

SUPPORT THE CORRECT LEADERSHIP OF THE CENTRAL  
COMMITTEE'S SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE  
CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Following is a translation of an article by the Editorial Board of the Chinese-language newspaper Hung-wei-ping Pao, [Peiping?], No 15, 22 December 1966, p 1.

Recently a storm of opposition against the Central Committee's Sub-Committee on the Cultural Revolution has raged among certain universities and middle schools in Peiping Municipality, and a handful of reactionary youngsters have made frantic calls for "kicking aside" and "bombarding" the sub-committee, or attacked it by using the pretext of bringing up questions. Such actions are very reactionary and counter-revolutionary, and we of the revolutionary masses must resolutely boycott and suppress them.

The Sub-Committee on the Cultural Revolution of the Central Committee has been conducting its work under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin Piao (2651 1753), and is a headquarters of the proletariat most strongly indoctrinated with Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

This sub-committee has stood consistently in the furthest forefront of the struggle during the last six months, and has educated the masses and guided the movement with Mao Tse-tung's thinking and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. It has completely implemented and defended this line and launched an irreconcilable struggle with the bourgeois reactionary line. This sub-committee with Comrades Ch'en Po-ta, K'ang Sheng, and Chiang Ch'ing at its head, is employing Mao Tse-tung's thinking as its compass, and on many

crucial points in connection with the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has pointed the direction to the masses and rectified a certain number of shortcomings in the movement, so as to bring about the development of the drive consistently along the correct line adopted by Chairman Mao and in the main direction of the struggle.

Having full confidence in the sub-committee, Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee have entrusted it with the concrete leadership of the movement of Cultural Revolution. In strict accordance with the directives and trust of Chairman Mao, comrades of the Central Committee having charge of the Cultural Revolution have made extraordinary contributions, and relying on the great thinking of Mao Tse-tung, have led this great mass revolutionary movement in an outstanding manner and solved many concrete problems in connection with it.

The sub-committee is an effective leading organ, and the masses have full confidence in, and support, this proletarian headquarters. Opposition to it means the destruction of its prestige, destruction of the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, opposition to Chairman Mao and to his proletarian revolutionary line, and, in a word, counterrevolution.

Comrades of the sub-committee, especially its leaders, including Comrades Ch'en Po-ta, K'ang Sheng, and Chiang Ch'ing, are excellent students and comrades-in-arms of Chairman Mao, all of whom have undergone long-term revolutionary tests and been proven to be firm revolutionaries, all publicly recognized as proletarian revolutionaries by Chairman Mao, the party Central Committee, and all the revolutionary masses. The achievements of the great Cultural Revolution are inextricably bound up with the grueling struggle they have gone through. We must not have the least suspicion of these comrades, let alone opposition to them and attacks on them at random. All we can do is to assist them in their work and listen carefully to their views and follow their guidance.

How has the present counter-current against the sub-committee come about? The reason is very simple. It is just that the sub-committee is taking Chairman Mao's revolutionary line resolutely, dealing hard blows to those in authority in the party taking the capitalist road, and attacking those bourgeois elements who are stubbornly pushing the bourgeois reactionary line. Now, these fellows intend to engage in a counterattack, and to this end have instigated and provoked a handful of students, who are shaky in their attitude and unclear in their understanding, (some of whom have been loyally carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line), to slander relentlessly and attack the sub-committee, seeking to overthrow

it. The very opposition of these people proves that the sub-committee has done right and that it is truly the headquarters of the proletariat. Otherwise it would not have received the "bombardments" of the bad elements.

It is a sign of the further sharpening of the class struggle that the counterrevolutionary elements dare oppose openly and boldly the sub-committee and Chairman Mao's correct line. The attitude adopted toward the sub-committee is a touchstone for testing whether people truly or falsely support Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and each one is in duty bound to state clearly his attitude on this question. One who does not stand on the side of Chairman Mao and the sub-committee must be standing on the side of the bourgeois elements and the enemy. There is no middle-of-the-road position to take. All the revolutionary masses must rise up to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, resolutely support the correct leadership of the sub-committee, and beat back all attacks of the class enemies on the headquarters of our proletariat. The protection of the sub-committee is the protection of the great Cultural Revolution, which is the inescapable responsibility of each revolutionary comrade.

A Declaration of War Against the Bourgeois Reactionary  
Line in Middle Schools

Speech of Comrade Ch'en Po-ta

Fellow-Students:

Just now Comrade Chiang Ch'ing has spoken very well. The views she has expressed represent those of our Sub-Committee on the Cultural Revolution of the Central Committee. As Comrade Chiang has pointed out, the level of the speeches given by you students is all very high, which shows the great rapidity with which the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has enabled you to progress. All of you have gradually begun to arm your minds with Mao Tse-tung's thinking. This is a guarantee for the consolidation of our system of the dictatorship of the proletariat; for the successful transition of our country from socialism to Communism; for the transformation of our country into the strongest country in the world with the dictatorship of the proletariat; and for the relegation to the background of all imperialist countries and countries under the control of revisionists and for the acquisition by our country of the most advanced position in the world.

Now I have a few more words to say to you fellow-students. Under the illumination of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, which is great, ever-victorious, boundless, and sheds unlimited

light, let the proletariat unite! Let workers and poor and lower-middle peasants unite! Let all the masses of workers unite with the revolutionary faculties and students and revolutionary intellectuals! Those in authority taking the capitalist road, those counterrevolutionary revisionists, those behind-the-scenes representative counterrevolutionaries--they think that they can by militant struggle suppress the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution; that they can by conspiracy and trickery destroy this revolution; that only in this way they can achieve the object of restoration of capitalism and overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Tell them that they are mistaken. They are picking up stones to strike their own feet. As we are placed under the leadership of our great leader, Chairman Mao and before the awakening of the broad masses, they are doomed to failure! Who are the victors? It is you! It is the proletariat! It is the working class! It is socialism and Communism! Those who are unwilling to surrender to the proletariat are taking the road of destruction. Some youths are deceived and have gone astray. I hope that they will awaken very soon and stand with us under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking. Only thus can they have an outlet.

Long live the great Chairman Mao!  
Long live the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

#### Speech of Comrade Chou En-lai

Fellow-Students and Red Guard Fighters:

In the name of Chairman Mao, Vice Chairman Lin Piao, the party Central Committee, and the State Council, I give you our regards.

Now I wish to congratulate you on the success of the inauguration of the Capital Ping-t'uan of the Red Guard with Mao Tse-tung's thinking. I also extend to you the greetings of the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. I am in full agreement with the remarks which have just been made by Comrades Chiang Ch'ing and Ch'en Po-ta, who have on our behalf said everything that should be said, and there is no need to add very much thereto.

There is only one point which I wish to touch upon. Ever since the birth of the Red Guard in Peiping and its extension to the whole country, our great leader, Chairman Mao, has taken hold of this new creation on earth and immediately given it his support and encouragement. In addition, because of this

support and encouragement from him, the Red Guard has had a rapid development in all universities and middle schools in the country. Then Comrade Lin Piao, our great leader's most intimate comrade-in-arms, has added his encouragement and pointed out that the Red Guard is a strong reserve force of our Chinese People's Liberation Army. This has given you even greater inspiration. Owing to the birth of this revolutionary youth organization, our revolutionary youths have shown their great creative spirit. This new force has already achieved a great deal in the way of establishing proletarianism and destroying capitalism, which is full of life and stunning, getting rid of the old and creating the new. Just see--with the Red Guard, schools are linked up with society and the country, and the great democracy sponsored by our great leader will be further diffused.

In the summarization of the four months' experience success has been the main feature. In the course of its growth anything new cannot be free from trouble, defects, or mistakes, and even serious individual mistakes. This is a law governing the development of anything, and you need not be upset by it. You should know that like a newborn baby, anything new is liable to have rough edges at the beginning, with a boil here and a growth there, which should only be removed. The newborn force is sure to grow up. So, the experience of the past four months is worth summarizing. The establishment of the Capital Ping-t'uan of the Red Guard with Mao Tse-tung's thinking is also to summarize the experience of the last four months in connection with the development in the middle schools of the Red Guard, and to prove that it is the leftist "little generals" of the revolution that have been united through the struggles and tests of the Red Guard and extended their unification to the fellow-students of middle schools and revolutionary fellow-students, to help them and the great majority of fellow-students to unite.

Of course, a few of these, maybe more than ten, maybe several tens, or even more, at any rate a handful who have committed serious mistakes or even criminal offenses, have been arrested and punished according to measures taken under the dictatorship. However, because they are youths, so long as they sincerely show repentance, confess their crimes with bowed heads, and frankly expose the reasons for their crimes, it is a good education for all of us. As the two comrades before me have stated and as some of you have pointed out, these students have been given a chance to improve themselves and clear up their criminal record by performing new deeds of merit. So, the thing to do is to be determined to recognize the fault and treat it as a warning against its repetition.

The development of the last four months has thus had a hitch, which has now been rectified. It is you yourselves, with your sharp eyes, that have discovered the hitch and rectified it. So, we have to rely on you and have full confidence in you. We want to mobilize you to arrest and educate the handful of youngsters who have committed mistakes. See, to enable the uprightness of the left wing of the revolution and its class strength to grow and develop further is the best summary that can be made of our experience at this stage.

The two comrades who have just spoken said that the level of your remarks this time is much higher than four months ago. While this is a leap forward, you should not be satisfied with it. You should strive for further advances. After all the Red Guard has only had a history of five or six months. It is only the first step in the organization of our revolutionary youths, the first step in the 10,000-mile march. It is hoped that you will stride forward rapidly from this very good first step.

Chairman Mao has taught us to learn about struggle in the midst of struggle and to learn swimming in the midst of swimming. In the big storm this time, to succeed in learning about the great democracy, it is necessary to succeed in learning about the summarization of experience. Only after learning how to summarize experience can we make uninterrupted discoveries, inventions, creations, and advances. These are the teachings of Chairman Mao, and I hope that you will remember this observation well and never feel proud, because pride can make people backward and humility make them progressive. In this connection I wish you progress, progress, and perpetual progress! In conclusion let us give utterance to the following slogans:

Long live the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!  
Long live the resolute implementation of the proletarian line represented by Chairman Mao!  
Thoroughly criticize the bourgeois reactionary line!  
Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat! Long live the ever-victorious thinking of Mao Tse-tung!  
Long live the Communist party of China!  
Long live our great leader, Chairman Mao!

Speech of Comrade K'ang Sheng

Fellow-Students and Red Guard Comrades-in-Arms:

First let me extend to you the greetings of the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

A month ago I went to Albania to attend the Fifth National Congress of the Labor Party of Albania. When I boarded the plane Red Guard comrades-in-arms told me to make international connections and propagandize your Red Guard movement. Comrades, I can say that I basically fulfilled my mission after I publicized your movement before more than twenty Marxist parties and organizations in Tirana. The great Proletarian Cultural Revolution launched and led by Chairman Mao has produced an inestimable influence in the international sphere. Mao Tse-tung's thinking is a shining beacon to all Marxist-Leninist fighters of the proletariat in the whole world, and the great Cultural Revolution in China has shaken the entire globe. Your Red Guard movement has had an influence on all revolutionary youths of the world, who admire, praise, and worship you. They hope that in their own countries they can enjoy the same happiness as you are doing.

However, Comrades, such a gigantic movement brought to me a lot of trouble. Many Marxist-Leninist party organizations wished to send representatives to China to see you and to get a glimpse of the great Cultural Revolution in this country. As a result I had to receive many people day after day, which made me very busy indeed. In a word, this movement of yours is having such a great influence the world over as you yourselves cannot conceive.

All the remarks of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, Comrade Ch'en Po-ta, and Premier Chou have been very pertinent. They have all given precious directives regarding the future of the movement, and I am in full agreement with them.

In addition, Comrade Yang Hai-feng (2799 3189 1496) asked me to bring up some requirements that I might have in mind. Indeed I feel that you comrades have made very great progress, but I hope that further progress will be achieved by you. How? By carefully studying the five points raised by Chairman Mao with regard to the successors. Do you think these five points should be studied, Comrades? (Yes!) Have you or have you not studied the five points? (We have!) Have you studied them well? (No, Sir.) It is quite natural that you have not studied them well, because the five points are the lifetime objectives for our struggle. I myself have not studied them well, and they are also the objectives of my struggle.

The first point is that we should really study Marxism-Leninism, which is also Mao Tse-tung's thinking. To what should we be opposed? To Khrushchev revisionism, which is also the present bourgeois reactionary line and the bourgeois revisionist line. We should draw a clear line of demarcation be-

tween Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking on the one hand and the reactionary bourgeois thinking of revisionism on the other. We should advance with the ever-victorious thinking of Mao Tse-tung and overthrow the bourgeois reactionary line.

The second point is that Chairman Mao teaches us to be revolutionaries. What kind of revolutionaries? Revolutionaries who are wholeheartedly devoted to the service of the people, firm revolutionaries who represent the interests of the absolute majority, over 95%, of the people of all China and those of the absolute majority of working people in the whole world. Counterrevolutionaries representing the interests of a handful of the bourgeoisie and serving the interests of that class are to be opposed. This point makes clear that we should all be thorough revolutionaries and completely overthrow all counterrevolutionary elements.

Point three is that Chairman Mao teaches us to unite the absolute majority of proletarian statesmen collaborating together. We should be skilled in uniting the left wing and in collaborating with the absolute majority of people. We must also win over those who differ with us and make them work with us for the revolution. Even those who oppose us and who have been proven by experience to hold mistaken viewpoints should be won over to work with us, with the objective that over 95% of the people collaborate with us for the revolution.

However, we must oppose the handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists of the Khrushchev school and bourgeois reactionary and counterrevolutionary elements, with whom we should carry on a resolute struggle. The victory of Chairman Mao's line of the great Cultural Revolution has made this handful of reactionary elements desperate and embark on their life-and-death struggle. Recently we even see on the streets posters containing anti-Mao slogans, which had been pasted by a handful of people. For example anti-Mao and anti-Lin-Piao slogans have been posted respectively by Li Hung-shan (2621 3163 1472) of the College of Forestry and by Yi Chen-wu (2496 2182 1566) and Wan Hui-ch'in (5502 2585 3830) of Tsing Hua University. Comrades, what kind of people are those who oppose Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin Piao? (The masses: Counterrevolutionaries!) Yes, counterrevolutionaries, little running dogs made use of by counterrevolutionaries. We should unite with the absolute majority and wage a resolute struggle with such counterrevolutionaries to the end and overthrow them relentlessly!

In the fourth point Chairman Mao expresses the wish

that we get into the masses and practice democracy, the great democracy. What is the great democracy? The great democracy of the dictatorship of the proletariat. What is the dictatorship of the proletariat? It is the practice of the greatest democracy vis a vis the broad masses of the people. But the handful of counterrevolutionaries should be strictly suppressed.

Finally, Chairman Mao tells us to make use of the weapon of self-criticism, to be humble and prudent, and to do away with pride and impulsiveness. We should listen attentively to the words of the masses and uninterruptedly rectify our mistakes. We should not be proud nor arrogant and arbitrary. Today I have been pleased to hear from the remarks made by some of you comrades that you have been practicing self-criticism. I suggest to you that you study carefully Chairman Mao's five points and make self-appraisals on the basis of them every day; and that at the same time you find out whether others are true or false revolutionaries, whether they support Chairman Mao truly or falsely, whether they are true or false fighters in the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Long live Chairman Mao! Long live the Chinese Communist party! Long live the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

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