world revolution will be set back countless years. The Chairman's great emphasis on democracy has great strategic insight and inestimably great significance.

At first the Great Cultural Revolution was intellectual criticism, but then it extended to the schools, and now it has reached factories and villages; it has penetrated society, gripped the whole country, and startled the whole world. . . . If the Great Cultural Revolution is to permeate every realm, change the outlook of society and promote its advance, it must replace the old with the new, put the dialectic into practice, and carry the struggle against the old through to the end. Marxism-Leninism must be revolutionary and critical. The line which slights or forgets ideological revolution opposes Mao Tse-tung thought, opposes Marxism-Leninism. If attention is paid only to other fronts, and the ideological front is overlooked, in the future all of our accomplishments will come to nought.

The Great Cultural Revolution is the most important link in the proletarian revolution. The seizure of political power and changing of the system of ownership were two great victories. If we only have these two victories but do not carry the ideological, cultural revolution through to the end, we cannot defeat the bourgeoisie and raise up the proletariat. If the positive nature of people is not brought into play, political power and the socialist system of ownership cannot be consolidated. Therefore this battle must be fought well. Many socialist countries have become revisionist precisely because this battle was not fought well. We are presently faced with two restorations: the military aggression of American imperialism — this we do not fear, for we are prepared; but peaceful evolution is the greatest

danger — many socialist countries have suffered peaceful evolution. We must use our greatest strength to resist it. For this reason we must carry the Great Cultural Revolution (in industry and communications) through to the end.

(From a speech by Lin Piao at a Cultural Revolution meeting for central authorities in industry and communications.)

Note: These are portions of a speech by Lin Piao at a Cultural Revolution meeting for CCP Ministries of Industry and Communications.

ON IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE*
(1966 ?)

Our Communist Party is governed by a principle, namely, contradiction. Contradiction can be resolved only through struggle. The philosophy of our Communist Party is dialectics; it is the struggle of opposites. When we change a thing, we have to rely on struggle. Our Communist Party is a proletarian political party. The reason why it is vigorous, incorruptible, and resistant to decay is because our ideological method is that of struggle. Our philosophy stresses struggle. Our philosophy is one that emphasizes struggle. Chairman Mao made this judgment in an article of his. This philosophy of struggle is one that guarantees our uninterrupted advance, one that safeguards our continuous dynamism. Otherwise there will be decay, demoralization, and opportunism. The Second International, for instance, did not advocate struggle.

Relying on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, the Chinese Communist Party adopts this policy of struggle. Whenever there are shortcomings, we struggle with them. The principle of our Party life is that whenever contradictions emerge, struggles should be launched. Struggle is the only way to correct mistakes. First, reduce the market of a person [who makes mistakes], so that he will not be able to influence others. Second, make him come to his senses.

*"Lun ssu-hsiang tou-cheng," a speech delivered by Lin Piao, published in Mao chu-hsi wen-hsüan [Selected Writings of Chairman Mao, 1959-1967] (n.d., n.p., a Red Guard publication), pp. 118-119.

Our comrades, therefore, should not fear struggle. But fear still persists in military units at present. No matter whether it is in a military district, a military service, an army, a division, a regiment, a battalion, a company, or a company [Party] branch, we must adhere consistently to this principle of life. When there are errors, we must not shirk our duties or take an attitude of liberalism; we must wage a fearless and courageous struggle.

Some people are often worried that struggle will create problems. The truth is that not only will struggle not bring problems, it can resolve problems. If we do not struggle, then there will indeed be problems. Everyone should read carefully what Chairman Mao has written about his opposition to liberalism. Liberalism in all its varieties does not want struggle; it tolerates the continued existence of bad thoughts. This causes our Party to degenerate and is not consistent with Marxism-Leninism and dialectics. This is a kind of philistine thought.

Opposite ideas may be expressed. Once they are expressed, then we have an opposite. This will facilitate the execution of struggle and education. We must have this kind of work style at all levels. It is a democratic work style. It permits people to speak out on both sides of an issue — the positive and the negative side. Positive ideas may be accepted; negative ideas must be refuted. To allow an idea to speak out and to allow it to exist are two separate matters, and they must not be confused. To allow it to speak out does not mean that it is allowed to exist — it must be refuted. We must maintain the democratic work style and allow both positive and negative ideas to speak out. Do not deny the negative idea opportunities to speak out just because we are in struggle. If it is not allowed to do so, positive ideas will have no chance to be aired, and the life of our Party will not be vigorous. So, from now on we will continue to rely upon the old rule which Chairman Mao advocates, that is, daring to think and daring to speak.

Our army is one that has been nurtured by Chairman Mao and one that has Party spirit. It is a good thing that we understand what Party spirit is and what factional spirit is. It should

be our tradition. In other words, do not confuse the public with the private domain, or political relationships among comrades with personal friendship among individuals. They are not the same thing, and must be clearly differentiated. Personal friendship is just that. Political matters, Party affairs, and matters concerning the people and revolution cannot be confused with personal friendship among individuals. When matters concerning the Party and the ideological line develop deviations, we must resolutely stand on the side of the Party and the revolution, we must not indulge in sentimentalism and factional viewpoints. In this way will we be able to guarantee our Party unity.

STATEMENTS CONCERNING CHU TE*
(1966 ?)

1. P'eng Te-huai has made many mistakes, one after another, tying up with this force and that, and this all resulted from his ambition. These right-wing opportunist elements must be thoroughly exposed, and they must be fought against, to the very last. To do so will be in your own [Chu Te's] interest and good for the Party too. Only in this way can you be perfectly reformed.

2. It was a very great victory that this problem was exposed and settled at the Lushan Conference. In this way the biggest root of disease within the Party was wiped out. Chairman Mao stated a number of times that there is a possibility of a split arising in the Party. As a matter of fact he was referring to P'eng Te-huai and Chu Te. The merits and the disadvantages of thorough exposure at the Lushan Conference were weighed, and it was finally decided that they will be exposed resolutely and that the root of disease will be thus wiped out. Otherwise, there was a possibility of the disease spreading further and creating bigger problems.

3. The purpose of the struggle now being developed is to defend the general policy line, educate the whole Party, and

*Originally posted in the wall-newspaper of the Second Battalion of the Peking Commune of the Chinese People's University on February 8, 1967, and reported in Mainichi Shimbun [Daily News, Tokyo], February 9, 1967. This translation is taken, with minor editorial revisions, from Daily Summary of the Japanese Press, February 9, 1967, p. 1.

strengthen the Party Center, headed by Chairman Mao, and the interests of the whole Party, the whole army, and the entire people are staked on it.

4. Exposure struggles must be carried out thoroughly. You can reform or not reform. We desire that you reform.

5. Chu Te, you are very ambitious. Your self-criticism is extremely inadequate. Some people think that he made self-criticism voluntarily. That is not so. It was because the Party Center decided that he should "strip himself naked."

6. You probably do not know, but [Foreign Minister] Ch'en I's criticizing Chu Te was not going to excess. Chu Te is not obeying Chairman Mao. He tried to become the leader himself. At the time of the Kao Kang Incident, he advocated the idea of becoming chairman in turn. Does he have such real power?

7. Your self-criticism is not sincere. You have never been a "commander-in-chief" even for one day. At the time of the Nanchang Uprising, the situation became completely anarchic and chaotic. It was Ch'en I who led the troops and took them to Chinggangshan. It was Tsao Te [German military officer Litov] who commanded the Army before the Tsunyi Conference. In the days of the War of Resistance Against Japan, it was "X X X" [the original text uses "X" and does not give the real name] who took command at the front. In the Liberation War Chairman Mao took command.

8. You are no longer of any use. You may think that you can still manage somehow, but you became separated from Chairman Mao's command, and at Chinggangshan you lost two of the three battalions when you moved south to launch an attack. Chairman Mao himself sallied forth and had to bring you back.

(Wall-Newspaper's Note: It can be seen from Vice Chairman Lin's statements that Chu Te is definitely not a proletarian class militarist, but a revisionist element with big ambitions, and that he belongs to the bourgeois power faction in the Army. We must thoroughly expose the real nature of this big fool, Chu Te, through this Great Cultural Revolution, and criticize and fight against him in a thoroughgoing manner.)

ON THE GREAT PROLETARIAN
CULTURAL REVOLUTION*

(March 19, 1967)

This is a great civil struggle without guns that encompasses the whole country. But never regard lightly enemies without guns, for they can overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat. Enemies without guns can become enemies with guns, and struggle without arms can become struggle with arms. If this change occurs, the cost will be great. By carrying on this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution we can avoid armed conflict; we can avoid a great historic detour, a great retracing of steps, and great destruction; and we can avoid a great loss of property which sustains the life of the people. Therefore the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is very great and plays an important role in avoiding the fate of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. It not only secures the great achievements in the victorious advance of our people along the path of socialism and communism, but it also has far-reaching strategic significance.

*"T'an wu-ch'an chieh-chi wen-hua ta-ke-ming," Kung-fei wen-hua ta-ke-ming chung-yao wen-chien hsü-pien [Supplement to Important Documents on the Great Cultural Revolution of the Communist Bandits] (Taipei: Kuo-fang-pu ch'ing-pao-chü, 1969), p. 166. This is a passage from a speech delivered at a conference of cadres at the army level and above. A shorter version of this remark may be found in Mao chu-hsi wen-hsüan [Selected Writings of Chairman Mao, 1957-1967] (n.d., n.p., a Red Guard publication), p. 120. Translated by Douglas G. Spelman.

SPEECH AT MEETING OF CADRES
AT THE ARMY LEVEL AND ABOVE*

(March 20, 1967)

I want to talk about three things today. The first is about the question of classes, class struggle, and class viewpoint....

Several years ago Chairman Mao raised the question of class struggle in socialist society. The class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat are basic questions in Marxism-Leninism. But under the conditions of socialism the question of the class struggle is apparently easily neglected; it is as though there might be no class struggle. Our Chairman Mao has especially stressed class struggle under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. This point has not been heeded by some Marxist-Leninists, not to mention the Khrushchev-style revisionists. Concerning this question, Chairman Mao has greatly developed Marxism-Leninism.

Chairman Mao said: "Classes struggle; some classes triumph; others are eliminated. Such is history; such is the history of civilization for thousands of years. To interpret history from this viewpoint is historical materialism; standing in opposition to this viewpoint is historical idealism." Marx and Engels said long ago that history since mankind became literate is the history of class struggle. From the time that the primitive communal societies collapsed, the history of mankind has been a history of class struggle. Lenin went even

*"Tsai chün i-shang kan-pu hui-i shang ti chiang-hua," in Chung-kung nien-pao [Yearbook on Chinese Communism], 1971, Section VII, pp. 25-28.

further in emphasizing that after the proletariat has seized political power, there will still be acute class struggle.

In the article "Congratulations to the Hungarian Workers," Lenin said: "To obliterate classes will mean a protracted, difficult, and stubborn class struggle. After overthrowing the political power of the bourgeoisie, after destroying the bourgeois countries, after establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, class struggle still will not have disappeared (as imagined by the lackeys of the old socialist and old social democratic parties). It will simply have changed its form, and in many aspects will be even more cruel."

Lenin stressed in his work "Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is the spearhead by which the new class engages in fearless, ruthless struggle against a relatively strong enemy — the bourgeoisie. The resistance of the bourgeoisie, because it has been overthrown (even if it happens in only one country), is ten times more fierce. Its strength resides not only in the forces of international capitalism, not only in the solidarity of its international unity, but also in the force of custom and habit, in the forces of small production. Because of this it is regrettable that in the world today there are many, many small producers; and the small producers are constantly, day in and day out, spontaneously and to a great extent creating capitalism and the bourgeoisie."

In antiquity and the present, in China and abroad, in the social realm where classes exist, the basic question influencing all others is that of class struggle. It is exactly as our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: "In class society everyone lives in a certain class position; the imprint of class is on every type of thought." Ideologically everyone has a class imprint. There is no one who does not belong to a specific class; all are subordinated to definite social relationships, a specific class. This type of social class is a phenomenon produced by mankind in certain historical stages. It is different from the primitive communist society; it is also different from the high-level communist society of the future. The fact of this

class existence has passed down through history for thousands of years and permeates every aspect of society. The existence of this class struggle comes from a definite economic foundation and is reflected in the superstructure. It forms cleavages in line in politics, law, culture, religion, ethics, and political parties; it develops the differences in policies and divergences in social customs and habits. These divergencies and distinctions all bear the class imprint; all have their origin in classes and class struggle.

Class and class struggle thus constitute the basic general source of all phenomena in class society. If we observe social phenomena apart from this basic source, we will not be perceptive and we will observe things incorrectly. It is an objective existence. It is not the case that this objective existence has no influence on our thinking. Consciously or unconsciously it influences our thought. Our Communist Party should use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought to influence our thinking in a conscious way. They should consciously guide our thinking, our line, our policies. If we depart from this standpoint, we will make mistakes in our line and policies. If we do not consciously emphasize classes, class struggle, and the class viewpoint, if we do not pay attention to class analysis, we will fall into objectivism. And objectivism is an ideological system of the bourgeoisie. The ideology of objectivism superficially denies class. However, in actuality it employs this form to conceal its class outlook, its class aspirations, policies, and behavior. All this is done to facilitate their deception of the masses.

For several thousand years all of society has existed in a class environment and class struggle. Class struggle ordinarily takes three forms: One is on the ideological front; another is on the political front; and the third is on the economic front. These three are not isolated, but rather mutually interwoven. Sometimes one is predominant and sometimes another, but whichever it is it is never unrelated to the others. Thus these three aspects are really united.

Owing to the emergence of different classes, the class

struggle in each stage has taken different forms of class resistance. It is just as Marx said in his Communist "Manifesto": There are slave owners and slaves, landlords and peasants, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Of course, the stages of development of every country are different, and in different stages every country will have two primary opposing classes. However, there will always be remnants of other classes and the sprouts of new classes.

As Chairman Mao has pointed out, our country started to enter into the socialist era after 1949. Chairman Mao said: "After the Chinese revolution has been triumphant and has solved the question of land, two types of basic contradictions will still exist. The first type is internal, that is, the contradiction between the workers and the bourgeoisie. The second type is outside the country, that is, the contradiction between China and the imperialist countries." The contradiction, opposition, resistance, and struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie form the general source of our entire political and social life. If we do not view every type of social phenomenon as that of the class struggle, we will confuse things, substitute wrong for right. This would be a return to the concept of all people, to view people as isolated individuals. No man is an independent individual; he is always a social being. Just as when doctors examine our blood, they draw out a drop of blood and can discern red and white cells, acidity and alkalinity in the whole body. This drop of blood represents your whole body. Your individual actions are a manifestation of the entire class body.

Therefore, without this kind of proletarian viewpoint we will perceive an individual incorrectly and deviate from the proper evaluation and handling of problems. For example, our view of old cadres might be that they are all very good. In reality we must make a class analysis of old cadres. Many old cadres preserve the original proletarian revolutionary traditions. But some, on encountering the socialist period, have not kept pace, have not become fighters for the socialist revolution, but rather have come to rest in the stage of the old democratic revolution.

Some have changed their nature and become capitalists and new capitalists. How did this happen? Is it good or bad? We must use the proletarian viewpoint to view them. It would not be that they have become complete capitalists, or complete proletarian revolutionaries. Our view of young people is similar to this: We may say that they are all bad when they clash with our units or, from another viewpoint, say that they are all good. In reality, in society today with classes still existing, many persons stand on the side of the proletariat. But there certainly still are those who side with the bourgeoisie, the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists. The offspring of cadres are also like this: Some are of the proletariat; some have changed their nature and become bourgeois elements.

Without the proletarian viewpoint, we cannot view clearly the question of the so-called "disorder." In reality, there have been two kinds of disorder this time. One is of the primary kind: the thorough beating administered to the enemy, to the top Party persons taking the capitalist road, to the bourgeois chiefs within the Party, and to the bourgeois chiefs on the top of society. They have been thrown into confusion. This kind of disorder has been a victory for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution; this is a very good thing. Of course, in the struggle of the two opposing sides there have been defects on the proletarian side; there have been defects among cadres. But this has been the exception, and this can be handled.

Without the proletarian viewpoint we cannot have a proper evaluation of culture. It is only with the proletarian viewpoint that we can distinguish what is good and what is bad; we cannot do without it.

The significance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution rests on its being an unusually severe, penetrating class struggle. This struggle was first initiated by the bourgeoisie, and afterward the proletariat counterattacked. First of all it was ideological struggle, and then it gradually became a struggle for political power and economic power. Many, many complex things emerged in the course of the struggle, but the question

of which things could be adopted or shunned, which were right or wrong, could only be made clear from the viewpoint of classes and class struggle, that is, from the general basis of classes and class struggle.

In our Party Chairman Mao is most correct and revolutionary; he represents the proletariat. Liu and Teng are in error; they are reactionary and represent the bourgeoisie. One wants to take the socialist road; the other wants to take the capitalist road. Therefore a sharp struggle has developed between the two lines.

This class struggle after the proletariat seized political power is not a short-term, but rather a long-term struggle. In his work "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" — a work which demarcates eras — Chairman Mao pointed out: In China "the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, among the various political forces, and on the ideological front is still protracted, still twisting and turning, and sometimes even violent." Chairman Mao also pointed out: "The struggle for victory or defeat on the ideological front between socialism and capitalism in China will still require a rather long time to be resolved. This is because the influence of the bourgeoisie and the intellectuals from the old society will still exist for a long time, and their ideology will also continue for a long time. If we are not sufficiently aware of this situation, or fail to recognize it altogether, we will commit gross errors and neglect the necessary ideological struggle."

To varying degrees many people still have bourgeois tendencies and proletarian tendencies. Only people with Chairman Mao's highest standards of Marxism-Leninism can reject, conquer, and eradicate the bourgeois side. If the level of Marxism-Leninism is slightly lower, the struggle between these two sides will continue in one's mind. The overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the destruction of its class political power can be completed in a relatively short time. The overthrow of its system of ownership can also be complete within a short time. But overthrowing the ideological bases of the exploiting classes

and the bourgeoisie is no simple task; it will take a long time. Moreover, if we do not fight for a final victory on this front, then the victories in political power and economics may slip away. The accomplishments brought forth in past revolutions, the fruits of revolution, the revolutionary goals struggled for by the masses may all be stolen away bit by bit by the bourgeoisie. They may be seized secretly, or violently in broad daylight.

Therefore we should open up a violent struggle on the ideological front and carry on a protracted struggle. Only in this way can we guarantee the consolidation of proletarian political power, ensure consolidation of the socialist system of ownership, and advance forward. Otherwise political power will slowly change color or develop into a violent counterrevolutionary coup, the capitalist system of ownership will come to replace the socialist system, and the ownership system of the landlords and rich peasants will come to replace the system of the people's communes. Therefore, victory or defeat in this struggle will determine China's direction and destiny. It will also influence the destiny of all mankind. With regard to the present period, China may be said to be playing a decisive role in the world. With regard to the revolution as it affects world revolution, China today is a decisive factor. If we make a comparison on this point, no country has as great a role as China's. As long as China does not falter or change its nature, the world has hope. Many areas have fallen, have become black; our influence can still make them bright again, make them go from black to red. Many places in the world have revolutionary forces which have already risen, or are just beginning to rise; the majority always want revolution, and they look to us for support. Consequently, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a very important matter, an event which concerns the fate of many countries. This is a question of the proletariat's engaging in an unusually severe class struggle, of one class overcoming another class, or being overcome. Therefore we must especially strengthen our class viewpoint, our concept of class struggle; only then can we vigorously engage in the

Cultural Revolution; only then can we catch up with the great spirit and courage of Chairman Mao in the Cultural Revolution. Otherwise, we will never catch up and will always commit errors. Ordinarily this was a question often debated by old students. But under new conditions, a renewal of emphasis has its role. Do we not put up the mottos we write at one place day and night so that we can recite them by heart? But it is always better to take a look frequently, and all the more so today. Actually, the ideological movement and living ideas today, from top to bottom, and from bottom to top, all have this kind of problem. Therefore we need to raise this question again, and this is the first point I want to discuss today. . . .

INSTRUCTION ON THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION
(August 9, 1967)

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SPEECH AT RALLY CELEBRATING THE
EIGHTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING
OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA*
(October 1, 1967)

Comrades and Friends,

Today is the eighteenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. On this glorious festive occasion, on behalf of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Central Committee of the Party, the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee, and the Cultural Revolution Group under the Party's Central Committee, I most warmly salute the workers, peasants, commanders, and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, the Red Guards, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, and extend a hearty welcome to our comrades and friends who have come from different parts of the world!

We are celebrating the eighteenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China at a time when tremendous victories have been won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and an excellent situation prevails both in China and in the whole world.

*"Tsai Chung-Hua jen-min kung-ho-kuo ch'eng-li shih-pa chou-nien ch'ing-chu ta-hui-shang ti chiang-hua," Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 15 (October 6, 1967), 5-7; Jen-min jih-pao [People's Daily], October 2, 1967. This translation is taken, with minor editorial revisions, from Peking Review, No. 41 (October 6, 1967), 9-10.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution movement initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao has spread to the whole of China. Hundreds of millions of people have been aroused. From the capital to the border regions, from the cities to the countryside, and from factory workshops to workers' homes, everyone, from teenagers to grey-haired old folk, concerns himself with state affairs and with the consolidation and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Never before has a mass movement been so extensive and deep-going as the present one. The broad masses of workers and peasants, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, Red Guards, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, gradually uniting themselves through their struggles in the past year, have formed a mighty revolutionary army. Under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, they have badly routed the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road headed by China's Khrushchev, who have collapsed on all fronts.

Frightened out of their wits by China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism, and all reaction hoped that this great revolution would upset our national economy. The facts have turned out to be exactly the opposite of the wishes of these overlords. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has further liberated the productive forces. Glad tidings about the successes in our industrial production keep on coming in. In agriculture, we are reaping a good harvest for the sixth consecutive year. Our markets are thriving and the prices are stable. The successful explosion of China's hydrogen bomb indicates a new level in the development of science and technology. What is even more important, the Great Cultural Revolution has educated the masses and the youth, greatly promoted the revolutionization of the thinking of the entire Chinese people, enhanced the great unity of the people of all nationalities, and tempered our cadres and all the PLA commanders and fighters. Our great motherland has never been so powerful as it is today.

China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has won

decisive victory. In the history of the international communist movement, this is the first great revolution launched by the proletariat itself in a country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is an epoch-making new development of Marxism-Leninism which Chairman Mao has effected with genius and in a creative way.

In response to the great call of Chairman Mao, we must not only thoroughly destroy the bourgeois headquarters organizationally, but must also carry out more extensive and penetrating revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation so that the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road headed by China's Khrushchev will be completely overthrown and discredited politically, ideologically, and theoretically and will never be able to rise again. Such mass criticism and repudiation should be combined with the struggle-criticism-transformation in the respective units so that the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought will fly over all fronts.

At present, the most important task before us is, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings and his theory, line, principles and policy for making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to hold fast to the general orientation of the revolutionary struggle pointed out by Chairman Mao, to closely follow his strategic plan and, through the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation combined with the struggle-criticism-transformation in the respective units, to consolidate and develop the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary "three-way combination" and make a success of the struggle-criticism-transformation in these units, thus carrying the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end.

Chairman Mao has recently instructed us that "it is imperative to combat selfishness and criticize and repudiate revisionism." By combating selfishness, we mean to use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought to fight selfish ideas in one's own mind. By criticizing and repudiating revisionism, we mean to use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought to combat revisionism and struggle against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. These two tasks are inter-

related. Only when we have done a good job of eradicating selfish ideas can we better carry on the struggle against revisionism through to the end. We must respond to the great call of Chairman Mao and, with the instruction "combat selfishness and criticize and repudiate revisionism" as the guiding principle, strengthen the ideological education of the army and civilian cadres and of the Red Guards. Various kinds of study classes should be organized both at the central and local levels and can also be run by the revolutionary mass organizations, so that the whole country will be turned into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought. These studies will help our veteran and new cadres and young revolutionary fighters to study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought in a creative way, liquidate all sorts of nonproletarian ideas in their minds, raise their ideological and political level, and perform new meritorious deeds for the people.

We must respond to the great call of Chairman Mao and "take firm hold of the revolution and promote production," energetically promote the development of our industrial and agricultural production, and rapidly raise our scientific and technological level.

We must respond to the great call of Chairman Mao and unfold a movement of "supporting the army and cherishing the people." We must strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and resolutely suppress the sabotaging activities by class enemies, domestic and foreign.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a movement that integrates Mao Tse-tung's thought with the broad masses of the people. Once Mao Tse-tung's thought is grasped by hundreds of millions of people, it turns into an invincible material force, ensuring that the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country will never change its color and enabling our socialist revolution and socialist construction to advance victoriously along the road of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Proletarian revolutionaries, unite, hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end!

Workers of all countries, unite; workers of the world, unite with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations!

Down with imperialism headed by the United States!

Down with modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist leading clique as its center!

Resolute support to the Vietnamese people in their great war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation!

Resolute support to the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America!

Resolute support to the revolutionary struggles of all peoples!

We are determined to liberate Taiwan!

Long live the great unity of the people of all nationalities of China!

Long live the People's Republic of China!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Long live great Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live Chairman Mao, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman! A long life, and long, long life to him!

SPEECH AT PEKING RALLY COMMEMORATING
THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
OCTOBER REVOLUTION*
(November 6, 1967)

Comrades, Young Red Guard Fighters, and Friends:

Today the Chinese people join the proletarians and revolutionary people throughout the world in grand and solemn commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The October Revolution led by the great Lenin was a turning point in human history.

The victory of the October Revolution broke through the dark rule of capitalism, established the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world, and opened a new era of the world proletarian revolution.

For more than one hundred years since Marx and Engels formulated the theory of scientific socialism, the international proletariat, advancing wave upon wave and making heroic sacrifices, has been waging arduous struggles for the great ideal of communism and has performed immortal exploits in the cause of the emancipation of mankind.

In his struggle against the revisionism of the Second

*"Tsai shou-tu jen-min chi-nien shih-yüeh ke-ming wu-shih chou-nien ta-hui shang ti chiang-hüa," Jen-min jih-pao [People's Daily], November 7, 1967; Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 16 (November 23, 1967), 7-10. This translation is taken, with minor editorial revisions, from Peking Review, No. 46 (November 10, 1967), 5-8.

International and in the great practice of leading the October Socialist Revolution, Lenin solved a series of problems of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as the problem of victory for socialism in one country, thus developing Marxism to the stage of Leninism. Leninism is Marxism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The salvoes of the October Revolution brought Leninism to all countries, so that the world took on an entirely new look.

In the last fifty years, following the road of the October Revolution under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the proletariat and revolutionary people of the world have carried world history forward to another entirely new era, the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. It is a great new era in which the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are locked in the decisive battle on a worldwide scale.

Led by the great leader Chairman Mao, the Chinese people have followed up their victory in the national-democratic revolution with great victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Socialist China has become the mighty bulwark of world revolution. Adhering to the road of the October Revolution, the heroic people of Albania have raised a bright red banner in Europe. By their war against U.S. imperialist aggression and for national salvation, the Vietnamese people have set a brilliant example of struggle against imperialism for the people of the whole world. The movement of national-democratic revolution in Asia, Africa, and Latin America is developing vigorously. The ranks of the Marxist-Leninists are growing steadily, and a new situation has emerged in the international communist movement.

Compared with half a century ago, the world proletarian revolution today is far deeper in content, far broader in scope, and far sharper in its struggle. The new historical era has posed a series of important new problems for Marxist-Leninists. However, in the final analysis, the most fundamental problem remains that of seizing and consolidating political power.

Chairman Mao says: "The aim of every revolutionary

struggle in the world is the seizure and consolidation of political power." This is a great Marxist-Leninist truth.

The struggle between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists always focuses on this fundamental issue. The modern revisionists, represented by Khrushchev and his successors, Brezhnev, Kosygin, and company, are wildly opposing the revolution of the people of the world and have openly abandoned the dictatorship of the proletariat and brought about an all-round capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union. This is a monstrous betrayal of the October Revolution. It is a monstrous betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. It is a monstrous betrayal of the great Soviet people and the people of the world. Therefore, if the proletariat fails to smash the wanton attacks of the modern revisionists, if it does not firmly defend the road of the October Revolution opened up by the great Lenin, continue to advance along this road under the new historical conditions and thoroughly solve the question of how to seize and consolidate political power, it will not be able to win final victory, or will probably lose political power even after seizing it, and, like the Soviet people, will come under the rule of a new privileged bourgeois stratum.

It is our good fortune that because Comrade Mao Tse-tung has comprehensively inherited and developed the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin on proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the most fundamental issue of the world proletarian revolution, that is, the road to the seizure and consolidation of political power, has been brought to a higher stage in theory and in practice. Our great leader Chairman Mao has developed Marxism-Leninism and raised it to an entirely new peak. The ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung is Marxism-Leninism in the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory.

In the course of leading the great struggle of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao has with genius solved a whole series of complicated problems concerning the seizure of political power by force of arms. Under his leadership, the Chinese

people went through the most protracted, fierce, arduous, and complex people's revolutionary war in the history of the world proletarian revolution and founded the red political power, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The way the Chinese people seized political power by force of arms under Chairman Mao's leadership may be summarized as follows: Under the leadership of the political party of the proletariat, to arouse the peasant masses in the countryside to wage guerrilla war, unfold an agrarian revolution, build rural base areas, use the countryside to encircle the cities, and finally capture the cities. This is a great new development of the road to the seizure of political power by force of arms indicated by the October Revolution.

Chairman Mao has said: "As a rule, revolution starts, grows and triumphs first in those places in which the counterrevolutionary forces are comparatively weak." Since in our time all the reactionary ruling classes have a tight grip on the main cities, it is necessary for a revolutionary political party to utilize the vulnerable links and areas of reactionary rule, fully arouse the masses, conduct guerrilla warfare, establish stable revolutionary bases and so build up and temper their own forces and, through prolonged fighting, strive step by step for complete victory in the revolution. Hence, reliance on the masses to build rural revolutionary base areas and use the countryside to encircle the cities is a historic task which the oppressed nations and peoples in the world today must seriously study and tackle in their fight to seize political power by force of arms.

Not only has Comrade Mao Tse-tung creatively developed Leninism on the question of seizure of political power by the proletariat, he has made an epoch-making creative development of Leninism on the most important question of our time — the question of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism.

From the first day of the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin paid close attention to the consolidation of the new-born Soviet state power. He recognized the sharp and protracted nature of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat,

pointing out that "the transition from capitalism to communism takes an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch is over, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope turns into attempts at restoration."

The biggest lesson in the history of the international communist movement in the last fifty years is the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This harsh fact has strikingly brought the Marxist-Leninists of the world face to face with the question of how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism.

It is Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great teacher of the world proletariat of our time, who in the new historical conditions, has systematically summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world, scientifically analyzed the contradictions in socialist society, profoundly shown the laws of class struggle in socialist society and put forward a whole set of theory, line, principles, methods and policies for the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. With supreme courage and wisdom, Chairman Mao has successfully led the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in history. This is an extremely important landmark, demonstrating that Marxism-Leninism has developed to the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has opened up in China, which has a quarter of the world's population, a bright path for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and for carrying the socialist revolution through to the end. The proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world who are fighting imperialism, modern revisionism, and all reaction resolutely support our Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. They find in the victory of this revolution tremendous inspiration, bright prospects, and greater confidence in victory.

The imperialists headed by the United States and their lackeys, the modern revisionists and all the reactionaries, have taken great pains to curse and vilify our Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This proves by negative example that our victory

has dealt the enemy a very heavy blow and that they are nothing but a bunch of vampires that are bound to be destroyed.

The world is moving forward. And theory, which reflects the laws of the world, is likewise developing continuously.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the banner of our era.

Once Mao Tse-tung's thought — Marxism-Leninism at its highest in the present era — is grasped, the oppressed nations and peoples will, through their own struggles, be able to win liberation.

Once Mao Tse-tung's thought — Marxism-Leninism at its highest in the present era — is grasped, the countries that have already established the dictatorship of the proletariat will, through their own struggles, be able to prevent the restoration of capitalism.

Once Mao Tse-tung's thought — Marxism-Leninism at its highest in the present era — is grasped, the people of those countries where political power has been usurped by the revisionists will, through their own struggles, be able to overthrow the rule of revisionism and reestablish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Once Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought is integrated with the revolutionary practice of the people of all countries, the entire old world will be shattered to smithereens.

Comrades, young Red Guard fighters, and friends:

The fifty years since the October Revolution have been years of fierce struggle between socialism and capitalism and between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism, with the former winning one victory after another. The imperialist system resembles a dying person who is sinking fast, like the sun setting beyond the western hills. The emergence of Khrushchev revisionism is a product of imperialist policy and reflects the deathbed struggle of imperialism. Although imperialism and revisionism will go on making trouble in collusion with each other, the reactionary adverse current can, after all, never become the main current. The dialectics of history is irresistible. Henceforth, the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world will raise still higher the great red banner

of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought, and march forward in giant strides along the road opened up by the October Revolution!

Those who betray the October Revolution can never escape the punishment of history. Khrushchev has long since fallen. In redoubling its efforts to pursue the policy of betrayal, the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique will not last long either. The proletariat and the working people of the Soviet Union, with their glorious tradition of revolution, will never forget the teachings of the great Lenin and Stalin. They are sure to rise in revolution under the banner of Leninism, overthrow the rule of the reactionary revisionist clique, and bring the Soviet Union back into the orbit of socialism.

Comrades, young Red Guard fighters, and friends!

The situation in our great motherland is excellent. Under the guidance of the latest instructions of the great leader Chairman Mao, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is forging ahead victoriously.

We must raise still higher the great banner of the October Revolution and the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought, and carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end.

We must build our great motherland into a still more powerful base for world revolution.

We must give ever more vigorous support to the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and people of all countries.

We must, together with the revolutionary people everywhere, carry through to the end the struggle against U.S.-led imperialism and against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its center.

We must intensify our efforts in studying and mastering Mao Tse-tung thought and disseminate it still more widely throughout the world.

These are glorious tasks entrusted to the people of our country by history, and they are our incumbent internationalist duty.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has given the call: "Let the Marxist-Leninists of all countries unite, let the revolutionary

people of the whole world unite and overthrow imperialism, modern revisionism, and all reaction. A new world without imperialism, without capitalism, and without exploitation of man by man will surely be built."

Let us fight with courage for the realization of this great call of Chairman Mao's!

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Workers of all countries, unite!

Workers of all countries, unite with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations!

Long live the invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought!

Long live the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander, great helmsman Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!

skills are well developed, then the soldiers' courage will be great; the other asserts that if the soldiers' courage is great, fighting skills will result. Fighting depends mainly on courage, on not fearing death. Now, of course technique, weapons, and strategy are relevant to overall strength, but the most important thing is not to fear death. Otherwise, things that are handled well in normal times, when they are needed on the battlefield, will collapse, and the fighting task will not be accomplished. It is a serious problem if, when one sees the fierceness of the enemy's firepower and the strength of his fortifications, he refuses to continue fighting and just falls apart. To revolutionize ideology with Mao Tse-tung thought in command is crucial to the survival of the nation, the Party, and our political power — this determines whether the people will gain all or lose all. This is the central political question, the essence of essences, the core of cores. Without an army there is no political power, and without political power, there is nothing. In other words, without an army, there is nothing. An army depends on politics taking command, depends on the revolution of ideology. A vital army must be guided by progressive ideology. Progressive ideology is not produced spontaneously by the workers and peasants, but is the ideology of Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao has incorporated progressive ideology from abroad, such as the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and others, as well as the progressive ideology of ancient China. He has incorporated it judiciously, so it is the concentrated representation of the most progressive ideology of mankind. Today, the chief task for the army and the nation is to rely on Mao Tse-tung thought to transform the face of China and of the world, and to continue to transform them.

The struggle in our army is between the line which gives prominence to military affairs and the line that gives prominence to politics. We must resolutely follow the line of giving prominence to politics, but by no means discard military affairs — they are under the command of politics. Facts prove that if political work is done well, training, production, work projects, internal solidarity, discipline, and the relations between

ON THE QUESTION OF "GIVING PROMINENCE TO POLITICS"*

(November 1967)

Today I, the premier, and comrades from the Central Cultural Revolution Group are meeting with the Political Work Group, the Literature and Art Group, and the Military Newspaper Group. All these three Groups are involved with political and ideological work. Political work concerns ideology, concerns the essence, concerns revolutionization — it is the controlling factor in every undertaking. Political and ideological work controls everything. Our army has up to now relied on political ideology, relied on the thought of Mao Tse-tung. If we stray from this, the Liberation Army will lose that which makes it the Liberation Army; it will become an army of oppression. If it is not a Marxist-Leninist army, not a proletarian army, but rather a bourgeois army, then victory over our enemies will be impossible.

The main task of our army is to fight, and also to join in mass work, production, work projects, etc. There have in the past been two theories about war: One asserts that if fighting

*"T'an 't'u-ch'u cheng-chih wen-t'i," "Kung-fei wen-hua ta-ke-ming chung-yao wen-chien hsü-pien [Supplement to Important Documents on the Great Cultural Revolution of the Communist Bandits] (Taipei: Kuo-fang-pu ch'ing-pao-chü, 1969), pp. 167-170. The three Groups referred to in the speech were reported to have been organized in August 1967 to take over the functions of the General Political Department. Translated by Douglas G. Spelman.

army and people will also be done well, and wars will be fought well. Everything is many-faceted, so essentials must be grasped; when this is done, everything else will fall into place. If all facets are grasped at once, and this is seen as one task among others or neglected altogether, a mess will result; the fundamental thing must be grasped, that is, politics must be grasped. Mao Tse-tung thought must be used to lead the troops. Armies have weapons and material, but people are most important. People are living weapons, living fighting strength. Without people, weapons become scrap metal. If we want to do things even better, we can do so only by placing political work ahead of all other work; it cannot be placed second or third; nor can it be seen as equal to other work.

The Political Work, the Literature and Art, and the Military Newspaper Groups should note and understand the situation at the bottom, and should solicit instructions and report at any time to the Chairman, the Central Committee, the premier, the Central Cultural Revolution Group, and the Staff Group of the Military Affairs Commission; and should discover problems through attention and investigation, put forth opinions, and ask instructions of relevant departments. These three groups must all exhibit revolutionary fervor. The Military Newspaper Group should seek out Comrades Ch'en Po-ta and Yao Wen-yüan; the Literature and Art Group should seek out Comrades Chiang Ch'ing and X X X; and the Political Work Group should seek out the Staff Group of the Military Affairs Commission. These three groups cannot work at cross-purposes, but must pull together and do their jobs well. Do not add personnel; just concentrate your strength and grasp the essential problems. Do not grasp this and then that; but grasp what is essential, and it won't be necessary to have many people. The General Political Department can perhaps absorb a few people, but not too many. We must follow the central instruction and streamline the organization — it must not become too large. If there are too many people, it will be like three monks with no water to drink. As mentioned above, both ends must be firmly grasped, living ideology must be firmly grasped. Work should be organized

according to the tasks set out by the top and the situation at the bottom; as the living ideology continuously changes at the bottom, new tasks will continuously be put forward. If both ends are not firmly grasped, nothing will be done well.

It is my opinion that you cannot take charge of everything. Most important is first to take charge of study, and second to grasp control of cadres. Actually, one is an ideological problem, and the other is an organizational problem. In studying the works of Chairman Mao attention now is given to memorization, and some emphasize application. There must be some memorization, but I think the main thing is to emphasize application. Factionalism must be overcome — support the left but do not support any factions. Just talk and no reform will not work. Stress application. It is impossible to be familiar with all of the cadres. Start with cadres at the army level and above, and then at the division level. In the past, cadres were controlled by Hsiao Hua, and they did not ask instructions or report. We have had "three-eight cadres" in our army for over thirty years; we have had "liberation cadres" for thirty years too, and even forty years. Our army has plenty of cadres, and many are talented, but we have not discovered which ones should be promoted and which should not; which ones can be used and which ones cannot. We are unsure how to deploy them, how to fill in for those whom the Central Committee moves around — we should all study and understand this better. We must understand the political attitude and political behavior of cadres. Everything must be done in accordance with the instructions of Chairman Mao.

Putting forward ideas and making use of people — one is an ideological matter and the other is an organizational matter. Revolutionize ideology well, and organize the work team well — the concrete tasks are manifold. If you try to do this and do that, you'll never finish, so the main thing is to grasp political and ideological work. During these past few years (Lo Hsün-ch'u: since Vice Chairman Lin has been directing our work) the army's main task has been to grasp the living study and application of the works of Chairman Mao (the premier: this has

been grasped well). The next step is to organize work teams with careful investigation. No matter which "mountaintops" they are from, those who opposed Chairman Mao should not be used. Those who support Chairman Mao, give prominence to politics, exhibit revolutionary fervor, follow the Chairman's five criteria for revolutionary successors, and grasp the essentials will succeed.

Any place that does political work well can produce cadres — cadres like Lei Feng, Ts'ai Yung-hsiang, Wang Chieh, and Li Wen-chung, all of whom used Mao Tse-tung thought to lead the troops. If a unit's atmosphere is permeated with politics, there will be fewer transgressions (the premier: Truly spoken). That is right. You in the Political Work Group should grasp this main point. Some can come up with new things; and some cannot; so they still grab firmly the old methods. Don't be like Lo Jui-ch'ing and just put up an empty show. When the fighting starts, those who have practiced formalism will run to the back. The Political Work, Literature and Art, and Military Newspaper Groups must strengthen the ideological revolutionization of men.

INSTRUCTION ON THE PROBLEM
OF THE THREE-WAY ALLIANCE*
(1967 ?)

Without this campaign, this dynamic Great Cultural Revolution, many good people would be overlooked, successors would be overlooked, and new sprouts would be left undiscovered. In the course of this struggle, bad people will be exposed, pulled down, discredited, and destroyed; good people will come to the fore. This will guarantee our great plans for the next hundred years. Many good people, many proletarian revolutionaries will come to the fore. Otherwise, they would remain buried in hell, suppressed and unable to rise. We will smash the bad people and discover the good ones. Without this revolution, the bad people could not be smashed, and the good ones could not be discovered; leadership would probably fall into the hands of the bad people.

It is not necessarily true that we must wait until all the members of a standing committee are liberated before a three-way alliance is formed. The participants in the alliance should be those who can carry on business; otherwise, you will have to continue to handle things. At the same time, if you do not take part in struggle, but just put in an appearance, that will not do. You must go through the ordeal of struggle. The participants in the alliance need a considerably long period of time to establish their authority among the masses.

*"Kuan-yü san-chieh-ho wen-t'i ti chih-shih," Lin Piao chuan-chi [A Special Collection on Lin Piao] (Hong Kong: Tzu-lien, 1970), pp. 124-125. Translated by Douglas G. Spelman.

The number of cadres in units which have forged a three-way alliance should be kept as small as possible; they should be divided into several groups. Except those who are in charge of an office, students should return to school, workers should return to work. Otherwise, the situation will just revert to what it was before very quickly, so this habit should be cultivated from the beginning. Great alliances and three-way alliances cannot always match up to the ideal of purity; these people who can be helped should be helped as much as possible. As for the so-called "mixed pot," it includes those who have no leadership ability; those who have some should not be in the "mixed pot."

Things will be difficult for those rebels who do not rely on the army. The masses know the importance of weapons. If they seize power without the support of weapons, they will not rest easy, for there is no such thing as political power without weapons.

If they do not trust the army and do not trust revolutionary leadership cadres — meeting these two criteria — they should be reorganized. If they do not trust the representatives of mass organizations — thus meeting all three of the criteria — then they must be liquidated. It must be made clear to everyone that revolutionary committees are temporary organs of power, and for them to be perfect is impossible. Continuous adjustment must go on; absorb good people, and weed out those who are bad. In one sense they represent political power today; in another they make preparations for transition to more formal structures.

ON THE SOCIAL FOUNDATION
OF REVISIONISM*
(1967 ?)

To fight revisionism and to prevent its emergence is the main task of the Great Cultural Revolution. The main foundation of Soviet revisionism is the privileged stratum. To prevent revisionism, it is imperative to stamp out this privileged stratum, to stamp out all the roots of such a privileged stratum.

The Party-building line headed by Liu-Teng is a revisionist one; it is the root of a privileged stratum in our country. This line opposes the use of Mao Tse-tung's thought to unify the whole Party and establishes authorities at high and low levels. It permits the people at the subordinate level only to follow orders, but does not allow them to use the thought of Mao Tse-tung as the supreme directive to command everything. It promotes the organizational principle of slavishness and the political privileges of the leadership, but boycotts the leadership of Chairman Mao. It promotes an independent small kingdom and the establishment of a royalist party.

This line opposes Chairman Mao's directives and disallows the cadres to participate in labor and to mingle with the masses.

*"Hsiu-cheng chu-i ti she-hui chi-ch'u," Hung-ch'i p'iao-piao [Red Flags Wave, a Red Guard publication in Canton], No. 4 (January 1968). This translation is taken, with minor editorial revisions, from Survey of China Mainland Press (Hong Kong), No. 4155 (February 9, 1968), 3-4. A Japanese version of this document may be found in Chūgoku kenkyū geppō [Monthly Research Report on China, Tokyo], December 1969, 13-14.

It undermines the glorious traditions of our Party and our army in leading a hard and frugal life and in maintaining solidarity at the higher and lower levels. It promotes economic privileges of cadres, raising their salaries and giving them special material treatment. It enlarges the differences between worker and peasant. In short, this line opposes Chairman Mao's cadre policy, which looks upon a cadre as a servant of the people.

In the final analysis it inherits the bureaucratic system of the exploiting classes. In the last analysis it aims at protecting the system of exploitation. This line leads to a decline in the fighting will of the cadres, causing them to chase after comfort and leisure, to seek no further progress but be content with the status quo. Inflating their conceit, it corrupts many cadres and veterans, making them divorce themselves from the masses. Their feelings changed, they are unable to follow Chairman Mao. A few have degenerated. A few have been poisoned. By accepting and executing this bourgeois reactionary line, they have committed errors without knowing them.

This line, in fact, is the historical origin and social foundation of the reactionary [revisionist] line. This line has buried some cadres, undermined the Party's style of work, and also buried the children of some cadres. It creates in them a desire for personal privileges, making them conceited and egoistic. It breeds a sense of superiority in them, making them give up thought reform, lead a life of laxity, and divorce themselves from the masses.

At the present time many who side with the conservatives have erred, and if they do not alert themselves, they will surely go revisionist. If we build our Party and our state according to this line, then the Party will be a revisionist party and the state will be a revisionist state. And the people we train will be revisionist bureaucrats. The successors we cultivate will be revisionist successors. In this way, a privileged stratum can most easily be formed. If we do not get rid of it, we shall see our Party and state perish, and our heads will roll.

For a long time the broad masses of Party members and

cadres have been consistently resisting this line and persevering in Chairman Mao's Party-building line. Now is the time to settle the Liu-Teng line thoroughly. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is aimed at eliminating ideas of privileges, fostering proletarian ideas, transforming man's soul, realizing revolutionization of man, digging up the roots of revisionism, and consolidating and developing the socialist system.

TEN GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE
CULTURAL REVOLUTION*
(1967 ?)

1. The study of Chairman Mao's writings has been raised still higher.
2. A group of counterrevolutionary elements have been exposed.
3. A handful of people in authority who took the capitalist road have been exposed; people who were misled have been liberated.
4. The four bad elements (including a small number of anti-Party, antisocialist rightists) have received a great blow.
5. A big blow to those who acted like overlords and mandarins.
6. The taste of great democracy has been spread.
7. The Party and society have been greatly revigorated.
8. An excellent exercise for war preparedness.
9. While strengthening the ideological revolutionization of men, production and construction have also been promoted.
10. A large number of revolutionary successors have been cultivated. These little generals, having grown up through struggles, dare to challenge and dare to act.

*"Wen-hua ta-ke-ming ti shih ta ch'eng-kuo." This translation is based on a Japanese version, "Bunka daikakumei no jūdai seika," Chūgoku kenkyū geppō [Monthly Research Report on China], December 1969, p. 14.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING LEFTISTS*
(1967 ?)

1. In terms of the general orientation, perceive whether they are against the capitalist-roaders within the Party and the bourgeois reactionary line, and perceive their attitude toward the Party and Chairman Mao. Regarding the above point, discern whether it is a question of understanding or a matter of persistent viewpoint.
2. With respect to organizational purity, first of all, [pay attention to] the purity of the leading members. They must not be landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, or rightists. See whether there are any capitalist-roaders and backstage bosses.
3. Examine views of the masses toward the organization involved.
4. Evaluation must be made on the basis of political principle. There may be sectarian sentiments.

*"Heng-liang tso-p'ai piao-chun," in Mao chu-hsi wen-hsüan [Selected Writings of Chairman Mao, 1959-1967] (n.d., n.p., a Red Guard publication), p. 120. These are excerpts of Lin's talks at an enlarged meeting of the Military Affairs Commission.

Support the left but do not support any factions. Support those who are in harmony with Mao Tse-tung thought, and do not support those who are not. Support the left and do not engage in petty squabbles. Do not support one faction attacking another.

7. Your reports of the situation must be accurate. Do not make things up. Be comprehensive and objective.

8. Strive to be active and positive. Do not fear suffering what you must. If you are mistaken, conscientiously examine yourself and fundamentally reform your world view.

9. Protect against both "leftism" and rightism; that is, protect against meddling with Mao Tse-tung thought, meddling with Chairman Mao's latest instructions. Stand firmly on the side of Chairman Mao. Protecting against the right is protecting against the old conservatives making troubles.

**NINE-POINT INSTRUCTION TO THE
AIR FORCE PARTY COMMITTEE***
(1967 ?)

1. The general situation of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is very good. We must be resolute and firm; there will be twists and reversals, but the great alliance is sound, so do not fear some splits.

2. Do not fear disorder, for complete disorder will turn out to be good. Disorder is a process through which everyone can struggle against selfishness and criticize revisionism.

3. The sky will not fall. Even if it does, with our great leader Chairman Mao and ever-victorious Mao Tse-tung thought we can make it through, can remedy our deficiencies. In reporting the situation, use the four fasts and one slow.

4. Pay attention to the main stream, not tributaries. Investigate and study, but do not be too rigid or guarantee anything. Some organizations, even though their overall direction is correct, will suffer defeat because their policies and tactics are wrong — the Nan-ch'ang uprising was also like this.

5. Distinguish the enemy with a clear mind and steady eye, and do not overestimate him; have faith that the masses are the majority.

6. Support of the left is support of Mao Tse-tung thought.

*"Tui k'ung-chün tang-wei ti chiu-tien chih-shih," Kung-fei wen-hua ta-ke-ming chung-yao wen-chien hsü-pien [Supplement to Important Documents on the Cultural Revolution of the Communist Bandits] (Taipei: Kuo-fang-pu ch'ing-pao-chü, 1969), pp. 172.

INSTRUCTION TO THE THREE SERVICES*
(1967 ?)

1. Do not separate the "5.13" [May 13 ?] Group into revolutionaries and conservatives.

2. Among those who are attacking the "5.13" Group are also leftist organizations (referring to those in the military).

3. The "three services" must not put too much pressure on the clashing factions; they must not interfere excessively with the Great Cultural Revolution in military academies.

*"Tui san-chün ti chih-shih," in Mao chu-hsi wen-hsüan [Selected Writings of Chairman Mao, 1959-1967] (n.d., n.p., a Red Guard publication), p. 119.

ON EDUCATIONAL REFORM*
(1967 ?)

The content of education should be streamlined and abbreviated. Things of secondary importance should be axed; questions of secondary importance must be pared away. The result of trying to study everything is that nothing is studied well. In warfare one's forces should be concentrated to destroy one point; do not open your mouth too wide. One only uses small forces for points of secondary importance; this is the dialectical method. Everything has many aspects, essential aspects and secondary aspects. When the essentials have been solved, the secondary aspects can be handled with a quick stroke. The basic principles of military affairs, politics, and philosophy are few in number; when they are mastered, you can apply them easily. Everything is like this — the crucial aspects must be grasped. What are the crucial aspects? They must be carefully selected — for example, in warfare the crucial aspects are the concentration of forces, the main direction of attack, and the time of general attack. There are always those who want to do more and as a result go backward. The more they do, the more excesses they commit; as a result the things they actually learn are fewer — this is also the dialectic. Lao-tzu meant this when he said, "Simplicity prospers, multiplicity confuses." With many subjects, teachers and students are much too busy; when one's head is crammed full of all this stuff, con-

*"T'an chiao-yü kai-ke," Chung-hsüeh hung-wei-ping [Middle School Red Guards, Canton], November 6, 1967. Translated by Douglas G. Spelman.

cepts become unclear, and one cannot be skilled in technical work. Students come to school, get exhausted, study a bunch of things without any order, not to speak of not being able to apply them confidently — this is not in the spirit of more, faster, better, and more economically. In order to identify the crucial aspects correctly, we must rely on everyone truly penetrating the subject, grasping it correctly, and applying the proper perspective.

Care must be taken with regard to teaching methods; bourgeois methods cannot be used. The bourgeoisie approach education as an undertaking in itself, and therefore create mysteries, extend the time needed, and raise the cost of it all. Our educational content must be simple and easy to understand; educational methods must be many and varied to enable everyone to truly learn something. Formalism and triviality we do not need.

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