

Selected Works of Zhang Chunjiao

Volume I

Chunjiao Publications

Proletarians of the world, unite!



張晉橋





























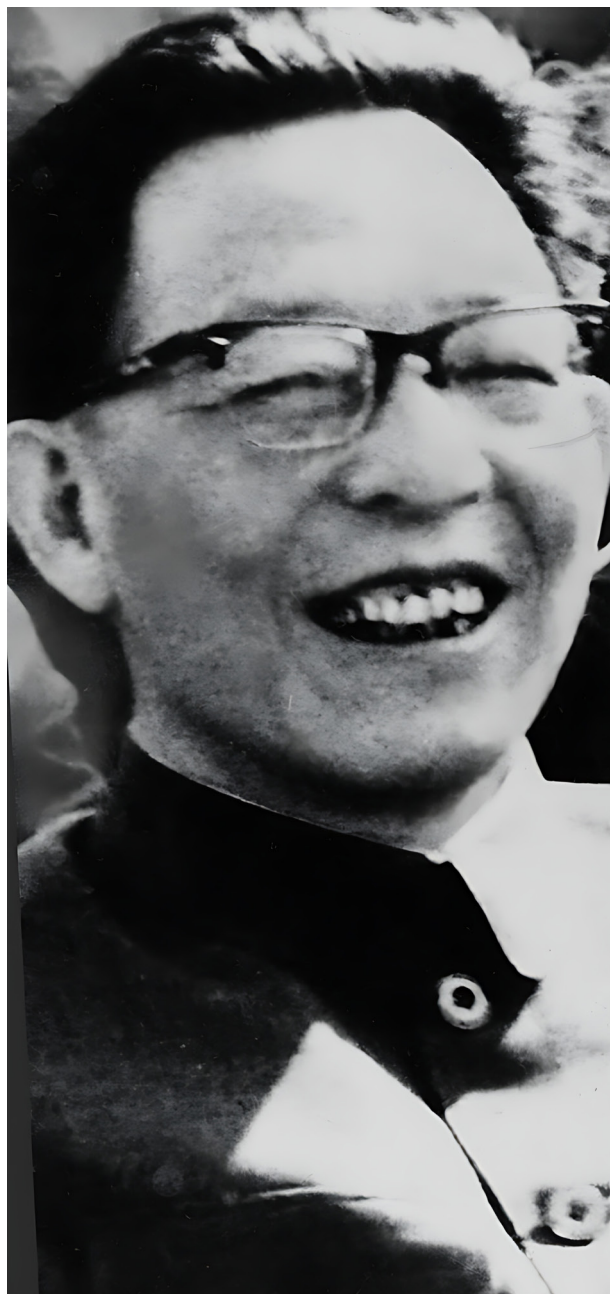




























张春桥

Zhang Chunqiao

1917-2005

Publication Note:

It is with the absolute greatest pleasure that we publish the first volume of the Selected Works of Zhang Chunqiao. We have translated over 40 different pieces and compiled them into this long 400 page volume. This is our most ambitious project so far, and we have enjoyed every single second of working on it.

We publish this on February 1, 2025 marking exactly 108 years since the birth of Comrade Zhang Chunqiao.

“Marxism is a science, a complete system of thought, a world view of the proletariat. It serves only the proletariat. The bourgeoisie can cherry-pick a few words to deceive people, but they cannot turn Marxism into a tool of the bourgeoisie.”

“The extinction of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and the victory of communism are inevitable, certain and independent of man’s will.”

— Zhang Chunqiao

Chunqiao Publications

The following volume[s] will be published in the coming months of 2025.

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LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM!

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Comrade Zhang Chunqiao's Brief Biography

Zhang Chunqiao was from Juye, Shandong. In 1938, he went to Yan'an and joined the Communist Party of China. He served as the editor-in-chief of Jin-Cha-Ji Daily and New Shimen Daily. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, he held positions such as the president of Liberation Daily, member of the Standing Committee of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, head of the Propaganda Department, and alternate member of the Municipal Party Committee. During the Cultural Revolution, he served as the deputy leader of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, first secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, chairman of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee, first political commissar of the Nanjing Military Region, director of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army, and vice premier of the State Council. He was a member of the 9th Central Politburo of the Communist Party of China and a standing member of the 10th Central Politburo.

In July 1977, the 3rd Plenary Session of the 10th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China decided to expel him from the party permanently and remove him from all his party and government positions. From November 20, 1980, to January 25, 1981, he was publicly tried by the Special Court of the Supreme People's Court of the People's Republic of China. On January 25, 1981, he was sentenced to death, with a two-year reprieve, and deprived of political rights for life. On January 25, 1983, the Criminal Court of the Supreme People's Court reduced his original sentence to life imprisonment, while maintaining the deprivation of his political rights for life.

The Author's Response to Criticism of “The Song of Mao Zedong”

Zhang Chunqiao (1951.03.11) People's Daily

Comrade Editor:

Today, I read the article “A Brief Discussion on the Creation of Songs in Praise of Chairman Mao” by Comrade Zhou Weizhi, published in People's Literature and Art, Issue 87. I fully agree with his opinions on the song The Song of Mao Zedong, which was created in collaboration with Comrade Lu Su. Many of the shortcomings he pointed out were already felt by us when we wrote the song before July 1, 1941. During the rectification movement in 1943, I also reflected on this song, and my thoughts were largely in agreement with those expressed in Comrade Weizhi's article.

After a full decade, whenever I hear people still singing this song, I feel deeply uneasy. It has become a mental burden for me, and day by day, it has grown heavier. Although I have thought about rewriting a new song, my thoughts and feelings were immature, and I never dared to put pen to paper. I sincerely hope that a new song will replace it. I believe that people continue to sing it not because it is particularly good, but because there is an urgent need for a song to express their admiration for the leader. I, too, still wish to contribute in this regard.

The People's Broadcasting Equipment Factory once recorded a disc of this song. In order to prevent it from being further promoted, I have asked the factory to stop distributing it. Thank you.

Zhang Chunqiao, February 5th, Shanghai

(Editor's Note: In addition to the People's Broadcasting Equipment Factory stopping the distribution of this song, all local radio stations should immediately cease broadcasting it.)

Attached: A Brief Discussion on the Creation of
Songs to Praise Chairman Mao

Zhou Weizhi (1951.02.11) People's Daily

Using poetry and songs to praise and admire the people's leader, Chairman Mao, depicting the heroic image of the leader, and expressing the people's boundless respect and deep feelings for him, is both an honorable and a challenging task. The "East is Red," created by the farmers of northern Shaanxi, has become a popular mass song nationwide; after liberation, workers, other laborers, and people from various sectors also wrote many heartfelt poems to express their deep love for their leader. Last year, during National Day, various ethnic groups brought many songs praising Chairman Mao. Our poets and musicians also composed numerous songs in praise of Chairman Mao, some of which have spread widely among the masses. However, there are still some issues with these songs of praise that should be seriously and thoughtfully considered.

I have reviewed more than twenty songs that praise Chairman Mao, some of which are created by the masses themselves. In these songs, the most common phrases are "Great Savior," "Benefactor," "Like father and mother," or "North Star," "Help us turn our lives around," "Follow him," and "Drink water, think of its source," etc. Only a few of these songs mention the strength of the people. Although these songs reflect the people's sincere admiration and gratitude for Chairman Mao, they do not fully reflect the correct relationship between the leader and the people, or they do not reflect it appropriately enough. The greatness of the leader depends on his sincere belief in and reliance on the people, his ability to concentrate the wisdom of the masses and harness their strength, which is why he can lead the people to victory in arduous and complex struggles. The folk poet from northern Shaanxi, Sun Wanfeng, once praised Chairman Mao using these two lines: "High-rise buildings rise from the ground, the coiled dragon and crouching tiger rest at the mountain peak." "The coiled dragon and crouching tiger rely on the 'high mountain,' the 'high-rise buildings' must rise from the 'ground.'" In this way, he correctly portrayed the relationship between the leader and the people, rather than depicting the leader as a "superman" or a "savior."

Many songs praising Chairman Mao still do not adequately express the people's sincere and passionate admiration for their leader, nor the powerful force that motivates them to move forward. We ask for the most enthusiastic, the most affectionate, and the most emotionally charged

language and music to praise our Chairman Mao. This emotional outpouring comes from the author's deep understanding of the supreme importance of the people's revolutionary cause. The author profoundly feels the happiness and joy brought by victory, sees how the people have become so smart, brave, and full of creativity in their new lives, and thus cannot suppress an impulse, an urgent desire to praise their leader. This is an outpouring of genuine emotion, a free expression, to sing of the new life before the leader and among the people, to openly express their joy and sincere gratitude, and to convey their profound respect for the leader. Therefore, the mood is healthy and cheerful, full of upward spirit. It is a true hymn, not a shallow, superficial, or contrived "pop song," nor a rigid "ceremonial music." Unfortunately, some of our songs still have quite a few flaws.

The song "Mao Zedong's Song," with lyrics by Zhang Chunqiao and music by Lu Su, while emphasizing Chairman Mao's resolute fighting spirit and his leadership role in the revolution, depicts him through the image of a "seagull" in a storm, in a "boundless darkness, a misty night." It fails to effectively illustrate the relationship between the great leader and the rapidly advancing strength of the people. Additionally, the melody is too plain and the emotional tone is overly melancholic, especially the parts that contain the musical score, which adds a mournful component. Some have even suggested that the mood was influenced by religious hymns, and this is not without reason. Though this song was created ten years ago and was welcomed by some young intellectuals in newly liberated cities, its emotional tone feels distant from the people of today.

Some songs are wordy and lack enthusiasm. For example, a narrative song in "Sing of Chairman Mao" (lyrics by Da Min and Zhu Meng, music by Geng Jie and Yi Ming) starts by saying that with the Chinese Communist Party, the Communist Party is like the sun, and Chairman Mao is like father and mother. It then proceeds to describe how Chairman Mao led the people to resist imperialism and feudalism, organized the Red Army in Jinggangshan to fight a revolution, crushed five encirclements, and after the Long March, went north to fight the Japanese, establishing the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region, entering enemy territory, forcing the Japanese to surrender. Later, it describes the liberation war, the land reform among farmers, and their liberation to become masters of their own land, ending with the lyrics, "The army and the people united to

eliminate the traitor Chiang Kai-shek, all of China is liberated, happiness has no bounds." In the seven stanzas, the emotional expression is minimal, making the song feel quite dull. Another song is even more flat in its writing: "Mao Zedong, you're really good, the Communist Party, you lead, your army is great at fighting, your comrades are all great, loving the people so thoroughly, defeating the Chiang Kai-shek bandits, we have you, Mao Zedong, our lives are getting better and better!" These lines are hardly even lyrics and fail to stir emotion.

Another bad trend is the use of very superficial and disrespectful tones to praise the people's leader, such as in the song "Northwest Farmers Praise Chairman Mao," with lyrics by Wei Feng and music by Gui Bin. The entire tone is lukewarm and powerless. The opening lines are similar to Shaanxi folk work songs and the mood is quite heavy. In particular, the inclusion of lines in the musical score seems frivolous and comical, making it unfit for praising Chairman Mao. Similarly, in Lü Na's "People's Four Songs," each stanza includes the phrase "long ge long," some extending to twenty beats, which makes it sound jarring and insincere.

There is also "Sing of Chairman Mao," where each stanza includes the word "that" ("That sun is coming out, shining everywhere, China has the Communist Party, hey, the Communist Party is like the sun, that Chairman Mao is like father and mother. Hey, he gives the people advice, working hard day and night.") The composer seems to have added these "thats" to make the tune livelier, but they severely undermine the solemnity of the tribute!

I believe that a hymn should be filled with enthusiasm and can be lively with a popular style, but it should never use shallow, informal language or replace the people's heartfelt emotions for their leader with outdated, trivial sentiments. It is wrong to propagate such unhealthful, superficial moods among the people. Although the aforementioned improper methods of expression may not all stem from an unserious creative attitude, they at least deserve reflection regarding emotional expression and creative approach. This also involves the correct use of folk melodies. In folk songs, sometimes expressions like "ai hey yo" (some used for exclamation) and the word "that" are used to convey labor calls or are born from the lack of a supporting melody. But if we use such expressions when writing songs to praise the leader today, it is a mistake. In the past, some even

used a poor tune from Shanxi to sing “Mao Zedong is the sun,” which sounded quite unpleasant. Though folk songs contain many healthy and lively melodies and have produced many strong and powerful songs in collective labor, they originated in rural feudal times, and the emotional tone, no matter how you look at it, is far removed from our new life. Using them to express the feelings of the new people for their leader has significant limitations. Therefore, when we use folk melodies to express new emotional ideas, we must choose and develop them carefully, or we will not achieve our creative goals. Especially when composing songs for the masses to sing in praise of the leader, we need greater development. Even when writing lyrical solos or duets, if we choose old folk songs, we must adapt them according to new emotions. As for those inappropriate, outdated, or unhealthy folk tunes, they must never be used indiscriminately.

Composing songs to praise Chairman Mao is not an easy task. We need to better understand the people’s feelings for their leader and be good at choosing a specific aspect or corner to depict the relationship between the leader and the people, the emotions of the people loving their leader. In a short lyric and melody, it is impossible to include everything, so we don’t need to describe many things or elaborate on the development of history. The most important requirement is profound thought and rich emotion, vivid language, and powerful melodies. We do not necessarily need to write large choruses or grand orchestral works; we can also write for group singing, duets, small solos, or small instrumental pieces, without forcing a uniform approach. What is particularly needed at the moment are songs that the broad masses can sing to praise Chairman Mao.

This July 1st marks the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China. Writing more and better songs to praise Chairman Mao is a great gift to the great people’s party and the people’s leader. I believe we should bravely take on this task, study more, think more, write more, and we will surely be able to produce songs that are powerful, thoughtful, and can fully express the sincere and deep emotions between the masses and the leader.

What I've Learned About " Pravda " The Spirit of Criticism and Self-Criticism

Zhang Chunqiao (April 19, 1954) People's Daily

An Indestructible Principle of Newspaper Work

The decades of historical experience of Soviet newspapers, led by *Pravda*, tell us that conducting criticism and self-criticism is an indestructible principle of Soviet press work. Newspapers use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to help the Party educate the people into strong and loyal fighters.

The various congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, particularly those held after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, have provided clear and resolute directives on the issue of conducting criticism and self-criticism in newspapers.

The famous resolution on the press adopted at the 8th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1919 emphasized, on one hand, that the Party and Soviet press are the most powerful tools for propaganda, agitation, and organization, and are irreplaceable means for influencing the broadest masses. On the other hand, it called for Party newspapers to engage in criticism and self-criticism:

"One of the most important tasks of Party and Soviet newspapers is to expose various crimes committed by personnel and institutions, and to point out the mistakes and shortcomings of Party and Soviet organizations. All of this must be done in a factual and comradely manner. Those individuals and institutions mentioned by the newspaper for their actions must, within the shortest possible time, provide an accurate correction in the same newspaper or indicate how the errors were rectified. If such corrections or acknowledgments are not made, the revolutionary tribunal shall indict the individuals or institutions identified."

These provisions are still adhered to today.

With the victorious progress of socialist construction and the successful completion of several Five-Year Plans, criticism and self-criticism have become even more prominent in newspapers. At the beginning of the first Five-Year Plan, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union issued a letter to all Party members and workers on June 3, 1928. This letter introduced the famous slogan advocating criticism and self-criticism, regardless of the subject or personal considerations, conducted from top to bottom and bottom to top. This slogan became the fundamental guiding principle for Party and Soviet newspapers in their efforts to carry out criticism and self-criticism.

The Party's 19th Congress once again emphasized the immense and immeasurable significance of criticism and self-criticism in advancing the Party's cause.

Why has the Party adopted so many resolutions and repeatedly raised this issue over and over again?

The comrades from the editorial board of *Pravda* told us: "Carrying out criticism and self-criticism has not been without obstacles. When a person is criticized, it will not evoke the same feeling as when they are praised, nor will it bring the kind of joy a child feels when their head is lovingly patted by their mother—this is simply unavoidable. Reaching the point where individuals and institutions being criticized consciously write letters of self-reflection to the newspaper's editorial board after seeing their criticism in print has not been an easy task. Over twenty years ago, some responsible cadres were disciplined for making mistakes in their attitudes toward criticism. Even today, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its press must continue to fight to ensure that Party members and the working people can criticize the shortcomings and mistakes of the Party and government without hesitation, and to ensure that such criticism produces tangible results. This is also an essential part of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union's struggle to strengthen the connection between the Party and the people, to eliminate the remnants of capitalist thought, and to build communism."

The comrades from the editorial board of *Pravda* have shared with us many examples, illustrating how the Party has fought to pave the way for criticism and self-criticism.

Pravda once published a satirical piece titled "The Case of Anna Vasilia." It tells the story of an incident that occurred in Moscow: Anna Vasilia was an active female Party member who, after criticizing the district committee at a Party meeting, angered the committee. Initially, they tried to suppress her, and in the end, they dismissed her from her job. She went to *Pravda* to appeal, asking for the newspaper's help.

Pravda's editorial board sent reporter Comrade Kolosov to investigate, and he confirmed that her account was true. Kolosov then wrote the satirical piece, which was published. The issue drew the attention of the Party's Central Committee and was raised for discussion at a central meeting. The meeting decided to form a special committee to conduct an investigation. The committee included the Central Committee's secretary, officials from the Soviet Prosecutor General's Office and the Supreme Court, as well as Kolosov, the author of the piece.

They investigated the district committee involved in the incident and spoke with many Party members, discovering that criticism and self-criticism were not being effectively carried out in the district. The committee reported their findings at the central meeting. The meeting decided to restore Anna Vasilia's job, remove the district committee secretary from his position, and instructed the Moscow City Party Committee to pay attention to promoting criticism and self-criticism.

Pravda has fought many battles in support of local newspapers' criticisms. There was once a regional newspaper that criticized staff members of the regional trade department. They had organized a food exhibition, and at the end, the staff ate all the exhibition items. In their criticism, the regional newspaper mentioned that the staff had sung a song called "The Reeds Are Rustling" while drinking. The criticized individuals disagreed, arguing that while they ate all the food, they did not sing the song, and therefore, "the criticism did not match the facts."

Pravda published a satirical piece titled "The Reeds Are Rustling," mocking their attitude toward criticism.

Some cadres emphasized the difficulties in their work, saying that there were challenges here and there, and that when reporters came, they wrote about their many shortcomings, which put them in a difficult and troubl-

some position. The Party told them: "Criticism in the newspapers is precisely to help you overcome difficulties. This is the Party's basic method of work. Without it, you cannot overcome difficulties or make progress."

Criticism and self-criticism extend to all areas of life and have become a way of life.

During our visit to the Soviet Union, we deeply felt that criticism and self-criticism had become a way of life here. People need it, just like they need air and water. It is common to see criticism of various aspects of work in newspapers, particularly criticism of key sectors and important cadres that have a decisive impact on the development of things. For example, *Pravda* on March 25, 1953, criticized the State Planning Committee of the Soviet Union; on November 12, it criticized the Minister of the Timber and Pulp Industry; on November 16, it devoted nearly half a page to criticizing the Gorky Regional Party Committee (including several Party secretaries); on December 14, it criticized the Minister of the Soviet Union's Coal Industry; on December 16, it criticized the Minister and Deputy Minister of Agriculture; on December 18, it criticized the Ministry of Building Materials Industry; and on January 14, 1954, it criticized the leaders of the Molotov Regional Party Committee. *Pravda* published 125 satirical pieces in the past year. Every day's editorial, when discussing domestic issues, includes both criticism and praise.

Pravda's criticism covers all areas of life. Since the Party leads all work, the Party's official newspaper should reflect the Party's deep concern for every aspect of life.

Recently, the Party has paid particular attention to agricultural issues, and *Pravda's* criticism has also focused on agriculture. The criticisms of the Minister of Agriculture and several regional Party committees have all been related to agricultural issues.

The Party has set the task of developing light industry, and *Pravda* has criticized the leaders of the Soviet light industry sector. However, since light industry is often influenced by other industrial sectors, criticisms have also been directed at the relevant departments. For example, on August 13 of the previous year, an article titled "It's Time, the Ministry of Chemical Industry Should Provide Quality Dyes for Textile Workers!"

was published. It was written by three scholars and two engineers. On September 3, another article titled "The Ministry of Machine Engineering Should Provide Production Equipment for Expanding Light Industry" was published, co-authored by three doctoral degree holders in technical sciences, two masters, and one engineer. The various fields of ideological work are areas that *Pravda* frequently focuses on. In recent months, there have been comments on literary and artistic issues, including: fighting for creative diversity, modern rural life in literary magazines, why our poetry has fallen behind, the need for stricter technical standards in poetry, what is hindering the development of cinema, the difficulties in developing mass songs, the lack of a creative atmosphere in the Soviet Union's Union of Artists, the need for more diverse performances during festivals, the issue of providing services for rural music festivals, the need to pay more attention to rural audiences, and discussions before the Second Congress of Writers, among others.

Reviews of newspapers, magazines, and books hold an important place in *Pravda*. Each month, six or seven reviews of newspapers are published, and last year, 160 book reviews were published.

In short, the themes of *Pravda's* criticism are diverse and are not limited to the current central tasks. Life itself is so rich and varied, and the struggle between the old and the new is so vivid and intense. The newspaper should not focus only on one aspect of life or another; it should provide clear answers to the various questions posed by life. Of course, life itself also reveals which issues are primary and which are secondary, and the newspaper should reflect the true nature of life and struggle.

The main basis for criticism is the Party's resolutions and policies. The power of the newspaper lies in the fact that it is the Party's official organ and that it adheres to the principle of Party character. *Pravda's* recent criticisms have been aimed at mobilizing the masses to successfully implement the resolutions of the Party's 19th Congress and the September 1953 Plenary Session of the Central Committee. The Party's Central Committee frequently provides specific instructions to the editorial board, and the leaders of local Party organizations often point out the themes and targets of criticism to *Pravda's* local reporters. The letters from the vast laboring masses have become the most important source for selecting themes and targets of criticism. In 1953, *Pravda's* editorial

board received 400,000 letters. The Laborers' Correspondence Department registered the various issues raised in the letters on topic cards, making it convenient for the editorial board to use them. Many editorials and articles begin by citing letters from workers. Of the 125 satirical pieces published last year, more than 90 were written based on letters from laborers. Some letters, after being investigated and verified, were published as they were. For example, on December 14, 1953, *Pravda* published an article titled "Why Are Coastal Mines Falling Behind?" which was a letter criticizing the Minister of the Soviet Ministry of Coal Industry. The letter was jointly written by mine workers, a Party committee secretary, and a Socialist Labor Hero. On December 18, another letter criticizing the Soviet Ministry of Building Materials Industry was published. This letter came from an advanced worker and was published after being supplemented with information from a reporter's investigation.

Pravda's local reporters also sent many criticism articles from various regions. For example, the article titled "Promises and Reality," published on December 11 last year, was written by a *Pravda* reporter from Dnipropetrovsk. It criticized the director of the Dzerzhinsky Metallurgical Plant for making promises he did not keep and failing to meet production targets, while also criticizing the Soviet Ministry of Metallurgical Industry. Another article, "Leningrad's Handicraft Cooperatives Can and Should Work Better," published on December 7, was also written by a reporter.

A flexible and lively form.

Pravda's criticism is not only rich and diverse in content, but also flexible and lively in form.

Essays, reports, reader letters, and cartoons are the forms we commonly use for criticism, and I will not elaborate further on them here.

Criticism in editorials is a less frequently used form. *Pravda* publishes an editorial every day, and among those discussing domestic issues, it is rare not to address shortcomings in work or fail to offer sharp criticism, often naming individuals or departments. It is easy to understand that, since criticism and self-criticism are so important, and the editorial is the most important article in each issue of the newspaper, the editorial board would not hesitate to use this form when conducting criticism.

The most popular form among readers is the satirical vignette. Written in literary language, it has a plot and characters, and its hallmark is that it must include laughter—whether a smile, mockery, or an angry laugh. Just as a painter selects different colors, a writer chooses different types of laughter depending on the target of the satire. *Pravda* and other Soviet newspapers have always valued this sharp weapon of struggle. Because, in the Soviet Union, although the hostile classes have been eliminated, the country remains surrounded by capitalism, and there are still remnants of bourgeois thought within the nation. Satire thus becomes the most powerful weapon for combating bourgeois ideology. The attention that these satirical pieces attract can be understood from one example: in times of crowded editorial space, all departments willingly give up their positions to make room for them, saying, "What would we do without the satirical vignette?"

It should be noted that our newspapers often use news reports to conduct criticism, but *Pravda* does not adopt this form. A news report is an important form of agitation; it needs to be quick and concise, which makes it unsuitable for investigation and analysis. It is impossible to fully analyze an event in a short news piece, whereas criticism always requires reasoning. Therefore, *Pravda* and other newspapers do not use this form for criticism (except in rare cases, where a news report may briefly mention one or two shortcomings in work). This approach helps avoid many avoidable flaws.

Criticism articles, except for editorials, are generally published on the second page. The first page is reserved for news reports.

Pravda is independently responsible for conducting criticism under the leadership of the Party. This means that *Pravda's* criticism is accountable to the Central Committee of the Party and is not subject to restrictions from any other sources.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union granted its official newspaper the power and responsibility to be independently accountable. The newspaper is meant to defend the Party, the state, and the people's interests. It should criticize the shortcomings and mistakes in the Party and state's work without hesitation, encouraging the masses to participate in the construction of communism. This criticism should be impartial and ob-

jective, regardless of the rank of the individual being criticized—whether they are high-ranking or low-ranking officials, if they have flaws or mistakes, they should be criticized without requiring their consent.

The primary reason *Pravda's* editorials are written entirely by the editorial board is that only the editorial team can produce objective and fair editorials. Reporters in the regions are directly under the editorial board's leadership to ensure that their criticism is not restricted. The correspondents of the newspaper voluntarily organize around the editorial team and are not affiliated with any other organization. Before *Pravda* publishes criticism articles, there is no need for approval from any other party. All of this is to ensure the editorial board's initiative, enthusiasm, and sharpness when conducting criticism and self-criticism.

Of course, the editorial board of the Party's official newspaper has no authority to oppose the Party Committee. It cannot criticize the Party Committee to which it is subordinate in the newspaper. Only when the Party Committee itself deems it necessary can a critique of the Party Committee be published. If the editorial board believes it is necessary, it can write a critique of the Party Committee to the higher-level Party committee's newspaper. The higher-level Party committee's newspaper must publish the critique of the local Party Committee when it is submitted.

At the same time, it should be emphasized that this does not mean that the editorial board can take a careless approach to criticism. On the contrary, the editorial board understands that the responsibility it bears is extremely serious, and it must never abuse its power. Before publishing any article, the editorial board always thoroughly investigates the facts, gathers various opinions from different sources, and only then independently and responsibly decides whether to publish and how to publish the article. The independent and responsible work spirit demonstrated by *Pravda's* editorial board in handling criticism articles deeply moved us. Based on what we heard and saw, this spirit is specifically manifested in the following aspects:

First, the editorial board clearly understands that the purpose of criticism is to help the Party and the people correct shortcomings and mistakes and to help advance the work of the Party and the people. It is wrong to think that criticism and self-criticism in the newspaper could be exploited

by the enemy or make some people uncomfortable, and therefore avoid conducting criticism and self-criticism. From our criticism and self-criticism, the people should gain more nourishment. To achieve this purpose, it is essential to distinguish whether the criticism is directed at the enemy or at comrades. For the enemy, criticism aims to eliminate them, not to help them correct their mistakes. For comrades, criticism is meant to help them correct their mistakes, not to eliminate them. The editorial board must consider the issues from the perspective of the Party and the people's interests. A Party newspaper should embody the will of the Party; it should not shy away from criticism because someone is an authority, nor should it hesitate to criticize a friend out of personal feelings. Criticism should be impartial, without regard to the target or considerations of sentiment.

However, the editorial board must also work creatively. It cannot use a single standard to measure everything; it must be practical, cautious, and fair. The tone of the criticism is very important. The Party teaches that: one should not substitute a club for criticism. Particularly when criticizing individuals, care must be taken not to damage the comrade's self-esteem. Insulting people is not permissible, and moderation should be observed. It must be understood that criticizing someone's shortcomings is easy, but helping a comrade overcome their shortcomings is a much more difficult task.

This is the ideological and principled nature of criticism, which is also the Party's character in criticism. On one hand, the Party educates cadres to properly accept criticism in the newspapers, in accordance with Comrade Stalin's instructions. Even if there is only 5% truth in the criticism, they should accept it humbly and not block the flow of opinions. On the other hand, the Party requires the editorial board to maintain the correctness of the criticism.

Secondly, to ensure the correctness of the criticism, the editorial board takes an extremely cautious approach and employs very thorough methods. Every critical article published in the newspaper undergoes a careful investigation beforehand. The only exception is for articles written by reporters, as reporters are strictly selected, educated by the Party, and understand the editorial board's expectations. They know that an inaccurate criticism could cause immeasurable harm to the newspaper.

The investigation of the manuscripts includes two aspects: the author and the facts. First, the investigation begins with the author—who is the person behind the submission, and whether they deserve to have their name appear in *Pravda*. A person's name appearing in *Pravda* should be considered a significant matter. Only those who have not committed any political or moral wrongs should be allowed to appear as authors in *Pravda* and meet the readers under their name. At the same time, this investigation also prevents bad people from impersonating others' names.

Secondly, the investigation looks into whether the facts presented are true. The honor of Soviet citizens lies in the fact that most of the issues revealed through investigations have been proven true. However, this does not mean that investigations should be neglected. It is important to trust, but also to investigate—this is an ironclad principle. In fact, it has been proven that investigations are necessary. Not only do they ensure the authenticity of the criticism, but they often turn a simple letter into a profound article. What the readers initially pointed out may be only a superficial phenomenon, and through investigation, the issue can be exposed in its essence. The comrades at *Pravda*'s editorial office told us that decades of experience have shown that investigations bring only benefits and no drawbacks, while failure to investigate has only negative consequences and no benefits.

The method of investigation is as follows: Local reporters conduct investigations on-site. In places where there are no local reporters, the editorial department of the local newspaper is entrusted to carry out the investigation. During the investigation, journalists engage in conversations with people from various perspectives—those in support of the issue, those who oppose it, the individuals directly involved, and those with relevant knowledge. If necessary, they also consult the supervising departments and leaders, not to seek approval for publication, but to ensure the criticism is accurate.

People from all sides are willing to help with these investigations, viewing it as both an honor and a duty to assist reporters in their work. Therefore, the investigation of an incident does not take much time. In order to ultimately confirm the authenticity of the manuscript, before deciding to publish, the editorial department sends a telegram to the author: "Please confirm that the author's name and facts are correct." Typically, the ed-

itorial department receives a reply telegram: "Confirm that the author's name and facts are correct." The cost of sending and receiving the telegrams is covered by the editorial department.

Third, in order to ensure the correctness of the criticism, important critiques and commentaries must undergo discussion by the editorial board. According to tradition, issues related to Marxist-Leninist theory, party construction, foreign policy, literature and art, and other significant topics must be discussed by the editorial board. Of course, not everything is subject to discussion, only new issues require such deliberation. During these discussions, the author of the critique is invited to participate, and this rule is strictly adhered to. For more complex issues that are difficult to reach a conclusion on, the criticized party is also invited to participate in the discussion.

Fourth, to ensure the correctness of the criticism, especially for important critiques, the editorial board proactively seeks guidance from the party committee and consults with the relevant departments. The editorial board has the right to ask the party committee for advice at any time, but the party also requires the editorial board to handle issues independently and responsibly. The board should not misuse its access to the party. Consulting the party on every issue may seem convenient, but it is a simplistic approach that reflects immaturity. The editorial board should engage in independent thinking, thoroughly consider the issue, and become a powerful assistant to the party committee.

Consulting with relevant departments is also necessary to make a correct judgment about the issue. The editorial board respects the opinions from all sides, but the final conclusion must be made by the editorial board itself. No department has the right to dictate the acceptance or rejection of articles. Since the newspaper is the party's official organ, its leadership is unified and centralized in the party committee and the first secretary.

Fifth, the editorial board fights for the effectiveness of its criticisms. The party's rule is that once a critique is published, the criticized department and leader must hold a meeting to discuss it and inform the editorial board of the results and the measures taken. Due to space limitations, the editorial board can only publish a summary of the most important reviews. It is now unthinkable for the criticized department to fail to reflect on the issue or neglect to notify the editorial board.

In order to ensure that criticism has practical results, “*Pravda*” has implemented two measures: first, if it receives a response that merely addresses the issue superficially, it publishes a follow-up critique to make a more forceful point; second, after a certain period, it revisits the issue to check how the correction has been implemented. This way, the criticized parties cannot escape public scrutiny. In several renowned factories, we heard that a critique published by “*Pravda*” years ago had left a lasting impact, helping those factories improve for many years.

Overcoming Bourgeois Legal Thought

Zhang Chunqiao (People's Daily, October 13, 1958)

Anyone with a slight knowledge of the history of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese revolution would know that under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, within the Chinese People's Army and revolutionary bases, from the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army to the later Eighth Route Army, New Fourth Army, and People's Liberation Army, from the Jinggangshan base to the later vast liberated areas, the fundamental principle of handling internal relations among the people has always been equality between the army and the people, between officers and soldiers, and between superiors and subordinates. This principle was established in the earliest revolutionary base, Jinggangshan, under the direct leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong. In the report "The Struggle in Jinggangshan" to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote:

Most of the Red Army soldiers came from hired armies, but once they joined the Red Army, their nature changed. First, the Red Army abolished the system of hired soldiers, making the soldiers feel that they were not fighting for others, but fighting for themselves and the people. The Red Army still does not have a regular salary system, only providing food, oil, salt, firewood, vegetable money, and a small amount of pocket money... The Hunan Provincial Committee wants us to pay attention to the material life of the soldiers, at least making it somewhat better than the general life of workers and peasants. But now it's the opposite. Apart from food, each person only receives five cents a day for oil, salt, firewood, and vegetables, which is difficult to sustain. ... In such cold weather, many soldiers still wear two layers of thin clothes. Fortunately, they are accustomed to hardship. Moreover, everyone suffers equally, from the army commander to the cook. Apart from food, everyone gets the same five-cent rations. ...

The material life of the Red Army was so meager, and the battles so frequent, yet it still managed to remain intact. Apart from the role of the Party, it was due to the implementation of democracy within the army.

Officers did not strike soldiers, and officers and soldiers were treated equally. Soldiers had the freedom to speak at meetings, cumbersome rituals were abolished, and finances were transparent. Soldiers managed their own rations and were still able to save a little from the daily five-cent allowance for oil, salt, firewood, and vegetables, which they called “leftover rations.” Each person could save about six or seventy wen per day. These measures were well-received by the soldiers. Especially for the newly captured soldiers, they felt that the Nationalist Army and our army were two different worlds. Although they felt that the Red Army’s material life was not as good as the White Army’s, their spirits were liberated. A soldier who was not brave in the enemy army yesterday, became brave in the Red Army today—that’s the influence of democracy. The Red Army is like a furnace; when captured soldiers come over, they are immediately melted. Not only do the people of China need democracy, but the army also needs democracy. The democratic system within the army will be an important weapon in dismantling the feudal mercenary army.

As everyone knows, the Marxist-Leninist and communist mutual relationships within the people’s army became a model for the internal relationships in the revolutionary base areas. In relations between the army and the people, the government and the people, the military and political relations, and in the mutual relations between superiors and subordinates, the same principle of comradely equality was adhered to. People relied not on holding power, having guns, on their official rank, or on their prestige, but on serving the people, on persuasion, and on truth in handling mutual relations. The people in the revolutionary base areas also learned from the People’s Liberation Army in how to handle the mutual relationships between different parts of the population. When outsiders stepped onto the liberated land, they immediately noticed: within the entire revolutionary base area, due to the correct handling of internal relations, everyone’s life was difficult, but “at least they were used to hardship, and everyone was equally poor.” Everyone lived under a system of supply that was communist in nature. Although, due to the needs of their work, there were slight differences in living standards, the differences were not substantial. Politics and the mass line were discussed everywhere. As a result, workers, peasants, soldiers, students, and businessmen were united as one, as close as family, persevering in hard work, and fighting bravely to defeat the enemy. Do you remember the scenes of large-scale battles during the War of Liberation? In order to support the People’s Liberation

Army, thousands and tens of thousands of militia accompanied the army southward. They lived the same military communist life as the army. They were not seeking promotions, wealth, nor did they expect to receive wages, let alone implement a “piece-rate pay system.” They carried their own food and fought for the revolution. Their hearts and minds were focused only on overthrowing the three great enemies and liberating all of China. Throughout the revolutionary base areas, from the front to the rear, men, women, old, and young, were united in a fighting collective. It was this military communist life that marked the rootedness, blossoming, and fruiting of Marxist-Leninist ideological styles and Mao Zedong’s ideological style among the millions of people. And this army and people, armed with communist thought and tempered through battle, are invincible in the world! Hasn’t the entire history of the Chinese revolution already proven this?

After the national liberation, this set of military communist life characterized by the “supply system” was still highly valued. When mentioning the “supply system,” it was regarded as honorable, just like talking about old revolutionaries or hard work. Some young revolutionaries who had just started working also hoped for a “supply system” to show that, like the old comrades, they were genuinely committed to the revolution. Those who had been accustomed to the supply system life were not envious of the wage system, and people liked this system because it expressed an equal mutual relationship. However, not long after, this system was attacked by bourgeois legal thought. The core of bourgeois legal thought is the hierarchy system. To those who adhere to this thought, the supply system seemed entirely undesirable. They scornfully called it “rural style” or “guerrilla habits.” Such discussions were not surprising coming from the bourgeoisie. However, soon, many of our party’s cadres began to be influenced by this thinking. Among them, discussions about the flaws of the supply system gradually increased, while discussions about the advantages of the wage system began to dominate. Eventually, the supply system almost became a bad term. Some people were not working actively, saying “whether you work or not, it’s two and a half,” which was blamed on the supply system. Someone used a government envelope and was accused of “mixing public and private, a supply system habit!” This was again blamed on the supply system. If factories or stores did not operate well and lost money, it was blamed on “the supply system mentality!” In short, the communist supply system, which had guaranteed the success

of the Chinese revolution, was attacked by some people as if it had committed a great crime and should be sentenced to death. The fundamental reason people attack the supply system is that it is believed to fail to stimulate production enthusiasm. Their theoretical basis is the “principle of material interests” emphasized by economists. It is said that under the socialist system, there are still remnants of old divisions of labor, such as the differences between intellectual and manual labor, between workers and peasants, and between skilled and unskilled labor. Therefore, the “principle that workers care about the results of their labor and the development of production from a material interests perspective” is glorified. It is claimed that “the wage system,” “piece-rate wages” can stimulate workers to “show the greatest concern for their labor results,” can promote “socialist competition,” and because labor productivity is high, wages are high, making this system “the most important lever for the development of the entire national economy.” There’s a lot of reasoning behind it. However, to put it simply, it still boils down to the old saying: “Money can make things happen.” As long as high wages are used to “stimulate” workers, it is like buying candy with money—whatever socialism or communism is, it can be instantly bought.

What can we say about such theories?

Under the “supply system,” millions of people fought armed struggles for decades, climbing snow-capped mountains, crossing grasslands, and undertaking the 25,000-li Long March. Who received wages during this time? Was the victory in the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, the Liberation War, and the War to Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea stimulated by wages? Upon hearing such discussions, any person with a communist consciousness would feel deeply insulted and would wonder what more could be said.

Take the construction industry, for example. It wasn’t others, but precisely those workers who economists believe are the most concerned with the size of their wages, who voiced opinions completely contrary to the economists. Workers in Shanghai, after a period of great discussion and debate, sharply pointed out that such theories and methods are “money-oriented,” not “politics-oriented.” This one remark hit the nail on the head; is there any clearer way to say it? Of course, we do not deny that in the primary stage of communism, i.e., in socialist society, as Marx

correctly pointed out in the “Critique of the Gotha Program,” it still bears traces of the old society, in all aspects of the economy, morality, and thought. The “bourgeois right” inequality cannot be immediately abolished. We can only “each according to their ability, each according to their work” and not yet “each according to their ability, each according to their needs.” But did Marx’s words tell us that the bourgeois right, the bourgeois hierarchical system of inequality, should not be destroyed, but rather institutionalized, systematized, and further developed? Should we only emphasize the “material interests” principle and not strengthen communist education in terms of politics, thought, and morality to thoroughly fight to abolish bourgeois rights? It was none other than Marx himself who answered this question. In his “The Civil War in France,” summarizing the lessons of the Paris Commune, he specifically praised the measures taken by the Commune’s heroes: “From the Commune Councilors down to all public officials, they should only receive wages equivalent to that of workers. All the privileges enjoyed by high-ranking state officials and the expenses for their offices should disappear along with these officials.”

Look at the Paris Commune—the first proletarian commune in the world. The revolutionary measures they took were precisely aimed at thoroughly destroying the bourgeois class’s hierarchical system, without emphasizing the “material interests” principle. When Marx, and later Engels and Lenin, repeatedly emphasized this lesson, did they forget about the bourgeois right and other such matters? It seems that Marx, Engels, and Lenin did not lend a hand to those economists who only focus on “money” and fail to see the people behind it. Lenin, in his book “State and Revolution,” angrily criticized: “It is in this particularly obvious point, perhaps the most important point of the state question, that people have completely forgotten Marx’s lesson.” Yet many people, when referring to this experience, consider it “outdated” or “naive behavior.” Isn’t it the same for those attacking the supply system, advocating money over politics, who also claim the supply system is “guerrilla-style,” “rural customs,” and “outdated”? Have they also “completely forgotten Marx’s lesson”?

After years of practice, it has been proven that the attacks on the “supply system,” the “rural style,” and “guerrilla habits” are, in fact, efforts by the bourgeoisie to protect the unequal bourgeois rights, to attack the proletariat’s revolutionary traditions, and to undermine the communist princ-

iples that properly address the internal relationships of working people. All exploitative and oppressive classes protect a strict hierarchical system. They do not hesitate to invent all sorts of myths, claiming that they are “emperors” and the natural rulers of the world. Chiang Kai-shek, such an ugly figure, shamelessly referred to his bloodline as descendants of the Duke of Zhou in his book “The Destiny of China.” One of his biographies even explicitly claims he is the son of Duke Zhou. Although this myth should only belong in a “comic collection,” it reveals just how eager they are to dress themselves up as naturally superior figures of China. The comprador capitalists in Shanghai also take pride in being “high-class Chinese.” A.Q., simply because he said he was “of the same family as Zhao Taiye,” was soundly slapped by Zhao Taiye, who said, “How can you have the surname Zhao? You are not worthy of the Zhao surname!” In the old society, from whether one was worthy to share the Zhao surname to one’s clothing, eating, housing, walking speed, and posture while smoking—everything was determined by identity and rank. Every aspect was governed by “rituals.” Whether something was in accordance with ritual or not determined whether it was legal or not, and bourgeois rights were present in every part of life.

Those who attack the supply system for not stimulating production are actually trying to replace the proletarian equality with the bourgeois hierarchical system’s rituals and laws. They argue that this would stimulate production. Is that really the case? The result of implementing their system is that the once relatively equal living standards among our party’s cadres have changed. Some individuals, who had long been unable to endure the simple life, quickly adopted a gentleman’s style, an upper-class Chinese manner, or the air of Zhao Taiye. Some cadres felt uncomfortable if they weren’t addressed by a formal title. This did indeed have an effect. However, it did not stimulate production but instead stimulated the drive for fame in the government and profit in the market, the drive for ostentation and extravagance, the drive for being detached from the masses without shame. Some of the most unsteady elements have degenerated into bourgeois right-wing figures, corrupt officials.

Previously, some claimed that the supply system would make people lazy. Now it has been proven that the opposite is true—the hierarchical system makes people lazy. Some cadres, even if they worked an extra hour, would demand overtime pay. But during the supply system conditions, those

contributed everything, even their lives, in the revolutionary war—did they calculate any extra fees? Even more seriously, as this mentality developed, the relationship between cadres and the working people changed. The “three winds” and “five airs” of leadership cadres became more pronounced. Political leadership, equality, persuading the masses instead of coercing them, becoming one with the masses—these ideals have been completely forgotten by some people, and even after the Central Committee issued instructions on how to properly handle contradictions among the people, they continued to resist every step of the way. Isn’t this the reality we have personally experienced?

Looking back on this passage, it carries profound educational significance for each one of us. In this process, although our individual stances on what to support or oppose may differ, and the depth of the influence we experience may vary, we can all find essential lessons from it.

Because the Party’s tradition is based on Marxism-Leninism, which has taken root among our Party’s cadres and the masses, although it has been subjected to some disruption, it is not difficult to restore. Now, under the call of the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, through the great rectification movement, it has been restored. However, we cannot yet say that it has been thoroughly done. Bourgeois legal thinking and the bureaucratic airs of the Kuomintang still influence us. The policy for correctly handling internal contradictions within the people still faces resistance from certain individuals. There is still a long and repetitive struggle ahead. However, since the situation of the Great Leap Forward urgently requires us to make leaps and bounds in adjusting interpersonal relationships, all comrades loyal to the Communist cause will certainly be at the forefront of this movement, thoroughly restoring and promoting our Party’s glorious tradition under new conditions, completely eliminating bourgeois legal thinking, establishing equal relationships with the masses, and uniting completely across all levels. Together, we will live, labor, and work, striving together for socialism and communism. Is there any doubt about this?

Editor’s Note, People’s Daily: Comrade Zhang Chunqiao’s article, originally published in the 6th issue of the Shanghai Liberation bi-weekly, is now reprinted here for discussion by comrades. This issue requires discussion because it is an important current topic. We believe that the article

is basically correct, but it does have some one-sidedness, particularly in that it does not fully explain the historical process. However, it clearly raises this issue and draws attention to it. The article is also written in a straightforward and easily understandable manner, making it enjoyable to read.

(People's Daily, October 13, 1958)

Appendix: Mao Zedong's letter to Wu Lengxi regarding the reprint of the article "Overcoming Bourgeois Legal Thought" (1)

(October 11, 1958)

Comrade Lengxi:

I have received your letter. Since there are so many opinions, when it is published, the preface should be slightly revised, as follows:

Editor's Note from *People's Daily*:

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao's article, originally published in the sixth issue of Shanghai's *Liberation* biweekly, is now reprinted here for comrades' discussion. This issue requires discussion because it is an important current topic. We believe the article is largely correct, though there is some one-sidedness, particularly in its incomplete explanation of the historical process. However, it clearly raises this issue, which deserves attention. The article is also simple and easy to understand, making it a good read.

Please review it and consider carefully. If there is anything inappropriate, let me know and I will revise it. Also, please show this to Comrade Chen Boda for his review, and ask for his opinion. Additionally, provide him with the details of your discussion.

Mao Zedong, 10:00 AM, October 11

(Printed according to the manuscript)

Notes:

[1] Zhang Chunqiao's article "Overcoming Bourgeois Legal Thought" was first published in the 6th issue of *Liberation* in Shanghai on September 16, 1958. When it was reprinted in *People's Daily* on October 13, 1958, it included an editorial note written by Mao Zedong. Zhang Chunqiao was the head of the Propaganda Department of the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China at the time. Wu Lengxi was the head of Xinhua News Agency and the editor-in-chief of *People's Daily*.

[2] Refers to the letter from Wu Lengxi to Mao Zedong, in which he expressed differing opinions regarding Zhang Chunqiao's article and asked Mao Zedong to consider whether the editorial note in *People's Daily* should be more lively.

[3] Chen Boda was the director of the Political Research Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the editor-in-chief of *Red Flag* magazine at the time.

The Speech by Yao Wenyuan and Zhang Chunqiao at the Beijing Broadcasting Institute

Yao Wenyuan, Zhang Chunqiao

1966.07.27

Yao Wenyan:

Comrades! All revolutionary teachers and students!

We came here together and immediately felt the breath of revolution. Being at the heart of the revolutionary storm, we are willing to be elementary students with everyone. We are here to learn, and we are also here, together with all revolutionary teachers and students, to make revolution. (Applause)

Comrade Jiang Qing, Comrade Chen Boda, and Comrade Kang Sheng have all mentioned in several speeches that we are here to be elementary students. Is this just a humble statement? No, it is not. Chairman Mao has always taught us that any person, any cadre, is a servant of the people; they cannot act as officials or lords. Chairman Mao also said, where does correct thought come from? It can only come from the masses, and then go back to the masses! These past few days, we have truly received a lot and been greatly educated. The Cultural Revolution Committee is a new thing. The last time we proposed establishing the Cultural Revolution Committee, this was also a question raised from practice. The work groups can no longer lead, and we cannot let them lead anymore, comrades, can we allow the work groups to lead? (No) Then, of course, the Leftist black gang cannot do it either. So, before the establishment of this Cultural Revolution Committee, who will lead us and do the work for the current stage? We believe this is a question raised from practical work, and all comrades, all revolutionary teachers and students, should seriously consider this issue. Today, many comrades have suggested the establishment of a temporary Cultural Revolution Committee to prepare for the formal Cultural Revolution Committee, to be responsible for the leadership of the preparations during this period and for carrying out the Cultural Revolution, engaging in struggle. I think this is a very good

suggestion and comes from practice. It is an idea of self-reliance! Chairman Mao has always taught us that in revolution and construction, we must rely on ourselves. Under the leadership of the Party and under the leadership of Mao Zedong Thought, self-reliance is the best and most powerful weapon for us to defeat all enemies and destroy all monsters and demons. Comrades, can we carry out Chairman Mao's instructions? (Yes!) Yes! We must definitely carry out Chairman Mao's instructions and, with our own strength, make sure this Cultural Revolution is successful! (Applause)

Of course, the temporary Cultural Revolution Committee cannot be perfect. As I said, only the people in the grave are perfect because they don't do any work. The most important thing about a person is whether they are revolutionary. To be revolutionary, we must listen to the Party, listen to Chairman Mao, and take Mao Zedong Thought as our highest instruction. True revolutionary comrades should support him, help him with his shortcomings, and cooperate with him. Just now, we had some discussions with comrades, and some comrades also reflected that within the temporary Cultural Revolution Committee, there are concerns about things like the distribution of names, proportions, and so on.

Personally, I think the first thing to consider is the big picture. Right now, we shouldn't focus on one department or class and how many quotas there are. The issue at hand is that we urgently need a temporary Cultural Revolution Committee to lead the current struggle. This is the essential, central issue. So, I fully believe that the vast majority of our teachers and students here are willing to prioritize the big picture and unite as one, to carry out the Cultural Revolution to the end. Comrades, do you think this approach will work? (Yes!)

We are not afraid. Chairman Mao taught us that thorough materialists fear nothing. Under the red flag of Mao Zedong Thought, we dare to think, dare to speak, dare to break through, dare to act, dare to revolutionize, and dare to carry out the Cultural Revolution to the end with our own strength! (Applause) In the struggle, many good comrades have emerged. Yesterday, at Peking University, we heard a revolutionary young soldier, a middle school student, speak very well and very movingly! She was fearless, filled with the heroic spirit of the proletariat, and we believe that to make revolution, the most important thing is to have a firm pro-

letarian stance, deep proletarian feelings, and to truly serve the proletariat and the poor and lower-middle peasants. With this class sentiment and class stance, and by studying Chairman Mao's works well, any difficulties in the world can be overcome. Chairman Mao said that we must believe in two things: one is to believe in the Party, and the other is to believe in the masses. With these two beliefs, we fear nothing.

Today, we are here with so many revolutionary teachers and students, and we will surely be able to take on the current tasks. As for the many contradictions, difficulties, and problems at present, I believe that from a strategic perspective, we can look down on them. Tactically, we can solve them one by one in our future work. What is there to be afraid of? We are not afraid! The world will have revolution, which means the old order of the bourgeoisie and the landlord class will be disrupted, and a new proletarian order will be established. What is there to fear if it gets a bit chaotic? Chairman Mao has a poem that says: "Infinite scenery is at the dangerous peak." "Infinite scenery is at the dangerous peak" is exactly like this. No revolution can avoid risks, no revolution can avoid struggle. Therefore, as long as we all continue to work in this way, we can fully believe that the Cultural Revolution at the Broadcasting Institute will definitely usher in a more flourishing new situation! (Applause)

Comrades! This is always how things happen: when bad people and bad things appear, we strike them down, and it turns into a good thing. By striking down the bad, we can train the proletariat, and by defeating the monsters and demons, the true proletariat, the real poor and lower-middle peasants, and the revolutionary people will rise up. We have already exposed Zuo Ying, and we must now focus on continuing the struggle to defeat him, ensuring that he will never rise again! (Applause)

We have uncovered the mistakes of the work group, and we must continue to expose and criticize them, thoroughly liquidating the erroneous line of the work group! (Applause) In this way, by striking down and criticizing these things, we are establishing a brand-new proletarian new order and new system in the Cultural Revolution. With this, we will be able to create valuable experience. So, today, as we gather here, we are filled with confidence and joy. Yesterday, at the meeting at Peking University, it was the same. As long as we all work together and unite more than 95% of the people around the proletarian revolutionary left wing, and use Chairman

Mao's thoughts to guide us, we will surely be able to lead the Cultural Revolution, create excellent experiences, and move forward! (Applause)

Long live the victorious proletarian Cultural Revolution!
Sweep away all monsters and demons!
Long live the Communist Party of China!
Long live Mao Zedong Thought!
Long live Chairman Mao! Long live! Long live forever! (Applause)

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao's Speech

He expressed support for the establishment of the temporary Cultural Revolution committee and said: "As for the members of the temporary Cultural Revolution committee, I've only met the majority of them twice, so I cannot vouch for any individual. If someone is incompetent, they can be dismissed at any time after discussion with the masses."

After the meeting, Comrades Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan met with all the members of the original temporary Cultural Revolution committee. Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: "You must follow the mass line and be good at distinguishing different opinions. Strive to unite over 90% of the masses."

When the leader of the original temporary Cultural Revolution committee mentioned that the committee members were all very young and lacked experience, Comrade Yao Wenyan responded: "What if you were in Africa or Latin America, without a revolutionary party to lead you?"

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: "What if the central government goes revisionist?"

Comrade Yao Wenyan replied: "You must believe that you can liberate yourselves. Believing in yourselves must be based on Mao Zedong Thought and the broad masses."

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao continued: "First, we must break superstitions and always rely on Mao Zedong Thought. Anything that does not align with Mao Zedong Thought does not count. Whoever masters Mao Zedong Thought should be followed. Second, you have already gained

the trust of some people, and they support you. However, they will still test you. Many issues should be discussed with the masses, and most people are not malicious. To truly unite with the masses, a process is required. Third, problems must be solved one by one. The difficulties will not be few.”

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao added: “You must learn from the work team’s lessons. Do not suppress the masses. As long as you are heading in the right direction, we will support you.”

Zhang Chunqiao's Conversation with Students from Nankai University, Tianjin University, and Hebei University Who Came to Beijing

Zhang Chunqiao 1966.08.06

[On the afternoon of August 6, the Vice-Head of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao, and group member Comrade Mu Xin, entrusted by Premier Zhou, met with the representative group of revolutionary students from Nankai University, Tianjin University, and Hebei University, who had come to Beijing for a visit. They held a discussion meeting and made important instructions.]

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao asked: "Which universities are you from?" (The crowd responded: "Tianjin University, Nankai University, Hebei University.") "When did you arrive?" (The crowd responded: "Yesterday morning at eleven o'clock.") Following this, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao and Comrade Mu Xin introduced themselves to the representatives.

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: "We're not very clear about what you want to discuss. Each university is different, so what issues have you brought with you?"

A student said: "We've seen that Peking University is making great progress. When we return, what exactly should we do?"

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao asked: "Which universities have you visited?" (The group replied: "Peking University, Tsinghua University, and Beijing Normal University.") "Then you're about the same as me. I work in Shanghai and came here for meetings, for the Cultural Revolution Group's meetings. I've also visited those universities. What issues do you have in Tianjin?"

A student said: "The situation at Peking University is different from Tianjin. Is Peking University's path the one we should follow?" Comrade Zhang Chunqiao asked: "How is your situation different from that of Peking University?" (The group replied: "At our school, the meetings for

criticism are organized by the school, which is different from Peking University. At Peking University, they criticize several people in one meeting, while at our school, it's organized by the Revolutionary Committee..." Comrade Zhang Chunqiao asked: "How was your Revolutionary Committee elected?" (A student from Nankai University shared their views on the Revolutionary Committee. Following this, many students from Nankai University, Tianjin University, and Hebei University raised various questions and submitted many notes. Then, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao provided responses to their concerns.)

Students, I think this: Everyone comes to Beijing to study, and we also come to Beijing to study; it's a task. Beijing is the location of the central government, and there are many cultural institutions and higher education institutions here. The students here, being close to Chairman Mao, have received much education from the Party and have many good experiences. It is only natural for us to come here to exchange experiences. Although I am not from Beijing, today I am here representing the Central Cultural Revolution Group, so I want to extend a warm welcome to all the students. Some of you have requested to meet with the Premier. The Premier and the central leadership are very busy with work and couldn't come today. They called me and asked us to meet with the students, so I would also like to, on behalf of the Premier, express a welcome to all the comrades.

Let me first give an introduction to the situation we see in Beijing.

The Cultural Revolution did not start just now. If we say it began with the discussion of Hai Rui Dismissed from Office, it actually started with Comrade Yao Wenyan's article On the Criticism of the New Historical Play (Hai Rui Dismissed from Office), which was published on November 10th of last year. It developed into the critique of "Three Family Village," and then reached the broadcast of the big-character posters written by Nie Yuanzi and six other comrades from Peking University on June 1st. During this period, over two hundred days passed, and throughout the country, there was ample ideological preparation. Everyone had a deeper understanding of domestic class struggle, especially the class struggle on the ideological front. The big-character posters written by Nie Yuanzi and others were not accidental; they were not accidental for the entire country. While it may have been accidental that Nie Yuanzi wrote them,

if she hadn't, someone else would have. When Chairman Mao saw the big-character posters, he immediately criticized them and had them broadcasted by the Central Broadcasting Station. This shows that the fierce flames of the Cultural Revolution were personally ignited by Chairman Mao. Starting with the broadcast of Nie Yuanzi's big-character posters on June 1st, an event occurred at Peking University on June 18th, known as the so-called "June 18 Incident." Why did this incident happen? Because after the work team came in, they did not lead the revolutionary teachers and students in the Cultural Revolution. They did not lead the masses in the fight against the black gangs. Instead, they followed a wrong rightist opportunist line. The movement was not about fighting against Lu Ping. By the 10th, there wasn't even a struggle plan. Instead, they set many rigid rules, like those you just mentioned, and these situations were all present here. For example, they didn't allow class connections, no one was allowed to enter through the gates freely, no interaction was allowed between schools and departments, and even when comrades from other schools or workers, peasants, and soldiers came to offer support, they weren't allowed to enter. The students couldn't stand it anymore, so they rose up and revolutionized, which led to the "June 18 Incident," where a group of black gang members were beaten. Were there some bad students among them? Yes. But most of those who fought that day were good students, yet Zhang Chengxian labeled it a counter-revolutionary incident. That day, people were beaten and wore "tall hats" (a form of public humiliation), and, of course, there were some bad students who did bad things, such as tearing the clothes of female students. Zhang Chengxian justified it by saying, "What's not a hooligan act? It's a counter-revolutionary incident!" Before June 18th, the movement was flourishing, but after June 18th, the situation turned around, suppressing revolutionary students, treating those who participated in the "June 18 Incident" as counter-revolutionaries. The work teams should have led the students to fight the black gangs, but instead, they came to fight the revolutionary students, completely reversing the direction of the movement, which had a huge impact. Afterwards, events like the "June 20," "June 23," and "June 30" incidents occurred in Beijing... After investigation, they were not counter-revolutionary incidents but revolutionary ones, and their nature was clear. Why did these incidents happen? The main reason was that the work teams did not support the revolution, and others rose up to do so. Some students fought, and it weighed heavily on their minds. We don't advocate for violence, but since it already happened, what could

be done? We must free those students. At that time, two factions of students were fighting, but in fact, both factions were revolutionary. The students who were labeled as “June 18 counter-revolutionaries” even said that those who beat them were doing so to defend the Party’s interests, to protect the central government and Chairman Mao. They didn’t fully understand us at the time and mistakenly labeled us as counter-revolutionaries. This was incited by the work teams, and we must liberate students from both sides. Good students who beat bad students deserved to do so, and if good students beat other good students, it was a misunderstanding. We do not advocate violence, and the point is that no more violence should occur in the future. That is the first point. As for what you should do, that is for you to discuss. We also do not advocate putting on “tall hats” (a form of public humiliation), but whether you wear them or not is for you to discuss. Young people are meant to revolutionize; they are the most creative. They may not have authority now, nor are they in power; they aren’t afraid of being dismissed because they haven’t held official positions yet. The worst that could happen is they get criticized and wear tall hats. I think wearing them and being criticized both have their benefits because they help build perseverance. It’s easy to say you’re loyal to Mao Zedong Thought, but when it comes to yourself, you can’t stand it. Wouldn’t you want to put tall hats on others? Others can put them on you too, don’t be afraid!

(Some students passed notes asking: Can the loudspeaker be used for student debates?) I think it can be used. The Cultural Revolution Committee is the authority of the Cultural Revolution. Even dismissing officials is within its power— even the president can be dismissed, so how could a loudspeaker be exempt?

(Some students from Tianjin University asked: Since the work team has withdrawn, and some units have sent students to help with the revolution, what should be done if they are recalled?) The Cultural Revolution Committee has the power to decide whether to send people. It’s not that people from outside are being sent; they are from your own internal group!

As for how to fight and who to fight, that should be decided through democratic debate by the students. We need to liberate our thoughts and not be constrained by so many rules. Peking University’s 15,000-person

debate can be held, right? Nanjing University might have a bit more (crowd responds: not much, about 5,000 people), but it can also be held! Students should make up the majority in the Cultural Revolution Committee, because teachers might find it difficult to educate; they don't understand the revolution as well as you do, and their positions are different from yours. They don't understand the students. If the students don't rise up, the revolution may be difficult to carry out completely.

Some students have requested that Chairman Mao attend the celebration on August 13th, or that other central leaders visit. We can pass on the message. Some comrades also requested that central leaders visit, but right now, the central comrades are busy with matters in Beijing, and we first need to resolve the issues in Beijing and gain experience. Of course, after that, they would be happy to visit other places. Please trust that we can relay your message.

Regarding the Cultural Revolution Committee, there has been no central directive on the teacher-to-student ratio. We're not sure how the Hebei Provincial Party Committee decided on it, but you can discuss how to handle it. This regulation can be changed at any time during the revolution. If there are different opinions, you can write big-character posters. If it doesn't work, change it!

Regarding the representatives, if the majority of students disagree, they can, of course, be replaced.

(Someone asked: Is the situation in Beijing's universities like this because the Beijing Municipal Party Committee is corrupt?)

This statement probably isn't entirely accurate! In Shanghai, some people also argue that the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee is correct in the Cultural Revolution, and therefore, the Party committees in schools under their leadership should also be correct. This argument is wrong. First, although the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee was correct in some ways, it also had many flaws and mistakes. Second, and more importantly, even if the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee was correct, it doesn't guarantee that there were no problems. If that were the case, then why did the previous Beijing Municipal Party Committee fall apart? If the Party committee plays a role in the Cultural Revolution, it should rise

up in revolution; if it doesn't, someone will come to lead the revolution. (Comrade Mu Xin said: You haven't started the revolution yet, so why are you still waiting?) There are still many constraints pressing on you from above. Now you want us to speak on your behalf, to lift the lid off, but I think that's not the best approach. I hope you will rise up yourself.

The central directive is very clear: you are the masters. The revolutionary teachers and students at Nankai University and Tianjin University, you are the masters—so rise up and revolutionize! Our minds aren't entirely clean either, and when we make mistakes, we correct them. If the leadership in your schools is willing to revolutionize and correct their mistakes, they can join the revolution! If they don't want to revolutionize, then they can be overthrown, and you can rise up in revolution!

(Some students raised the issue that the Hebei Provincial Party Committee and Tianjin Municipal Party Committee didn't come to participate in the school's struggle meetings and the Cultural Revolution movement.)

As I understand it, Comrade Zi Hou is currently in Beijing attending a meeting. Some of the leaders in the Provincial Party Committee have been very busy with their work. If you think it's necessary, you can post a big-character poster for him.

(Some students mentioned: Comrade Liu Zi Hou instructed that when our school was criticizing Lou Ping, he should sit next to the chairman of the presidium, which everyone disagreed with.)

When we see Liu Zi Hou, we will convey your concerns. If we can't meet him, you can send him a big-character poster.

(Someone asked: How should the struggle sessions be combined with the debates?)

I don't want to discuss this issue. You should discuss it among yourselves and see how to proceed.

(A student raised the issue: The method Peking University uses to mobilize the masses is suitable for the entire country; can we go back and talk about it?)

Of course, you can. By raising this question, you reflect that you still have constraints and haven't risen up in revolution yet. You haven't done it! Organize yourselves. Just say it: we're grown up now; we're in university, not kindergarten, so there's no need to arrange seats for us.

(Some students pointed out: The school previously mentioned that central and provincial or municipal leaders were not named in the newspapers.)

It can be posted anywhere. These constraints and regulations, the central government never knew about them. I don't know where they came from. If you have any objections to my speech, you can raise them when you go back. When we were down there, we always said that if you have any objections to us, you can write big-character posters.

Regarding "distinction between internal and external," this was mentioned by the Foreign Affairs Office of the State Council, but now there's no need for that. The Premier has spoken on this matter, so don't use this to constrain everyone. When foreigners come, just let them see. After all, it's our big-character posters; we're doing the revolution.

(Someone raised the issue: Some of the school's party and government leaders are not taking the lead in writing big-character posters, arguing that if the leaders write them, it would seem like they've already made a conclusion.)

Once you rise up, they won't be able to make any conclusions. No one will be able to make conclusions. Don't say that the Party secretary's words can't be considered a conclusion; haven't central leaders spoken too, and didn't we have people submitting notes in response? We're not forcing anyone to do anything, but you should try to persuade them. Even if you speak, it doesn't mean it's definitive or final, and we might not even agree with them! Ask them to speak! If you don't speak, how can you stand in front and lead us? If they say that it's not the right time to write big-character posters, we say that now is the right time. Ask them to post a big-character poster! We follow the truth and are not afraid of oppression. I suggest that you debate this here and exchange opinions. Let me tell you, the leaders raising this question definitely have ulterior motives. As for whether some people are leftists, we still need to observe.

Some people are clearly leftists, like Chairman Mao, and everyone has already recognized him. But there are still some leftists who haven't been acknowledged yet, and we need to engage in debates about them. To truly understand someone, you need to look at the process. Our Party recognized Chairman Mao as the leader after years of struggle. In the past, there were people who claimed to be leaders, like Chen Duxiu and Wang Ming, but everyone rejected them. Some of our comrades who consider themselves leftists should adopt a humble attitude. Whether someone is a leftist should be judged by our actions. This will help gain the trust of the masses, and we must never try to declare ourselves as kings or tyrants.

(Someone at Tianjin University asked: What should we do if someone criticizes the leftists and writes big-character posters calling us "stupid donkeys," etc.?)

Then you should write a big-character poster in response. But whatever you do, never claim that you are leftists yourselves. You need to unite the majority.

(Someone at Tianjin University asked: What should we do if, when investigating materials, we are obstructed by the personnel or organizational departments?)

The Revolutionary Committee, if it truly holds power, can investigate. The problem right now is that you haven't fully thought this through yet. You need to think about how to carry out the revolution. The power is not in your hands yet! There are still committees and representatives, but they don't represent you. You can elect your own committee!

(Comrade Mu Xin interjected: The seal is not in your hands yet.)

If you don't know how to carry out the revolution, you should study it. The Communist Party of China went from having a representative group of just twelve people to entering Beijing and founding the New China. As for how the revolution should be carried out, it's not for the leadership group to decide. They put a high hat on you, will you still continue the revolution? You are a Communist Party member, a Youth League member, and they expel you from the Party and the Youth League. Will you still continue the revolution? Some people have raised objections to the

Municipal Party Committee. Since you can come to Beijing, why can't you go to the Tianjin Municipal Party Committee? Do you have no way to deal with the Municipal Party Committee? I may be stirring things up a bit here.

I am talking about a spirit today. As for the specifics, I am not certain; I don't know much about the details. In any case, it is wrong to say from the leadership that we should let reactionary masses run wild, fearing this and that. As for you students, you must be your own masters, rise up and carry out the revolution yourselves, liberate yourselves. Don't you all know how to sing the "Internationale"? The basic spirit of the "Internationale" is to call on the masses to rise up and save themselves, to liberate themselves. The Central Committee and Chairman Mao's policy is clear, and the Central Committee and Chairman Mao are on your side. The greatest support you have is Chairman Mao! You have raised many questions, but as long as you grasp this spirit, in the practice of revolution, in the struggle against difficulties, you will find solutions. Wisdom arises from revolutionary struggle, and a person's intelligence comes from revolutionary practice and struggle. When there are difficulties, think of ways to solve them; there's nothing to be afraid of. Whenever there are obstacles, whether they are capitalist or feudalistic elements in our revolutionary progress, they must be thoroughly exposed and criticized! All must be overthrown. No one can stop us. As long as you have this revolutionary spirit, you will find a way. The solutions you come up with may be better than the ones we propose. The moment revolution begins, solutions will emerge.

Finally, please convey our greetings to the revolutionary teachers and students of the school!

Zhang Chunqiao's Speech When Meeting with the Red Guards from Beijing and Tianjin

1966.08.27

[On August 27th, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao, Vice Leader of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, along with group members Comrades Yao Wen Yuan and Wang Li, met with the victims of the 'August 26th' bloody incident and held talks with more than 100 Red Guards from Beijing and Tianjin.]

Comrades:

After fighting, you have been tempered. Of course, you were also beaten and bled. However, as you said, when doing the revolution, you are not afraid of bleeding or getting hurt. This bloody incident was brutal. Regarding this issue, you should compile the materials and we will report it to the Central Committee. To resolve this issue, it still depends on you, and such struggles must rely on the local masses. As for the Tianjin Municipal Party Committee and other provinces and cities, the Central Committee has already studied the matter. Dismissing officials is easy; the Central Committee can issue a decision to dismiss them, but then you would have no opposition. It cannot be considered a victory. Therefore, we must rely on the wisdom and strength of the masses, on the masses educating themselves and liberating themselves. We understand the anger of the students, but you cannot act that way, because when we acted that way in the past, the results were not very good...

If they beat you, you can beat them back; the important thing is to dare to struggle, dare to win!

Zhang Chunqiao and Guan Feng's Speech When Meeting with Some Students from Fujian Who Went to Beijing

1966.10.07

[On the morning of October 7th, from 10:15 to 13:55, the central leaders and members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group met with some revolutionary teachers and students from Fujian who had come to Beijing at the reception station in Zhongnanhai. The central leaders present were: Chen Boda, Guan Feng, Yao Wenyuan, Qi Benyu, Mu Xin, and Ye Qun. During the meeting, Comrades Zhang Chunqiao and Guan Feng gave speeches, and Comrades Chen Boda and Ye Qun also had friendly conversations with the Fujian students in Minnan and Fujian dialects, respectively. The units that were met included: the Fujian Medical College (Dongfanghong) Combat Group, the Xiamen University Red Guard Independent Group, and representatives from eight other Fujian schools, as well as from Tsinghua University, Peking University, Beijing Normal University, and other schools, with a total of over 70 people.]

Comrades:

Today, after listening to your speeches, there is a lot of material to go through. Some of the material I have already seen, and some I have not, but I will review it when I return. Many questions have been raised by comrades, and I would like to address one issue. Tomorrow is the 8th, and it has been two months since the publication of the "Sixteen Articles." What have we learned in these two months? Comrade Lin Biao said during National Day that the struggle between two lines is still ongoing, and in some ways, it has become even more intense and complicated than it was before the publication of the "Sixteen Articles." Why? Because before the "Sixteen Articles" were published, in some places, the masses had not been mobilized. After their release, the masses were mobilized on a large scale, and some of the previously hidden contradictions became more pronounced and sharper. Since the publication of the "Sixteen Articles," those who oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, some have not been mentally prepared enough and still do not understand it;

some are bad elements. The “Sixteen Articles” pointed out that there are four types of people, not just one. Some workers and peasants can easily be provoked. They defend their provincial and municipal party committees out of love for the party and Chairman Mao. They would not refrain from doing so; if I were a worker, I would go to the army too. There is one point: the military cannot be mobilized. This is a central directive. If the military were to be mobilized, they would have already opened fire. (Laughter) So far, no mobilization of the military has occurred. (A student interjects: “Some public security departments have already mobilized.”) Guan Feng replies: “In some places, they have mobilized.” It is because of these individual cases that the central government immediately issued orders to prevent the situation from escalating, ensuring that, although the struggle is sharp, no more serious incidents have occurred. This shows the complexity and sharpness of class struggle. It proves that the proletarian cultural revolution initiated by Chairman Mao is necessary; without it, we could not maintain our revolutionary course.

Comrades, you are under pressure and facing persecution, which is difficult, but it also proves that this revolution is extremely necessary. Even now, under the leadership of the Central Committee and Chairman Mao, such phenomena still occur. If power were in the hands of others, who would you turn to for a complaint? What would happen to you then? Would you still come here to lodge your complaints? (A student interjects: “You would be beheaded.”) Guan Feng responds: “Revolution is still necessary!”

Comrades, we need to broaden our perspective. The persecution and attacks you are facing in the course of the proletarian cultural revolution are, after all, temporary. In the end, we will surely win. However, we did not expect things to be so complicated, and perhaps you did not either! Why is this happening? Your leaflets can be printed, but ours cannot? Politically, labels such as these are being used against us, and struggles last for hours, even days. (A student interjects: “We found counter-revolutionary leaflets printed with lead in the streets of Zhangzhou.”) The situation in Fujian may be more complicated; the enemy across the way will exploit it, and even the open Kuomintang will take advantage of it. This revolution is very difficult. Comrades, do you not feel that you are young, regretting that you missed the opportunity to participate in past struggles, feeling sad that you were born too late? But now, participating

in this arduous struggle allows you to grow stronger. The power in the country is under the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the leadership of the Central Committee and Chairman Mao. You are still able to go to Beijing and connect with others across the country. The Central Committee fully supports you. Our Central Cultural Revolution Group, of course, must stand on the side of revolution. If we do not stand on the side of revolution, we will be overthrown.

After reading the statement, I had several thoughts. Comrades are under heavy oppression and feeling quite frustrated, asking us what to do. We (referring to Guan Feng) just discussed this, and as for what to do, we still have to ask you, what do you think should be done? (The students firmly reply: “Fight to the end!”)

It’s not that the Central Committee hasn’t spoken; isn’t it clearly written in the sixteen points? They all know that this was personally supported and formulated by Chairman Mao, and some even participated in the meetings. (A student interjects: “Ye Fei also participated.”) Guan Feng adds: “But those who don’t implement it still won’t implement it!” The issue is complicated here. From the very beginning, the Central Committee anticipated this situation. At the conclusion of the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee, Chairman Mao openly pointed out two situations: some are implementing it, and some are not. This is happening nationwide. Now, the situation emerging here also exists elsewhere. In some places, it’s worse than your situation, in others, it’s slightly better. This has a universal nature.

When the Central Committee issues a directive, everyone can interpret it in their own way. The sixteen points are interpreted differently by different people. Comrade Lin Biao said: “Do not attack the proletarian headquarters.” Do you agree with that? (The answer: Yes!) Comrade Lin Biao’s statement is entirely correct! Revolutionaries should be clear-headed. But some people take this sentence and say, “I am the proletarian headquarters, you cannot criticize me.” However, Lin Biao’s words do not include the criticism of revolutionary comrades against provincial and municipal committees. (Loud applause) It should be said: those who defy the sixteen points and attack the sixteen points are the ones who are attacking the proletarian headquarters. This headquarters refers to the one led by Chairman Mao. (Extended applause and chanting: Long live Chairman

Mao!) You must tightly hold onto the sixteen points that Chairman Mao personally formulated. If others do not implement them, we will. We will implement them without hesitation. To argue is to argue the reasoning of the sixteen points. Comrade Lin Biao's speech was based on the development of the situation, but the spirit still follows the sixteen points.

You ask us for help. These specific issues, who are the targets? What is the situation with the surrounding masses? What about the leftists? What about the moderates? We are still not very clear. We should focus on strengthening the left, winning over the moderates, and isolating the very few rightists. The left is certainly small in number now, and it will remain small in the future. Don't think that everyone will become a leftist in the future. Of course, the majority is what drives the revolution, but the most resolute and determined revolutionary leftists are still in the minority. Marx and Engels were just two people. Who provided them with the printing press, propaganda trucks, and recording equipment? At that time, they were very poor. (Comrade Guan Feng: They even had trouble getting food.) Engels had to go to his father's factory, and his father was a capitalist, not a member of the five red categories. (Laughter) Wasn't Lenin like this? Chairman Mao was the same. Chairman Mao was criticized by the Nationalist Party's leaflets so many times. Just think about it, how many leaflets did the Nationalist Party distribute against the Communist Party? How many leaflets slandered you? (A student interjects: The Fuzhou No. 2 Middle School alone had 300,000 leaflets.) 300,000 leaflets aren't too many! Chiang Kai-shek criticized the Communist Party more than the four volumes of Chairman Mao's writings, but Chiang Kai-shek was eventually overthrown!

Revolutionary new things are always in the minority at first, and their growth is extremely difficult. We should learn the revolutionary spirit from our revolutionary predecessors and mentors. Now, the overall situation is much better than it was for them, as the national power is in the hands of Chairman Mao! (Comrade Guan Feng: Being attacked is a good thing; how can you become a revolutionary leftist without being attacked!) (Long applause) Chairman Mao was expelled from the Party several times in the past, stripped of his positions, and had his military power taken away. But in the end, the truth lies with Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Chairman Mao. Even though they were in the minority, they ultimately triumphed! (Warm applause) Today, we are still a minority in

the world. How many parties are united with the Chinese Party? Right now, the Soviet revisionists are still in the majority. A comrade asked about the relationship between the minority and the majority; this will change. (Comrade Guan Feng: The majority is temporary and illusory.) But as long as it's a revolution, you will win. The true revolutionary minority will gradually increase. If it increases too quickly, it will collapse. Don't think that after you get this speech today and return tomorrow, the movement will suddenly grow. If that happens, it will collapse at the first breeze, and in the end, only a few of you will remain. Revolution requires solid work. There are no shortcuts to revolution. Be prepared to take a winding and difficult path. Every region will have its own specific way of doing it, but the general direction is the same.

Their oppression is nothing but political and economic oppression. The central government issued a notice that the material treatment of the three command departments in the capital should be equal. The Central Cultural Revolution Group mentioned this, and Premier Zhou also spoke about it, but it was of no use. Don't think that just because the central government speaks, it will be executed. The day before yesterday, the Third Command Department issued a notice, still handwritten, asking us to attend a meeting. Later, we inquired why the central government's regulation of equal treatment for the three command departments was not being implemented. They then sent us a printed notice, but I threw away the printed one and kept the handwritten one. It is valuable! (Warm applause) I say this simply to emphasize that revolution still relies on ourselves. We must unite the revolutionary comrades and form a strong core.

Yesterday, Comrade Jiang Qing talked about the importance of paying attention to policy and strategy, remaining flexible based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. One of the weaknesses of some of our comrades is that they do not pay enough attention to uniting and winning over the majority, which leads to setbacks, because the left wing can never be large, and the middle forces will gain power depending on which side they align with. We must use our brains to deal with these people. We should not harbor resentment toward the comrades who once attacked us—after all, we are all comrades! (Comrade Guan Feng interjects: We are all comrades, all brothers of the working class. They were temporarily deceived.) In Beijing, those who have said such things will win over many comrades. If we condemn everyone, it

will be very harmful to us. You need to think about this, not only toward the workers and peasants, but also toward your classmates. You must adhere to Mao Zedong's ideological line, and this is not something that will happen in one or two days. Some people will be with you today, but when the situation changes, they will leave. This will continue to divide and reorganize. The road is long and winding, so you should think about these issues when you return. You wrote on your notes that you are eager to return. Before you go back, you should visit some of the schools in Beijing to see their struggles, which are sharper, such as Beijing University of Aeronautics and Astronautics, Beijing Geological University, Beijing Normal University, and Tsinghua University. Some were isolated, and only ten people remained. (Comrade Guan Feng interjects: Some were locked up.) Yesterday, we went to listen to the message from Kuai Dafu, who had been labeled a counter-revolutionary, but is now vindicated. Ask them about their experiences—they have more experience than we do. Of course, we have also suffered oppression, but today, we are not here to complain. (Laughter) The difficulties you face are different from ours, but we deeply sympathize with the oppression you've experienced. The central government's stance is clear, and I will not say more on this. You should stay in touch with them. What is their experience? Things are beginning to change. Yesterday's meeting marked this shift. Many of those sitting on the podium had once been labeled as counter-revolutionaries. When I read the decision, many in the audience were crying. From now on, you should not be afraid. The central government has given instructions—aren't you comrades now? Have you heard the central government's instructions? (Audience: Yes! Comrade Guan Feng interjects: If they label you again, tell them to bring out the instructions and read them to everyone.) The pressure in this regard is something the central government can handle, and they will definitely not neglect it. But even so, revolution still relies on ourselves. We need courage, and we must use our brains. From June 1st, when Nie Yuanzhi and others issued the first big-character poster, until now, more than four months have passed. The struggle has been tough and winding. The situation may be improving now, but the struggles will continue, and changes will happen. It may take several rounds of back-and-forth before Mao Zedong's line of thought triumphs. We hope that comrades will study Chairman Mao's works well, raise their ideological awareness, learn how Chairman Mao conducted revolution, worked as a leader, and divided the enemies. His genius also lies in how he combined both struggle and unity. There are

many issues here, and you should think carefully about them. Finally, I hope that comrades will truly train themselves to be good students of Chairman Mao. We all share this wish. (Long applause) (This speech was compiled by units such as the Fuyi Eastern Red Combat Team, Xiamen No. 8 Middle School, Xiamen University Red Guard Independent Regiment, and others.)

Guang Feng's speech:

Comrades,

Comrade Chunqiao has already mentioned that everyone must resolutely fight when they return. Chairman Mao teaches us to see the light in difficult times. Fujian also has a very good situation: students have risen up in revolution, and the number of the minority group is not small. Workers and peasants have been deceived and misled. Those who previously attacked you are now coming forward to expose the truth—this is a great situation, isn't it? (A student interrupts: "Those who came forward to expose it have been heavily oppressed.") The more they are oppressed, the more revolutionary they become! Exposure is also a good thing.

Of course, don't think that by going to Beijing to file complaints, the central authorities and Chairman Mao will simply issue orders to remove certain individuals from office and the problem will be solved. This way of thinking oversimplifies the complex class struggle. If everything were solved through top-down orders to remove certain people from their posts, then it wouldn't be the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and it would lose the significance of training the younger generation. We still need to rely on the workers, peasants, and revolutionary students to rise up and fight. The greatest support from Chairman Mao and the central authorities for revolutionary comrades is the "Sixteen Articles" and Comrade Lin Biao's repeated speeches. We must master this weapon and use it to fight!

As for not having printing machines or anything like that, we just say a few words, and they should give it to us, right? But whether they give it to us depends on whether it's the truth! No matter how beautifully printed the flyer is, if it's not the truth, it's just fallacy, and that doesn't work! It's about quality, not quantity! Let me give an example: As far as I know,

Tan Houlan, a student from Beijing Normal University, was labeled a counter-revolutionary during the criticism of the work group; she was considered a “Mikoyan-style” person. The Central Cultural Revolution Group comrades held a meeting, and Jiang Qing and other comrades spoke. The work group was removed, and the situation seemed to be better, right? After a few days, they came back and labeled her as a “Khrushchyov-style” person. (Zhang Chunqiao interjected: Our whole group attended that meeting.) In the struggle, her experience grew. Now the situation is much better, and the “Jinggangshan” Red Guards have grown a lot, with many students leaving the original Red Guard regiments and joining the “Jinggangshan” Red Guards.

Those so-called majority factions are false and temporary. The majority of people are for the revolution; they are just temporarily deceived and unaware of the truth. We must patiently engage in ideological struggle with these people and explain things clearly to them. We believe that most of them will understand, wake up, and stand on our side. Even those who once criticized and attacked you, don't hold grudges. A few days ago, we received some students who had once attacked the students from Peking University. They themselves said, “I used to attack and even hit people.” They came out and spoke; isn't that great? The vast majority of students will definitely stand on the side of the revolution. They all support Chairman Mao. As long as we do the hard work, we will ultimately unite the majority, and the left-wing forces will grow stronger in the course of the struggle.

Here are just a few words. Finally, I wish everyone good health and success in the struggle! (Long and warm applause)

Attachment: At that time, the “Xiamen University” revolutionary teacher-student delegation distributed the “August 19th” incident facts, as well as the “urgent telegram” from Hong Le and others to Chairman Mao. Upon seeing it, Zhang Chunqiao and Guan Feng laughed, picked up several copies of the leaflet, waved them around, and humorously said, “Such good paper!” (The entire audience followed suit).

Compiled by: Xie Peikun and seven others, Dongfang Hong University (formerly Tsinghua University) “Beijing Commune” Combat Team, printed on October 9th.

Transcript of the Meeting Between Zhou Enlai, Zhang Chunqiao, and Representatives of Eight Organizations from Tsinghua University

1966.10.09

The Premier began by asking about the various organizations at our school—when they were established and how many members they had. The students responded one by one.

Premier Zhou: Do your organizations agree on this? (referring to the request for Wang Guangmei to return to the school for an inspection)

Students: Seven organizations agreed, and today another one joined, making it eight in total. The school has more than ten organizations altogether.

Premier Zhou: You mentioned the 9th (for the meeting) but didn't specify 8:00. It was only yesterday that we learned the meeting would be tonight at 8:00. The letter you submitted on the 4th was received on the 5th, and by the 9th, you're already demanding an inspection—that's too fast. There needs to be mutual trust! Wang Guangmei is in Zhongnanhai, and we are responsible for her. She is preparing for the inspection, and the Central Committee also needs to discuss it... Zhang Chunqiao is a deputy leader, but even he cannot say too much. I've already said everything I can; I cannot say more. I've mentioned that the matter will be resolved at the Central Plenary Session. (Some students pressed further, and the Premier replied: It's basically resolved.) Fully resolving it, both organizationally and ideologically, will take some time.

Zhang: Your request is reasonable; she should conduct an inspection. (Zhang refers to Comrade Zhang Chunqiao, same below.)

Student: Our revolutionary spirit must not be suppressed.

Zhang: It should never be suppressed. Premier Zhou didn't have time yesterday.

Premier Zhou: There's still time needed for discussion. The Central Standing Committee must discuss it, and Chairman Mao is very busy, so we need to find the time. Will she go to conduct an inspection soon? What will her inspection entail? She's not an ordinary staff member; the Central Committee must deliberate on this. You university students, understand? (Premier Zhou takes a phone call.)

Student: Can the leadership's statements be printed?

Zhang: There was a young man who printed a flyer claiming that I advocated armed struggle. How could I possibly advocate armed struggle? I didn't correct it because the person who printed the flyer had hit someone. If I had corrected it, that person would have been under even greater pressure. Recently, this young man wrote to me, saying, "I did something very wrong—I printed a flyer without your consent." So, I let it go.

Premier Zhou: Let us discuss this. Wang Guangmei cannot go for an inspection or conduct a review on the spot. If she does, she will undoubtedly lose face, and it will cause an uproar. Once it escalates, it will implicate the Central Committee led by Chairman Mao. You always follow the leadership of the Central Committee and Chairman Mao. There are three key principles: follow the leadership of the Central Committee, obey Chairman Mao, and adhere to the Sixteen Points. You cannot use this issue to make things difficult for the Central Committee, nor can you say that even Chairman Mao cannot take charge. This great revolution, personally led by Chairman Mao, has empowered and mobilized you. Big democracy, the "Four Big Freedoms," the Six Great Freedoms, and suspending classes to join the revolution were all initiated for this.

What I said here was also stated on the 22nd, and the Eleventh Plenum resolved these issues. The Central Committee has already provided this framework. When we meet with the Australian Communist Party, we can only discuss it to this extent. If Wang Guangmei were an ordinary staff member, it would be easier—she could be summoned anytime. But if she conducts a review, once she is questioned or further pursued, it will inevitably lead to other significant issues. Would it be beneficial for this to be broadcast globally? Think about it. There's already a big-character poster criticizing the Central Committee—have you seen it? Right now, the entire nation is looking toward Beijing, and so are our enemies. You've read

Reference News, right? (Students reply: Yes.) Foreign journalists are commenting on how many Central Committee members were named in the big-character posters. I hope you remain mindful.

Revolutionary students should obey the Party and work hard to achieve revolutionary goals. We've been in meetings, and the Central Committee made decisions this afternoon. You also have your thoughts, so let me clarify the Central Committee's stance: Wang Guangmei has written a written review, which will be sent to you tomorrow. You can respond to it, express your opinions, and say whether you are satisfied or not.

Student: This is related to Jiang Nanxiang.

Premier Zhou: We've also considered this issue. Jiang Nanxiang mainly interacted with two individuals—one from the Central Propaganda Department, and one from the former Municipal Party Committee. He was relatively close to ×××, but later had conflicts with ××. Don't pursue this matter further.

Zhang Chunqiao: When I first attended a meeting in Beijing, I was in the same group as Jiang Nanxiang. He talked a lot about ×××, but his tone regarding ×× grew increasingly subdued.

Student: Comrade Tao Zhu said on June 15 that Jiang Nanxiang's nature had been determined. Yet in July, Wang Guangmei still said that Jiang Nanxiang's nature was not yet determined.

Premier Zhou: That was a personal opinion. There have been various perspectives on the struggle against Jiang Nanxiang.

Student: Can we have a conversation with Wang Guangmei?

Premier Zhou: This will inevitably involve higher authorities. If you put the issue in front of her, it will be connected to other matters.

Student: ...

Premier Zhou: These are the errors in the line. Mao Zedong is still alive. Don't you trust the central leadership he leads, and the leadership of Lin

Biao to resolve this issue? The Central Committee plenary session ended on the 12th. After that, a working meeting was held, and it wasn't until the 16th or 17th that they returned. The provincial committees still haven't been informed, and your Red Guards have already surrounded them. Some provincial committees have not even convened yet. There needs to be a process. These two months have been very busy. While you are waging revolution, we are, on the one hand, leading you, and on the other hand, learning from you. First we learn, then we make suggestions. You should do the same. The command center often struggles to make decisions, and several issues are only being discussed now. The issues raised in the big-character posters—she can't answer them all, and neither can we. On the 22nd, I said the plenary session had essentially resolved the issues. Mao Zedong said: "This is all we can say." You university students know this. Right now, the criticism is directed at a small group of people in power who are taking the capitalist road.

Mao Zedong is still alive, and the plenary session has also resolved things. If revisionism were taking effect in the central government, you would rise up and revolt. But that's not the case now. The big-character posters posted at Peking University about what Comrade Chen Boda said—that was something the Chairman called him to speak about. As for articles by the Chairman that have not been published, we cannot correct them. To correct them would be to affirm them. Tomorrow, there will be a written examination. If it doesn't pass, it will be checked again.

Zhang: Your request is reasonable, the issue is about the scope of the inspection. If we change the approach, and the person doesn't go, they can provide written materials. Whether everyone is satisfied or not, a discussion can be held, and opinions can be given to her, and further checks can be made.

Premier Zhou: Avoid the questions she can't answer, otherwise it will create more problems for us. If we take a back-and-forth approach, we can avoid some issues.

Student: What does "internal and external differences" mean?

Premier Zhou: "Internal and external differences" means domestic and foreign.

Student: Some students have broken it.

Premier Zhou: Doesn't that make things worse? If such a leaflet is distributed, the impact would be very bad. The Party has not called for a nationwide discussion or condemnation. That means the plenary session has resolved the issue.

(Student speaks about the situation...)

Premier Zhou: After the 11th Plenary Session, why is there still resistance in various places? This is part of a process. Right now, there is a major division, a large restructuring—waves one after another. After the 13th editorial and the October 6th conference, there was further division and restructuring. Chairman Mao always tells us not to rush; it's not that we are not revolutionary. Such leaflets are inappropriate in any case, and the state cannot print them. Your big-character posters have already brought this issue to light, and now you're fighting for the correct line. If you continue like this, it will lead you farther away. (Phone call) A correct line needs to take root across the country, and it takes time—there must be a process. One sentence from Chairman Mao can solve it, but everyone must recognize that it needs to take root. The cultural revolution focuses on cultural institutions, and it will gradually deepen. This great revolution that touches the soul of the people is unprecedented in history. Mao Zedong Thought is still evolving, and Chairman Mao is still summarizing new experiences. Your understanding also has to go through a process.

Student: We completely trust that the Central Committee has resolved this issue. From our school's perspective, the 13th editorial must criticize and resolve the bourgeois reactionary line. Tsinghua must also make connections with Wang Guangmei.

Premier Zhou: Those matters, you can bring them out and criticize them. But to resolve the issues below, it will still require a prolonged struggle. The big-character posters and leaflets, they involve other issues, but those have been resolved by the Central Committee. According to the editorial from *Hongqi* (Red Flag), you can certainly conduct an in-depth criticism... We are preparing to hand over all the materials about Jiang Nanxiang to you.

Student: ...They (referring to Tan Lifeng and others) have left.

Zhang: He can still be criticized even if he's not present. Criticizing Wu Han is the same, even if he's not there. The same goes for Sanjia Village. In fact, if we replaced him with someone like Jian Bozan, we would achieve the same effect. Criticizing Sanjia Village prepared the public opinion for the Cultural Revolution. Their ideas are out there, and they represent a certain class.

(Premier Zhou: It's a typical case of "left" in form, but "right" in substance.)

Zhang: Directly attacking the individual isn't necessary for other schools. Our goal is not to resolve the issue of one person, but to focus on the ideological viewpoint. Similarly, for Wang Guangmei, it's the same. She represents a certain line, so we need to criticize her views, thoughts, actions, and style. This way, we can eliminate the influence without hindering the criticism. Since this line has already formed, the various expressions of it across the country are basically the same.

Premier Zhou: When Chen Duxiu wasn't around, we still had to criticize him. In fact, it's even more profound. It's not so much about individual personnel, but about eliminating the reactionary line. If it persists without change, it will eventually evolve into an adversarial position. During mass meetings, if some strange questions are raised, it's difficult for them to back down. We have personal experience with this. Decades of struggle have shown that when it comes to halting the struggle, it's always Chairman Mao who puts the brakes on — in terms of organization and timing. However, the criticism of erroneous thoughts must continue. Everything within the Party has been addressed.

Student: She said that there could be members who take the capitalist road.

Premier Zhou: If she's wrong, she can be criticized. She has historical roots...

Premier Zhou: As for the internal matters, there's no need to put up my big-character posters. You need to recognize that it's enough to avoid these things consciously. The debate over the couplets was difficult at the beginning, and we were worried about damaging their enthusiasm. Later,

the speech by Tan Lifeng represented progress. It didn't start out badly, but some developments later on were problematic. Over time, ideologies evolve. There will always be division and unification; young people's ideas change quickly and they don't carry many burdens. We don't agree with the term "Black Five Categories" children, and we want to reform them. Moreover, children cannot form a class of their own; we shouldn't create artificial class conflicts. Both good performance and good background are important, and ultimately, one's performance will define their outcome. Tan Lifeng disagrees with this... Class struggle and the fight between two roads continue. After the work teams arrived, ninety percent of the work teams, except for a few special cases, made more or less mistakes in terms of direction and policy. Even the party committees that didn't send work teams made similar mistakes. Most party cadres still struggle to understand the issues.

Zhang: Even if we don't name names, the impact will still be the same.

Student: We must fire at the reactionary line and absolutely uphold Chairman Mao's authority.

Premier Zhou: Yes, and we need to conduct a thorough and deep criticism, paying attention to the impact. The line must be thoroughly criticized.

Zhang: Correspondence in writing. Kuai Dafu made a public declaration at the mass rally and publicly restored his reputation...

Premier Zhou: He Changgong's big-character posters have appeared on the streets more often. The government is led by the Central Committee, and if the government loses its authority, it's bad. The street-level propaganda should focus more on the ideological struggle between the two lines. It's okay to mention names occasionally, but don't overly emphasize them. If imperialism and the international community become aware, it could cause more trouble. The emphasis should be on ideological content and political impact. Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou have a great influence. Today, we are talking about China being led by the Central Committee and Chairman Mao; we need to be mindful of the impact. Whatever happens, the facts come first, and understanding comes later. The Red Guards were a timely initiative by Chairman Mao... The editor-

ial was written after investigation... On August 4th, we stopped Wang Guangmei from being active at Tsinghua.

Zhang: In the past, you were labeled as “counter-revolutionaries.” Now, don’t reverse this; you must be cautious about uniting with those who made mistakes. Now that you’ve stood up, if mistakes are made in the future, it will be your turn.

Premier Zhou: The Chinese Communist Party has made mistakes in the past, but it cannot be said that it was not revolutionary. ... The Cultural Revolution Group does not support Wang Guangmei going for an inspection, nor do other members of the Central Committee. Chairman Mao disagrees with Wang Guangmei going to Tsinghua for an inspection, because she wouldn’t be able to step down afterwards. I’ll explain: don’t conduct the inspection face-to-face, but rather back-to-back... (Student mentions the three headquarters)

Premier Zhou: I am the most supportive of the Third Headquarters...

Zhang Chunqiao's Speech at the "Northwest Region Oath-Taking Conference for Criticizing the Bourgeois Reactionary Line"

Zhang Chunqiao 1966.10.14

[Also attending the meeting were Comrades Mu Xin, Qi Benyu, and Yao Wenyan.]

Our Central Cultural Revolution Group has sent four of us here. First of all, I would like to convey greetings to everyone from Comrade Chen Boda and Comrade Jiang Qing.

Just now, we received many notes, all requesting to meet Chairman Mao and the central comrades. Comrades, we fully understand your wish, but unfortunately, it is impossible to arrange for the Chairman to come here today! Comrades, we will report your wishes to the Central Committee and Chairman Mao.

Comrades, we have received a lot of materials here at the meeting. We received information from various schools about the Cultural Revolution situation in the Northwest. Some of the materials are for the Central Cultural Revolution Group, some are for us to forward to Central Committee comrades, and some are for us to send to Chairman Mao. We will serve as your correspondents and ensure that this task is carried out.

Comrades, it has been over two months since the publication of the "Decision on the Proletarian Cultural Revolution" at the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee. In these two months, across the country, we have seen tremendous achievements in the Cultural Revolution. Particularly, our Red Guards, during this time, have made great contributions in breaking the Four Olds and establishing the Four News in the process of the Cultural Revolution. This includes the Northwest region as well. We warmly congratulate you on your great victories. However, revolution is never easy, nor is it as smooth as this grass field (referring to the workers' sports stadium), where the grass is soft enough to sleep on. Revolution is a struggle in which one class

overthrows another. It is a struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This struggle is very sharp, complex, and cruel; it is a life-and-death struggle. Therefore, we must inevitably encounter resistance from all sides, and this resistance is particularly strong in some units and regions. We can see that it is not only the ruling class following the capitalist road who resist. They will not retreat a single step, and they resist fiercely. Every step forward we take requires struggle, even hard struggle. But they are ultimately a decaying force without life. We, the revolutionary teachers and students, represent new and vibrant forces, full of vitality, and they will eventually be defeated.

Comrades, you all know that the Central Committee and Chairman Mao have formulated a complete route for our Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the "Sixteen Articles." As long as we follow the "Sixteen Articles," those who are carrying out the bourgeois counter-revolutionary line will certainly be defeated by us. Of course, comrades, you will still face difficulties. The difficulties you faced in the past, you will continue to face in the future. The struggle between two classes and two lines will continue, and there will be many repetitions. This will not only happen in one school, but also in one region, and nationwide as well. To truly achieve the complete victory of Chairman Mao's line across the country, we will still need to engage in difficult struggles, do detailed work, and capture one position after another. We cannot expect to win quickly. But it is encouraging to see that in the Northwest region, in our great capital, Beijing, so many people are gathered to criticize the bourgeois reactionary line and to uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. This indicates that our strength is growing stronger, and we will ultimately destroy the bourgeois reactionary line. (The students shout: "Make up our minds, fear no sacrifice, overcome all difficulties, and strive for victory.") Yes, we must make up our minds... And we must also consider... (Some students hand in notes saying: "What if we are labeled as 'counter-revolutionaries'") In some places, even three generations of a family have been labeled counter-revolutionaries. What should we do about this? The central authorities have already issued a document and notified all regions. You may have heard it. What does it say? It's the "Emergency Directive on the Proletarian Cultural Revolution by the Central Military Commission." It has been approved by the Central Committee, and it mentions that in the previous phase, in various places, regions, and units, revolutionary students and workers were labeled as "counter-revolutionaries." All these

cases will be redressed, and the Central Committee has decided to do this and notified the entire country. Comrades may be worried: What if the Central Committee issues a directive, but some places do not implement it? Is that possible? Yes. Didn't the "Sixteen Articles" get published? Some people didn't implement them, did they? This situation might happen as well! But I say don't be afraid. If you are firm proletarian revolutionary fighters, being labeled "counter-revolutionary" by the bourgeoisie is entirely justified, and there's nothing to fear. So, there is no need for us to worry about this. Since we have made up our minds, we will continue the revolution, even if they put this label on us, and the Central Committee will not say they don't want you. Our attendance at this meeting today shows our commitment.

Comrades, I could speak for a long time, but it's already late, and I just received a call saying we must return immediately for a meeting. So I cannot speak any further.

We hope that the students will take the greetings of the Central Cultural Revolution Group to the people of the Northwest and to you, the revolutionary teachers and students.

Long live the great and invincible Mao Zedong Thought!

Long live the Communist Party of China!

Long live Chairman Mao! Long live! Long live! Long live!

Zhang Chunqiao's Speech on the Long March Issue

1966.10.28

[Location: The CPPCC Auditorium]

Fifteen students from Dalian ran all the way to Beijing, and there were also students from Shanghai who came to Beijing. (The students from Shanghai walked even further than those from Dalian, but they didn't appear in the reports because part of the journey was by car.) They are all very lovely.

Students from Bengbu arrived in Tongxian on the 17th, and problems arose. (Chairman Mao received them on the 18th.) The students asked: Should we take a car to meet Chairman Mao, or continue walking? They decided to keep walking and meet him next time.

Someone suggested a route from Ruijin to Yan'an to Beijing. This idea seemed good at first, but now it seems the Snow Mountain is impassable. (Vice Premier Xie Fuzhi nodded and gestured with his hand.) The central government is studying this issue. What should we eat and where should we set up grain stations? It's good that you're insisting on walking, but sometimes we may need to help.

Right now, fewer than 100,000 people are walking out of Beijing each day, and most of them are from Beijing. Fewer people from other places are walking. Many are sick. After they leave, are the locals welcoming them? I think some may not be welcoming, so work needs to be done well, but we can't give them an ultimatum.

Some people are afraid of the Long March, even though they are brave in other matters. But they are afraid to walk this route.

What happens after the Long March? I used to be puzzled by this too, always afraid of the consequences. What would happen if everyone went? Now I think it's fine; many people have gone, and things will be handled the same way. I see that your viewpoints are unifying after you go out to

make connections. Some work groups on campus, when they go out to make connections, end up heavily criticizing the work groups. Because the work groups have suppressed them, but without suppression, there's no revolution! Going out to make connections will not harm Beijing's Cultural Revolution; it will only be beneficial. It may just take a little longer. If it takes half a year, then another half year, no problem. (Referring to the Cultural Revolution) If we use a year to improve the country, and it remains unchanged, that would still be a great achievement! The Soviet Union took fifty years, and they still built it!

Going out to make connections will not affect the struggle between the two lines. Going out is part of that struggle. The Long March can help train a group of people who are capable of walking, and walking is not an easy thing.

(Someone passes a note asking: What about the funding for the Long March?) This is a question we can't answer yet because we are just starting. We are researching where the grain supplies are, where there are hospitals, and what to do about doctors. We are now promoting the significance and benefits of the Long March. Some things have already started, but many problems and difficulties may arise.

Zhang Chunqiao's Speech When Meeting the 'Zhejiang Jinhua Petition Delegation to Beijing'

1966.10.29

Students:

I sincerely apologize. You have come to Beijing and waited for a long time. Some of you waited a little longer, and some a little shorter. Due to the difficulty in scheduling our time, we have not been able to meet with you until now. Let me introduce myself first: I am Zhang Chunqiao (applause), and this is Mu Xin (applause).

Regarding the situation in Jinhua, before you all came, we were already aware of some things and had seen some materials. The Central Cultural Revolution Group has been very concerned about the Cultural Revolution there. I just spoke with your representatives and learned some recent developments. They also relayed to me the requests you have for coming to Beijing. I would like to share some of our thoughts.

As you all know, the proletarian cultural revolution is the most widespread and profound revolution ever, and no one in the world has ever carried out a revolution like this. For example, in the Soviet Union, from the October Revolution until next year, it will be fifty years. Lenin wanted to carry out such a revolution, but he passed away before he could. Stalin did some things related to the cultural revolution, but there has never been a cultural revolution of such a large scale with millions of students and masses participating like China. Not only has this never happened in Chinese history, but it has never happened in world history either, and no one else dared to do it! No other country has ever done something like we did—closing down all middle and higher education institutions for a revolution. Who has ever done such a thing? No one! Moreover, people can ride trains without buying tickets, with one group after another coming to Beijing. Originally, we anticipated two million people in Beijing, but now it is nearly five million. As for the students traveling from one city to another to make connections, we haven't been able to count the numbers. Why are we carrying out such a big revolution? This

proletarian cultural revolution is aimed at eliminating old thoughts, old cultures, old customs, and old habits, and clearing out bourgeois elements in the realm of ideology and thought. We want to replace the Four Olds with new culture, new ideas, new customs, and new habits, using Mao Zedong Thought to replace the old. If the seven hundred million people in our country are unified by Mao Zedong Thought, we will become invincible. The significance of this cultural revolution is unprecedented. You may not fully understand it yet, but you will in the future. This is something that has never been done in human history. It has a larger significance than the Paris Commune, and it is more mass-oriented than the October Revolution. Its scale is greater than any revolution in history. Precisely because it is such a grand revolution, it will inevitably face all kinds of resistance, which is something we can expect.

However, specifically in the Jinhua region, the difficulties we encountered were much greater than we expected. How could a Communist Party regional committee suppress you? How could they incite workers and peasants to fight against you? We anticipated some resistance, but we didn't expect it to be so severe. After the Sixteen Articles were issued nationwide, this resistance became even greater and more overt, and the masses became more mobilized. Some places saw this before the Sixteen Articles, but more places experienced it afterward. For many people, there was a process of understanding. Initially, they didn't understand the movement, but some people were not like that—they insisted on the bourgeois counterrevolutionary line, opposing the proletarian revolutionary line. If we don't look at it from the perspective of the struggle of lines and class struggle, many phenomena cannot be explained. The struggle between these two lines has always existed, but it wasn't as complex as it is now. Now, it has become more acute and more complicated.

You have been in Beijing for a long time, and schools in Beijing are criticizing the bourgeois counterrevolutionary line. This struggle is very complex and not easy. It seems there will be reversals and it will continue for a long time. It is the proletariat rising up, being suppressed, then rising again, then being suppressed again. The struggle between the two sides will have multiple rounds of confrontation, not just one, and it may repeat many times. In the end, the proletariat will achieve victory. You should be prepared for this. Therefore, the Cultural Revolution is still in its early stages, just the beginning. If we count from last year's criticism

of Hai Rui's Dismissal, it's only been one year. But in the first half, the scale was small, and the broad masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers were just starting to pay attention. The students were engaged in general debates, and the newspapers only carried general debates, essentially "pen and ink battles."

On June 1st this year, after Chairman Mao approved the publication of the big-character posters by seven comrades from Peking University in People's Daily, it immediately created a climax, but this climax was quickly suppressed. By August 8th, after the Sixteen Articles were issued, there was another climax, especially after Chairman Mao met with a million revolutionary youths, sparking another new climax. There was a large-scale student revolutionary liaison, and attacks on provincial and municipal party committees also began. The issue in Jinhua occurred at this time. From that time until August, almost all provincial and municipal party committees were surrounded, proving that the masses had risen. As a result, there was a lot of resistance. Your issue in Jinhua stands out as one of the most serious incidents of the suppression of students, completely violating the Sixteen Articles. I read Li Xuezhi's self-criticism, and the criticism was too mild. He said he made directional and line errors, but the word "nature" should be removed. It was a mistake in direction and line, fully implementing the bourgeois counterrevolutionary line! You students want us to take a stand, and we believe that your actions are revolutionary actions. Our Central Cultural Revolution Group fully supports you! (Long, enthusiastic applause)

Revolutionary students demanded to see the secretary of the district party committee. A district party committee secretary actually put on such a big show! Li Xuezhi was terrified, and a communist party member was afraid of the masses—what kind of communist party member is that? A communist party member should go to the masses; when the masses come to him, he should come out. What kind of communist party member is it if he doesn't come out? You waited for more than twenty hours at the district committee's door, and that was completely justified! But I do have one small disagreement, which is not eating. They eat well and sleep well, so you should also eat well and sleep well before coming to surround them. If they don't come out today, we'll come back tomorrow and continue to fight them! Not eating isn't good, and it will ruin your health. Let's not do such foolish things in the future! If they don't come

out, there's no reason to keep doing that. Why use so many methods to provoke workers and peasants, using their deep class affection for the Party and Chairman Mao to surround students? That's unacceptable! We can't blame the workers and peasants for this; the responsibility lies with the district committee. (Applause) Especially since the Central Committee has issued directives, and People's Daily has published an editorial saying not to incite the masses to fight the students. They've been told this repeatedly, yet they still provoke the relationship between workers, peasants, and students. That's even more wrong. This is absolutely not allowed! This is completely contrary to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. (Enthusiastic applause) Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is to trust the masses, rely on the masses, and respect the pioneering spirit of the masses, believing that the masses can liberate themselves and using the power of the broad masses to overthrow the capitalist roaders in power, to defeat all reactionaries. They (referring to the Jinhua district committee) are following a counterrevolutionary line, a line of suppressing the masses, a line opposed to the masses, which is the bourgeois counterrevolutionary line. You must attack and criticize this line, and we fully support you! (Enthusiastic applause) This line must be thoroughly eliminated and thoroughly criticized, otherwise the revolution will face setbacks. You students must firmly follow the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, resolutely oppose the bourgeois line, and only then will you achieve victory!

Comrade Lin Biao's speech on National Day, followed by the editorial in *People's Daily* and *Hongqi* magazine, has been a month now. The movement in Beijing has been vigorous and has stirred up another climax.

As for the Jinhua Regional Committee, the issue of rehabilitation, the central government has issued instructions. We just learned that Jinhua has not yet been rehabilitated, and this mistake is becoming more and more serious, it has not yet been corrected. Therefore, the students are very angry and came to Beijing to hear the central government's opinion. Our stance has been stated earlier: we support your revolutionary actions, we support you in carrying out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to the end, and it must be carried out nationwide to the end. If it takes more time, then it will take as much time as needed. It's been five months, and we can continue for another five months; if that's not enough, we will continue for as long as needed. We must carry it through

to the end! This determination is very firm. It is the decision of the Central Committee and of Chairman Mao! (Loud applause) If the students also agree with this determination, then the issues you raised will be easier to discuss. One issue is to remove Li Xuezhi from his position, to dismiss him from office. The Jinhua district committee made such a big mistake, and in my personal opinion, this person is not suitable to be the secretary of the district committee. (Applause) However, we have received many letters requesting the removal of officials from all over the country. This person is not suitable. Should we remove him immediately or should we struggle with him first? Just now, the representative said that if we don't remove him, we will face more difficulties. I said, this is reasonable. If we remove him first, it could be smoother. But many places are requesting the removal of officials. Why has it generally not been criticized, as far as I know? Is it because we cannot meet the students' wishes? No, we are just explaining a principle. It's better to do it a bit slower. The advantage is that we can always retain an opposing side. For example, the work of rehabilitation (of wronged people), we could have him do it, and let him go to the workers and peasants for self-criticism. If we dismiss him, he will not work anymore. At the same time, the students will not be able to develop their abilities because you are still very young. If you were to study in the Soviet Union under Khrushchev's revisionist rule, and you wanted to rise up and make a revolution, have you thought about how to do it? The Cultural Revolution is meant to uproot the roots of revisionism. If we eliminate it through the Cultural Revolution, it's not to say that revisionism won't appear again in the future. Would dismissing Li Xuezhi's position root out the revisionism? Lenin and Stalin never thought that their own homeland would produce revisionism. The lesson we learned from the Soviet Union is that they did not properly train the younger generation. When revisionism emerged, there was no way to deal with it. The Soviet people were the people led by Lenin after the October Revolution, and we believed they could achieve victory. But they were not mentally prepared from the beginning. Where did the Soviet people go to complain? They went to the central government, but instead of solving the issue, they were arrested.

So, this Cultural Revolution is a big rehearsal. In our China, if the county committee changes, the people in that county can rise up and overthrow it. The same applies to a district committee. The people can rise up and overthrow it, not rely on higher authorities. This is more difficult. Fortu-

nately, we have the Marxist-Leninist Party Central Committee, and now we are having this rehearsal under Chairman Mao's leadership, training you through struggle. If the central government were to make a decision, it would not be difficult to just send a telegram. But for you, the opportunity to be trained through struggle is limited. You don't want to just be happy and return home after the central government agrees with you. When you go out into the streets, everywhere you see requests to remove officials, such as in Shaanxi where they want to remove Huo Shilian, in Gansu they want to remove Wang Feng, in the Northwest Bureau they want to remove Liu Lantao. The central government has not expressed an opinion. Why hasn't the central government approved it? Does that mean the central government does not support you? No, the North Plain is revisionist, it won't work, so we can't just remove it immediately. Zhang Chengxian was sent, and the Peking University students said that they received the work team with tears in their eyes, but they were also oppressed. Students, if there is no oppression, then there is no revolution. What kind of revolutionaries would you be if there is no oppression? What kind of Red Guards would you be? We youth must endure a bit more oppression, and go through more training, including making some mistakes ourselves. This is all okay.

If you are afraid that you won't be able to account for yourselves when you return, what should you do? This is not a problem. Personally, I understand that this is exactly why Chairman Mao fully trusts the revolutionary people to solve these issues. Only when these problems are solved this way will the impact be significant. The impact will last for generations. We need to create a way to prevent revisionism, and those who have participated in the struggle will learn how to correctly handle contradictions of different natures. Only with such experience and such people can the removal of officials and dismissals become even more meaningful.

I will report your requests to the Party Central Committee, and at the same time, I hope you students will consider our opinion. How to work and struggle, you need to think about this. Is this not supporting you? No, this method is the greatest support. If you only listen to higher-ups' decisions, what would happen in the Soviet Union? So please think about this issue. This is not something that can be decided by just the two of us or by the Central Cultural Revolution Group. Not dismissing officials, but fighting in this way—fighting is what makes it meaningful. The more

you fight, the more methods you will have, the more energy you will gain. Intelligence and wisdom increase through struggle. Right now, you are oppressed, and the masses have risen. Their lives will not be easy. An opinion raised is the demand to carry out the Four Cleanups. This policy was decided long ago. Recently, the Central Committee held a meeting, and the provincial comrades have just returned. There's no need to worry about this. Your opinion is to initiate it earlier. As for the specifics, like when to implement it in Zhejiang's Jinhua and how much earlier it should start, I am not familiar with the details. We can pass on your suggestion. Another opinion is that you want the Central Committee to send people to investigate and address the situation. We deeply appreciate this—it reflects your trust in us. We will send people, and they can use various methods to understand the situation. However, I still stand by what I've said: trust the local masses to resolve the issues themselves, though it will require struggle. The materials you've submitted will be carefully reviewed and reported to the Central Committee. We believe Zhejiang is a very important region. Hangzhou is the provincial capital, and Jinhua is also a key city. The cultural revolution there must succeed. Who will ensure this? It will rely on the revolutionary teachers, students, and workers and peasants there. The Central Committee has equipped you with ideological weapons—The Sixteen Articles and Mao Zedong Thought. With the invincible Mao Zedong Thought, no matter how great the resistance, the struggle will definitely be carried out to its conclusion. This will ensure that our country remains red forever, becoming the base for world revolution and pushing the global revolution forward.

This is the only opinion I wanted to share with you. If there are any errors, please feel free to criticize. (Prolonged applause)

The Central Cultural Revolution Group has full confidence in you. We firmly believe you can carry out the Cultural Revolution successfully. As long as you draw your strength from Chairman Mao's works, victory will undoubtedly be yours. No matter what difficulties arise, the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao are behind you! (Prolonged, enthusiastic applause)

Summary of Zhang Chunqiao and Qi Benyu's Speech During a Meeting with Red Guards Representatives

1966.11.01

[Those Received: Representatives from the Headquarters of the Revolutionary Rebel Red Guards of the People's Republic of China, the International Red Guards China Division, and the First, Second, and Third Command Headquarters in Beijing.]

Zhang Chunqiao's Speech:

The establishment of a nationwide Red Guard organization must go through discussions within the Central Committee. It's great that you have such enthusiasm, and we do not oppose it. However, comrades should consider whether the conditions are right, whether such an organization is absolutely necessary, and whether it is the top priority.

The entire movement operates under the leadership of the Central Committee and Chairman Mao. The Central Committee directly communicates instructions to the entire nation. Each meeting highlights the central issues of the time, striving to avoid formalism. In the past, meetings always required lengthy reports, sometimes lasting three hours. Now, such practices have been abolished. Chairman Mao has never liked this kind of formalism—if something doesn't need to be said, then it doesn't have to be said!

Instructions can also be conveyed through other forms, such as *Hongqi* magazine or *People's Daily*, to inform the entire Party and the nation. The Party has developed through struggles between two opposing lines, and Chairman Mao's line has been refined and strengthened through such struggles.

Currently, tens of millions of people are traveling across the country, with millions already in Beijing—some have visited multiple times, making it difficult to count the exact numbers. Initially, we planned to receive them

in stages, but that plan has been completely surpassed. In a movement of this scale, rigid frameworks won't work; many issues can be resolved by the masses themselves during their travels. From the far north in Harbin to the southern tip of Hainan Island, people are learning from and supporting one another in their cross-country connections. In this vast-scale mass movement, problems are resolved collectively.

The establishment of a nationwide Red Guard organization requires careful consideration. In my opinion, the conditions are not yet mature.

The units currently participating in cross-country networking may be leftist today, but during major upheavals, it is natural for young people to make mistakes, and their perspectives may change. In such a period of significant turmoil, forming such an organization carries a high risk of instability.

Right now, you must focus on doing painstaking, detailed, and solid work. It is not enough to rely on being part of a minority. In the past, being criticized was an honor for you. In this revolutionary movement, organizing the leftists and uniting the majority is a very challenging task. This cannot be achieved merely through speeches or issuing announcements. What is currently lacking is arduous and meticulous work. Why has the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League not yet been reorganized? It is because the struggle is still evolving, and there are significant changes taking place. Organizational issues are better left for a later stage. For now, there is no need to rush into establishing a nationwide Red Guard organization. As for the International Red Guard's China Branch, it is essentially still a Chinese entity. Other countries cannot immediately establish their own Red Guard organizations. For example, in Japan, a movement emerged but was quickly suppressed. In Mexico, a similar movement also emerged but was soon arrested and imprisoned. This shows that the Chinese Red Guards have had a significant global impact, but it will take time for such influence to spread worldwide.

Qi Benyu's speech:

The overall direction is correct and aligns with the general trend. Whether the Red Guards will replace the Communist Youth League still needs to be considered. Establishing a nationwide Red Guard organization is a

trend, and such an organization will eventually be created. This is a significant matter and a very serious one. A nationwide Red Guard initiative would have a tremendous impact on the entire world. Therefore, such a large organization cannot be hastily established; much work needs to be done beforehand.

International Red Guards China Branch:

The chairman cannot act as your supreme commander. This is not a trivial matter or a game; it involves international relations. Your International Red Guards China Branch has posted big-character posters that have attracted considerable interest from foreigners. Both of us suggest that you refrain from using this banner to operate. Doing so could harm the struggles of Red Guards in other countries. For instance, in Japan, some attempts were suppressed, leading them to form secret organizations. While suppression can occur, the fire of revolution cannot be extinguished. However, creating an International Red Guards China Branch with ties that can be monitored might turn good intentions into harm, ultimately being unhelpful to revolutions abroad.

A nationwide Red Guard organization will be established in the future, but only after a certain period. The cultural revolution must pass through stages, including major upheavals, divisions, and eventually a relatively stable period.

For now, focus on practical, detailed work instead of rushing to form such organizations. When the time comes, it may be impossible not to establish such an organization, and then we can revisit your thoughts on this matter. Conditions in various places remain challenging. You need to engage in more solid and practical work. You are articulate and analytical; you are prominent figures. When connecting with and researching local areas, investigate who the leftists are, who the conservatives are, and who supports Chairman Mao. Do the groundwork thoroughly. Avoid drawing too much attention by using banners; keeping a lower profile can be beneficial—understand? In the future, this organization will indeed be established, and the prospects are bright.

Zhou Enlai's Telephone Instructions to the Central Broadcasting Bureau and the Conversations of Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan

1966.11.02

[Note: On October 5, 1966, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China circulated an urgent directive from the Central Military Commission. Ding Laifu, who controlled the Broadcasting Bureau, sent a work team to the Broadcasting Institute but refused to implement the urgent directive. Instead, the work team concealed black materials they had gathered against the revolutionary teachers and students of the institute in the Broadcasting Building, intending to “settle accounts after the autumn.”

The revolutionary youth of the institute repeatedly demanded the handling of the black materials, but the work team ignored them. On November 2, the students once again went to the Broadcasting Building to request the processing of the black materials. The work team locked the doors, blocking the students outside for an entire day, deliberately making things difficult and refusing to comply. Finally, unable to endure the situation any longer, the students broke into the building and sealed off the black materials.]

Premier Zhou's First Telephone Instruction

Premier Zhou ordered Li Zhefu, the leader of the academy's work group (former deputy director of the Broadcasting Bureau and head of the Bureau's Party Committee Political Department), to handle the black materials according to the spirit of the urgent directive from the Central Military Commission.

Premier Zhou's Second Telephone Instruction:

(The revolutionary youths opened a cabinet in the Political Department, at which point someone informed the student representatives that Premier Zhou was calling.)

Premier Zhou: I support your revolutionary actions. Students, temporarily withdraw. Find five representatives, and I will send a foreign affairs secretary to assist you in the search. Do you agree with this?

Student response: Yes!

Student asks: Was Ding Laifu personally sent to the Broadcasting Bureau by you?

Premier Zhou: No, no. How could I decide who to send on my own?

Student asks: Who sent him? Was it Luo Ruiqing who sent Ding Laifu to the Broadcasting Bureau?

Premier Zhou: I'm not too sure about that. It was a decision made by the Central Committee to send someone, and the specific personnel were dispatched by the General Political Department. It's up to them to decide who is sent.

Student asks: When did you first meet Ding Laifu?

Premier Zhou: I only got to know him after he arrived at the Broadcasting Bureau.

[The phone call had not yet finished when Comrades Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan arrived at the Broadcasting Bureau. The following is a summary of their conversation:

Time: November 2, 1966, 11:00 PM to the early hours of November 3, 1966.

Location: Editorial Office, Broadcasting Bureau.]

At the beginning, the students who arrived first reported to Comrades Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan about the process of requesting the materials. Then, Comrade Zhang (hereinafter referred to as Zhang) asked Li Zhefeng (hereinafter referred to as Li): "What did you do after hearing the military committee's instructions? When did you communicate the military committee's instructions?"

Li: (Hesitantly) The official document was seen on the 5th. The instructions were communicated in mid-October, but I can't remember the exact day. It was Comrade Ding Laifu who communicated it.

Zhang: You can't remember when it was conveyed... you really have such poor memory!

Comrade Yao Wenyuan (hereinafter referred to as Yao) said: Some things, however, we remember very clearly.

(Then Li Zhefeng explained the course of events to Comrades Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan. During this, Yao Wenyuan went out to meet the students waiting at the door.)

Zhang: Have you burned your materials?

Li: No.

Student: Yes, your team members did burn them.

(Li Zhefeng continued to explain.)

Zhang: The transmission was late. You said it was Ding Laifu, so Ding Laifu should be responsible. Did you make an execution plan?

Li: No.

Zhang: Did you go to the academy to deliver the military committee's instructions?

Li: No. After we evacuated, we didn't manage anything.

Zhang: After the military committee's instructions came, you didn't go (to the academy) to deliver them. Did you discuss what to do? Did you study how to implement it? After delivering the instructions, you should have studied how the working group should implement them. Doesn't this instruction concern you?

(After a series of questions, Li Zhefeng and the others were speechless.)

Yao: What were you doing in September and October? Did you have any contact with the academy?

Li: No.

Student: Yang Ziyi asked about ×××

Zhang: How was it executed? Did the party committee discuss it? Was there an execution plan?

Li (hesitantly): I don't know.

Zhang: Are you a party committee member?

Li: I am. I attended meetings, but we didn't discuss it. I often went out.

Zhang Chunqiao then asked Wang Shouren (hereinafter referred to as Wang).

Wang: Our party committee had one study session.

Zhang: Did you formulate any specific execution methods?

Wang: Four people attended, but they didn't fully understand the document. I'll go ask, as we are unclear about this matter. (After speaking, he left.)

At this point, a person (female) who opposed the revolutionary actions of the Broadcasting Institute's Red Guards handed a note to Comrade Yao Wen Yuan, which read: "I am a victim of persecution, I was beaten. I hope the leaders will not listen to one-sided accounts (referring to the situation reported by the revolutionary students at the beginning of the meeting), but rather fully understand the situation." After this person left and then returned, she said: "I would like to speak with the leaders." Comrade Yao Wen Yuan replied: "It's getting late, we are here specifically to address the issue of materials, and there are other matters tomorrow. Could you please write your statement in writing?" She sat down. A male and female comrade from the group supporting the revolutionary actions of the Broadcasting Institute's Red Guards handed a note, which read:

“Comrades Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan: The situation at the Broadcasting Bureau is very serious, no needle can be inserted, no water can be poured in. We hope the central leadership will investigate.”

Comrade Yao Wenyuan showed interest and began speaking with the female comrade. He took the two documents they presented and said, “We’ll take them and review them back home.”

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao then asked: “If you didn’t fully understand, did you ask for instructions from the central authorities? Did you consult with the (Institute) masses? Did you ask the students what should be done?”

Li Zhefou was left speechless.

Zhang continued: “According to what you said, first, you didn’t report and ask for instructions from the central authorities; second, you didn’t consult with the masses. If you feel helpless, you should either ask higher-ups for instructions or consult with the masses. But you didn’t do either. What does that mean?”

Li Zhefou quickly responded: “We asked the municipal committee for instructions.”

Zhang: When did you ask for instructions? Only after they came to your door did you ask. The directive (referring to the Military Commission directive) is quite fundamental, and many places have sent telegrams saying, “It’s difficult to implement.” You didn’t fully understand it, nor did you report it to the central authorities. At the time, students generally felt under pressure, and they reflected this. When we wrote the directive, we thought it was simple: the students should write their own self-criticisms and hand them in, and the rest should be publicly burned. Since we hadn’t been in a work team ourselves and hadn’t done that kind of work, we didn’t know how many kinds of materials there were. We didn’t anticipate it being so complicated. Later, we found out that students were writing for each other—for example, I wrote yours, and you wrote mine. It would have been fine if we didn’t know about it, or if we were magnanimous once we found out. But being young, once they find out, they say, “You’re making me write your materials, who are you?” When they know

about it, it can lead to struggles between the masses. The people writing the materials are mostly those who care about the Party and socialism. This way, some people get freed, while others end up burdened. The self-criticism they wrote should be returned to them. As for other materials, like speeches from the head of the work team, they should be handed out to everyone. The rest of the materials should be sealed up and burned later to avoid causing new disputes. After this, don't do these things anymore. If students have disagreements, they should be addressed through normal criticism.

Student: Some people have organized materials and handed them over, what should we do?

Zhang: For those that haven't been handed over, don't search for them yet, to avoid making it difficult for the students to unite. Wait until they come to their senses, and they will either hand them over to you or destroy them themselves.

Student: Some people have also organized materials and even threatened saying, "We'll meet again later."

Zhang: This is the poison left behind by the work group. Don't direct your attacks at that faction. You've always called the minority faction dishonorable, but when you were isolated, we supported you. When the situation changes, you should transition from being the minority to the majority. You need to work with those students.

Disagreements with the work group didn't arise in just one day. Young students are in a period of change, and if you follow the crowd, it will lead to trouble. You are more easily influenced by the outside world, and you need to unite with the workers, peasants, and soldiers.

We are a bit older than you, and we've experienced this. There were times when telegrams from all over the country said, "The Red Guards are only causing trouble, fighting people, making a scene." When we heard that, we also had to think for a couple of days. If we were not firm, if we wavered just a little, we would make mistakes.

Yao: When the students had a discussion with us, they mentioned that

some people are worried about settling scores later. They are afraid of being labeled as counter-revolutionaries and still don't dare to speak up until now.

Zhang: This is a root of trouble. The military commission's directive is meant to eliminate this root of trouble so that everyone can be liberated and collectively criticize the bourgeois reactionary line.

At first, we thought it was simple, but later we decided to issue a supplementary statement. However, we believed that using the central authority's name, we could not rush into it. If we issued one supplement, there would have to be another, so it hasn't been issued yet. As for the public report made by the working group, it would be useful for criticizing the reactionary line, so we decided to bring it out for criticism, while the rest should be sealed and eventually burned to avoid future disputes. This was the initial idea.

... (The students spoke a lot)

Zhang: We have always been thinking about going to your place.

Yao: What's the matter with the person named Chen ×× who jumped off the building? Did they fight with this person?

Li: I don't know.

Yao: We know everything about what you have done.

Student: Someone wants the Central Cultural Revolution Group to come to our school to conduct an inspection. (Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan laughed.)

Yao: We are planning to go. You've posted our big-character posters, and we've already seen them. We are aware of the situation at the Broadcasting Academy. It's not just about the black materials issue; there are other problems as well. You've posted our big-character posters, how could we not know? Isn't there someone still "making a counterrevolutionary move" against Comrade Jiang Qing? We are planning to go, but right now, there's no time.

Student: After the publication of the editorial in *Hongqi* (Red Flag) issue 13, a third opinion emerged—one hand knocks down the “Revolutionary Committee” and the other knocks down the “Representative Congress.” (Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan both smiled again.)

Zhang: Actually, it’s still two factions.

Student: The number of people coming over is gradually increasing.

Yao: There’s a lot of turmoil right now. You still have to prepare for their return to turmoil...

Zhang Chunqiao: Let’s return to the issue of the materials. What kind of line did you (Li Zhefou and others) follow at the Broadcasting Academy? You need to seriously review this. We’ve wanted to meet with you for a long time; we felt that there were problems, but we just haven’t had the time to find you. We really want to discuss Ding Laifu...

You, you and your party committee should have held a meeting with us there. What you’re doing is very strange. First, you didn’t seriously discuss it, and second, there was no execution plan. Are you in a hurry? The Bureau’s party committee isn’t in a hurry, but you are part of the work team, why aren’t you in a hurry? You didn’t report to the municipal party committee, didn’t report to the central government, and didn’t consult with the masses—these things you didn’t do. Are my words accurate? Based on what he (Li Zhefou) said, I haven’t conducted any further investigation. The Broadcasting Bureau is a well-informed agency, yet you didn’t take the central directives seriously. Do you agree or disagree with what I said? Are these three points accurate? On October 6th, during the Third Command Headquarters’ meeting, I read the official document. It was not a speech draft, and the whole country knew about it. Didn’t you know? You only learned about it on the 10th or so? Not understanding it, and not reporting, your attitude was wrong, and that’s how things developed into today’s situation. Is that correct? You must ensure that the materials are not moved, hidden, or destroyed. You can say that some things might not be present right now, but you must make sure that nothing is concealed, moved, or privately destroyed. You can seal the materials that you have now. Go check and see which are the students’ personal self-criticisms; take them out. You must take out your speeches, and the rest, both

sides (referring to the students and the work team), send representatives to seal them. In these last few days, we've been quite anxious because the students spent so much time handling materials. If you had taken more proactive steps earlier, we wouldn't have been entangled in this issue. Disinfecting (handling the issue) is not easy, and this month has not been enough to properly disinfect. The conference can build momentum, but it's truly not easy to convince someone, especially those who are highly influential.

Zhang Chunqiao: Are you (Li Zhefou) saying something final or something flexible? Now you are allowed to speak flexibly. We trust them (referring to the students), and we also agree that you speak flexibly.

Li: We've sorted out materials for six people, and we've already given them to them.

Student: Others have also sorted out materials, and some of the work team members have already destroyed them. Do you regret handing over the six people's materials?

Li: We'll have the team members look for them again. We'll hand them over.

Zhang: If any are found later, gather them together, review them, seal them up again, and say we found another batch. Make a list, write down what materials they are, whose they are, and how many.

Student: The personnel department, we can't trust them, they're always doing bad things. We've already sealed the files, what should we do?

Zhang: Do you manage the academy?

Li: No, we don't manage it.

Zhang: Each school is managed by its respective department. If that doesn't work, find the vice premier to manage it. Right now, the Premier is very busy, and we're concerned about his health. You should ask the central government again. You should be brave and take responsibility. If you're wrong, reflect and correct it; only by correcting your mistakes

can you become good cadres. If you don't correct them, it will become a problem. Whether you correct it or not depends on the first step, which is to get the reversal of the unjust decisions. The editorial in the 14th issue of Hongqi magazine explains it very clearly—the distinction between correcting mistakes or persisting in errors is the attitude toward the masses, whether you openly admit that you executed the wrong line, whether you seriously reverse the verdicts for those revolutionaries who were labeled “counter-revolutionaries,” “anti-party elements,” “rightists,” “pseudo-leftists, true rightists,” and restore their reputation publicly, as well as supporting the revolutionary actions of the masses. If you are a true communist, you should be courageous in correcting your mistakes. The students will welcome you to correct your errors. The Party committee of the Broadcasting Bureau should also urge them to get the materials right. (Comrade Wang Shouren quickly nodded and said: Yes, yes, yes.) The students should study together and critically review the mistakes that were made in the past.

Zhang: You (referring to Li Zhefu) should help check the files. You can't just shove materials into the archives. Anything that has been added to the archives since the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, starting from June 2nd, should be removed. Whether it's written by individuals or by others, they should be taken out together.

(Li Zhefu reports to Comrade Zhang Chunqiao on the specific methods they have implemented.)

Zhang: Let's not go into such detail. We are very busy. The issue of sealing the materials, you two sides should resolve it yourselves! We won't get involved.

At this moment, Wang Shouren quickly said: “Is there any other instruction? Please give it to us! We will resolutely carry it out.”

Zhang: We are not here to issue instructions; we are here to supervise your implementation of the central instructions.

Student: The Broadcasting Bureau is unequal to us, the minority.

Zhang: There should be equality in organization and economy.

Li: Yes, yes.

Zhang: As for the political side, who you lean towards, I won't say. You decide for yourselves. We understand each other very well.

Then, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao called the students together and said: We do not blame you at all. We are worried you might be deceived, that you might suffer losses. As soon as we heard about it, we came right away.

Yao: Some people deliberately took materials out of the safe and led the students to flip through them, in order to slander the students for stealing files. We are afraid you will be at a disadvantage.

(As they were talking, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan were walking out. At the door, the so-called "victim" and a cadre opposed the central leaders supporting the revolutionary students, insisting that the leaders must go to the office of the cadres at [X] building.)

Zhang: We're not going, it's too late. (But the woman still wouldn't let it go and insisted the leaders go take a look.)

Yao: Fine, we won't go. You won't be able to step down.

Zhang Chunqiao angrily said: Go, go.

(Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan turned and headed toward the Political Department. At this point, Wang Shouren quickly blocked their way and said in unison: Don't go, don't go. The leaders don't have time.)

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan then walked downstairs with everyone.

Zhang Chunqiao, Qi Benyu, and Five Red Flag Fighters from Beihang University Talk

1966.11.11

“Red Flag” Fighters: Since the editorial ‘*Red Guards Are Not Afraid of Long March Hardships*’ was published, most have gone on the Long March. Those of us who stayed behind have gone into Beijing society, visiting factories.

Qi Benyu: Combining with workers and peasants—your direction is not wrong.

Question: We went to the factories a few times and saw that the workers’ true revolutionary spirit is better than ours. Now that the Cultural Revolution is advancing in depth, we are taking steps to go to the factories, integrate with the workers, and understand society. We went to the factories to write big-character posters, promote Mao Zedong Thought, propagate the Party’s policies, talk with the workers, help them copy big-character posters, work alongside them, and move into the factories to live.

We went to the Guanghai Lumber Factory. The workers there have been eagerly asking us to come. It’s very far, but we are preparing to move there to live.

Qi Benyu replied: Going to the factory and living with the workers should not disrupt their production order. Of course, some production orders need to be broken, and this should rely on the masses to innovate and break them. That will be sufficient.

Zhang Chunqiao replied: Working in factories is a matter of direction, and we plan to proceed this way in the next step. As for how to do it, you should go explore and gain experience.

Question: Some people oppose us entering factories, such as at the Beijing Jade Factory and the Guanghai Timber Factory. The Red Flag Battle Group also protested against us.

Zhang Chunqiao: This is something new! Naturally, some people will oppose it. (Laughs) The reasoning behind opposing your entry into factories is their fear that you will disrupt their production order. If you are careful and handle the relationship between revolution and production properly, they won't oppose you anymore. First, you should make contact with the workers. For now, don't go into the workshops because they are not unified internally, and you won't be able to have meaningful conversations. In the past, when I visited factories, it was the same. You need to wait until after the workers finish their shifts to talk to them. Otherwise, if you go to work with one group of workers, the other group might completely stop working, which would not be good.

Question: We want to start at a few points to explore and gain experience. Could you also immerse yourselves and work with us to summarize the experiences?

Qi Benyu and Zhang Chunqiao: Good! Good! Good! It's still up to you to take the lead and explore. Find a few workers to have heart-to-heart conversations with.

Zhang Chunqiao's Speech to the Representatives of the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebellion General Headquarters Delegation to Beijing

Zhang Chunqiao 1966.11.13

[On the afternoon of November 13th, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao from the Central Cultural Revolution Group met with the comrades returning from the Anting region, who were part of the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebellion General Headquarters delegation to Beijing to file a complaint. He agreed to the five revolutionary demands put forward by the workers. This marked a major victory for the Shanghai workers' revolutionary faction! Workers, peasants, and soldiers are the main force of the proletarian cultural revolution, and the establishment of the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebellion General Headquarters and this victory signify a new phase in the proletarian cultural revolution in Shanghai. We resolutely support all the revolutionary actions of the Shanghai workers' revolutionary faction and enthusiastically cheer for their victory! We learn from the courageous and victorious Shanghai working class! The Shanghai workers' trip to Beijing to file complaints is a revolutionary action! We most resolutely support the revolutionary actions of the Shanghai workers! Revolutionary students and workers, peasants, and soldiers unite on the basis of Mao Zedong Thought!]

Comrades:

You have been waiting here for a long time. Just now, I discussed some issues with your headquarters comrades, and now I will explain the first issue:

(1) Is the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters a legitimate revolutionary organization? I believe the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters is a legitimate revolutionary organization.

(2) After the meeting on November 4th, some people went to Beijing to lodge complaints. What kind of action is this? I say this is a revolutionary action. On this issue, I would like to offer some opinions. In the future, when such issues arise, whether workers or farmers are sending representatives to Beijing, it is important to note that collective trips will affect production.

(3) Now, regarding the consequences of this matter, you, the representatives, have raised the point that the responsibility should lie with the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and the East China Bureau. I agree with this opinion. I would like to declare that the Municipal Party Committee issued a notice yesterday. If you face criticism or difficulties when you return, your wages will still be paid. If you are made to suffer, that would be wrong. You should know that the Municipal Party Committee has issued this notice. While I cannot guarantee you won't face attacks when you return, I believe that anyone who wants to carry out a revolution should not be afraid. If you adopt this attitude, the issue can be resolved smoothly.

(4) The request for Comrade Cao Diqui to make a public self-criticism to the masses is something I agree with. Some comrades are concerned about my safety, but I came here without any doubts. I do not consider you all to be bad people. If I thought you were all bad, I wouldn't have gone to Anting by myself. As for Comrade Cao Diqui's safety, I hope that things can be handled reasonably. If one self-criticism is not enough, he can come again for a second one.

(5) Regarding providing convenience for the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters, I agree with this point. However, I would like to offer a suggestion: our workers should carry forward the fine tradition of hard work and simplicity. We should not be like some other organizations, using cars, recording machines, and cameras. We should use as few of these as possible and continue to uphold the tradition of hard struggle. After the meeting, I will also talk to some workers to understand the situation of the Cultural Revolution among Shanghai workers. In the Cultural Revolution, what problems do workers face, and how do you solve them? For example, the relationship between revolution and production, the time for Comrade Cao Diqui's self-criticism, and preparations for the next meeting, etc. I hope the Cultural Revolution in Sha-

nghai will be done well and become a model for the entire country. Shanghai has two million workers with a glorious tradition, who deeply love Chairman Mao, read his books, listen to his words, and act according to his instructions. The Cultural Revolution movement in Shanghai is sure to lead the country, just as it has in industry.

Attachment:

The demands of all workers of the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters:

1. To acknowledge that the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters is a legitimate organization;
2. To acknowledge that the November 9th meeting and the forced trip to Beijing are revolutionary actions; (In future, when similar issues arise, representatives should be sent – added by Comrade Zhang Chunqiao)
3. The consequences caused by this matter shall be fully the responsibility of the East China Bureau and the Shanghai Municipal Committee.
4. Cao Diqu must make a public self-criticism to the masses.
5. Provide all necessary support for the future work of the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters.

Approved by Zhang Chunqiao (Signature)
November 13, 1966

Zhang Chunqiao's Speech When Meeting with All the Soldiers of the Dongfang Hong Battalion from Tongji University

Zhang Chunqiao 1966.11.15

Thank you very much, comrades, for your trust in me and for looking for me everywhere. But I hope this method is not promoted in the future. I'm happy and not happy—happy to meet with you, but not happy because this way of doing things affects my work. I returned because some workers from Shanghai walked to Beijing to petition, which affected transportation and production. Because of this, I hurriedly rushed back, but I don't yet know the specific situation, and the problem has not been fully resolved. When I hurriedly came back, I had originally planned to solve this issue first and then meet with you students, but since you've found me, I'm very happy to meet with you. I always wanted to come back; we care about the cultural revolution in Shanghai. From the letters of the students and conversations with students who connected with Beijing, I know some information, but not in detail.

First of all, let's talk about Chen Linhu (the former leader of the work group). Just now, some students discussed the situation with me. The main point of discussion was whether Chen Linhu should go for self-criticism. This principle is not problematic, as the central government had already made a decision. Whether it's the majority or the minority, no matter who asks, or which faction wants him to self-criticize, he must go. If one faction asks, he should do the self-criticism in front of that faction. If that faction doesn't need a self-criticism, then don't listen to it. Now, it seems that "Hongqi" (the conservative faction at Tongji) also wants him to self-criticize. I came this time to meet with all of you. Additionally, some workers are waiting for me. You can send me the materials separately, and I will read them and then express my opinion. Originally, you were in the minority, so you need to be aware that they might have been protected quite strongly in the past. You said that they claimed the work group implemented the proletarian revolutionary line, but suddenly turning around is not so easy. Now, the question is: is it real or not? It might need to be analyzed in more detail. Some of the students

may have been deeply influenced by the bourgeois reactionary line, so they should be handled according to the “Hongqi” 14th issue editorial on how to deal with those who are influenced and deceived by the bourgeois reactionary line. As long as they come to recognize it, that will be fine. Unity is essential. Generally speaking, students don’t engage in self-criticism, but if a few individuals have been very stubborn and behaved in a very bad way, my personal opinion is that they should also undergo some self-criticism because they were too stubborn. However, we always believe in the principle of “punish the past and warn the future, cure the illness and save the patient.” In principle, there should be no compromise; ideologically, we should draw a clear line and engage in debate, which I support. Young people’s thoughts can change easily. Unity and criticism are unified. Would we ourselves not make mistakes? We do too.

The work group’s self-criticism is completely acceptable, and it is also fine to require him to first go to the Dongfanghong Rebel Corps (the rebel faction) for self-criticism, because you are requesting it actively. It’s also okay for Chen Linhu to stay at the school; in principle, I agree.

The issues between students can be resolved, and there’s no need to argue over these matters or create opposition among students. Chairman Mao once said not to rush into sending work groups. Everyone should have a process of understanding the issue with work groups, and I have gone through a process of understanding too. In the past, whether it was land reform, the Four Clean-ups, or anything else, there was a habit of sending work groups; even the People’s Liberation Army is both a combat and work team. This has become a habitual form. Therefore, sending a work group itself is not necessarily a mistake in terms of direction or line. A work group is just a form; the land reform work groups were not a mistake in terms of the line, and the Four Clean-ups weren’t either. The issue is what the work group is doing: whether it is executing the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, or the bourgeois reactionary line.

The first person to propose the work group issue and consider doing things according to Chairman Mao’s instructions was Comrade Chen Boda. This was also the first work group sent from Beijing (as reported by People’s Daily), and it implemented the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. This was widely recognized as a Marxist-

Leninist work group. Therefore, it should not be discussed in such a manner; a specific analysis is necessary. The number of work groups sent to Shanghai was small because they were influenced by Chairman Mao's line. But it's not just about the numbers—didn't Tianjin also not send work groups? There, the suppression of the student movement was intense! The issue is not about the form; it's about what line is being implemented. If one does not trust the masses and does not send work groups, there is still a mistake, and this is related to the people who are executing the line.

Regarding the materials issue, the Central Military Commission has issued instructions, and there may be a supplementary directive issued soon, but I won't go into details today. (Reads a note: "Why is it difficult for us, the minority, to contact Chen Linhu, while the Hongqi Regiment can easily get in touch with him by phone?")

This shows that their connections have not been broken, and therefore, it is very easy for them. Comrades, you must understand that the struggle between two lines in our Party's history has never been as widespread as it is now in the mass movement. For instance, the criticism of the lines of Chen Duxiu, Li Lisan, and Wang Ming was never carried out on such a large scale, both inside and outside the Party, as it is today. I hope that in the process of criticizing the erroneous lines, you study Chairman Mao's works well and genuinely use Mao Zedong Thought to conduct the criticism. This is very difficult, but it is necessary. You must study Chairman Mao's writings on intra-Party line struggles; learning this is not easy. You must understand that as long as there are classes, there will be class struggle. "As long as there is class struggle, there will inevitably be a struggle between two lines, and this struggle will never stop or extinguish." Even without classes, there will still be struggles between the advanced and the backward, the correct and the incorrect. In the struggle between two lines, you must learn Chairman Mao's thoughts. When you become the ruling faction in the future, will you be able to carry out the struggle between two lines as Chairman Mao did?

Comrades, you must focus on handling the live materials (specific issues at Tongji), and at the same time, study Chairman Mao's works more. You should not only focus on the immediate matters at hand, but also carefully compare them with Chairman Mao's works in your studies.

Today, there are still comrades waiting for me, so I'm wondering whether we should discuss these issues now, and we can talk more if there are further questions later.

Comrades, you know my usual attitude toward these issues, but I don't know much about "Hongqi" at all. I must listen to their opinions. How can I not listen to their opinions at all? I don't practice opportunism, I am inclined to your side.

Zhang Chunqiao's Speech When Meeting with Some Workers of the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters

Zhang Chunqiao 1966.11.16

[Recording made at Suzhou Railway Secondary School]

Comrades, we meet again. This time, both your mood and mine have changed, of course, my change is significant, and I will explain further below. I accepted the task, and Comrade Han Zheyi mentioned how hurriedly he spoke the words of approval. This was indeed a decision made by Comrade Gu Mu. Later, when the Central Committee became aware of this decision, they thought it was incorrect. How could such a decision be made? Because, as everyone knows, in those days, Chairman Mao was continuously reviewing and meeting with the masses. On the first day, there were 600,000 people, and on the second day, 1.7 million. The comrades at the Central Committee were busy with the reception of these 2 million revolutionary students and workers day and night, without taking care of anything else. Premier Zhou was so busy that he hadn't slept for several days. As a result, some matters were handled hastily. This department didn't connect with that department, this person didn't meet with that person, and in the rush, such mistakes occurred. Under such circumstances, I was assigned to come here. My mission was also very urgent. Personally, I didn't have time to even make a phone call to ask what exactly was going on in Shanghai. Comrade Berda wrote a letter there and worked through the night. The letter was indeed written by him. I glanced at it, then made a phone call to inquire about the flight arrangements, as the plane had to be urgently adjusted. The scheduled flight was unavailable. I rushed to set off, in a hurry, and when I arrived at Shanghai airport, there was no time. I hurried off to Anting.

Comrades, these past few days, both in Shanghai and last night, there have been criticisms raised against me, saying that my speech in Anting was inappropriate. I accept this criticism because my mental preparation was not that complex. I am a Communist Party member, and when given a task, I had to set off immediately. However, the departure was not as

calm as I would have liked, and I didn't have the chance to conduct a thorough investigation. At that time, comrades, you need to understand why Comrade Chen Boda wrote such a letter and said those things. Now, this letter is being labeled as "reactionary poison" and "revisionist." I conveyed all these remarks to Comrade Boda over the phone. The letter Comrade Chen Boda hurriedly wrote, under what objective circumstances was it composed? I am not talking about objective reasons here, but I want to clarify a point.

Since Chairman Mao's reception of the revolutionary students and teachers on August 18th, railway transportation has become very tight, and it has gotten more and more strained each day. In the past, I thought that Nanjing Road in Shanghai might have been the busiest place in the world, where on Sundays you couldn't even walk through. Now, Tiananmen Square feels like Nanjing Road on Sundays, with gatherings of 500,000 people happening at any time. If a loudspeaker is set up, this many people will gather. The highest number of people coming to Beijing was around 100,000 per day, and later it reached 200,000, with one day seeing 260,000 people. The trains were overloaded to the point where the springs under the carriages were at risk of breaking, and there were six or seven people in each toilet compartment. Originally, 10% of the trains were for students, but in reality, that number was less than 10%. Other passenger trains were halted, and goods couldn't be transported. This situation has become a pretext for many people who oppose the Cultural Revolution and those who don't welcome the revolutionary students and teachers' mass connections, to attack the Cultural Revolution. They repeatedly petitioned the central government to stop the mass connections, suggesting that students should not go to Beijing because of the transportation crisis. This became a common point, putting heavy pressure on us. We support the mass connections of the revolution and hope more people can go to Beijing and travel across the country. However, I seized on the issue of transportation, and it became quite problematic. I reported this to the Central Cultural Revolution Group, saying, "Look, there's so much criticism." This issue is not just seen from the perspective of production, but from the entire Cultural Revolution situation, it is a key issue. Many arguments have been refuted in editorials, but you see, there has never been an editorial about the transportation issue. It's a tough topic to address, and we felt a lot of anxiety about it. Comrade Boda was even more anxious at the time. With this feeling, I rushed to Anting, and

my emotional state was very different from yours. After hearing about your experiences and the problems you encountered, it was completely different from what I had imagined. I probably didn't assess the situation as thoroughly as Comrade Han Zheyi did. At the time, I was the only one in the Cultural Revolution Group, and I made a judgment on my own, which was very difficult. So, yes, I reflected a lot on the opinions comrades raised, and I gradually understood that the telegram wasn't entirely appropriate for the situation because, at the time, my mind was full of thoughts about transportation, transportation, transportation, but I didn't have a clear understanding of the problems you were facing in the Cultural Revolution. When I wrote the telegram, I didn't think enough about this. The Cultural Revolution Group didn't have time to inquire about these specific conditions. In terms of the Cultural Revolution, of course, we were focused on the revolution itself, and the Cultural Revolution Group did not manage factory production issues directly. We only inquired about production at times to ensure there were no problems with our work and to avoid any criticism that production was affected. I mentioned this once, and I hope comrades remember.

One aspect of class struggle is whether production has succeeded or failed. If the quality of production decreases, there will be more criticisms. It's not just a single factory being criticized; they will say, "The Cultural Revolution has ruined everything, it's all a disaster." In 1958 and 1959, Shanghai experienced the Great Leap Forward, which was a major revolution, an ideological revolution. The ideological revolution came first, followed by the cultural revolution. It was a great time, but by 1960, things started to go downhill because of natural disasters, the sabotage by Soviet revisionism, and our own mistakes in work. Comrades should remember, from 1960 to 1964, the bourgeoisie launched intense attacks, with the Three Red Flags movement being fiercely criticized. A lot of shameful and reactionary comments were made, like "Chiang Kai-shek wasn't good, but at least he had big bowls of rice." Don't comrades now forget these things? I will never forget them. Later, comrades, when you look back, you'll see that they used our economic difficulties to attack our revolution and push for the restoration of the bourgeoisie: private land, dismantling the People's Communes, and many of the systems destroyed during the Great Leap Forward in the factories were restored. Even things that should not have been restored were brought back. That's how it was. So, in this Cultural Revolution, the Central Committee has made every

to avoid the shortcomings and mistakes that appeared in the previous movements. The Cultural Revolution Group has been advising the Central Committee on this matter and has often observed this issue closely.

Comrades raised criticisms against Comrade Chen Boda, and as I mentioned earlier, I have already conveyed them to him. We exchanged views over the phone, and he expressed that he was uneasy. He asked me to tell comrades that the letter was written too hastily. Comrade Chen Boda is a very good revolutionary comrade and a very humble comrade. He said, "What should be done? What can be done to make up for it?" I told him, "Now that such a result has already been caused, think about it first. Since things were so rushed that day, don't create another rushed situation." Comrade Chen Boda then asked, "Should I write a third letter?" I said, "If you want to write one, I support it. You can write another letter to express your views, but think about it first. Don't write it immediately. Think it through, and consider whether the issue of the factory's cultural revolution can be fully addressed."

Right now, he is busy investigating the situation of the cultural revolution in factories, and the Central Committee is also considering this matter. I have already passed on the criticism of Comrade Chen Boda, and today I heard some more opinions that I will continue to convey. I believe comrades will trust him, and he will definitely take necessary measures to correct the negative influence caused by that letter.

When I returned from Anting, I didn't have time to meet him because I arrived back in Shanghai late at night, and it was impossible to find him. The next day, comrades who had arrived in Shanghai waited for me at Cultural Square. I had originally planned to meet with comrades from the Shanghai Municipal Committee in the morning to understand the situation, but I didn't have time to get to Cultural Square. When I finally got there, I exchanged opinions with the comrades there and continued to gather information. Eventually, we reached a five-point agreement, which comrades can understand. At Anting, I had to express my position; I had not yet stated whether this was a revolutionary action or a revolutionary mass organization. When I arrived at Cultural Square, I clearly expressed my opinion. I believe this should be a progress for me. My understanding of this issue advanced a great deal compared to what it was at Anting. I also saw where the key point lies, and the essence of the matter. At that

point, I could make a judgment. It took me 24 hours to make this decision, and I think I didn't take too long. Moreover, my organizational procedures were not complete; I hadn't consulted with comrades from the East China Bureau, the Shanghai Municipal Committee, nor had I called the Central Cultural Revolution Group because I didn't have the time. But I made my decision.

After leaving Cultural Square and returning to my residence, I called Comrade Chen Boda to tell him about the criticisms comrades had of me and him. After hearing this, he was very uneasy, and I also reported to him the five-point agreement and our understanding of the issue.

Thus, the Central Cultural Revolution Group discussed the five points I mentioned at Cultural Square. In the evening, I received a call from the Cultural Revolution Group, and they believed that my judgment and handling of the issue at Cultural Square were completely correct. They agreed with my judgment about your organization and actions, and they felt it was right to support your organization. Comrade Chen Boda and Comrade Jiang Qing also attended the meeting, and they agreed that my actions were correct. As a result, in this process, both the Central Cultural Revolution Group and Comrade Chen Boda eventually reached a clearer understanding of the issue. Now, we should use this final understanding as the standard. The conclusion is that your actions were revolutionary actions, and your organization is a revolutionary organization, which should be supported. The mistakes we made in the earlier stages can now be corrected.

As Communists, when we handle issues, we cannot always make accurate judgments or handle things perfectly at all times. The important thing is that, in the end, we arrive at a more correct and scientifically based judgment. Some comrades earlier expressed doubts about Comrade Chen Boda, and I want to offer some clarification. As I said, from the time of my departure until today, there has been a long period in which we have gotten to know each other better. Through this process, the speeches and statements from the workers have greatly educated me. Comrades shared many things I did not know and expressed the deep love of the Shanghai working class for Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, as well as their unwavering loyalty to the revolutionary cause. Your profound feelings have educated and inspired me. I believe that during this

period, although it hasn't been long, it may be an unforgettable experience for each of you, and for me, it will be something I can never forget, because we got to know each other in this particular environment, not in a peaceful and calm one.

We first met in Anting, and now, we meet again here in Suzhou. In this environment, we talk about revolution, about the proletarian cultural revolution, and how we can carry out our proletarian cultural revolution well. Many comrades have given valuable opinions. So now, my feelings are different from when I first arrived. Now, what I am mainly thinking about is this: after everyone quickly returns to Shanghai, we should hold a seminar to discuss the class struggle situation in your factories, the problems you feel the cultural revolution needs to solve, and how you think these problems can be solved. This is something I want comrades to think about: what are the class struggle issues in your factories, what are the situations, and how should these problems be addressed? Factories are different from schools and rural areas, so how should these issues be handled? What are your thoughts? I want to know your opinions on this, so I can report your voices, wishes, and demands to the Central Cultural Revolution Group and the central leadership, because they are currently discussing this issue.

Comrades also know that the general purpose of our proletarian cultural revolution is to liberate the productive forces. It is to revolutionize people's thoughts and then push forward our entire economic construction. If we only focus on production and not on revolution, our production might experience great development, but our country would change its color. Our factories could be built as socialist factories, but after they are built, they would turn into revisionist factories. Especially in Shanghai, many of our factories were originally established by imperialists, comprador bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie. Capitalism, imperialism, and feudalism's oppression has not been fully eliminated. Although the issue of ownership has been solved, in terms of systems, the influences of various capitalist and revisionist systems remain. The system we learned from the Soviet Union has suppressed the enthusiasm of our workers' productivity. The creativity of the working class cannot be unleashed. In such a situation, we must run factories according to Mao Zedong's thought, and truly make our factories into universities of Mao Zedong thought. To build socialist factories and enterprises requires struggle and cultural

revolution to thoroughly transform them. If we, the working class, do not further revolutionize, and do not eliminate the obstacles that hinder workers' revolutionization, the barriers that suppress workers' enthusiasm for production and creativity—such as capitalism, revisionism, and even feudalism—if we do not thoroughly eradicate these, and if we do not embed Mao Zedong thought deeply into our factories and enterprises, our factories will not succeed. Production will not succeed, and the nature of our factories will change, from socialism to revisionism. So, we must emphasize the importance of revolution in promoting production. Revolution must be placed in a clear position, with politics as the leader, and ideology leading the way. It is not about not doing revolution and focusing on production, nor about stopping revolution to focus on production, and certainly not about suppressing revolution while focusing on production. Of course, we cannot focus solely on revolution and ignore production. These two things must both be addressed. In this context, we must grasp revolution to promote production. This phrase has been carefully considered. Focusing on production alone is not feasible—it must be revolution that promotes production. Of course, we cannot damage production in the process of revolution. It is possible that production might be affected during the revolutionary process, but we must make every effort to avoid this.

I believe that every worker loves production and labor. Not loving production and labor is bourgeois thinking; it is one of the “four olds,” and that needs to be eradicated. I am very happy to see, through my interactions with comrades, that the revolutionary enthusiasm among comrades is very high. Your revolutionary enthusiasm is very strong. I think you might become the most active members in Shanghai's factory and enterprise cultural revolution, the backbone and the leaders. From my interactions with some comrades, based on your talks and speeches, I have this feeling. Through these few days, we have gotten to know each other better. I believe the cultural revolution in Shanghai's factories and enterprises will also be successful. Comrades, your responsibility is now even greater.

To truly take on the revolutionary burden, to develop our production cause, and to further revolutionize Shanghai's two million working class, we must learn to revolutionize through revolutionary struggle, learn how to manage factories, and learn how to manage enterprises. We need to find various methods to ensure that our country and our factories do not

change their nature. This monumental responsibility now falls on your Revolutionary Command Headquarters and on each of you as members. Moreover, starting from here, you will help others handle this issue more effectively. Mobilizing the two million working class in Shanghai, making sure that they contribute even more to the cultural revolution, and making Shanghai a model for the whole country—this is the task. Shanghai should become a national example during the Cultural Revolution because here we have the largest, most concentrated, and longest-standing working class. There are very few cities like this, only a few, and there are more veteran workers here. Therefore, the Shanghai working class bears a particularly heavy responsibility—a revolutionary responsibility and a production responsibility.

After these days of interaction, my confidence in this area has grown stronger, and my feelings for you have deepened. We have become even more convinced that comrades are capable of bearing such a heavy responsibility. I have reported this situation to the Central Cultural Revolution Group and the central leadership. As for the general matters, I think this is all I need to share for now.

Now, let me discuss a few specific requirements: 1. Acknowledge that the Shanghai Workers' Rebel Headquarters is a revolutionary organization. Since November 9, especially regarding the action to go to Beijing to accuse the Shanghai Municipal Committee of implementing a bourgeois reactionary line, this action is revolutionary. Therefore, immediately issue armbands with the headquarters' official seal. This is the first point. To summarize, your actions are revolutionary, and your organization is revolutionary. I have already discussed this with comrades from your headquarters at the Cultural Square. There is no need to debate this point, and I will repeat it again: I agree with the first point. However, I would like to add that in the future, if similar issues arise, the central authorities suggest using the method of sending representatives. This will help avoid using excessive time and manpower. Sending representatives is more flexible, faces fewer obstacles, and is more convenient for the revolution, the country, the masses, and individuals.

2. Absolutely guarantee the political and personal safety, as well as the economic security, of the members of the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters. This point has already been addressed by the

the Shanghai Municipal Committee, which issued a notice prohibiting the unfair labeling or deliberate harassment of your members. Upon your return, you should be welcomed, and during this period, your salaries should continue to be paid. I completely agree with this.

3. Comrade Cao Diqu should conduct an inspection and then escort us back to Shanghai using a public car. Comrade Cao Diqu has indeed come to conduct the inspection, and while this inspection is preliminary, further checks will follow in the future. He has met with everyone, so this point has been fulfilled. As for sending you home, this is also not an issue. You proposed to first gather together before dispersing, and these logistical details will remain unchanged. I agree with this point.

4. All propaganda tools, except for radio and newspapers, should be mobilized to refute the rumors from the previous period. Additionally, no further harmful rumors about the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters should be allowed to appear. Otherwise, these should be categorized as illegal.

This rumor should indeed be refuted, and I agree with this point. However, I believe comrades should be mentally prepared for this: in revolution, it is inevitable to face attacks. If there are no attacks, how can we claim it's truly a revolution? When you engage in revolution, you will certainly be attacked. If your cause is right and your actions correct, but they cannot counter your arguments or logic, they will resort to spreading rumors. This happens to organizations and individuals alike.

Currently, Communist Parties worldwide are under attack, and the Chinese Communist Party faces the most rumors, because the Party is revolutionary and glorious. Chairman Mao's entire life was filled with attacks and rumors, and even now, he continues to face attacks. As Chairman Mao once said, being attacked by the enemy is a good thing, not a bad one. This lesson was learned through his personal experience. Our mindset should be more open; you speak your truth, and I'll pursue mine.

There will always be rumors that are impossible to refute completely—some of them are baseless and we may not even know where they originated. If you look at all the rumors attacking the Chinese Communist Party, the Central Committee has never attempted to clear them all. Chairman

Mao never issued any public refutations of rumors, and you won't find any articles where the People's Daily published such refutations. We need to take these matters lightly. Of course, if there is a situation that requires clarification, it can be done, but I'm suggesting that we shouldn't focus too much on it.

5. Regarding the consequences caused by the previous petition in Beijing, which accused the Shanghai Municipal Committee of implementing a bourgeois counter-revolutionary line, the East China Bureau and the Shanghai Municipal Committee are responsible for these outcomes.

I completely agreed with this point back then, and I still agree with it today.

Comrades, the five points you raised, I have already exchanged opinions with Han Zhe and Cao Diqu, and we fully agree. However, I hope that besides these points, you can also raise other issues. After all, you are still carrying out a revolution, and I believe five points are too few. There are over five hundred of you here. I am only offering one point. I hope each of you will give me one point—what do you think should be addressed in the Cultural Revolution? Then, I will receive over five hundred points, and that would be very valuable for me. If each person writes down ten points, regarding what should be attended to in the Cultural Revolution, what issues exist, and how they should be resolved, we will get many points. Some of these I can solve in Shanghai, others can serve as research materials, and some will be used by the Central Committee to consider further issues.

Please also write down any differing opinions you may have; that would be even better. Perhaps in the workshops, production teams, or production groups, there are various differing opinions on the Cultural Revolution—please let me know. That way, I will not only satisfy your demands but also collect thousands of opinions, for which I would be very grateful to all of you.

I want to repeat my gratitude for your education and help these past few days. I also hope that you will continue to assist me in the future. If I make any mistakes, feel free to point them out, whether I am in Shanghai, Beijing, or elsewhere. As long as I am a Chinese Communist Party

member, I am always ready to listen to your criticism and accept your suggestions. That's all I want to say. I know you have all worked very hard. Take care of your health because we need to stay healthy to carry out both the revolution and our work.

Comrades, that's all I have to say. Thank you.

Zhang Chunqiao's Speech When Meeting with the Shanghai Workers' Rebel General Headquarters During Their Trip to Beijing to Accuse the First Corps

Zhang Chunqiao 1966.11.21

[Time: November 21, 1966 Location: Hongdu Theater, Shanghai]

Amid long periods of enthusiastic applause and chanting, the representative of the Workers' Rebel Team placed an armband on Zhang Chunqiao.

Zhang Chunqiao spoke:

Comrades: (From the audience: "Cao Diqu, step aside!")

First, on behalf of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, I extend warm greetings to all the comrades present here. (Applause)

I salute all comrades with a proletarian revolutionary salute. (Chants of slogans)

The Central Committee, upon learning that comrades were traveling north, became very concerned about this matter and immediately decided to send me to Shanghai to meet with comrades and help resolve issues. After arriving in Shanghai, I calculated the time—I left Beijing on the 11th, and now it's been ten days. Time has passed quickly. In these ten days, comrades, you have traveled as far as Nanjing and Liuhe. This made me very uneasy. I received a phone call from Beijing, also asking if the comrades from Nanjing had returned. In the meantime, the Central Cultural Revolution Group even directly called Nanjing and asked the Jiangsu Provincial Committee to inform you that I had already arrived in Shanghai. You all must be aware that the Central Committee is extremely concerned about this matter. Regarding the actions of the comrades, at the beginning, although we didn't know the full background and the whole situation was rushed, we only knew that transportation was being

affected. At that time, nationwide transportation, as everyone knows, was very tight because a large number of revolutionary students and teachers were requesting to go to the central government to meet with Chairman Mao. As I heard yesterday, Beijing is already full, and even Zhongnanhai is preparing to make space for revolutionary students and teachers to stay because people are filling up every available space. It is estimated that by the 20th, no one will be going to Beijing for rallies anymore. In these past few days, about 3 million people have arrived in Beijing, and the pressure on transportation is immense. To disperse these 3 million people would require many trains, and workers, especially, can easily understand this. Our various industrial materials in Shanghai, such as coal and iron, all need to be transported from other places. If transportation is disrupted, raw materials cannot be brought in, and products cannot be shipped out, which would severely affect production. It was in this kind of situation that Comrade Chen Boda wrote this telegram, which was somewhat hasty and not well thought out. After I arrived in Anting, after meeting with the workers in Shanghai and hearing your various opinions, I realized that this telegram had its shortcomings. Our preliminary investigation was incomplete, and we didn't even fully understand the basic situation, which led to the hasty writing of this telegram.

Comrade Chen Boda expressed great unease and asked me to convey his concerns to all the comrades. He also said that we must find ways to address this shortcoming. So, this issue—some comrades just mentioned it—“Some people are using this telegram to attack the Central Cultural Revolution Group.” It doesn't matter if the Central Cultural Revolution Group takes some criticism; we've taken many hits in various forms, and we don't mind it, because if you're doing a revolution, how can you avoid some criticism? Of course, some of these criticisms (applause). Now, as for Comrade Boda's telegram, on the one hand, some people are trying to use it to attack Comrade Chen Boda. This, as several of your representatives and student representatives have just mentioned, we fully agree with your opinion: we must defend Comrade Boda. This is not because he is my superior, and I want to protect him, but because he is one of the representatives of the correct line. In order to defend the Central Committee and the correct line, we should not allow anyone to smear him. But on the other hand, some people are using this telegram to suppress the masses, and that is not acceptable (applause, loud calls of: “Long live Chairman Mao!”).

This issue needs to be addressed in two aspects. The first aspect is: comrades, if you have any opinions about the Central Cultural Revolution Group, you are welcome to express them. This includes my work in Shanghai, which has its shortcomings and errors, and we welcome your criticism. We welcome your critique of us, as well as of the Central Cultural Revolution Group. On the other hand, some people, coming from a different standpoint, that is not criticism anymore, that kind of (unclear in original text). However, we absolutely do not allow anyone to use Comrade Boda's telegram (unclear in original text) errors, because Comrade Chen Boda did not intend to suppress you (applause, loud calls of: "Bomb the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee! Burn down Cao Diqu! Drive out the old reactionaries!").

Comrades, your trip to Beijing was a revolutionary action, and your return is also for the revolution. Through this round trip, although comrades have endured hardships, with some falling ill, others not having enough to eat, enduring the cold and hunger, what has been proven in these ten days? It proves that the Shanghai working class is infinitely loyal to Chairman Mao and the Central Committee, and they have boundless love for them. (Applause) We must raise high the great red flag of Mao Zedong Thought and carry out the cultural revolution in our Shanghai factories effectively. Because, as comrades have told me, your goal in going to Beijing was not just for the trip itself; your aim was to accuse the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee of implementing the bourgeois reactionary line. The Central Committee sent me here to listen to your opinions, and I will faithfully report your views to the Central Committee and the Central Cultural Revolution Group. (Applause, chanting: "Long live the invincible Mao Zedong Thought!")

As many comrades are aware, Shanghai is the most important industrial base in our country. If the revolution in Shanghai is successful, it will have a tremendous impact on the entire country. If our production is successful, it will also make a great contribution to the socialist construction of the entire nation. Conversely, if the proletarian cultural revolution in Shanghai is not successful, it will have a negative effect on the entire country. If our production is not successful, it will also have a detrimental impact. Therefore, the responsibility of the Shanghai working class is particularly important among the working class nationwide. We are indeed carrying two heavy burdens, not just one, but two significant responsibili-

ties. However, in the past, the central leadership has always believed that the Shanghai working class can shoulder these two burdens, and they will continue to believe that comrades will be able to carry these two burdens in the present and in the future! (Prolonged, enthusiastic applause) Of course, there are difficulties, and the resistance is significant. This is expected, because in order to carry out a revolution, there will be resistance, and in order to succeed in production, there will be challenges. This is something we anticipated, not something unexpected. I don't know about the comrades, but personally, I knew that carrying out the proletarian cultural revolution would be difficult, and that the difficulties would be substantial. However, my mental preparation was insufficient; I did not anticipate that the difficulties would be this great, that the resistance would be this strong. As Chairman Mao often said, almost every step forward we take must be through struggle. If we do not go through arduous battles, victory will not be achievable.

Now, as for the Cultural Revolution in our factories, whether in terms of the country or Shanghai, it is only the beginning. The problems this revolution aims to solve are immense; it is a thorough revolution, one that has never been seen in human history. No other socialist country has carried out such a revolution. The Soviet Union, for example, has been trying for decades. Next year marks the 50th anniversary, but even during Lenin's era, the revolution was not completed. Lenin passed away relatively early. Later, under the leadership of Stalin, the problem was still not thoroughly addressed. As a result, because the proletarian cultural revolution was not carried out effectively, the issue of who wins in the realm of ideology—whether it is the bourgeoisie or the proletariat—was not resolved. When the bourgeoisie gained the upper hand, revisionism started to rise, and capitalism sought to return to power. Revisionism took control, and the fruits of the long struggle of the Soviet working class were taken back by the bourgeoisie. We must always remember this lesson, and under no circumstances should we repeat it. We must ensure that under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao, we carry through with China's proletarian cultural revolution to the very end—completely and thoroughly. The more thorough, the better.

However, this revolution will take quite a long time. Recently, during discussions at the Central level, Chairman Mao also mentioned that if we calculate from last November, it's only been one full year. In the first six

or seven months, from last November to the end of May, that period was just the stage of preparing public opinion—mobilizing the masses and preparing people's thoughts. From the criticism of "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office" to the criticism of the Three Family Village, the struggles during this period were also intense, but it can still be considered as a preparatory stage for public opinion.

Starting from June 1, the large-scale mass, intense class struggle began. From June 1 to now, it has only been a little more than five months, not even six months. So, how long will this continue? The time is very long, and it will last until capitalist thinking is completely eradicated from our society, until private ownership is eliminated, and until the private notions in people's minds are replaced with the public good, with communist thinking to replace individualism and capitalist thoughts. This struggle will be long because it is not just an enemy-versus-us contradiction but also contains a large number of internal contradictions among the people. The struggle will take a long time to resolve, and it will progress in waves, with surges and dips over time. It is unlikely that one or two battles will resolve it. There will be large battles and small battles, and various forms of struggle.

Therefore, we workers must be prepared for a prolonged struggle. We need to reorganize our teams and re-educate people, from the leadership bodies at the central and local levels. We must review and reassess everything according to Mao Zedong Thought. We need to see which are closely following Chairman Mao and implementing Mao Zedong Thought, and which are not—those following a capitalist road. We must also see who is willing to change and who is not. If someone has made a mistake and is willing to correct it, we welcome that. If they make a thorough change, we will be even more welcoming. If they only make partial changes, we welcome those parts. However, if someone refuses to change, that indicates a different nature. This is something Chairman Mao has repeatedly emphasized recently—that we must allow people to make mistakes and allow them to correct those mistakes. Because during a revolution, mistakes are inevitable. As I handle these issues in Shanghai, I will make mistakes too. I might say something wrong or do something wrong. But I have one rule: as long as you point it out and my thoughts are cleared, I will correct it. If I do not correct it, I may turn for the worse. As long as someone is willing to change, we should welcome that. This is

for the cadres. Regarding the issues among the masses, I also hope comrades pay attention to this point. In the slogans you shouted earlier, there was one slogan that I also shouted along with you and raised my hand for, which was “Down with the royalist faction!” However, I must tell you that the Central Committee does not agree with this slogan, because it can easily harm the masses. Why is that? Because those currently being labeled as the “royalist faction” are not the people in power, but rather the two factions of workers.

Recently, I should also report on my work. On one hand, I returned from Anting, and after coming back, I made some arrangements, had discussions with comrades at the headquarters, exchanged opinions, and then set out five points. Later, I went to Suzhou and set out another five points. On the other hand, through Beijing, I called you all to return quickly. Meanwhile, I continued working here, and also had talks with students who often interacted with your workers, listening to their opinions and hearing from the workers. I even held a meeting for a whole day. Who did I meet with? I met with a group of workers who strongly opposed the five points I had agreed to. They said I made a mistake, that I violated Mao Zedong Thought, and that I had to be corrected. Dozens of factories, over a thousand people, and now many more workers are still coming here to see me, asking for talks. The day before yesterday, I spent a whole day talking with them.

In my contact with these worker comrades, I deeply felt what Chairman Mao often said, that we must trust the masses, that the majority of the masses are good. Now, those who opposed your actions and raised various reasons for opposing the five points I agreed to, after listening carefully, you comrades will understand that they do this entirely out of their infinite love for the Central Committee and Chairman Mao. They do not oppose the Central Committee, nor Chairman Mao. They do not support the bourgeois reactionary line; they also support Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line. However, on these issues, they just cannot understand things at this moment.

From 9 a.m. until 5 p.m., what was the result? The majority of comrades said they were persuaded by me and agreed with my viewpoint. However, there are various ways of agreeing, and agreement is not always the same. Some comrades expressed continued doubts, agreeing with part of the

but still questioning certain aspects. There were also some comrades who, until the end of the meeting, remained resolute in their opposition. I also paid attention to these comrades; they are good comrades, not bad people. So, comrades, I'm sharing this situation with you to let you know that I continue to work with them. I have the responsibility to engage with them, just as I have the responsibility to engage with you. I also hope that you comrades can support me in this regard. When you return to the factories, you must follow Chairman Mao's approach, which is unity—criticism—unity. Issues among workers can only be resolved using this approach, unity—criticism—unity. We cannot use other methods. On one hand, they should not label you with inappropriate titles, such as calling you this or that—that is wrong. At the same time, I also hope that comrades do not label others.

Now in Beijing, after several months of work, the term “counter-revolutionary royalist” has largely fallen out of use. There are no more slogans on the streets calling for “counter-revolutionary royalists,” and no more slogans at meetings. It only occasionally comes up in individual conversations, but this term is something I believe cannot be overly criticized because the main issue with that slogan is that it is harmful to internal unity among workers. Comrades, you are currently the minority. A revolutionary movement always starts with a minority, but we cannot be content with being in the minority. Being content with being a minority is not good. If we remain a minority, just proud of being a minority, how can we make a revolution?

Revolution relies on the vast masses. The greatness of Chairman Mao is that he not only united the most revolutionary people, but also united those who were willing to revolutionize, even those who had made serious mistakes but were willing to correct them. If Chairman Mao had not adopted this approach, our party would not be where it is today, and it would have been impossible to unite the entire party.

Comrades, you must know that within our Party's Central Committee, there were many who once opposed Chairman Mao. However, as long as they expressed a willingness to correct their mistakes, Chairman Mao always united with them. For example, a very famous figure—Wang Ming—was the representative of the Wang Ming line, who opposed Chairman Mao, and he opposed him very strongly. Yet, not only was he

elected as a Central Committee member at the Seventh Congress, but he was also re-elected at the Eighth Congress. Our delegates at the Eighth Congress were confused, saying, "How could they still elect him?" Chairman Mao personally spoke at the meeting and said that comrades should elect him, as this would be beneficial for uniting the majority. Chairman Mao's thinking on this is already written in the five conditions for the successor of the proletarian revolution. Do you remember those conditions? One of them is to unite the majority, including those who opposed you, but later proved to be wrong. Did you notice that?

If they oppose you and are correct, then of course, you should unite with them. The problem is when they oppose you, but later prove to be wrong, and you still need to unite with them. This, comrades, is Chairman Mao's approach to the five conditions for the successor of the proletarian revolution. I'm not making this up. I don't have the reference with me, but you can check it yourselves. (Worker: Yes! Applause)

What I mean to say is this: If the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel Command wants to succeed and establish a large-scale revolutionary force, you must earnestly study Chairman Mao's policy on "correctly handling contradictions among the people." This is especially crucial when it comes to dealing with contradictions within the working class. If you don't study this, or if you study it verbally but fail to implement it, you will remain a minority. And being in the minority alone cannot make the revolution succeed. You must strive to transform from a minority into the majority. Only then can we truly unmask the ruling faction that follows the capitalist road, and completely crush the bourgeois counterrevolutionary line. This is how we will carry the proletarian cultural revolution through to the end! (Applause)

Since we are now more familiar with each other, and you have given me the armband, I want to speak frankly. If you applaud my words, I will be very happy. Now that I am wearing the armband, I should clarify something: Some comrades have mentioned to me about taking the position of political commissar, and I think I should make a statement. I am very honored that you gave me the armband, but every agreement within the Central Cultural Revolution Group is that we do not take on leadership positions in mass organizations. Because if we agree to that, all the organizations would want us to take on such positions. We also cannot say, "I

only support one faction.” We need to work with all factions. Our goal is to use the cultural revolution to reorganize and re-educate our working class, our laboring people, in accordance with Mao Zedong’s thought, making them the strongest force in China’s revolution and construction, and transforming them into an indomitable and victorious force in the world revolution. (Applause)

Because comrades have worked hard, I don’t intend to speak much today. We will have opportunities to talk more in the future. I think in the next couple of days, if some comrades feel well enough, they can return to the factory and continue their work. For those who are unwell and need treatment, or those who need to rest, please take the time to do so. Now that you have all returned, I feel relieved. I can now discuss with you all and the headquarters, and together we can arrange the next steps.

There are also some notes here, which are suggestions from our comrades. The specific issues concerning the cultural revolution in the factories are being researched by the Central Committee, and documents are being drafted to address these matters. I won’t go into details today, as these issues need to be decided by the Central Committee. Today, this is not a meeting to discuss work in detail; I welcome all of you to meet, but for these questions, I think we should have some special discussions where we can hear everyone’s opinions. The Central Cultural Revolution Group has asked me to listen to more workers’ views on the factory’s cultural revolution. I will certainly report these views to the Central Committee, and then the Central Committee will provide further guidance.

The Central Committee will also issue a supplementary set of sixteen points. These sixteen points serve as the framework for the proletarian cultural revolution, and their principles apply to the factories as well. However, factories have their own specific issues, and the principles may need adjustments for those specific cases. So, the comrades at the Central Committee are preparing to write a document. Once you all return, I will work with headquarters to arrange some activities, and we can hold discussion sessions. I won’t be addressing these issues today. Over the past few days, since I arrived in Shanghai, I’ve been constantly talking—talking, talking, and my voice has become hoarse and painful. Therefore, I think I will save further discussion for later. We will meet again soon. I wish everyone good health! (Long, warm applause)

Long live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Long live the Communist Party of China!

Long live Chairman Mao! Long live! Long, long live!

Comrades, goodbye!

(The above is a recording transcript)

Zhang Chunqiao's Speech When Meeting with the Revolutionary Rebel Factions from Shanghai and Other Regions

Zhang Chunqiao 1966.11.22

[Note: The original manuscript records the conversation as students asking questions and Zhang Chunqiao responding. Here, it has been simplified to “Q:” and “A:”.]

Q: The Shanghai Municipal Party Committee does not support us, does not provide us with conveniences, and does not provide meeting venues. Municipal Party Committee members are unwilling to attend our meetings.

A: I can convey this to the Municipal Party Committee. The revolutionary new forces have strong vitality and will not wither away. There is no need to be pessimistic. (Laughter)

Q: Could Comrade Zhang Chunqiao talk about his view on the situation of the cultural revolution in Shanghai?

A: The Central Cultural Revolution Group does not study the situation in specific places one by one. The leadership of the entire cultural revolution is concentrated in the Party Central Committee.

Q: Has the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee fully implemented a bourgeois reactionary line?

A: How can I comment on such a question! I am here to humbly learn as a student and must first listen to you.

Q: There are big-character posters outside quoting Comrade Lin Biao's article “*On the Leftists*.” Is this true?

A: Comrade Lin Biao has never written “*On the Leftists*.”

Q: Does the big-character poster by Comrade Nie Yuanzi (referring to “*Deng Xiaoping Is a Capitalist-Roader in Power*”) exist?

A: ...I’m not clear about that big-character poster. You should ask Nie Yuanzi; she’s in Shanghai. (Another student interjects: “We asked her yesterday, and she said she wrote it.”)

Q: We are busy all day looking for meeting spaces, and the Municipal Party Committee doesn’t support us. We hope you can help us secure a fixed meeting space.

A: I advocate enduring hardship. All leadership bodies must treat Red Guard organizations equally in terms of material resources. On the other hand, all comrades should be prepared to endure hardships—revolution requires it. Those motorcycles initially provided to Beijing’s First Command Post were supported by the People’s Liberation Army when it was established. Later, Comrade Yang Chengwu acknowledged this as a mistake and withdrew the vehicles. Material conditions should be equal for everyone, but politically, everyone is entitled to their own viewpoints. At the founding assembly of Beijing’s Third Command Post, the invitations sent to us were written by hand on ordinary paper. We found this spirit very commendable. Comrades, this has profound significance! We must prepare to endure tough conditions and even be ready for war. In times of war, who would expect tape recorders or cars! This is what we have been saying everywhere in Beijing.

Q: But the Municipal Party Committee is treating people unequally.

A: If they treat people unequally, you can criticize them.

Q: They won’t provide us with anything. (Another student interjects: “Seize it!”)

A: I don’t support the method of seizing things.

Q: They’re even besieging us.

A: Engaging in revolution without facing a few sieges isn’t possible. These vivid realities precisely demonstrate that the two-line struggle is intense.

We must train ourselves under various difficult conditions. Otherwise, why would the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution not follow the old methods? Even the Central Cultural Revolution Group is not having an easy time! (Laughter) Some people support us, and others oppose us. After all, the two-line struggle is very fierce—since the world is divided into two classes!

Q: Regarding the “supervision” mentioned in the supplementary provisions of the Central Committee, we believe it concerns black materials. We want to know their content, determine their nature, and clarify the quantity.

A: This matter has already been reported to the Central Committee for their response. I have no authority to answer. I participated in the initial drafting of the provisions, but I was not present for the final discussion. These provisions were made by the Central Committee, not by the Cultural Revolution Group.

Q: Is this method of investigation appropriate?

A: The original idea was not to look at the materials, but later, I’m not sure why it was changed. During the initial drafting, the rule was not to look, but a catalog could be created—for example, the names and quantities.

Q: Now that everything has been burned, how can we criticize?

A: The preface of the regulations calls for capturing the live and the major issues. We only need to focus on a few key matters and criticize them thoroughly. For example, when criticizing Wang Ming’s line, it was enough to address a few key events. The Central Committee had the same approach initially—no need to get bogged down in details. Chairman Mao has set a precedent for us by criticizing Wang Ming’s line. We should avoid falling into tedious philosophies. This is a method of thinking, working, and struggle.

Over the past month, too much focus has been on gathering materials, which is why the Central Committee issued these regulations—otherwise, they wouldn’t have. When Stalin criticized Bukharin, he focused on

three words: “making a fortune.” These three words symbolized capitalism. By highlighting this, Bukharin was defeated. Oh, I’ve started rambling again—apologies!

Q: How should we criticize?

A: The Central Cultural Revolution Group cannot issue orders. Students can discuss and focus their efforts on conducting criticism from a political and ideological standpoint. It’s not just about black materials; the entire archival system is set for major reforms by the Central Committee. Chairman Mao relies on the masses to evaluate cadres. Relying on archives to assess and select cadres will surely lead to mistakes. Let me give an example: if one person has high consciousness, they examine themselves in every movement; another person has low consciousness and brags instead. Ten years later, when leadership looks at the archives, the person with high consciousness appears to have “leftist” or “rightist” tendencies and seems problematic. If selection is based on this, wouldn’t the wrong person be chosen? (Loud applause from everyone.)

Q: They use materials to persecute people.

A: Beijing students have experience with this. First, if they want to persecute you, they don’t need black materials—they can create them; the material is in their minds. Second, you can’t grab everything. If someone hides something, it’s hard to find it all. For example, if a child hides something, an adult might discover it, or it might be found based on someone’s expressions. (Laughter.)

Initially, I supported taking materials. The first instance was at Beijing Institute of Geology. Later, I realized this tactic is passive—if they hide things, you’re left searching, and the burden falls on you. Hidden items are hard to retrieve, and in the end, this approach pits students against students or workers against students. We must focus on political criticism to create pressure.

Q: How can we criticize without materials?

A: Are you afraid there won’t be material to criticize? In Beijing, there’s a speech by Tan Lifu—just that is enough to criticize.

Q: Can we demand that Party Secretaries submit their usual comments, reports, and speeches?

Zhang Chunqiao: Which school are you from?

Student: University of Science and Technology of China.

A: Revolutionaries are open-hearted. Those with high consciousness can voluntarily submit their materials. Some with lower consciousness, lacking self-criticism, cannot be forced with a strict order to submit them. Some issues are still under study by the Central Committee, such as defining “revolutionary masses.”

Q: How should we carry out the struggle between two lines?

A: The struggle between two lines touches people’s souls. Criticizing from a political and ideological standpoint is very difficult. Materials are hard to gather, and people’s words come from their mouths. We don’t have much experience with this yet. Chairman Mao has never used methods like seizing or forcing materials in his two-line struggles. I encourage students to read Chairman Mao’s rectification reports. How does the Chairman educate cadres? Primarily through “learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones” and “curing the disease to save the patient.” The deeper your analysis, the closer you hit the mark. A small portion of this involves enemy contradictions—those are different. Most are internal contradictions, including some proposed by individuals themselves.

Q: Should we engage in struggle, criticism, and transformation now?

A: Whether to transition into struggle, criticism, and transformation depends. Right now, the focus should be on criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line. Even though it has been almost two months since Comrade Lin Biao’s speech and the Red Flag editorial, too much time has been spent on materials, and there hasn’t been enough focus on criticism. This is the case in Beijing as well. Smashing cabinets and seizing materials—what are the two lines all about in the end? How does Chairman Mao conduct the two-line struggle? These things haven’t been studied properly.

Q: What is the standard for transitioning to struggle, criticism, and transformation?

A: The standard for transitioning to struggle, criticism, and transformation? The Central Committee is also studying this. For now, don't rush into it. This time, the Party Central Committee has issued very few directives—just the Sixteen Points. This revolution is unprecedented, and it has its own inherent rules. Everyone doesn't need to be anxious. Isn't the timeline set until next summer vacation? Initially, it was until winter vacation, but the Party Central Committee later realized it wouldn't work. Unexpected situations will likely continue to arise.

Q: In a report by Cao Diqu on a certain month and date, it was stated that the earlier phase of the Shanghai movement was directed by Comrade Jiang Qing.

A: From last year to this year, Comrade Jiang Qing spent six months in Shanghai working on military-related cultural and artistic activities. However, the Central Committee has not stated that she directed the movement in Shanghai. I don't think Comrade Jiang Qing would claim that either. She devoted significant effort to the criticism of Hai Rui Dismissed from Office.

Q: After the municipal party committee issued its directive (referring to the Decision by the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee on All Levels of Party Committees Halting Participation in Leading the Proletarian Cultural Revolution), the committees are still in leadership. Isn't this a ruse?

A: What do you think? Chairman Mao has new instructions regarding removing officials: don't rush to dismiss them. Comrades, don't let yourselves become like Lin Chong entering the White Tiger Hall by mistake. If they store confidential materials in safes and you take them, can you bear the political responsibility? The Central Committee's regulations are primarily out of care for you. If officials are removed too quickly, both sides will lose morale, and it will weaken the movement. In Beijing, when Liu Ren was removed, he became quite comfortable, while we were exhausted, and ten years later, he could easily resume his duties. Removing officials is easy, but thoroughly criticizing them is hard. Chairman Mao said: after several months of experience, removing officials should be delayed to later stages. Through this great revolution, there will be significant changes in the cadre ranks. Some will prove to follow the Chairman;

others will be opposed. Even some cadres who made mistakes can be corrected and improve. The questions raised by comrades have been answered by me offhand. If my answers are correct, they're yours; if they're wrong, they're on me.

Zhang Chunqiao's Speech to the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters Delegation to Beijing

Zhang Chunqiao 1966.12.06

[Location: Third-floor lounge of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) building, Time: From the evening of the 6th to after 1:00 AM on the 7th.]

Representative: Our delegation has four tasks during our visit to Beijing: (1) to report on the situation in Shanghai; (2) to discuss our views on the Central Committee's twelve-point directive; (3) to bring back comrades from Beijing to Shanghai; (4) to hear the Central Committee's new instructions regarding the Shanghai movement, especially the workers' movement. Additionally, we will provide an update on the organization of the Workers' Revolution Rebel Headquarters and the new situation in Shanghai. The student movement and the workers' movement have merged and entered the factories. (The student representative introduces the situation in the factories.)

Zhang Chunqiao: Great!

Representative: Regarding production, our factory completed the monthly plan one day ahead of schedule, and other factories have done the same. The New New Machinery Factory has exceeded its task. (The report from the New New Machinery Factory is handed to Zhang Chunqiao.)

Yao Wenyan: Please provide us with your publicity materials, and we will help you with the promotion. You can print and distribute materials to counter rumors and carry out publicity work, like issuing bulletins.

Zhang Chunqiao: How is the situation at the No. 17 Cotton Mill? They sent me three telegrams, asking me to return.

Representative: Regarding the issue of sealing and burning materials at the No. 17 Cotton Mill, they have formed a Red Guard team, and have

been marching and shouting slogans like “We must oppose Zhang Chunqiao” and “Zhang Chunqiao is executing the bourgeois reactionary line.” Zhang Chunqiao: I know about that, but I was unaware of the marches. They sent me three telegrams, asking me to return and investigate. Otherwise, I will be held responsible for any consequences.

Representative: ...One more question, should the work teams be disbanded or not?

Yao Wenyan: Have the work teams been withdrawn?

Representative: Yes, they have been withdrawn, but there are still hidden problems inside.

Zhang Chunqiao: Are all of them withdrawn?

Representative: They’ve been withdrawn, but the workers are demanding a critique before they are completely withdrawn...

Zhang Chunqiao: That’s not a problem. They can reflect on it, and they can be called back if necessary.

Yao Wenyan: There is an article called “On the Rebels,” which mentions my name. I did not write it. This article is fake. Also, there’s “On the Leftists,” using Comrade Lin Biao’s name, and Comrade Chen Boda’s “Reply to the Death-Defying Wei Dong Combat Team.” These are all fake. You need to clarify the rumors and print some flyers to post on the streets, to break their lies.

Zhang Chunqiao: How many people are in the Red Guard headquarters? Do you know the total number?

Representative: I’m not sure, but some Red Guards came to Beijing.

Zhang Chunqiao: They came, but didn’t come to see me?

Representative: They came to report to Premier Zhou about you.

Yao Wenyan: Let them come, we are not afraid.

Representative: The current movement might face some major reversals, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group is also in a difficult position.

Zhang Chunqiao: (laughs) Don't think too highly of things. Don't worry about us too much.

Yao Wenyan: Don't see the problem as too serious.

(One representative introduces the situation of the "Chinese Red Flag Army.")

Representative: The leader of the Harbin Red Flag Army is Su Guangming, a worker engineer and a representative of the National People's Congress.

Zhang Chunqiao: Now they're all choosing model workers as leaders, this is a characteristic.

Yao Wenyan: Yes!

(Representative talks again about the "Central Cultural Revolution Twelve Articles" issue.)

Zhang Chunqiao: We had a discussion with workers from the capital. The eight-hour production should be guaranteed, and there should be a weekly production discussion. The rest should be arranged by the workers themselves.

Representative: Workers are asking for long shifts of six to seven hours to complete the day's production quota, and then use the remaining time for the cultural revolution. (Reports on the investigation from three factories.)

Zhang Chunqiao: This is fine. Continuous production units are difficult. The Twelve Articles need major revisions, they are not formal documents. We want to keep it simpler. The more specific it is, the harder it is to write, the more debates there will be. We plan to write eight, nine, or ten general points, such as ensuring quality, allowing the masses to take initiative, carrying out their own revolution, and not deducting wages...

Recently, we have been focusing on this. Yao Wen yuan: This is also experimental. Zhang Chunqiao: Let the workers nationwide provide feedback and discuss. It's not good for the central authority to make decisions too early.

Representative: Workers say the Twelve Articles aren't as warm as the Sixteen Articles.

Zhang Chunqiao: The problems will still need time to resolve, through the mass movement itself.

Representative: We hope that next time the central authority writes a document, they'll take our opinions into account.

Zhang Chunqiao: You are dissatisfied with the Twelve Articles, and many people oppose them. They talk too much about revolution and too little about production. We need to listen to all aspects.

Yao Wen yuan: You are considering things from a revolutionary standpoint.

Zhang Chunqiao: Some people say that this is revolution and that is revolution, but there are too many. These two trends of thought are always reflected within the party... This issue should be solved in practice, through the two editorials of "Grasp Revolution, Promote Production." It needs to be addressed through the masses. We want to write it simply. Ideological problems should be solved from society. Regarding the two editorials of "Grasp Revolution, Promote Production," some parts of the wording need revision. We need to prepare a more detailed editorial according to the characteristics of the movement. Currently, the combination of the student and worker movements is very important and necessary.

Yao Wen yuan: This is the inevitable trend of the movement.

Zhang Chunqiao: The peasant movement hasn't started yet, though it's beginning to surface. Their issues are more complicated, with complex class relations. For rural areas, even these Twelve Articles cannot be implemented. They don't have an eight-hour problem; they have a seasonal issue, and this is a matter of food. Once the season passes, the year is over.

Representative: We welcome students to go down to the factories with organization and plans, to both work and help us summarize the experiences of production and class struggle, but there is currently great resistance.

Student Representative: There is great resistance to going to the factories, the Municipal Party Committee doesn't support us, and they won't even give us monthly passes.

Zhang Chunqiao: They are afraid. They're afraid you're going to the factories.

Yao Wenyan: This problem will be solved through revolution. We encourage going into the dormitories.

Zhang Chunqiao: You have an idea, and they also have an idea. You talk about completing the production tasks, and they raise the production quotas. Otherwise, there will be no cultural revolution.

Yao Wenyan: Don't base everything on written regulations. These issues all point to one thing: we need to carry out the Cultural Revolution.

Zhang Chunqiao: There are two situations. Some people are good, but others are not. One group consists of bad people trying to sabotage things, while some older workers are influenced by old habitual forces. These forces are quite large, and it's more difficult to deal with these people. You can't beat or scold them; you need to do political and ideological work with them. Currently, there's a tendency for model workers to be pulled over. They not only have influence in the factory but also have a big impact in society. We need to do political and ideological work with them.

Yao Wenyan: This includes the Red Guard, which has forty thousand people.

Zhang Chunqiao: The central government will not stop the Cultural Revolution. Chairman Mao is also resolute about this; the proletarian cultural revolution will continue to the end. Of course, there will be issues with timing and stages. One city can't implement it in stages, but in Shanghai, the situation is very good, so it can be fully rolled out. Some

places, like medium and small cities and the third-tier cities, are more complex. People are using the Cultural Revolution to attempt a counter-revolution, and some people are attacking using production as a cover. However, we are not afraid of that. Comrades, you have a very good understanding of grasping revolution and promoting production. Various problems will arise in such a large revolutionary movement; this is inevitable. We need to push production with revolution. Today's debate revolves around the issue of revolution: whether or not to have a revolution, and whether we dare to have one. No matter what, we must make up our minds to carry out the revolution well. If we don't do the revolution well, how can production be successful? Isn't China trying to change its color? Now, I share a common interest with you. I didn't expect so many people to send telegrams asking me to return. I don't blame you for this, but when I return to Shanghai, I'll hold a large debate with a hundred thousand people. However, we need to have strategy in our approach. We must win over the majority and not treat those in the middle as enemies. The majority of the people in the Red Guard are loyal to the Party and Chairman Mao.

Yao Wenyan: They are all class brothers.

Zhang Chunqiao: Some people, when their salaries rise, become more susceptible to revisionism in their thoughts. They're afraid of losing their jobs, of retaliation, and of their families. Others don't have these concerns. We need to do difficult work with these people. Once we do, we'll form a majority. It's only by forming a majority that we can solve the production arrangement issue. You need to give proper attention to both production and revolution. The problem lies with the minority. When we put forward slogans, we need to consider the majority. Some students focus on slogans without considering the majority, which isn't good. We need to proceed step by step with them. We need to take one bite at a time. We should allow others to wait and let them observe. All work starts with public opinion. We really need to pay attention to this; it's a common issue. Otherwise, it will lead to opposition among the masses. I think when the masses fight each other, it's sometimes our fault. When someone is caught, the responsibility lies with the leadership. If no one stirs things up, the masses wouldn't fight each other.

Yao Wenyan: I've met some young people. In August, they only talked

about taking action. It's only been three months, and now they've become much more level-headed. This is a leap forward, and in the future, there will be even greater leaps.

Zhang Chunqiao: Recently, I've received some criticisms directed at me. I've heard less about your situation, and I hope to learn more about it. Also, I hope you can summarize the good examples of workers' revolutionary actions in the factories, with good production and good revolution. Please send me reliable information about these, and I will pass them on to the central government. We can also promote them in Beijing.

Regarding the issue of hitting people, you should observe and see who is instigating the violence.

Representative: It's very clear. The leader is Zhang Qi, the chairman of the General Trade Union.

Yao Wen yuan: Our minds need to be more complex.

Zhang Chunqiao: Some people are openly commanding. Are there any underground command centers? Regarding these issues, we need to minimize conflicts as much as possible. Currently, some people want to disband the Central Cultural Revolution. The students in Beijing are very angry and want to march in the streets. We never advised them to do this before, but now we've suggested they not go on the march because it will lead to conflicts.

(Due to time constraints, Zhang Chunqiao had not eaten, so after the representatives raised a few final points, they invited Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wen yuan to return and rest. Before leaving, Yao Wen yuan said with great meaning: "The movement in the factories, with workers rising up, can root out revisionism. This is very significant. During the previous phase, under the leadership of Bo Yibo, many places in the industrial and transportation sectors were revisionist.")

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan's Speech at the Central Broadcasting Bureau

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan 1966.12.09

[We are filled with immense anger as we severely denounce the traitor, labor traitor, and spy Liu Shaoqi and his black henchman Ding Laifu at the Broadcasting Bureau for suppressing the Central Cultural Revolution instructions. They consciously followed Liu and Deng's black headquarters, fiercely opposing the proletarian headquarters led by Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin. This is yet another monstrous crime: Ding Laifu blocked an extremely important speech on the Cultural Revolution given by Comrades Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan on December 9, 1966. This speech was delivered at a critical moment in the struggle between the two classes, two lines, and two roads in our bureau. The speech clearly pointed out that the commemoration of '12.9' was a great conspiracy; it revealed the '4.16' counterrevolutionary coup rehearsal event; it condemned Ding Laifu for stubbornly pushing forward a bourgeois reactionary line; and it also took a firm stance on the three mass organizations at the time, especially emphasizing Ding Laifu's serious opposition to Comrade Jiang Qing in the Zhou XX incident. The problems raised by Comrades Chunqiao and Wenyan are crucial to the development of the proletarian cultural revolution in our bureau. The proletarian headquarters gave clear directions on the development of our movement. However, the audacious Ding Laifu dared to block such an important speech, suppress it, and continued to incite the masses to oppose the Central Cultural Revolution, stirring up conflicts among the people. As a result, a counterrevolutionary current emerged in the Broadcasting Bureau, attacking the Central Cultural Revolution. Ding Laifu's opposition to the Central Cultural Revolution is indeed a heinous crime! It is a crime that cannot be written down, as endless as the bamboo of Nanshan. The evil cannot be washed away by the waves of the East Sea! Ding Laifu fully deserves his death. We hereby publish the important speech of Comrades Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan.]

On the evening of December 9, 1966, at 10:30, Comrades Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan visited Ding Laifu's office and met with

Ding Laifu, Yang Zuoming, Wang Shouren, Wang Yongqing, and others. They gave an important speech regarding the issue of the Broadcasting Bureau's Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Comrade Chunqiao asked how many mass organizations there were in the Broadcasting Bureau. Ding Laifu answered that there were mainly three organizations: the Combat Group, the Column, and the Rebel Group.

Comrade Chunqiao asked: What are the main differences between the three factions?

Ding Laifu answered: The issue is the question of the bourgeois reactionary line. The Defense Group (Combat Group) believes that I am thoroughly following the bourgeois reactionary line and am consciously implementing the reactionary line. The Column disagrees with their formulation. The Rebel Group also criticizes the bourgeois reactionary line, but their approach is different from that of the Defense Group (Combat Group). They do not agree with some of the methods of the Defense Group (Combat Group) and also believe that the banner raised by the Column is not high enough.

Comrade Chunqiao asked:
What is the relationship between the Party Committee and the three organizations?

Ding Laifu replied:
There is no relationship. They often come to (or pull) us.

Comrade Chunqiao asked: How many times have you been investigated?

Ding Laifu answered: Three times.

Comrade Chunqiao asked: How many times have you been investigated by the Column?

Ding Laifu answered: Once.

Comrade Chunqiao asked: Was it a bit more comfortable to be investigated by the Column? Were there any cases where people were labeled as counter-revolutionaries?

Comrade Wen yuan followed up: Not even one person?

Ding Laifu replied: No.

Comrades Chunqiao and Wen yuan immediately raised the issue of the political training team and brought up the Zhou ×× incident.

Comrade Wen yuan asked: What was the problem with Zhou ××?

Ding Laifu answered: They (referring to the Combat Group) said they labeled him as a counter-revolutionary, but I haven't investigated it yet. On May 25th, ××× used a confidential phone to say that Zhou ×× was planning to go south with his mother, and the task was urgent; they were leaving tonight. After Zhou ×× returned (at the end of May), he said that he met a high-ranking official in the south, and that Ding Laifu was going to be dealt with later. He wrote a big-character poster with ten demands, but there was no substantial content. There were also some accusations of anti-central issues, but they were not true. His suspicions were that he might be involved in something, and he spoke about it to ××× and also to the security office, pointing out that there was no need for surveillance and that putting up a few big-character posters was not a big deal.

Comrade Wen yuan asked: What is the actual situation?

Ding Laifu replied: He (referring to Zhou ××) said that the head of the technical department was monitoring him, and recently, the Combat Group claimed they had besieged him and labeled him a counter-revolutionary. In mid-June, ××× said that he had gone to Shanghai and met with Jiang Qing.

Comrade Chunqiao asked:

Did you know that Zhou ×× went to Shanghai to meet with Comrade Jiang Qing? Did you mention it?

Ding Laifu answered: I reported it to the office's Cultural Revolution group.

Comrade Wen yuan asked: Did you suspect anything, and did you plan any countermeasures?

Ding Laifu replied: We didn't make any arrangements.

Comrade Chunqiao asked: Why was he labeled as a counter-revolutionary?

Ding Laifu answered: He was not labeled as a counter-revolutionary.

Comrade Chunqiao asked: Did you report your suspicions to Zhang Pinghua, and did you communicate it to those below?

Ding Laifu answered: I did not report it to those below.

Comrade Chunqiao severely criticized: This doesn't need to be arranged; you would have influenced those below anyway.

Comrade Wen yuan asked: If you hadn't known that he met with Comrade Jiang Qing, what would you have done? What was the reason behind the Combat Group's actions?

Ding Laifu answered: The Combat Group didn't provide a reason; they just called him up to the stage.

(The monitoring and questioning of Zhou ×× led to concerns among the Combat Group members. At one of their meetings, they invited Zhou ×× to the stage to meet all the members and announced that they would fight to clear Zhou's name and engage in an unrelenting struggle against Ding Laifu.)

(When discussing the nature of the various mass organizations) Ding Laifu said: I said that the Combat Group and the Column are revolutionary, and their general direction is correct. I will support whoever aligns with Mao Zedong Thought.

Comrade Wen yuan asked: Do you think all the organizations adhere to Mao Zedong Thought?

Ding Laifu answered: The Combat Group's criticism of the reactionary line is correct, but their methods do not align with the actual situation. Sometimes, they take a single sentence and distort its original meaning.

For example, regarding the issue of transmitting the Central Military Commission's instructions, it wasn't about suppressing the instructions, but rather resisting the instructions and violating Mao Zedong Thought. I believe this issue was related to the universities, and I also believe that the bureau hasn't been labeled as counter-revolutionary, so no measures have been developed. Both defense meetings raised this issue — things are as they are, not consciously done.

Comrade Chunqiao asked: What is the reason for the slow development of the movement?

Ding Laifu answered: It's due to poor leadership and a low level of understanding of Mao Zedong Thought. After the end of July, leadership became passive.

Comrade Chunqiao asked: Was it after the “smashing of the hell of Yan Wang” (symbolizing an attack on authority)?

Ding Laifu answered: After the big-character posters from the academies came out, some of the units within the bureau even went to the academies. The Cultural Revolution didn't manage to emerge in time, and those (referring to the Combat Group) were the most active in criticizing the reactionary line.

Comrade Chunqiao asked: Are you active and resolute?

Ding Laifu replied: I don't think we are not active or resolute.

Comrade Chunqiao said: You are active and resolute, but not in unity with the masses, not in alignment with them.

Ding Laifu said: There are differences with them (referring to the Combat Group), which has developed into a complete opposition. The report today didn't meet with me; it was sent down directly for feedback.

They (referring to the Education and Propaganda Department, who drafted the 12.9 report under Ding Laifu's direction) didn't offer feedback; they criticized, saying that Ding Laifu is spreading poison, labeling me with a false accusation.

Comrade Chunqiao asked: Criticism is also feedback. If you hadn't raised any feedback in advance, how would the Education and Propaganda Department have drafted the report?

Ding Laifu replied: I didn't offer any feedback.

Comrade Chunqiao said: What kind of Party Secretary are you? Does the Education and Propaganda Department lead you, or do you lead them?

Ding Laifu replied: In the past, my speeches were either drafted by myself or by others after I gave a few suggestions.

Comrade Chunqiao said: You're shirking responsibility, or being irresponsible. That's worse than offering your opinion!

Ding Laifu replied: This time, it was from the bottom up.

Comrade Chunqiao said: You must choose one of two options: first, you didn't draft it yourself; second, it was discussed below.

Ding Laifu answered: I also made two revisions.

Comrade Wen yuan said: Chairman Mao had already severely criticized this method.

Comrade Chunqiao said: Since July, your situation hasn't been good. Top-down doesn't work, and bottom-up doesn't work either...

Ding Laifu replied: Things haven't been easy, and I've been passive for three months.

Comrade Wen yuan asked: What is the fundamental problem?

Ding Laifu replied: The level of thought is not high, we haven't grasped the problems enough, and there's subjectivism.

Comrade Chunqiao asked: Isn't there an bourgeois reactionary line?

Comrade Wen yuan asked: What work have you done to clear the influen-

ence of Liu and Deng? At this point, Ding Laifu avoided answering the substantial questions and began to make evasive statements, shifting blame.

Comrade Chunqiao asked: Are you not afraid of becoming a revisionist radio station? I've told you before, who broadcasted the first on April 16th? Wasn't it the radio station?

Ding Laifu replied: Xinhua News Agency also broadcasted it.

Comrade Chunqiao said: Don't you think this is a serious problem?

Ding Laifu replied: I have made a self-criticism.

Comrade Chunqiao asked: You've made a self-criticism? You are isolating yourself by looking at this problem this way.

Ding Laifu replied: I am not isolating myself by looking at this problem.

Comrade Chunqiao said: You only focus on the work group issue. You have your security very tight, but what about internally? Which headquarters do you follow?

Ding Laifu replied: Fundamentally, it is a matter of blindness.

Comrade Chunqiao said: Don't talk about blindness just yet.

Comrade Wenyan said: It's late today, and you should think about it. We still need to hear the opinions of the three mass organizations.

Conversation of Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan when they met with student representatives from the Beijing Broadcasting Institute

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan 1966.12.10

[Note: In late 1966, at the time when the proletarian revolutionary faction was heavily attacking the bourgeois reactionary line and targeting the Liu-Deng black headquarters, reactionary forces in the Beijing area planned a major conspiracy to celebrate the “12.9” event, attempting to use it as a way to call back the Liu-Deng black headquarters and attack the proletarian headquarters led by Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin. Amidst this counter-revolutionary current, Ding Laifu, with the support of Tao Zhu, used the pretext of celebrating the one-year anniversary of Chairman Mao’s inscription for the people’s broadcasting cause to organize a grand celebration on December 9, in an attempt to rally support for Liu, Deng, and Peng Zhen. On the evening of December 9, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao and Comrade Yao Wenyan visited the broadcasting bureau and severely criticized Ding Laifu. On December 10, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao and Comrade Yao Wenyan met with the revolutionary student representatives from the Broadcasting Institute at the Zhongzhi Auditorium. The following is a summary of the conversation during this meeting.]

Time: December 10, 1966, afternoon.

Location: Zhongzhi Auditorium.

During the meeting, the students primarily reported the situation. They began by talking about the situation at the institute and continued discussing the circumstances at the broadcasting bureau, including the “11.2” incident. The students reported that Tao Zhu, when meeting with the conservative organization of the broadcasting bureau, “Oath Vanguard,” said that they were wrong, and they were preparing to debate with him. Comrade Zhang Chunqiao responded: “You should write him a letter every day, force him to come out, and ask him to clarify the facts.”

When the students talked about entering the broadcasting bureau after the “11.2” incident to confront Ding Laifu, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao interjected: “We have already experienced this at Tiananmen, where we criticized him and asked him to examine his mistakes. He refused and argued with us.”

When discussing Ding Laifu’s commemoration of “12.9,” Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said to the students: “Why didn’t you rebel? That day we arranged everything and waited at home all day, but we never received a phone call, even in the evening. We wondered, was the information being blocked? Were the phones controlled, so the calls couldn’t get through? So, we decided to take a car to the broadcasting tower. We circled around the building and saw the lights blazing. Then we went into the broadcasting bureau.”

“We found Ding Laifu and Yang Zuoming and asked them, ‘What day is it today? Why is it so lively here? Do you know there is a reactionary current against the Central Cultural Revolution in society?’ They didn’t answer. We then asked, ‘Have you cleared the names of those you wrongly labeled as counter-revolutionaries?’ They replied, ‘Our broadcasting bureau did not label any workers as counter-revolutionaries.’”

Comrades Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan discussed the issue of Chairman Mao’s commemorative inscription for the 20th anniversary of the People’s Broadcasting Service. They said: “Yao Zhen, Wu Lengxi, and others claimed they would wait for space in the ‘People’s Daily’ before publishing it. The Chairman’s inscription was given in mid-September, but they kept it suppressed until December 9th. This was part of their conspiracy.”

When discussing the issue of power, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: “The broadcasting bureau must be controlled by the left-wing, the centrist is not acceptable, and the right-wing is even worse.”

Finally, Comrades Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan discussed with the student representatives, asking: “If the broadcasting bureau gets going, will it stop broadcasting?” The student representatives replied: “The battle group can fully control the broadcasting bureau, and there will be no problems.”

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: “We will first talk to you, and then we need to go to the broadcasting bureau to talk to the three organizations there.”

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan's Conversation with the 'Mao Zedong Thought Combat Group' of the Broadcasting Bureau

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan 1966.12.11

[Note: On October 18, 1966, the “Mao Zedong Thought Combat Group” emerged from the white terror of the bourgeois reactionary line, waging a vigorous campaign against the small clique of capitalist roaders, including Mei Yi and Ding Laifu. In order to preserve the reactionary rule of the Mei-Ding-Wang dynasty and extinguish the revolutionary fire, Ding Laifu manipulated the “Oath of Death Combat Group” and the “Red Rebel Group” to encircle and suppress the revolutionary faction. At the most difficult and intense moments of our struggle, on the afternoon of December 11, Chairman Mao’s headquarters dispatched Comrades Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan to our bureau to meet with 15 representatives of the “Mao Zedong Thought Combat Group.” Comrades Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan had a cordial conversation with the representatives for more than three hours, expressing their support for the revolutionary actions of the “Mao Zedong Thought Combat Group.” Below is the transcript of this meeting.]

Zhang: We want to understand the situation, and we have already spoken with your Party committee. We know that you have several mass organizations, basically three. We would like to talk about each of them, starting with you. We have learned some information, but not much. All your factions have written letters. We want to know what problems you face, what difficulties you have, and what your plans are, or what you think is needed. We would like to understand all of this.

Yao: Alright, go ahead, we're listening.

Representative: Should we introduce ourselves first?

Yao: Sure, introduce yourselves.

Which ones of you are the main people in charge?

Yao: Alright, go ahead, we're listening.

Representative: Should we introduce ourselves first?

Yao: Sure, introduce yourselves. Which ones of you are the main people in charge?

Zhang: Do you have a Youth League Committee?

Representative: No, we only have liaison officers.

(The representative reports on Ding Laifu's "July 29" black report. When talking about Ding Laifu saying that the masses criticize him for "picking bones from eggs.")

Zhang: Who said that? Ding Laifu?

Representative: Yes.

(The representative reports on Ding Laifu's plot of a fake election.)

Zhang: So, you haven't held an election for the Cultural Revolution Committee in your Bureau?

Representative: No, it's still the old Cultural Revolution leadership.

Zhang: Was it appointed or elected?

Representative: It was elected, but in reality, it was appointed, mainly by the Bureau's Party committee and the heads of various departments.

(The representative reports on Ding Laifu's crimes of opposing the Central Cultural Revolution in the Broadcast Academy event. When mentioning that Ding Laifu said, "You can't say all 1,200 people are rightists.")

Zhang: At that time, he specifically spoke to the 1,200 people, saying that you are all misled, including most of the work team, that they are all good. We reiterated this many times.

Representative: He didn't convey that at all.

(The representative reports on the Bureau's Cultural Revolution persecuting Lu Xun's son, Zhou Haiying. When asked why Zhou Haiying went to the South.)

Zhang: Did Ding Laifu ask directly?

(Representative explains the situation.)

Zhang: Ding Laifu said he didn't know that Zhou Haiying was sent by the Central Cultural Revolution.

Yao: What actions did they take against Zhou Haiying?

Representative: They were planning to hold a struggle meeting; the meeting procedures and slogans were all prepared.

(Representative reports on the struggle against Mei Yi.)

Zhang: How many days did Mei Yi's meeting last?

Representative: Four days. Then it turned into smaller meetings.

Zhang: Do you have any materials you can show us? There's a lot of information, but let's start with the current situation. What about the political training team and the house arrest rooms?

How did things go? Have they been resolved? Are they still there?

(Representative explains the situation of the political training team.)

Zhang: How many people are in the political training team?

Representative: Over ninety.

Zhang: How many of them are from the black gang?

Representative: Sixty-three. Eighteen are from the masses.

Zhang: Does the political training team still exist? How were the black gang members defined?

There are more than sixty of them, plus eighteen others and some staff members, three categories of people.

Representative: Yes.

Representative (speaking about Wang XX, a comrade who was persecuted by the bourgeois reactionary line and sent to the political training team): They said we were middle figures.

Yao: Middle figures? (laughs)

Zhang: Do middle figures get treated the same as the black gang?

Representative: Politically, the treatment is basically the same.

Zhang: What about the staff members?

Representative: It's different.

Zhang: How many people are still in that situation? How many were there at the peak?

Representative: Eighteen people.

Zhang: What about the house arrest rooms?

(Representative explains the situation of the house arrest rooms, mentioning the case of the former head of the Central Control Room, Jing Runshen, who was considered a capitalist road supporter.)

Zhang: Does he really have any abilities? How is he technically?

Representative: He's really not that capable.

Zhang: Just tell us more about the inside story of the house arrest rooms.

Yao: How many people are in the house arrest rooms?

Representative: Eight people.

Yao: How many people are in the control room?

Representative: XX people.

Zhang: Are they still in confinement now?

Representative: No, but they haven't been publicly exonerated.

Zhang: For how long?

Representative: The earliest was at the end of August.

Zhang: Are there any other units with house arrest rooms?

Representative: There's only one in the building.

(Representative reports that during one of Chairman Mao's meetings with the Red Guards, Ding Laifu and some members of the "Death Troop" appeared on television, cheering.)

Zhang: Which meeting was that?

Representative: It was probably the sixth one.

(Representative reports on the resistance to the current movement and the situation of several organizations.)

Zhang: How many people are in the "Death Troop"?

Representative: They say five hundred.

Zhang: Has Ding Laifu held any meetings with your group?

Representative: No, he doesn't dare.

(Representative reports on the bourgeois reactionary line being implemented by those in the bureau, who try to suppress the rebel groups using the so-called "party discipline" and argue that "party members with opin-

ions on the party organization must reflect them to higher levels through the organizational system, not publicly post big-character posters.”)

Zhang: You’ve already answered this question! This response is fine. If there’s revisionism, even if it comes from the Central Committee, we must oppose it. Otherwise, we’ll fall into the kind of rule Khrushchev imposed in the Soviet Union. Reporting to higher levels? Who is Khrushchev’s superior? (Everyone laughs.)

(Representative reports that the office had just removed Liu Shaoqi’s inscription.)

Yao: They want to destroy the evidence! Is the expert reception room still hanging up?

Representative: I don’t know.

Zhang: How many people are in your building?

Representative: ××× people.

(Representative reports on political matters.)

Zhang: How many people are in the political department? How many of you are in the “Battle Troop”?

Representative: The political department has ××× people. We only have one.

Zhang: Do you hold meetings in the theater? How many people can it hold?

Representative: ×××× people.

(Representative reports on the “11.2” incident, where the “Death Troop” insisted that the leaders go to the × building’s political department.)

Zhang: That day, they insisted we go to the × building, and they were very aggressive. We had things to do at home that day, otherwise, we would have gone.

Yao: Later, when we wanted to go, they didn't let us.

(Representative reports that the "Death Troop" sent people to the State Council to accuse Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan.)

Zhang: I know. They wanted to debate with me, but I ignored them.

(Representative reports on the "11.4" incident.)

Zhang: I know.

(Representative reports on the "12.9" conspiracy.)

Yao: We can think about this issue!

(When the leaders were getting into the car, the representative said, "Welcome, leaders, to come often.")

Yao: The revolution still depends on ourselves!

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan's Speech During the Meeting with Representatives of Mass Organizations at the Central Broadcasting Bureau

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan 1966.12.13

[On December 13, 1966, Zhang Chunqiao, Vice Leader of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, and Yao Wenyuan, a member of the group, visited the Central Broadcasting Bureau. They met with the leaders of the former conservative organization, the “Death Defense Mao Zedong Thought Fighting Corps,” and gave important instructions. The leaders of the “Death Corps” withheld and blocked the central leadership’s instructions, failing to pass them on to all revolutionary comrades in the Bureau, and even more so, not communicating them to the masses of the “Death Corps.” The instructions from the two leaders are now compiled from the records as follows.]

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao first said: “We would like to hear your opinions first. After you finish speaking, we will offer our own opinions. Today, our task is very simple, we will listen first and don’t have any specific topic to present.”

Comrade Yao Wenyuan then said: “Let’s start by discussing how the ‘Fighting Corps’ itself is built and the basic composition.”

The leader of the “Fighting Corps,” Ding Baoting, began his report. When he discussed Ding Laifu’s “June 3” report, which conveyed Deng Xiaoping’s speech to the capital’s news media on May 31, 1966, affirming that there were no issues with the news organizations, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: “This statement does not hold up. Wu Lengxi couldn’t sit still! How can they say there were no problems?!”

Since the report was lengthy and only discussed surface-level phenomena, without addressing the essence of the issue, and merely defended Ding Laifu and praised him, Comrade Yao Wenyuan said: “Some of these points should be more concise.” Comrade Zhang Chunqiao added: “Mainly, let’s talk about the situation after the publication of the ‘Sixteen Articles.’”

In the early stage of the movement, it could be said that there was a lack of understanding. After the 11th Plenary Session and the Central Work Conference, the central leadership discussed this issue repeatedly. What is the situation now?" Ding Baoting reported on the situation in the Bureau following the publication of the "Sixteen Articles."

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao asked: "When did you feel there was a struggle between two lines?" Most of those present answered that they only realized it when the work teams were withdrawn.

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao responded: "Ding Laifu transmitted Deng Xiaoping's speech on May 31 quickly, but the speeches of comrades such as Bo Yibo, Kang Sheng, and Jiang Qing at the Broadcasting College were transmitted much slower. Why is it that he cannot accept the correct things? A person's mind is not empty—it is either filled with one kind of thought or another. Why was Ding Laifu so slow to convey the speeches of comrades like Bo Yibo, Kang Sheng, and Jiang Qing at the Broadcasting College? It was because he thought those were wrong. On the day we went to the Broadcasting College, Ding Laifu was also present. His attitude was very bad and he openly confronted Comrade Jiang Qing."

When Ding Laifu was reported to have reacted poorly after a big-character poster reading "Completely Smash Ding Laifu's Hell of Yama" was put up in the Bureau, and there were differing views, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao commented: "Yes, it was very uncalm. For every issue, there are always two different opinions. The struggle between two lines has existed all year long. What's wrong with smashing Ding Laifu's Hell of Yama?"

When it was reported that revolutionary young students at the Broadcasting College had put up a big-character poster after a work team issue, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: "We fully understand this. When we arrived at the Broadcasting College, the masses said, 'We welcomed the work team with tears in our eyes, but after they arrived, they started attacking us.'"

The leaders of the "Fighting Corps" defended Ding Laifu for suppressing the revolutionary students and teachers, claiming that Ding Laifu had listened to Zhang Yan's words.

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao immediately criticized the leaders of the “Fighting Corps” for this mistake, saying: “Don’t make the principle issue seem like a trivial one. We should look at the two opinions in the context of the struggle at that time. Why is it that some people can accept one view and others can’t? For example, why did Ding Laifu accept Deng Xiaoping’s speech on May 31 and Zhang Yan’s words so readily?”

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao continued: “A person, like being in a storm, can be blown to the left or to the right, but class struggle still has agency. We are also studying this issue—why some cadres who fought bravely in revolutionary wars ended up on the wrong side during the socialist revolution.”

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao then said: “He (Ding Laifu) has too much of an attitude, very poor. We met a few times at the Broadcasting College and at Tiananmen, but there was no real communication. On December 9, the entire Beijing had lights on only at the Broadcasting Bureau. On the night of the 9th (December 9, 1966), we went to find him to hear his situation, but it was impossible to talk, the ideological gap was too wide, he simply couldn’t accept it. On December 12, he even directed the guards to deal with the young people at the Broadcasting College.”

Then, Ding Baoting reported on the situation of the December 9th commemoration of Chairman Mao’s inscription. Comrade Zhang Chunqiao asked: “At the December 9th commemoration, was the bourgeois reactionary line criticized?” Ding Baoting and others replied that it was not. Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: “If the bourgeois reactionary line is not criticized, how can the proletarian revolutionary line be carried out? If the central instructions are not implemented, how can the anniversary of Chairman Mao’s inscription be properly commemorated? Marxism advances through struggle, so how could such a big event not criticize the bourgeois reactionary line? That day, he (Ding Laifu) just kept saying it couldn’t pass, but didn’t mention what kind of resistance he encountered. We didn’t have the chance to ask him.”

Comrade Yao Wenyuan then said: “Chairman Mao’s inscription came at the most intense moment of class struggle last year. Who decided to have it published on December 9? The inscription came in September, and it wasn’t published until December—was that not a class struggle? Or was

it a question of space on the page?” Comrade Zhang Chunqiao added: “When we were reviewing the footage, it was already after the 11th Plenary Session. But in the Broadcasting Bureau, we still saw the pictures and inscriptions of Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, and others hanging. Why wasn’t that changed? Which command is being followed here? Why was there such a strong attachment to Liu and Deng’s materials, but not to those from the proletarian command? He (Ding Laifu) followed the ‘June 3’ report very closely! Ding Laifu’s Party Committee is incompetent. The radio station is a political institution, it’s the most sensitive political institution. Foreigners can guess the meaning of a single sentence from Beijing Radio for days. The Broadcasting Bureau does not breathe in sync with Chairman Mao. After such a big event as the 11th Plenary Session, why was it so sluggish? I don’t mean to blame you.”

At this point, a secretary who had accompanied them stepped out to take a phone call and returned to inform them that Comrades Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan were needed for another meeting. Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: “We won’t finish today, let’s continue this conversation later when we have time!” Someone asked when they could report to the leaders again. Comrade Zhang Chunqiao replied: “It’s not you finding us, it’s us finding you.”

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan's Talk with the “Red Rebel Group” of the Broadcasting Bureau

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan 1966.12.15

Comrade Yao Wenyuan:

This is a sharp struggle between two lines, a struggle between the proletarian command headed by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line's command. If you follow the bourgeois reactionary command, then you are on the side of the bourgeois reactionary line. Therefore, in this struggle between the two lines, it's about whether you follow Chairman Mao or the bourgeois reactionary line's command. Since the 11th Plenary Session, the issue has been about which command you are going to follow.

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao:

Think about it: Did Ding Laifu follow the central instructions quickly, or did he follow Chairman Mao quickly? Or did he follow which central authority more quickly? You are mostly Party members, and some are League members. It's now very clear who to follow. Before May, the central class struggle had not yet been fully revealed. Who did you follow closely? Chairman Mao? Or Peng Zhen and Lu Dingyi? After the 11th Plenary Session, it became clearer. The victory of one line has a significant impact. This is the big direction.

There can be different opinions in the Broadcasting Bureau about the big direction, but you must also see the broader struggle within the Party nationwide. This is a matter that determines China's fate. The victory of this struggle will ensure the propagation of Mao Zedong Thought. Whether the Broadcasting Bureau sides with Peng Zhen or not should be considered in terms of the bigger picture.

The “April 16” incident is a very serious issue. It was not the voice of Mao Zedong Thought; it was the voice against Mao Zedong Thought, a signal of a coup. This is not a technical issue. At that time, when we listened to the broadcast, we were shocked. The broadcast came first, and Xinhua News Agency followed. Xinhua was closely aligned with Peng Zhen! This is a struggle between two class fates, the most critical moment, Peng

Zhen's final battle. He took a newspaper to Chairman Mao, saying, "We are criticizing." This is not a small matter, comrades should consider it from a broader perspective. Of course, we should start with good intentions toward any cadre, analyze the facts, and consider the big picture. Otherwise, we won't see clearly. We hope all cadres are good, but if not, we must consider things from a different perspective; otherwise, we will fail to see the truth. For example, regarding the incident of students storming the building, many people called us that day, from various organizations. Ding Laifu also called, but we weren't home at the time. We believe that if Ding Laifu were a true Marxist-Leninist, he should have let the students in. If it were me, I wouldn't have handled it that way. Of course, I'm not a perfect Marxist-Leninist. But if 20 or so students came, I would let them in. I have handled such matters many times. At that time, the Ministry of National Defense was involved, and the students had no choice, they protested for a whole day and night. If I were a student, I would also be angry. We need to consider the situation from their perspective. When I went to handle this matter, the Ministry of Defense asked me to register and go through formalities. I said, "I am from the Central Cultural Revolution Group," and they still wanted me to go through the procedures. The fire was very intense there, but they still wanted me to register. We have many things that do not meet the needs of the revolution. As for the disruptions during the movement, they are hard to avoid; any revolution experiences disruptions. The bourgeois revolution caused more disruptions than ours. As for the Communist Party's founding, we should record all the disruptions and accumulate a thick book.

I have had many contacts with Ding Laifu, more than you have. He is opposed to the emotions of the students, he feels very distant from them, and he can't accept our opinions. His attitude is unyielding. We talked many times, but he was not brave enough to stand with the revolutionary masses. He never changed his feelings toward the students. Since July, he has been criticizing the students, and six months have passed, yet his attitude hasn't changed.

You can compare Chairman Mao's attitude toward the masses. Every time he met the masses, he would go among them, to Jinshui Bridge, with millions of people, all kinds of people. We were worried about his safety, so we didn't let him go, but he criticized us later, saying this was wrong.

Chairman Mao loved the masses and cared for them, listening to their opinions. Revolution relies on the masses. We have the highest example to compare with. Once we compare, the issue becomes clear. The fundamental issue in the struggle between the two lines is the attitude toward the masses. I hope comrades consider this. We still want to hear your opinions. We also hope some issues can be clarified clearly.

Our comrades need to be open-minded when analyzing issues, not just look at things from a narrow perspective. Some viewpoints should not be rigid. They should look at things more broadly and deeply.

Zhang Chunqiao and others' speech during the meeting with some returned overseas Chinese revolutionary students and Red Guards

Zhang Chunqiao 1966.12.18

[On December 18, Comrade Jiang Qing met with the representatives of the capital's returned overseas Chinese Red Guards. She firmly supported the revolutionary actions of the returned overseas Chinese students and Red Guards in the overseas Chinese affairs sector and the Chinese Overseas Chinese Affairs Committee. She told us: 'I will firmly be your cannonball.'

She designated Vice Group Leader of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao, and Comrade Qi Benyu to meet with us, the 200 revolutionary returned overseas Chinese students and Red Guards from Beijing's Overseas Chinese Anti-Capitalist School (formerly the Overseas Chinese Supplementary School), the Arts Department of the Overseas Chinese University, and Beijing Foreign Language College, at the Sports Hall Cinema. They listened to our report on the cultural revolution situation within the overseas Chinese affairs sector and gave us important instructions.

Other central leaders asked us to prepare for the 'Oath-taking Conference for the New Victory of the Cultural Revolution in the Overseas Chinese Affairs Sector,' which will be held at the end of this month, and said that the Central Committee will send representatives to attend our conference. This is the greatest care and encouragement from the Central Committee and Chairman Mao for our revolutionary returned overseas Chinese. Chairman Mao is the brightest and most red sun in our hearts. We will certainly follow the Chairman's teachings, focus on national affairs, and carry the proletarian cultural revolution through to the end! Let us actively work hard to prepare for this oath-taking conference, to achieve the complete victory of the cultural revolution in the overseas Chinese affairs sector, and to transform the overseas Chinese affairs sector into a university of Mao Zedong Thought!]

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao's Speech:

Comrades, students,

(Students: Please sit down.) There's no need to sit, as you've been sitting for the whole afternoon.

Indeed, we have had very little contact with the overseas Chinese community. Recently, we've seen some slogans posted by you on the streets. Some of them mention Liao Chengzhi, Fang Fang, and Lin Yixin. These names you just mentioned still resonate in our minds. However, we haven't actually visited these organizations. As for the materials, we haven't really looked at them much because there are so few of us, and we feel that the issues we have to handle in one day are overwhelming. Now, looking back, we must say that our Central Cultural Revolution Group has not paid enough attention to this very important aspect. It is you, through your actions, that have made us aware of it, and we are very grateful to you. (Applause, slogans shouted)

From what the comrades have just shared, we feel that the problem is indeed serious. This proves that the label of "overseas Chinese" doesn't fully address the issues at hand. Whether overseas Chinese or returned overseas Chinese, or others within the country, there are always divisions based on class. This is a fundamental principle. As it is written: we must always keep in mind the class struggle, and this is the most basic thing. Even within the overseas Chinese community, there are class divisions and class struggle. The departments managing overseas Chinese affairs are inevitably involved in class struggle as well, either aligning with the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, or with the counter-revolutionary bourgeois line. There is no middle ground. We believe that the vast majority of students and returned overseas Chinese, as well as overseas Chinese people, are patriotic, because in those areas, the working people form the majority, and certainly, the capitalists do not. (Applause) This is not only true historically, but it is true in the present as well. The working class and laboring people are the majority. If we forget this, we will be ignoring the most basic facts. The comrades just shared a lot with us, but due to time constraints, we cannot continue listening here today, as we have an evening meeting scheduled. You mentioned that this meeting was held suddenly, and so was ours. We were in the middle

of a meeting, and then we decided to immediately leave the venue to meet you, as Comrade Jiang Qing asked us to do. (Slogans shouted) Because of time constraints, we cannot speak freely today. Some comrades didn't have time to prepare, and some materials were not brought with you. (Audience: We brought them!) Some materials may not have been brought, and so I suggest the following: If you have materials, you can give them to us now. If you can't provide them now, that's alright. We hope that if you have materials ready, you can send them to us early. You can send them to the Zhongnanhai gate, addressed to the Central Cultural Revolution Group, or specifically to Zhang Chunqiao and Qi Benyu, to ensure they get to us safely. This way, there will be no problem, and they won't be withheld. This is the first point. Secondly, there may be many issues that have not yet been addressed, as a lot has already been mentioned, such as issues with the Central Overseas Chinese Affairs Committee, overseas Chinese affairs departments, the farms, factories, schools, and so on. There are many aspects, whether it's dedicated overseas Chinese schools or overseas Chinese issues in other schools. We are eager to understand all these issues. (Applause) We hope you will provide us with materials on these various aspects, and we will make sure to study them carefully and report the situation to the Central Committee. (Warm applause, slogans shouted)

As for the specific requests made by the comrades earlier, we will report them to Comrade Jiang Qing and the Cultural Revolution Group for further study. Then, we will... (Slogans shouted)

Zhang Chunqiao Comrade's Speech:

But we should say one thing: to achieve revolution, we must rely on ourselves. The Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao support you, (slogans shouted) and our Central Cultural Revolution Group is an executive body of the Party's Standing Committee. We are few in number, and there's not much we can do. The results we've achieved are few, and many things have not been done well. For example, as you just mentioned, we have known too little about the overseas Chinese situation—almost nothing—and this is a significant flaw in our work. So, what can we do for everyone? We can do some work in terms of relaying information. If you have any news or any demands, we can report them to the Central Committee. This is the kind of work we can do. However,

to truly solve the problem, whether it's the Overseas Chinese Affairs Committee or issues with farms, schools, factories, or other matters in various places, it still depends on the revolutionary workers and peasants there—the overseas Chinese. Among the overseas Chinese, there are workers, peasants, students, and teachers. By relying on them and uniting with the revolutionary people from other sectors there, we can solve our problems. Those who follow the bourgeois reactionary line, who insist on this line, or follow the capitalist road, are after all just a small minority. They have no real power and can't accomplish anything. (Yes! Applause) As long as we, the revolutionary workers, peasants, and revolutionary teachers and students, unite and act according to Chairman Mao's instructions, firmly carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we can completely expose, criticize, and overthrow these small groups of ruling class who follow the capitalist road. (Applause)

I just wanted to say these few words. We will have more opportunities to meet in the future. (Applause, slogans shouted: "Turn the overseas Chinese community into a university of Mao Zedong Thought!" "Completely restructure the Overseas Chinese Affairs Committee!" "Firmly demand that the Central Committee remove Fang Fang from office and dismiss him!" "Long live Chairman Mao!" "Long live the Communist Party of China!")

Comrades, I don't want to speak too much today because time is really tight. We can talk more later. Meanwhile, we hope you will carefully summarize your experiences and think carefully about your struggles. We believe you have the strength to solve these issues.

Qi Benyu Comrade's Speech:

What I wanted to say has already been covered by Comrade Chunqiao. I think I can speak more the next time we meet. Is that alright? (Students: Say a few words!) You've endured much oppression abroad. Your fathers and brothers are also being oppressed overseas. After going through countless hardships, you've returned to your motherland. We must make our country the center of revolution in the world. With such a center, our fathers and brothers abroad will have a beacon when they seek revolution. How do we make our country the center of revolution? We must always hold high the red flag of Mao Zedong Thought and must overthrow the

ruling class in our country that follows the capitalist road. (Applause) They want to restore our country to the state you experienced abroad, to restore capitalist rule and promote revisionism. If their plot succeeds, our country will deteriorate, and we will continue to suffer under the oppression of capitalists, landlords, and rich peasants, just as we did in the past. Due to time constraints, I won't say much today. But I have one request: I hope you will ensure the success of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, overcome all obstacles, and strive for victory! (Warm applause, slogans shouted, and singing of "The Ocean Sailing Relies on the Helmsman" and "Father and Mother are Not as Close as Chairman Mao.")

Zhang Chunqiao's Views on the Current Situation in Shanghai

Zhang Chunqiao 1967.01.00

1. Central Issue: The focus should be on revolution, promoting production, and opposing economism.

2. The rebel factions need to better unite the masses and establish a new labor order. Some organizations have opportunistic tendencies, such as forming factions in 1957, creating levels in 1958, and cooks forming factions, etc. This can disperse the class ranks, so it's suggested to organize class ranks within the industrial and transportation systems.

3. The movement of going to the countryside is the general direction and should be vigorously promoted.

4. There should be more promotion of fighting against economism. The central government's five points opposing economism should be publicized item by item. The focus should be on "grasping revolution and promoting production." This will help stay in an invincible position. Large-scale conferences with over a thousand people can be held to introduce new advanced deeds.

5. The situation in Shanghai: external contradictions have turned into internal contradictions, and the rebels are now engaged in a civil war. The rebel factions need to conduct a rectification movement, practice hard work and frugality, stay close to the masses, and avoid arrogance. Some organizations can establish regulations.

6. There have been too many street battles, with too broad a range of targets.

(Note: Recently, many street struggles occurred in Shanghai, with those in power, conservatives, and others being dragged to the streets), and some have even involved people kneeling. This itself is feudal in nature.

7. Mass work must be done. After taking control, the main issue will be production. Local relations in Shanghai will impact the overall situation.

8. Rebel factions need to pay attention to unity. Under the general direction of consensus, they should seek common ground while allowing for differences in minor details. They should study the document “On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.”

9. In the struggle to criticize the bourgeois reactionary line, middle school students in Beijing are far behind university students in terms of participation. It is the same in Shanghai, where the rebel forces in some middle schools are very weak.

(This speech was given around late January.)

Excerpt from a speech by Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan in Shanghai

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan 1967.01.00

[Time: Mid-January]

Zhang Chunqiao:

“Regarding the Kangping Road incident, going to my house is no big deal—I’ve been mentally prepared for it. Sooner or later, it was bound to be smashed. But going to Elder Ke’s house—on that day, I asked whether anyone had gone to Elder Ke’s house. They said two guards went. Why didn’t the bureau chief or deputy bureau chief go? They couldn’t answer, and I was very angry. You only know how to protect Cao Diqu, but you don’t care about Elder Ke.”

“This time, the Shanghai working class has truly been magnificent. Historically, it will also be very significant, and it’s very worth learning from. The municipal committee is essentially paralyzed or has been overthrown by the masses.”

“The Central Committee and Chairman Mao are both supportive and pleased. Chairman Mao sees that we are capable of winning battles economically, politically, and in the realm of proletarian dictatorship.”

“Now there’s a trend of taking over! Some of it is beneficial, but not all necessarily is. I suggest taking over the Federation of Trade Unions, putting up the Workers’ Rebel Headquarters sign, and assigning a portion of people to handle reception. Quickly investigate how many vacant rooms and cooks there are... At the moment, don’t proceed as if [accommodating] 500,000 people coming to Shanghai is inevitable; that would be passive. The Chairman is very concerned about Shanghai—first, because of the economic issues that exist nationwide, and second, because the Shanghai working class is powerful. After the paralysis of the party and government organs, they stood up on their own.”

(Someone proposed thoroughly reorganizing the Shanghai Municipal Committee.)

Yao Wenyan: “In that case, propose a plan. Who will serve as the First Secretary?”

Workers’ General Headquarters representative: “We need the Central Committee to appoint someone.”

Zhang Chunqiao: “If anyone is appointed First Secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Committee now, they’ll become a target of struggle in just a few days. In Heilongjiang, after the provincial party committee was reorganized, the setup below was left untouched, and their thinking hasn’t changed. Comrade Pan Fusheng is a good comrade, but the pressure on him is immense.”

“The responsibility has now essentially fallen on the shoulders of the left. On one hand, the task should be pushed onto those in power, and on the other hand, it relies on the masses to rise up. The responsibility is now on us. The tasks are heavier, and this forces us to unite. We can’t afford not to unite. Everyone needs to consider the bigger picture and act in accordance with the overall situation. Chairman Mao calls on us to care about national affairs, not just our own or our group’s affairs.”

“You must mentally prepare for the problem of division. I can say openly that I hope the Workers’ Rebel Headquarters banner will be held high and not lowered. The Workers’ Rebel General Headquarters has influence not only domestically but also internationally. Foreign news agencies have reported on it. Foreign news agencies broadcast the ‘Letter to All Citizens of Shanghai,’ saying that the Workers’ Rebel Headquarters is Mao Zedong’s faction, while the Red Guards are anti-Mao Zedong. Chiang Kai-shek doesn’t care about your internal disputes—he’ll just divide you.”

“Move your General Headquarters to the Federation of Trade Unions. Concentrating your forces means you can organize your own guards. If necessary, you can request public security personnel. At critical moments, I’ll suggest to the Central Committee that the People’s Liberation Army be sent to protect you. Concentration makes protection easier. Right now, we are engaged in an economic battle. This battle must be won.

Chairman Mao is very attentive to Shanghai and knows the details. The Chairman has memorized the slogans ‘Burn Chen Pixian, Drag Out Cao Diqu, Overthrow Yang Xiguang, Smash Chang Xiping.’ He’s memorized them better than I have! I still haven’t fully memorized them. As for the telephone bureau, I don’t know what you’re planning there. Why were there so many ‘Bao’ units at the meeting the other day? It’s because they came from the telephone exchange.”

Zhang Chunqiao:

“As for the slogans proposed by Comrade Cai Zuquan, I discussed them with Yao Wenyuan, and we fear they might be inappropriate. The article from Harbin Normal University was personally reviewed by Chairman Mao—it was recommended by him. In Harbin, there are two groups, one is the Rebel Group, and the other is the ‘August 8 Group.’ The ‘August 8 Group’ is fiercely protective, desperately defending the Party Committee of the institute and the provincial committee. Cai Zuquan is not anti-Party or anti-Chairman Mao. He should be allowed to correct his mistakes and treated as a model for returning to the revolutionary side. This is very important. Chairman Mao said, hasn’t Cai Zuquan already come around? Chairman Mao has tasked us with meeting with the left, center, and right, though of course, the left should be supported. So far, we’ve only met with the left. Shanghai is currently in a position where it’s easiest to gain experience. If there is a high tide, we need to take bold action and resolve matters decisively.”

“We must be adept at forming alliances. Chairman Mao raised the concept of the two intermediate zones—this is something only Chairman Mao could propose. Right now, it’s not about overthrowing all imperialism; we need to unite with France to defeat U.S. imperialism.”

“Regarding Peng, Luo, Lu, and Yang, the same principle applies. Solve Luo’s issue first, then Peng’s. Peng’s issue was halfway resolved, and then Lu’s issue was tackled. When Lu arrived at the meeting, he still didn’t realize it, though he sensed something was wrong...”

“I hope Shanghai’s revolutionary factions unite and carry out the Cultural Revolution effectively.”

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan's Speech to the Leaders of the “Red Guards Association” from Shanghai Universities

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan 1967.01.09

[Time: January 9, 1967, 12:15 PM. Location: Friendship Cinema, Yan'an Road, Shanghai.]

Zhang Chunqiao's Speech:

Have you all read today's newspaper? The People's Daily published an editorial note along with the “Message to All the People of Shanghai,” jointly signed by your Red Guards Association and 19 other organizations. This “Message to All the People of Shanghai” was published in the rebel-controlled Wenhui Daily. Chairman Mao read this material and thought it was written extremely well. He also praised the successful rebellion against Jiefang Daily and Wenhui Daily. Because of this, the People's Daily added an editorial note to the article. This is the greatest care and encouragement from Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee for the revolutionary students and workers of Shanghai.

On this matter, do not write big-character posters, but it can be communicated orally. (Yao Wenyan interjected: “This is Chairman Mao's voice.”)

We, the revolutionary leftists of Shanghai, must hold high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought. We should use this editorial note and the “Message to All the People of Shanghai” for the most extensive and in-depth propaganda across Shanghai's factories, streets, neighborhoods, and households. Spread Chairman Mao's voice to all the people of Shanghai. Mobilize all forces to repel the frenzied attacks of the bourgeoisie and completely crush their new offensive.

We must not only shift the economic struggles but also genuinely expand the revolutionary leftist ranks. Strengthen the leftist forces in factories and rural areas so that our revolutionary leftist forces truly gain the upper

hand in Shanghai. Only by doing this can the Cultural Revolution movement in Shanghai develop more deeply, broadly, comprehensively, and effectively.

This is the hope we bring today.

Zhang Chunqiao's Speech (continued):

Whether it's your Red Guards Association or other revolutionary organizations, I hope you all divide the work and focus on the propaganda efforts. Treat this as a very important task. Students have no experience with economic struggles, and participating in this struggle will greatly help us students. People will also use economic means to attack us, such as a dock strike. What impact does that have? Not only does it cause economic loss, but also political loss. Foreign countries already have over twenty ships stuck in China, unable to leave. Moscow's radio station is also broadcasting that China's Cultural Revolution has been a failure, and Shanghai workers are demanding pay raises and going on strike. This is the greatest test for us, and we must have the courage to face this new challenge. Honestly, it's not a big deal. The question is, who has more power — the bourgeoisie or the proletariat? The old masters who follow the capitalist road don't know how to handle things. Would Cao Diqu know how to drive a car? Power and authority are in the hands of workers, but now they've been manipulated and deceived.

Therefore, students need to not only go to factories but also to streets, neighborhoods, and even their own homes to spread the message. We must help the masses understand the struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line, represented by Chairman Mao, and the bourgeois reactionary line. From a political standpoint, we must expose this conspiracy. If we follow that line, our Cultural Revolution will fail. Some people may have earned over a thousand yuan, but if the Cultural Revolution fails, even those small gains will be lost. Our targets are not the workers or apprentices; we don't blame them. We must focus on the big figures, those in power who are pursuing the capitalist road. Let's expose the schemes of the ruling class that is taking the capitalist path, and let's criticize and reveal them. You can publish it in your Red Guard Battle Report, or in Jiefang Daily or Wenhui Daily to expose their conspiracy and direct our criticisms toward those people.

We must trust that most of Shanghai's workers are good. Recently, many workers, especially revolutionary rebel workers, have performed very well. They haven't abandoned their posts, and they've extended their working hours, even covering shifts for others. We must highly praise the good workers who are "grasping revolution and promoting production." We should learn from them and promote their stories, as well as praise the units that are excelling in "grasping revolution and promoting production." In difficult times, we must focus on our successes and look toward the future. We must see that the mainstream is good, while demands for pay raises are a reactionary force.

Chairman Mao once said:

"1967 will be the year when the nationwide class struggle will be fully launched. In these class struggles, the central leadership must focus on key areas: first Beijing, second Shanghai, third Tianjin, and fourth Northeast."

Mao placed Shanghai in such a prominent position, which shows that he was very concerned about the movement in Shanghai and placed immense hope in it. Both of us had to make daily phone calls back, as Mao was very concerned about the movement in Shanghai. He was very happy when he saw the revolutionary students in Shanghai rise up, and even more pleased when he saw the revolutionary workers in Shanghai rise up. On the eve of Mao's birthday, December 25th, we went to see him. He said: "The revolutionary students in Shanghai have risen, the revolutionary workers have risen, and the revolutionary cadres in government have risen. The Cultural Revolution in Shanghai has hope."

With the emergence of the new Wenhui Daily and Jiefang Daily, and with the excellent Open Letter to All the People of Shanghai, this has not only had an impact on Shanghai, but also on the East China region and the whole country. We have the responsibility and obligation, with the direct support of Chairman Mao, to make Shanghai's Cultural Revolution even better and set an example for the entire nation. Only Shanghai has such a large working class. The students in Shanghai also have a revolutionary tradition, and the vast majority of cadres in Shanghai are good. We have complete confidence in transforming Shanghai into a new Shanghai, governed entirely according to Chairman Mao's directives.

Yao Wenyuan and I were sent to Shanghai for investigative work. We were dispatched as investigators by the Central Cultural Revolution Group. The Shanghai Municipal Party Committee hoped that we would come back and act as their shield, but we refused. The Red Guards wanted to drag me, Zhang Chunqiao, back to be criticized, but I refused to meet with them. First, I had to make one thing clear: whether they were right or I was right. Once that's clear, then I would meet with them. We came to Shanghai to learn from the people of Shanghai. Our goal is to quickly relay the news to the Central Committee. We are voluntary messengers, passing on the *Red Guard Combat Newspaper* to Chairman Mao. (Applause) If you have good experiences, we can help convey and introduce them. We can also offer some suggestions. We don't always have to be right, and you are fully entitled to decide for yourselves. You don't have to consult us if you don't want to. If you want our input, we can offer it, but you're free to make your own decisions. This will benefit you because once we give our opinion, you might feel compelled to follow it, but our opinions are not always correct. We also need to learn from you.

We can have open discussions, exchange opinions. You dare to think, dare to speak, and dare to revolutionize. If we have opinions, we will share them with you. For example, we suggest that today's conversation should not be posted on big-character posters. This would not be helpful to you. People might think that the ideas come directly from the Central Cultural Revolution Group. Sometimes we might say something wrong, and you are welcome to criticize us. If you criticize the Central Cultural Revolution Group, it won't be like attacking them with a "dog's head," (laughter). We can criticize each other, and that is completely normal.

Comrade Yao Wenyuan's speech:

Comrades, we are very happy to return to Shanghai at this crucial moment of the Cultural Revolution. We have come to learn from you and to send our proletarian greetings for the Cultural Revolution.

Comrades, Chairman Mao's health is the greatest happiness for all the people of our country. Chairman Mao cares deeply about the Cultural Revolution in Shanghai, and he strongly supports the revolutionary left in Shanghai. Chairman Mao is the reddest and brightest red sun in our hearts. A small group of reactionary figures in the Shanghai Municipal

Party Committee, who are following the bourgeois counter-revolutionary line, attempt to block Chairman Mao's voice, but they will not succeed! Chairman Mao's voice will definitely spread throughout the country and across Shanghai. The situation of class struggle in Shanghai is very favorable. As soon as we arrived here, we felt that this is a typical example of the class struggle being carried out nationwide. The struggle between the two lines across various sectors—workers, peasants, businesspeople, students, and soldiers—is very intense and sharp in Shanghai. The struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, reflected within the Party, is the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. This struggle is very prominent and clear in Shanghai, and it is achieving great victories. As Comrade Chunqiao just mentioned, the publication of the “Announcement to the People of Shanghai” in *Wenhui Bao* is an extremely important document. As the editorial of *People's Daily* stated: “This document raises the great red flag of the proletarian revolutionary line, represented by Chairman Mao, and sounds the horn to continue fiercely fighting against the bourgeois counter-revolutionary line. This document firmly responds to Chairman Mao's great call to ‘grasp the revolution, promote production,’ and addresses key issues in the current proletarian cultural revolution. This is not just a problem for Shanghai, but a national issue.” This document will certainly receive the support of the people nationwide. We must raise the great red flag of Mao Zedong Thought and advance the proletarian cultural revolution.

The publication of the “Announcement to the People of Shanghai” was not accidental; it is a brilliant flower that has blossomed from Mao Zedong Thought during the Cultural Revolution movement in Shanghai. It is a new victory of Mao Zedong Thought and a product of the union between revolutionary students and revolutionary workers. It is also the result of the collective efforts of the people of the whole city. The publication of the “Announcement to the People of Shanghai” is a matter of great joy. The bourgeoisie always tries to undermine the proletarian cultural revolution in one way or another. Previously, they used the pressure of production to suppress the revolution, and now they use the halting of production to suppress the revolution. The common point in both approaches is their use of suppressing the revolution to fight against us. They feel that they are about to collapse, so they come at us from another front, the economic front. We must focus on this point and carry out propaganda. Everyone should take the editorial in *People's Daily*, the

Announcement to the People of Shanghai, and *Branch Life* (now *Branch Life* has also turned revolutionary) to every corner of the city for wide-ranging publicity. We must support the revolutionary left of the proletariat, unite the centrists, and fight against the small group of extreme reactionaries and the ruling class who are sabotaging the proletarian cultural revolution and following the capitalist road. Some people have demonstrated the true colors of the proletariat in this struggle, and we must publicize many advanced deeds. A group of revolutionary workers at the telephone bureau refused to take their back pay, believing it was not right to accept it. For those who have been misled, we must carry out educational work. As for figures like the mayor or the director, those who are sabotaging the proletarian cultural revolution should be fought against. They should bow their heads and confess their wrongdoings in front of the revolutionary demands of the masses. I am very happy to be here this time, and we are willing to be elementary school students. There are many advanced things you have done that we are willing to convey to the central government. Furthermore, any new instructions from Chairman Mao and the Central Committee will never be blocked; we will spread Chairman Mao's voice to every corner of Shanghai. We must first target the key areas: the docks, railways, power plants, as well as the markets and banks. If these units are handled well, the unhealthy trends can be eliminated. We are fully confident that we will repel the new challenges posed by the bourgeois reactionary line. The struggle is very intense there, and there is an ancient Chinese saying: "The strong grass is known in the storm," meaning that in this complex class struggle, a group of determined proletarian successors will emerge. We will definitely overthrow the ruling class that follows the capitalist road. In this revolutionary blazing fire, we will burn away everything that does not conform to Mao Zedong Thought, and we will definitely build a new Shanghai that proudly waves the great red flag of Mao Zedong Thought. Now, let us chant a few slogans:

Down with the arrogant attack of the bourgeoisie!
 Raise high the great red flag of Mao Zedong Thought!
 Revolutionary people of Shanghai unite!
 Grasp revolution, promote production!
 Long live Mao Zedong Thought!
 Long live the Communist Party of China!
 Long live the victory of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution!
 Long live our great leader Chairman Mao!

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wen Yuan's Discussion with Beijing University Liaison Office in Shanghai

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wen Yuan 1967.01.11

[The participants in the meeting included staff members from the Beijing University “Hongqi” (Red Flag), the Geological Institute “Dongfanghong” (Oriental Red), and other liaison offices from outside Shanghai.]

Zhang Chunqiao: I've been wanting to have a conversation with the students from Beijing for a while. Everyone is probably interested in hearing news and exchanging opinions, so feel free to share your thoughts first. (Someone mentions the issue of military training at school and being called back.) Was the notification received by four units: the Geological Institute's “Dongfanghong” (Oriental Red), “Hongqi” from Beijing University of Aeronautics and Astronautics, Peking University, and Tsinghua University? Let's hear your opinions on this.

Zhang Chunqiao:

(The “Three Forces” group said that Beijing requires them to return tomorrow, but they want to leave some people here.) It's probably not possible, military training only lasts from two weeks to twenty days. Here's the situation with military training: Initially, when Chairman Mao met with the group, there was an issue where the troops couldn't move when they reached Tiananmen. Later, the PLA was sent in. This made things look better, and time was saved. They said that the best approach is to form the troops according to Chairman Mao's instructions. Based on this, another reception is planned for this April, but if we resume the reception, we might encounter the same issues again. That was the initial thought. Later, it was realized that not only military training is needed, but political training as well. The Red Guards are still in the early stage. The Cultural Revolution has only lasted for half a year, and the Red Guards were only formed in August. The Red Guards are brave and revolutionary; they truly deserve to be called Chairman Mao's little red soldiers, and this is recognized worldwide. However, because they are still in their early stage, there are ideological and organizational issues. The central authorities considered that political training should be incor-

porated. Now the conditions are there. What we couldn't understand before, we can now understand. Apart from the "Three Old Articles" and Quotations, we should read documents like the Gutian Conference, the Three Main Rules and Eight Points, and "Study and Current Affairs." The problems emerging within the left-wing groups are similar to those at the Gutian Conference, and they are completely relevant to the Red Guards. Within the Red Guard organizations in Shanghai, and even within a single organization, if we examine the Gutian Conference resolutions, many of them are almost the same, with only minor variations in form, and in some cases, the form is identical. Comrade Bodda mentioned the "Three Old Articles" during a discussion. The Chairman also said that university students should read some of the basic works of Marxism-Leninism, such as "The Communist Manifesto" and "The State and Revolution." This is necessary. After going through this phase, they should summarize their experience, combining the study of Chairman Mao's works with their own learning. The process should not be too long, and they need to summarize their experience. Initially, Beijing was opposed, especially middle school students, who had just returned and felt that studying these works would interfere with the struggle between the two lines. This discussion went on for about a month, and each time we held a meeting, there was opposition. Recently, the situation has changed. In just one week, Beijing has shifted, and the West City patrol group was arrested. Many conservatives were also disbanded. For example, at Tsinghua, many left-wing organizations have now merged into one, "Jinggangshan." Under the new circumstances, they feel the need to undergo military training. The issues between organizations are not that big... Tsinghua now only has "Jinggangshan" left, the Geological Institute only has "Dongfanghong," and Beijing University of Aeronautics and Astronautics has formed a Revolutionary Committee. First, military training will be carried out in schools where the left-wing groups dominate. I discussed this with Yao Wenyan, and we're considering whether part of the group can return to study, because this will eventually need to be promoted nationwide. This is the situation. We can't replace the headquarters, but we can ask Beijing about it. This is our opinion while we're here. We hope some will stay longer. It's possible that fewer people are left at home, and it's not feasible for them to all return. After studying, they will also be sent to factories and the countryside.

(Someone asks about the Sino-Japanese youth friendship gathering.)

They (referring to the Japanese government) didn't issue the visas, did they? They had been preparing for more than a year, and we were speeding up preparations before coming here, but in the end, without the visas, they couldn't come.

(Someone asks whether military training can be conducted at the liaison office in Shanghai.)

Because Shanghai's schools didn't discuss it with them, when should it be carried out? You can suggest it to the headquarters.

(Yao Wenyan interrupts: You can suggest one, or you can suggest two.)

We didn't inquire about Premier Zhou and Liu Ningyi's speech. According to what we know, the central government is preparing a draft document to solicit opinions. It has just been drafted, but hasn't yet been reviewed by the central authorities. If it's finalized, it will be published in People's Daily. The Announcement to the People of Shanghai and the Urgent Notice will also be published, as central government is preparing editorials and documents because similar issues exist nationwide.

(On the topic of forming organizations by profession) We advocate for organizing groups by class. The Red Guards are a revolutionary youth organization, and they should firmly defend Chairman Mao's line, forming a proletarian group. Graduates from 1963 and 1965 come from various parties and factions, and we support organizing by class, not by profession. The U.S. splits its worker groups by profession, but the "Sixteen Articles" proposed forming groups based on class.

(On the topic of parents in Xinjiang rebelling and the return to rural areas for rebellion) The direction is incorrect. The direction should be to go to Xinjiang, to the border areas, and go to the mountains and countryside. This is the overall direction.

(On the pressure felt in the market) This is inevitable. (Someone interjected about the situation in department stores.) Regarding the overall situation and economic issues, the Announcement to the People of Shanghai has already provided a basic analysis. Chairman Mao reviewed the document and said, "Very good, another Marxist-Leninist big-character poster." The editor's note in People's Daily reflects Chairman Mao's views. Chairman Mao strongly supports the rebellion at Jiefang Daily and Wenhui Daily.

Perhaps you students have not encountered this before. Back when people were traveling for link-ups, who could have anticipated such a move? Storming the municipal party committee and firing at the headquarters—especially for students who haven't worked in the economic field—now we're faced with these issues, getting firsthand experience. We must pay great attention to this, recognizing it as a new counterattack by the bourgeois reactionary line. Overall, we should not overestimate them. They are desperate and struggling in their final moments.

In the past, Shanghai placed significant emphasis on production. People who had visited Shanghai told me that Shanghai's version of the "Sixteen Articles" only had one line: "Grasp revolution, promote production." Another was, "Engage in ideological struggle, not physical struggle." When I came here last time to deal with the Anting incident, production was the greatest pressure—both on the workers' rebel factions and on myself. Some even accused me of compromising principles. At that time, those individuals still believed their power was the strongest, but when they couldn't suppress the revolution, they abandoned even their principles.

Before we arrived, we received phone calls and heard that the Red Guards (Chi Wei Dui) initiated a "Three Halts" campaign, with tens of thousands surrounding Kangping Road and Hengshan Hotel, while others went to Beijing. The Red Guards sent many telegraphs demanding that the Central Cultural Revolution Group send representatives. We knew this was a big event, but we also foresaw the collapse of the Red Guards. Their "Three Halts" campaign completely alienated them from the people of Shanghai. With tens of thousands heading to Beijing, how could production continue?

We immediately coordinated with some comrades and urged them to raise the banner of "Grasp Revolution, Promote Production" as high as possible. Previously, they had used this slogan to suppress the revolution. Now, it is being used to advance the revolution and defend Chairman Mao's line. Looking back, this was the right decision, as it represented the immediate and long-term interests of the masses. We must be mentally prepared, even for greater difficulties, but we should not be afraid. Why not? Because we must trust the vast majority of workers will not sabotage or leave their posts. We must fully believe in the masses—they will listen to Chairman Mao and the central authorities. If they escalate,

downfall will only come faster. When Shanghai was first liberated, the problems were much more severe. Right now, there is an abundance of goods at the docks that cannot be transported, while in the past, there was nothing at all. Our top priority is food—ensuring the people of Shanghai have enough to eat. As long as there is food, we can proceed boldly. Even if we were hungry, we could still advance the revolution. But of course, having enough to eat is better.

If a steel factory halts production, it won't frighten us. Even if production stops for a few days, the revolution will continue, and we can make up for the losses later. Naturally, we do not encourage work stoppages. However, upon arriving in Shanghai, we sensed that the leftists were under significant pressure.

We haven't taken salaries, signed anything, or halted work. The pressure is not on us.

That day, we also discussed with Jiefang Daily that the newspaper should highlight good examples of "grasping revolution and promoting production." Factories implementing the ten factory rules effectively should be reported, whether it's an individual, an organization, or an entire unit. These comrades stand on the correct side of the key issue of class struggle and deserve recognition. Since Jiefang Daily and Wenhui Daily have rebelled and broken free from past restrictions, what was previously unreportable can now all be reported.

For those who sign excessively or recklessly issue commitments, focus on department heads or higher—factory directors or section chiefs are not the priority. Organize struggle sessions against them, let veteran workers speak up to expose them, and even involve some awakened Chi Wei Dui members to denounce them.

As mentioned earlier, we must be prepared for both strategic and specific work challenges. Spontaneous workers' movements often focus on economic issues. Our task is to elevate these economic concerns to the political level, framing them in terms of the two-line struggle and the question of whether the nation will change its color. Students must combine efforts with workers, bringing Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's fundamental principles to them. While intellectuals need to assist workers,

workers often grasp these ideas faster despite their limited cultural and educational background. This is a glorious responsibility for students. When you go to a factory or workshop and see good practices, they should be published in the newspapers. You might discover new labor models replacing the old ones, and these new figures should be promoted. Right now, we can only focus on critical sectors. The situation must stabilize first. For instance, port throughput has recovered—from the lowest point of 10,000 tons to 60,000 tons yesterday. Once essential departments like waterworks, postal services, and public security are mobilized and leftist forces gain dominance, the “Three Halts” campaign will no longer be possible. After that, we can mobilize more people into factories, promoting broader cooperation.

When we engage with workers, we must not focus solely on economic issues. Instead, we should keep the struggle aligned with the broader political direction, elevating economic struggles to class struggles. It’s important to highlight the serious consequences of the conflict and continually expose the municipal party committee and the bourgeois reactionary line. Once the situation stabilizes slightly, we must circle back to fight the political battles.

Currently, we cannot ignore production, but we must resolve production issues through political and ideological education. Otherwise, we risk being led astray and making mistakes.

(Participants raised issues about unemployed youth and displaced workers.)

The reason farmers from Malu Commune have entered the city is because of signatures from Song Richang and Song Jiwen. Some families near the city take on temporary work, which gives them a higher income than farmers, creating issues with how food is allocated. A regulation was introduced stating that income earned in the city should partially belong to the commune. However, signatures approved it to be fully retained by individuals, turning commune industries into state-owned industries. As a result, farmers started entering factories, transitioning into agricultural workers, and even stirring up demands for state-owned farms.

(Someone mentioned this trend has had a significant impact on rural areas.)

That day, I learned that there were about 10,000 cases like this, which is entirely disruptive to the Cultural Revolution in rural areas. We must acknowledge that our wage system has problems. These problems emerged after urbanization, especially in Shanghai, where the situation is extremely unequal. Some sectors, like industries left behind by imperialism, pay heavy manual laborers very low wages, while critical sectors offer much higher salaries. This system was designed to divide the workers.

This wage structure has also influenced us, with concepts like “reserved wages” being affected by feudal influences and, after liberation, by Soviet revisionism. We haven’t developed a system tailored to China’s conditions. Chairman Mao has consistently advocated for a system that suits China’s circumstances and helps eliminate the “three great disparities” (between workers and peasants, urban and rural areas, and mental and manual labor). Although this issue has been discussed for years, it has never been resolved. It will certainly need to be addressed in the later stages of the Cultural Revolution. If not, mistakes could be made that would harm the country’s future.

When engaging in discussions, students should be mindful not to dismiss everything outright but to highlight that wages are not just a matter of personal livelihood but also of national direction. The question is whether the wage system will develop along a revisionist path or a communist one. This issue can only be resolved after achieving a decisive victory in the Cultural Revolution by thoroughly exposing and defeating the capitalist roaders within the Party. Once leadership issues are resolved, the left gains the upper hand, and correct ideas prevail, we can address this problem properly. For now, we must not fall into the enemy’s traps. Some of these problems may require immediate attention, but it’s essential to distinguish between what is reasonable and what isn’t. Avoiding resolution could lead to an opposite extreme, alienating the masses. However, addressing these issues properly could help expose the bourgeois reactionary line. In any case, these wage issues must be connected to the two-line struggle. Recently, we haven’t had the opportunity to directly interact with grassroots workers because we are still meeting with various organizations.

(Someone mentioned the issue of two factions within the Public Security Bureau.)

I've only just started looking into the Public Security Bureau issue. In a few days, I plan to meet with them to discuss it. At first, we considered whether the People's Liberation Army (PLA) should take over or whether the factions should be divided. But later, we thought it wouldn't be good for the PLA to take over directly. Isn't there a basic principle we must follow? We must trust the masses and the Party—these are two fundamental principles.

Most of the comrades in the Public Security Bureau are good comrades; otherwise, we'd be saying that none of the Public Security comrades are trustworthy. This belief must never waver at any time. The issue seems to require some outside support. Among them, there must be people willing to uphold Chairman Mao's line. Of course, there are problems due to the influence of people like Peng Zhen and Lu Dingyi, who have been at work for many years. However, Chairman Mao has always kept a close watch on this issue.

We are currently exchanging opinions about this matter. We can't leave everything to the rebel faction; the burden on them is already too heavy. For instance, with reception centers, the rebels have taken action and gone out to organize networking events. Later, some rebels couldn't bear to see the situation anymore—every day, many people couldn't find a place to sleep. So, these rebels came to us, and I asked them: "How about setting up a revolutionary reception center?" It was challenging to get it running because all the institutions were paralyzed.

Now, rebellion is no longer a simple matter. Once you rebel, all kinds of pressures and difficulties arise. For example, with Wenhui Bao and Jiefang Daily, the pressure is immense. In some cases, the authorities still need to step in. If they want to return to Chairman Mao's line, let them take action. Give them the opportunity.

Recently, there's been an increase in cadres willing to come forward and discuss matters. Those who made mistakes can admit them, conduct self-criticism, and be assigned work. Their behavior can then be observed during work to see if they truly change. This approach benefits the rebels because it allows them to be more flexible. Regarding the Public Security Bureau issue, the people they've detained can be handed over to the rebels for supervision. Otherwise, if the rebels themselves start taking charge

while also handling professional work, they'll be overwhelmed. (Someone asked: "Can we connect with the Public Security Bureau?") This issue hasn't been studied yet, but in principle, we do not advocate this kind of connection. (Someone mentioned that in Nanjing, the PLA has taken over the Public Security Bureau.) The Shanghai Military Control Committee has not yet been disbanded, and Chen Yi is still its director. If needed, they can step in at any time. For now, we should rely on *da minzhu* ("great democracy"). The Xicheng District Patrol Corps isn't a big deal—just a small problem that shouldn't be overburdening everyone.

A few days ago, when the Beijing students heard that several headquarters were nervous and worried about major incidents, nothing much actually happened. For instance, the December 9th plan to hold a rally at Tiananmen didn't even materialize. The banners and slogans they used couldn't rally people. The masses simply wouldn't believe them. However, we still need to take this work seriously—actively working to win over the masses. You also need to trust the masses. The so-called slogans like "Protect Dad, Protect Mom"—who listens to those? Those slogans won't gain traction.

(Regarding the Red Guards of the Scarlet Guard faction:)

Although their headquarters desks have been smashed to pieces, their ideology hasn't been smashed, nor has their direction been overturned. What about their declarations and orders? The things they've done wrong need to be clarified to the public.

When we came here, we assumed the roles of investigators and correspondents. There was some back-and-forth about whether to come or not. In the end, we decided to come. What identity should we assume? After some thought, we felt this role was the best fit.

Does this mean we're being passive? Not at all. Some matters can be negotiated entirely. If you have comments or feedback, feel free to come to us. Some of our views might also be mistaken. We've just arrived in Shanghai—don't put us on a pedestal. There are things we shouldn't be asked about at all. If we don't say anything, it's hard to move forward, but if we say a little, it may not be enough. It's best for you to act freely, and we'll do the same. For example, the January 6th meeting—we thought

about not attending. If we were to attend, we'd have to speak. There are also some meetings we skip so we can run around and gather information. Large gatherings can help us understand the atmosphere and mood. The Central Committee has given us tasks: to support Shanghai's leftist organizations, including those from other regions who are now in Shanghai. Because in Beijing, no matter how few resources there are, we can still work together. But in Shanghai, there's no such support. When problems arise in various organizations, there's no one around to lend a hand.

(From Beijing Aviation Institute's "Red Flag" Shanghai Liaison Station and Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary University "Red Flag," January 13, 1967.)

Zhang Chunqiao's Speech at the Shanghai Revolutionary Rebel Faction Forum

Zhang Chunqiao 1967.01.11

After the Central congratulatory telegram was issued, it had a significant impact. People want to come to Shanghai to learn from its experience, and we must receive them. The whole country is now learning from Shanghai.

At noon, the Central Cultural Revolution Group notified me that four central organizations (the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group) signed a congratulatory telegram, which was submitted to Chairman Mao for review. A People's Daily and Red Flag magazine editorial has already been written and will be published tomorrow.

I replied to the Central Committee to express our gratitude. This represents the Central Government's greatest support for Shanghai (Yao Wenyan interjected: "Unprecedented"), as it is a congratulatory telegram issued in the name of four central organizations to revolutionary mass organizations rather than to the Shanghai Municipal Committee. This has never happened before.

When Shanghai was liberated, the Central Government and the Central Military Commission sent a congratulatory telegram, but there hasn't been one since then. This is the greatest care and support for all revolutionary rebel organizations in Shanghai and also places the greatest responsibility on our shoulders. (I've gathered everyone here to discuss what we should do next.) (Wang Jianliang from Beihang Red Flag: "We, the various organizations in Shanghai, should send a message of respect to the four central organizations." Yao Wenyan: "Address it to Chairman Mao.")

The current situation is shifting back onto the track of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Whether at the docks, factories, or markets, things are turning around, but the situation remains unstable, and there are still

quite a few difficulties. (When discussing the issue of signing names on the “Emergency Announcement”) Some names are inappropriate, and we initially wanted to discuss this, but there wasn’t enough time. For example, some organizations in Shanghai are named Mao Zedong-ist, but this has already been corrected in Beijing. Chairman Mao does not approve of this term. I am offering a suggestion for you to consider. (Reads the congratulatory telegram, omitted here.)

We came to Shanghai as investigators from the Central Cultural Revolution Group. Since the 4th, we’ve held some meetings, but we haven’t yet met with the masses at a large gathering. It’s not that we’re afraid of the masses, but to allow time for work to proceed more calmly. As investigators, we are here to investigate, not to play the role of a caretaker, nor to take over tasks for you. Mainly, we rely on ourselves. If you have any work, it’s better not to discuss it with us. Before we came, weren’t you all doing well? Regarding the situation in Shanghai, we can report to the central authorities, and if there are any directives from them, we will convey them. We will not keep anything from everyone.

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convey them. We will not keep anything from everyone. The Central authorities have affirmed the revolutionary experience of the revolutionary rebel groups in Shanghai. When the municipal party and government organs were implementing the bourgeois reactionary line, the revolutionary masses were still able to act according to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. You are now in control of the fate of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the fate of the Cultural Revolution, and the fate of the socialist economy. As long as you hold the fate in your own hands, the Cultural Revolution will continue to the end. We should trust the power of Shanghai's revolutionary workers, farmers, and students. In a very short time, the situation in Shanghai has been turned around. For example, in the port, the daily throughput was 80,000 tons, but during the low tide on the 6th, it dropped to just over 30,000 tons. Now, however, it has been reversed. The rampant offensive of the bourgeois reactionary line has been repelled.

We have made some achievements, and the Central authorities have made such a high evaluation, calling us a model for the entire country. However, we have not done enough. Rather than saying that the Central authorities have given us such a high evaluation, it is more accurate to say that they have placed such great hopes on us. How can we act in a way that does not disappoint the Central authorities and Chairman Mao's earnest expectations?

There are some contradictions between the revolutionary organizations in Shanghai, and the connections between them are not tight enough. Some things are not appropriate, such as the order of signatures on the "Urgent Notice." People only care about being the first or second to sign, and some have even threatened to shut down the "Wenhui Bao" and tried to shut down the "Jiefang Daily" just to publish an advertisement. Now, "Wenhui Bao" and "Jiefang Daily" have been revived, but that doesn't mean everything can be published. This has delayed the publication of these two newspapers.

I would like to pose a question to all revolutionary organizations in Shanghai: Should we prioritize the overall interests, or should we prioritize individual or organizational interests, or narrow local interests? The Central authorities have said that the revolutionary rebel groups in Shanghai have formed a great united front, and this is their hope for us.

However, we do have some issues here. We should seek common ground while reserving differences, based on the principles of Mao Zedong Thought. Regarding the matters mentioned earlier, I was initially quite surprised. The revival of “Wenhui Bao” and “Jiefang Daily” was affirmed by Chairman Mao. It was a great revolutionary event. Chairman Mao has just affirmed it, so what reason is there to shut it down? What kind of revolutionary action is that? Honestly, now some people want to shut down “Wenhui Bao” and “Jiefang Daily,” and even “Zhibu Shenghuo.” If they are attacked, every revolutionary organization has the right to rise up and protect them. Smashing the heads of dogs is for the enemy, not for comrades. If there is a change later, and we want to rebel again, that is not acceptable now.

I heard that the small faction (referring to the “small group”) was hit by six rounds of small-caliber rifle bullets. Don’t think that our revolutionary struggle has succeeded, because the struggle will intensify. We must be prepared, as the struggle can take many forms. When one tactic fails, the enemy will resort to another. We need to help and support each other. If the small group is attacked, can we all go to their aid? We must avoid undermining each other, scheming, or competing for fame and gain. We must recognize that the struggle is very intense, and the class enemy will use any means to counter us. We must truly help each other, and any revolutionary organization or revolutionary person should support one another without waiting for orders. Only by doing this can we live up to the Central authorities’ high evaluation and great expectations for us, and truly achieve the great unity of Shanghai’s revolutionary organizations!

I hope comrades will carefully study the Central authorities’ congratulatory telegram and their evaluation of us. What we have already accomplished, we must maintain; what we haven’t done, we must strive to achieve, and respond to the Central’s support with concrete actions.

At present, I am not meeting with any conservatives. Last night, about two or three dozen uninvited guests climbed over the wall into my residence, claiming to be rebels, probably conservatives. I did not meet with them. I was prepared for this, though I didn’t know when the Red Guards might storm into my place. I hope the revolutionary rebel groups can give us control over the rights to speech and scheduling, so that our work can proceed more smoothly. The last time I came to Shanghai, in the final

days, it became impossible to live normally, and I was forced to do work that I didn't want to do. If there are issues between the revolutionary rebel factions, let's discuss them openly. For future matters, it would be best to write letters and ask "Wenhui Bao" or "Jiefang Daily" to organize the correspondence, and we will collect them. It's difficult to meet with the individual organizations in Shanghai separately; the large meetings do not resolve the problems.

(Comrade Yao Wenyan has caught a cold, so he will not speak anymore. The meeting is adjourned.)

(North Aviation "Red Flag" Liaison Office in Shanghai, Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary University Red Flag Headquarters, January 13, 1967)

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan's Speech at the Shanghai Celebration of the Central Committee's Congratulatory Telegram

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan 1967.01.12

[The Shanghai Revolutionary Rebel Factions held a 'Celebration of the Central Committee's Congratulatory Telegram and Thoroughly Crush the New Counterattack of the Bourgeois Reactionary Line' Conference, where Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan each gave a speech.]

Zhang Chunqiao's Speech:

"Revolutionary workers, peasants, revolutionary students, revolutionary intellectuals, revolutionary cadres, Red Guard comrades, fellow comrades and fighters in Shanghai: On behalf of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, I extend my warmest greetings to all of you. I salute you with the most enthusiastic tribute to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Comrades: I am here now to read the congratulatory telegram sent by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group to all the revolutionary rebel groups in Shanghai: (text omitted)."

Zhang Chunqiao's Speech (Continued):

"Comrades, the Central Cultural Revolution Group has sent Comrade Yao Wenyuan and myself to Shanghai to conduct research and learn from the experiences of the revolutionary rebel groups in Shanghai. We are here as students. We are very pleased to participate in today's meeting, and we are also very happy to inform you that our great leader Chairman Mao's health is very good. Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms, Lin Biao, is also in excellent health, which is the greatest happiness for all the people in the country. Chairman Mao has always been very concerned about the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Shanghai. You all still remember that the beginning of this Cultural Revolution started with the criticism of the reactionary play *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office*, and

this was personally initiated by Chairman Mao, who personally started it in Shanghai. A small group of capitalist-roaders within the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, a small group of people adhering to the bourgeois reactionary line, are taking undue credit as though they had some merit in this regard, using it as a shield to resist the revolution. This is extremely shameful. Chairman Mao is heart-to-heart with the revolutionary people of Shanghai. Chairman Mao is not only very familiar with the situation in Shanghai, but he can even recite the central slogans put forward by the revolutionary masses of Shanghai word for word.”

Zhang Chunqiao's Speech (Continued):

“During the Shanghai Cultural Revolution, whenever a new development occurred, it was always first met with the most resolute and enthusiastic support from Chairman Mao. For example, when the Shanghai workers' movement, symbolized by the 'Anting Incident,' began to rise, who was the first to support it? It was our great leader, Chairman Mao. When the revolutionary comrades of Wenhui Bao (Shanghai's Wenhui Daily) and Jiefang Bao (Shanghai's Liberation Daily) revolted and took power, who was the first to come out and warmly praise them? It was our Chairman Mao. When the revolutionary organizations in Shanghai issued the January 4th Declaration to the People of Shanghai, this document immediately reached Chairman Mao, who gave it the highest praise. The Emergency Notice issued on January 9th was again praised by Chairman Mao. This repeatedly demonstrates that Chairman Mao is heart-to-heart with the people of Shanghai. Recently, before we left, Chairman Mao said to us that Shanghai is full of hope. The students have risen, the workers have risen, the cadres in the government have risen, and all aspects have risen. If Shanghai succeeds, it will influence East China and the whole country. This is what Chairman Mao said recently, expressing his high hopes for Shanghai. Now, the congratulatory message from the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group to the revolutionary rebel groups in Shanghai, which I just read, has been broadcast to the entire nation. It more concentratedly reflects Chairman Mao's care for the revolutionary people of Shanghai. This is the greatest hope, encouragement, and support from our great teacher, great leader, great commander, and great helmsman, Chairman Mao, for the revolutionary people of Shanghai. This congratulatory message is also

the heaviest blow to all those who oppose the revolutionary people of Shanghai. Shanghai is a strong revolutionary base for the proletariat in our country. The imperialist reactionary forces and counter-revolutionary revisionists, who want to restore capitalism in China, must seize Shanghai as this base. The history of Shanghai after its liberation for the past seventeen or eighteen years is the history of class struggle, and one of the main components of the class struggle nationwide. This is the history of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist path and the capitalist path, between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line. In this struggle, the bourgeoisie has repeatedly caused disturbances and failed time and again, while the proletariat has fought repeatedly and achieved victory after victory. In this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, under the leadership of the great Chairman Mao and illuminated by the brilliant light of invincible Mao Zedong Thought, the proletariat of Shanghai has achieved new victories again and again. The Declaration to the People of Shanghai and the Emergency Notice are the revolutionary proclamations of Shanghai's proletariat, holding high the great red flag of Mao Zedong Thought. They summarize the victories we have already achieved and serve as a clarion call to fight back against the new attacks of the bourgeois reactionary line led by Chen Puxian and Cao Diqui at the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee. They are a call to crush the new bourgeois counterattack, to advance the comprehensive class struggle, and to march toward new victories."

The bourgeoisie will not resign themselves to defeat; they will continue to use various means to contend with us. However, comrades, they are just a small handful; they are a decaying force, and they are destined to fail. We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings: strategically despise them, but tactically take them seriously. The congratulatory message from the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group to the revolutionary rebel organizations in Shanghai is the most up-to-date and dynamic Mao Zedong Thought. It is the steering wheel and compass that will guide us to new victories. In order to achieve these new victories, we must follow the directives of the Central Committee with Chairman Mao at its head. We must raise high the great red flag of Mao Zedong Thought and become models of actively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works. We must forever and steadfastly stand on the side of

the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and timely recognize and expose the counterattacks of the bourgeois reactionary line, delivering crushing blows. We must persist in and strengthen proletarian dictatorship, adhere to the socialist direction, and oppose the counter-revolutionary revisionism of economism. We must resolutely implement Chairman Mao's policy of "grasp the revolution, promote production," and firmly carry out the policies outlined in the Declaration to the People of Shanghai and the Emergency Notice, ensuring that each directive is fully and uncompromisingly enforced.

Our guarantee of victory lies in the great Chairman Mao supporting us. We have the great Mao Zedong Thought, the great dictatorship of the proletariat, and the great democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our guarantee of victory also lies in the great unity of the revolutionary people of Shanghai. The various revolutionary organizations in Shanghai have already united. We hope that you will, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, further expand this unity, bringing together all revolutionary forces and firmly grasping the fate of the proletarian dictatorship, the fate of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and the fate of the socialist economy in our own hands.

We hope that through our struggles, every factory, every enterprise, every school, every institution, and every street in Shanghai will become a powerful stronghold of the proletariat. Through our struggles, we aim to make the entire city of Shanghai a powerful base for our revolutionary people, forever raising high the great red flag of Mao Zedong Thought.

Long live the great unity of the revolutionary people of Shanghai!

Long live the great people of Shanghai!

Long live the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Long live the great dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

Long live the invincible Mao Zedong Thought!

Long live Chairman Mao! Long live! Long live forever!

Comrades and fellow fighters, salute to the revolutionary working class of Shanghai! Salute to the revolutionary rebels and the revolutionary people of Shanghai! The congratulatory message from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group to the revolutionary rebel groups in Shanghai expresses the greatest concern, encouragement, support, and hope of our most revered great mentor, great leader, great commander, and great helmsman, Chairman Mao, for the revolutionary people of Shanghai. Today, no matter how many words we speak, we cannot fully express the joy in our hearts. We express our determination to continue advancing along the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, to seize new victories, and to carry the Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end!

Comrades, we came to Shanghai, or rather, we returned to Shanghai, as students—students of the revolutionary workers, revolutionary poor and lower-middle peasants, revolutionary students, revolutionary cadres, and revolutionary intellectuals. We are here to be humble students, truly learning from the masses.

In this recent period of intense class struggle, from the heroic revolutionary actions of the revolutionary rebels in Shanghai, I have learned many things. Comrades, I have learned living Marxism-Leninism, living Mao Zedong Thought, living proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, and living nationwide, all-encompassing class struggle. Comrades, for many years the bourgeoisie has launched a comprehensive attack and challenge against the proletariat. Now the proletariat has launched a full-scale offensive against the bourgeoisie. Shanghai is the most concentrated area of the proletariat, but it is also the most concentrated area of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie has failed in the political field, and seeing that they have collapsed or are about to collapse, they are attempting to launch a new counteroffensive in the economic field. They want to create a large-scale economic destruction to dismantle our revolutionary forces, to crush the revolutionary rebels, and to suppress the raging flames of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This is why, in recent days, the focus of class struggle has shifted to the economic field. We see that a small group of capitalist-roaders and stubborn advocates of the bourgeois reactionary line within the Shanghai Municipal Committee, led by Chen Piexian and Cao Diqui, have joined forces with landlords, rich peasants, counter-rev-

olutionaries, and rightists in society. They have stirred up a black wind of economic liberalism, fully exposing their ugly bourgeois nature. Comrades, this conspiracy has already been seen through and decisively crushed by our revolutionary working class and the revolutionary rebels in Shanghai. However, this is an extremely sharp political struggle, and we must keep our eyes open, stay vigilant, and be alert to any other methods they may try to use to sabotage the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We must expose and crush these attempts in time.

Comrades, in this new counteroffensive against the bourgeois reactionary line, Shanghai's working class and revolutionary rebels have demonstrated noble proletarian qualities. You have taken on the dual responsibilities of revolution and production, and even if the sky were to collapse, you would still carry on. You have firmly exposed the conspiracies of the small group of capitalist-roaders who are stubbornly pushing the bourgeois reactionary line, and you have smashed the stinking agents of economic liberalism into pieces. This fully proves that the working class in Shanghai and the revolutionary people in Shanghai are unshakable, cannot be deceived, and cannot be crushed. You truly deserve to be models for the working class and revolutionary people of the whole country.

Comrades, I must point out here that the likes of Cao Diqu and Chen Piexian in the Shanghai Municipal Committee, in the past, have falsely taken credit for the criticism of the counter-revolutionary Three Families Village Group and the criticism of the reactionary play *Hai Rui's Dismissal*—criticism led and initiated personally by Chairman Mao. They took the credit for this great revolutionary act and regarded it as their own achievement. Now, some of them even want to claim the great accomplishments created by Shanghai's revolutionary rebels, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's brilliant thought, as their own. This behavior is truly shameless!

Chairman Mao pointed out: "The masses of people have limitless creativity." "It is the people, and only the people, who are the force that creates world history." In this struggle to counter the new counterattack of the bourgeois reactionary line, we once again see the great power of Chairman Mao's brilliant thought. We saw with our own eyes that it is Chairman Mao's voice that inspires the Shanghai revolutionary rebels to bravely advance and fiercely attack the new counteroffensive of the bourgeois

reactionary line. We saw with our own eyes that it is Chairman Mao's voice that encourages the Shanghai revolutionary rebels to rise up and take control of their own fate. We saw with our own eyes that it is Chairman Mao's voice that inspires the Shanghai revolutionary rebels to unleash the boundless creativity of the proletariat. It is Chairman Mao's voice that motivates the Shanghai revolutionary rebels to lead with courage, conquering one stubborn bastion of the bourgeoisie after another. The actions of the Shanghai revolutionary rebels once again prove what? They prove that the fundamental issue of revolution is the issue of power. At the critical moment of the decisive battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, at the key moment when the bourgeoisie launches a frenzied attack against proletarian dictatorship, the revolutionary rebels should step forward, take action, unite, and raise high the great red flag of Mao Zedong Thought. We should seize control of the leadership of proletarian dictatorship, control the newspapers and all propaganda tools, take control of the economic lifeblood, and take control of the leadership of the proletarian movement. We must present a clear proletarian revolutionary program, take decisive measures, fully mobilize the masses, establish revolutionary order, resolutely fight back against the bourgeoisie's reckless counterattack, and expose all their counter-revolutionary conspiracies. As long as we continue to do this now and forever, we will undoubtedly be able to crush the conspiracies of the bourgeoisie and counter-revolutionary revisionists, ensuring that our proletarian dictatorship will never waver and that our socialist country will never change its color!

Finally, let us shout:

All revolutionary rebels in Shanghai unite! All revolutionary people in Shanghai unite!

Hold high the great red flag of Mao Zedong Thought and crush the new counteroffensive of the bourgeois reactionary line!

Strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Seize revolution, promote production!

Down with economicism!

Carry the proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

Long live the proletarian revolutionary line led by Chairman Mao!

Long live the Communist Party of China!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Zedong!

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

Zhang Chunqiao Talks About the Power Struggle at the Central Broadcasting Bureau

Zhang Chunqiao 1967.01.18

[On December 31, 1966, the “Mao Zedong Thought Combat Group” at the Central Broadcasting Bureau, with the care and support of the Central Cultural Revolution and Comrade Jiang Qing, successfully seized the party, government, financial, and communication powers from a small group of capitalist roaders, such as Mei Yi and Ding Laifu. From then on, the broadcasting bureau returned to the hands of the proletarian command under the leadership of Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin, marking the rebirth of the Broadcasting Bureau! At this moment of victory, our great leader Chairman Mao affirmed our power seizure and pointed out the direction for our struggle. On January 18, 1967, Comrades Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan spoke to the revolutionary masses at Shanghai People’s Radio, discussing the struggle and power seizure at the Central Broadcasting Bureau.]

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said:

There were initially three factions at the Central Radio, but now there is only one. At first, we couldn’t tell them apart because now they all use revolutionary slogans. Later, we talked to people from each faction and identified who was revolutionary and who was conservative. Among the “conservative” people, the general masses were loyal to the Party, so they couldn’t all be considered bad. Most of the comrades at the Central Radio were good; it was the Ding Laifu-led Party committee that was bad. Later, we believed that solving this problem should rely on the internal revolutionary faction. The revolutionary faction there had to go through several rounds of struggle to unite the majority before they could stand up. Simply making an announcement would not work. Of course, it would be simple for us to make the announcement, but it wouldn’t help in training the real revolutionary faction. On April 16 of last year, I was in Shanghai, and comrades from the Central Cultural Revolution Group were also in Shanghai. That morning, we heard the editorial note on Beijing Daily’s fake criticism, which raised our attention. As soon as we

heard it, we knew it was fake criticism—obviously, it was a fake criticism. This was a very serious issue. It made us realize that even if the exterior was well-guarded, a coup could still be issued from the inside. What's the use of good protection outside if a coup happens inside? So, if the power is not in the hands of the revolutionary faction, then the power must be seized. But the conditions for seizing power have to be created. The Central Radio did not seize power overnight either. They went through months of struggle, working through a period of effort, and we feel that their power seizure might be more consolidated.

Zhang Chunqiao's Speech at the Meeting with Shanghai Revolutionary Rebels

Zhang Chunqiao 1967.01.20

[On the evening of January 20th at 9 PM, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao met with 35 revolutionary rebel organizations in Shanghai (originally 32, plus Hong Tusi, the Education Reform Committee, and the Public Security Rebel Team). He delivered an important speech on Shanghai's current tasks. This document is compiled based on the transmission by representatives of the 'Education Reform Committee' who attended the meeting. It has not been reviewed by Zhang Chunqiao himself and is provided for reference.]

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said: "You must not think that the struggle has already been won. There are still serious battles ahead of us, and we must be prepared to fight several tough battles." (He repeated this sentence twice, and Comrade Yao Wenyuan, standing beside him, also reiterated it.) Comrade Zhang Chunqiao pointed out that the central task for Shanghai's revolutionary rebel factions at present is to seize power and take over authority. He said: "The issue of seizing power is the fundamental question of the revolution. Power must be taken back and must be firmly placed in the hands of the proletariat. This is a long-term and strategic task of the revolution—it is the central issue of the Cultural Revolution. We must invest great effort and determination to ensure power is seized by the proletariat." He continued: "Seizing power requires a prerequisite—broad unity. The struggle for power is also a struggle to win over the masses. Unity must be achieved through struggle, and we must win over the masses through the course of the struggle. There are still many strongholds that have not been brought under proletarian control, and there are still many people who have not yet joined our side."

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao specifically mentioned that the revolutionary movement in middle schools was nearly at a standstill, with over a million teachers and students in primary and secondary schools yet to be mobilized. "If they were mobilized, it would be a tremendous force. The middle school movement must not be treated as a mere formality," he

emphasized. He pointed out that many people are still caught up in economic distractions, making the opposition to economism the focal point of Shanghai's current movement. "If economism is not opposed, the Cultural Revolution will be interrupted. Economism is the new counterattack of the bourgeois reactionary line. By fighting against economism, we can achieve broad revolutionary unity, win over the masses, establish a new economic foundation, and completely crush the bourgeois reactionary line."

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao then asked: "Think about it—what can be done in the current struggle against economism?" He said: "Just as you were discussing earlier, Chen Pixian has not yet been completely overthrown—he is still active. Cao Diqu may appear to have been toppled, but he still holds power. The class struggle within the municipal party committee has not been fully exposed. The Red Guards have merely changed their appearance and gone underground. No one is working with unemployed youth, neighborhood officials, or returned rural support personnel."

He also pointed out: "Do you think there is no economism in the education system or on the literary and artistic front? Why has no one taken action in those areas?"

Finally, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao concluded: "Now, the test of whether an organization is truly revolutionary and whether it is thoroughly revolutionary lies in its stance on the fight against economism."

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wen Yuan Discuss the Shanghai Higher Education “Red Guard Association”

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wen Yuan 1967.02.01

Zhang Chunqiao: Contradictions can transform, and many organizations have not yet realized this. An organization that was once revolutionary may not necessarily still be revolutionary now.

Yao Wen Yuan: The Red Guard Association twice requested the garrison to send troops, using a threatening tone. On the 24th, during the power seizure of the East China Bureau and the Shanghai Municipal Committee, they dispatched troops. On the 26th, they held a standing committee meeting and demanded that troops be sent to protect them. On the afternoon of the 30th, at a meeting attacking Zhang Chunqiao, they said:

“We want to hold a mass meeting, and we need troops to protect us. The deputy commander of the garrison, the division political commissar, and the troops involved in the previous action must come and listen to our accusations and denunciations.”

If a revolutionary organization can mobilize the military against another revolutionary organization, what will happen as this situation develops? Another reason the Red Guard Association resents us is that I called the company and told them to push for a grand alliance. But the Red Guard Association blocked the Sino-Soviet Friendship Building and questioned us: “Why don’t you trust the Red Guard Association?”

Student: The main culprit in undermining the grand alliance is the Red Guard Association.

Zhang Chunqiao: They have reached a ridiculous point... There are people behind them, and they are aligning with the demands of Chen Buxian and Cao Diqu. Today, I received a letter from Cao Diqu, saying he wants to have a private conversation with me. He neither wrote it

earlier nor later—just today. Cao Diqu once said to me: “Come to Shanghai and taste the flavor.” Yao Wenyuan: Cao once said, “You in the Central Committee issue orders from Beijing—come to Shanghai and taste the flavor.”

Zhang Chunqiao: What is the nature of the leaders of the Red Guard Association? That is something to consider. This is why, in the telegram from the Central Cultural Revolution Group, it specifically mentioned: “Certain leaders of the Red Guard Association.”

Student: (Discussed the situation of the Red Guard Association, details omitted.)

Yao Wenyuan: A group that does not dare to engage in debate and instead resorts to force to suppress other organizations—how has it come to this?

...

Some leaders of the Red Guard Association are very afraid of others rising up against them. Recently, big-character posters against Chen Pixian and Cao Diqu have disappeared from the streets. Cao Diqu refuses to acknowledge that he has been overthrown, and the issue of Chen Pixian has not been fully exposed. Whose interests does this serve? They know very well themselves. The masterminds behind this must be uncovered. The overall direction has shifted—the target has been diverted. The Red Guard Association has taken the wrong path...

The two primary current tasks (general meaning):

1. Struggle against Chen Pixian, Cao Diqu, and a small handful of capitalist roaders within the Party.
2. Promote grand unification and seize power.

These two tasks have both been sabotaged by the Red Guard Association. Chairman Mao advocates grand unification, and we must distinguish between the fighters and the leaders of the Red Guard Association. Only through struggle can we unite the fighters—without struggle, it won't work. The situation in Shanghai is complicated: the leftists must unite, while the rightists are concentrating their forces. Reactionary elements

have come out in the open, and they are also looking for agents within the rebel faction—such as the Red Guard Association. We must be mentally prepared... (general meaning: the fifth paragraph of the third issue of Red Flag editorial has analyzed this). We must take a firm stand and prepare for a major counterattack.

(General meaning:) I have interacted with the Red Guard Association twice. On one occasion, they struggled against us for six hours and even made me read “Lifting a rock only to drop it on one’s own feet.” I believe this is a universal truth—it applies to everyone.

Zhang Chunqiao: “We must study the editorials carefully and not follow them. We must hold high the banner of seizing power and continue to overthrow the Shanghai Municipal Committee, overthrow Chen Pixian and Cao Diqu. The absence of slogans against Chen Pixian and Cao Diqu on the streets is abnormal. We must hold high the banner of great unity and seize power! We must hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought.

Currently, the trend of smashing things in Shanghai is still strong—people are smashing each other’s belongings, even smashing telephones... These are state property; telephones belong to the proletariat. Internal relations should be handled by presenting facts and reasoning things out.”

Yao Wen Yuan: “The Red Guard Association is unwilling to present facts and reason things out.”

Zhang Chunqiao: “The Red Guard Association labels everyone else as counter-revolutionaries, but they themselves claim to be the most revolutionary. We need to debate the overall direction with them and discuss the big issues. Right now, their stance aligns with the demands of Chen Pixian and Cao Diqu. If we don’t confront them, the unity will collapse. However, we must unite... On the 28th, the Fudan Red Guard Association rebelled against me. [Someone] said, ‘I was a two-faced person before, now I’m one-sided, and I’m firmly with the Red Guard Association against Zhang Chunqiao.’ This is not an isolated case, and it will inevitably erupt. Even if we don’t send in the troops, it will explode, and that’s fine. We will reorganize the troops for a grand unity. Without division, there is no grand unity. If we unite with this group, we will split from that

group... We must confront Chen Pixin and Cao Diqu. Only by doing so can the unity be stronger and more consolidated. Otherwise, it won't be consolidated, and in the future, there will still be splits. When victory is achieved, we may lose our way. From seizing power, we become the power holders. Chen Pixin had a difficult three years in guerrilla warfare, but he endured. Once he entered the city, his political status changed, and he began to slide down. Now, we are seizing power, and after seizing power, we will hold power, and you university students must go out and work. But it is possible for things to fall apart halfway, and this is exactly what the Red Guard Association is doing. Mao Zedong said that the true revolutionary left-wing of the proletariat only accounts for about 10%. The class struggle is most complex in Shanghai, where both class forces are strong. The 'evil ghosts and snakes', imperialism, and the American and Chiang Kai-shek agents have all emerged, and this is a good thing.

We must prepare for a real counter-revolutionary siege. What if they start firing? That day, I discussed with Yao Wenyuan all day long. Everywhere, there are counter-revolutionary activities, but Shanghai doesn't have this hand. We are very suspicious. We have never harbored ill intentions towards the Red Guard Association. Comrades need to consider the complexity of class struggle. We can't view the Red Guard Association as an isolated phenomenon; it must be linked to other phenomena. The third issue of the Red Flag magazine's editorial is very important. We must pay attention to policy and strategy.

We must also analyze cadres. We must divide them into two categories, and the scope of the attack cannot be too broad. In some places, as soon as they have a meeting, they make all the cadres kneel on the ground. Now the situation has changed. We must emphasize distinguishing between cadres. The issue of cadres in the editorial is just like this. At the beginning, distinguishing them was not possible, but when the revolutionary masses hold the advantage, not distinguishing them is wrong."

"'Doubt everything' is an incorrect slogan, a slogan of anarchy, and a slogan against Mao Zedong Thought. Chairman Mao said: 'We should trust the masses, we should trust the Party. These are two fundamental principles. If we doubt these two principles, then nothing can be accomplished.' 'Doubt everything' is a slogan against Marxism-Leninism. In the past, it was not criticized because the ruling faction used this slogan

to suppress the masses. Wang Renzhong and Zhang Pinghua used this slogan to oppress the masses. I hope comrades will think about what to do next. Struggling with the Red Guard Association is only part of the issue. Students must go to the workers to become true Marxists-Leninists.”

Zhang Chunqiao's Speech at the Founding Assembly of the Shanghai People's Commune

Zhang Chunqiao 1967.02.05

Revolutionary worker comrades, peasant comrades, comrades of the People's Liberation Army stationed in Shanghai, Red Guard young fighters, revolutionary students, revolutionary intellectuals, and revolutionary cadres, comrades and fellow fighters!

At today's grand celebration of the founding of the Shanghai People's Commune Temporary Committee, I, on behalf of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, would like to extend my warmest congratulations to the comrades of the Shanghai revolutionary rebels and to the revolutionary people of Shanghai. I also send my revolutionary salute to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Comrades, fellow fighters! Our conference has already read the "Manifesto" of the Shanghai People's Commune. Comrades from all sectors have spoken. All the words, in essence, are a cheer for the victory of the January Revolution — long live the victory of the January Revolution!

Our January Revolution is truly a great people's revolution. Looking back at the situation one month ago, it was truly a heart-stirring moment! When our Shanghai revolutionary rebels, under the shining light of Mao Zedong Thought, launched a fierce attack against the small group of capitalist-road elements and the stubborn advocates of the bourgeois reactionary line within the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, they were on the verge of complete collapse. However, just as they were about to fall, they stirred up the counter-revolutionary wind of "counter-revolutionary reliefism." They believed that by doing so, they would shift the general direction, provoke strong dissatisfaction from the entire city's population against the revolutionary rebels, and crush the revolutionary rebels. Even if they failed, the chaos they left behind would still be a victory for them. This move wasn't anything new. Before Shanghai's liberation and during the early days of liberation, the bourgeoisie tried similar tactics against us. But the bourgeoisie, those old masters, will

never understand this truth: “The people, only the people, are the creators of world history.” The arrogant counter-attack of the bourgeoisie only further ignited the fiery anger of the Shanghai revolutionary rebels, and it only further promoted the great unity of the Shanghai revolutionary rebels. More importantly, it awakened the comrades of the Shanghai revolutionary rebels, making them seriously consider a critical issue: why were they able to stir up this counter-revolutionary wind of economicism? It was because they signed documents recklessly. Why were they able to sign those documents? It was because they held power! Party power, political power, economic power, and cultural power — all of these were originally the people’s. They were won through the courageous struggle, bloodshed, and sacrifices of the Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao. Yet today, they have been usurped by these bourgeois masters. To fundamentally solve this problem, we must take these powers back! Thus, the struggle to seize power from the bottom up was launched. The Wenhui Daily and Liberation Daily were revived, the Proclamation to the People of Shanghai and Urgent Notice were published, and the rights to vital departments such as docks and railway stations, which a small group of Red Guard leaders had claimed to “stop,” were seized back. The bourgeoisie’s authority to sign documents was annulled. In this great class struggle, the proletariat achieved a great victory. This victory, like the liberation of Shanghai by the Chinese People’s Liberation Army on May 27, 1949, will forever be remembered in the hearts of the people of Shanghai, and forever remembered in the hearts of the people of our country. We will shout again and again, “Long live the great January Revolution!”

The victory of the January Revolution is the victory of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, the victory of the invincible Mao Zedong Thought, the victory won by the Shanghai revolutionary rebels, and by us, the revolutionary people of Shanghai, under the personal command of our great mentor, great leader, great commander, and great helmsman, Chairman Mao! Let us once again shout: Long live Chairman Mao! Long live Chairman Mao! Long, long live Chairman Mao!

Comrades, friends! Chairman Mao taught us: “All revolutionary struggles in the world are to seize power and consolidate power.” The establishment of the Shanghai People’s Commune Temporary Committee marks the co-

llapse of the old Municipal Party Committee and the old Municipal People's Committee that implemented bourgeois dictatorship. It marks the victory of the Shanghai proletariat, leading the broad revolutionary people to seize power and take political control. However, we must remain clear-headed and recognize that the class enemies will never accept their defeat. The establishment of the Shanghai People's Commune Temporary Committee is not the end of the January Revolution. Instead, it signifies that the Shanghai proletariat now has a unified, combat command center. This will enable us to continue the arduous struggle according to the orders of our supreme commander, Chairman Mao, to continue seizing power and consolidating power. We must always remember that this is the center of the struggle, the focus of the struggle, and the key to success or failure.

Therefore, the primary task of us, the Shanghai revolutionary rebels, and of us, the revolutionary people of Shanghai, is to resolutely carry out the instructions of Chairman Mao as outlined in the editorial "On the Struggle for Power by the Proletarian Revolutionary Faction" in the third issue of Hongqi magazine. We must firmly implement the declaration "Long Live the Victory of the January Revolution," which was announced today, and the first order specifying the tasks of the revolutionary people of Shanghai. We must carry out an all-out struggle for power.

Chairman Mao taught us: "Every inch of power must be seized." We must reclaim all the power in Shanghai that is still occupied by a small group of capitalist roaders and their henchmen! All power belongs to the Shanghai People's Commune! Shanghai is the Shanghai of the revolutionary rebels, the Shanghai of the revolutionary people, the Shanghai of the revolutionary people of the whole country, and the Shanghai of Chairman Mao. We will not rest until all power is seized back!

The class enemies are not only unwilling to relinquish power, but once we have seized it, they will attempt to take it back. They will use various conspiratorial tactics, both political and military, to create difficulties for the already victorious revolutionary rebels and for the Shanghai People's Commune Temporary Committee, applying pressure and attempting to destroy us. Here, we want to tell the bourgeois lords that we have already experienced these tactics. You are a corrupt and decaying force, a small minority. Even if you combine all the untransformed elements such as the

landowners, capitalists, reactionaries, bad elements, and rightists, you are still a small minority. In front of the ten million revolutionary people of Shanghai, you are destined to fail. We, the revolutionary rebels, have made preparations. Moreover, the powerful People's Liberation Army stands with us, the revolutionary rebels. Anyone who dares to engage in counter-revolutionary activities will have their heads smashed!

To continue seizing power and consolidating it, we must "grasp revolution and promote production." In the great struggle against economism, it was precisely through the iron fist of "grasp revolution, promote production" that we defeated the enemy. Let us celebrate the birth of the Shanghai People's Commune with our new achievements in grasping revolution and promoting production!

We must not relax in our grasp of the revolution. Revolution is the locomotive of history; it is the driving force for the development of productive forces. We must grasp the revolution on a large scale and promote production. The facts will prove that the revolutionary people of Shanghai, especially the working class and poor and lower-middle peasants on every production and work post, are truly the heroes who carry the double burdens of revolution and production. Long live the heroic people of Shanghai!

The Shanghai People's Commune Temporary Committee is the result of the large alliance of Shanghai's proletarian revolutionary faction. In order to continue seizing power, to consolidate and develop the Shanghai People's Commune, and to achieve greater victories, we must continue to consolidate and expand the large alliance of Shanghai's proletarian revolutionary faction. This large alliance is not a hodgepodge, nor is it the United Nations, but rather an alliance based on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. We, the proletarian revolutionary rebels, have always believed that Mao Zedong Thought is the cornerstone of our existence. Anything that aligns with Mao Zedong Thought, we support, we endorse, and we back.

We must follow Chairman Mao's instructions to strengthen and expand the large alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, and we must continually reorganize our thoughts and organization. Just as the name of our commune suggests, we must abolish the "private" and establish the "public,"

making our ranks constantly revolutionary, and ensuring that the Shanghai People's Commune truly becomes a great school of Mao Zedong Thought. Comrades, based on the suggestions of the Central Cultural Revolution Group and with the agreement of all the revolutionary rebel organizations that initiated the establishment of the Shanghai People's Commune, Comrade Yao Wenyan and I will begin working with the Shanghai People's Commune Temporary Committee from this day forward. We are determined, under the leadership of the Shanghai People's Commune Temporary Committee, to study hard, work diligently, and fight together with the revolutionary rebels of Shanghai, sharing victories together, and serving the revolutionary people of Shanghai. We hope all revolutionary comrades will resolutely stand with the Shanghai People's Commune and exert their greatest efforts to support all revolutionary actions and work of the Shanghai People's Commune. For workers who have made mistakes, as long as they are not anti-Party or anti-socialist elements and are not persistently unrepentant or habitual offenders, we will allow them to correct their mistakes. We welcome them to break free from the net of the bourgeois reactionary line and stand with the revolutionary people, standing with the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

Let all revolutionary workers, peasants, People's Liberation Army officers and soldiers, revolutionary students, revolutionary intellectuals, and revolutionary cadres in Shanghai unite, raise high the great red flag of Mao Zedong Thought, march forward with courage, and carry the proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

Long live the great January Revolution!
Long live the Shanghai People's Commune!
Long live the people of Shanghai!
Long live the Proletarian Cultural Revolution!
Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!
Long live the great Communist Party of China!
Long live the victorious Mao Zedong Thought!
Long live Chairman Mao! Long live! Long, long live!

Excerpt from Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan's Conversation with the Dongfanghong Corps of Tongji University and Others

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan 1967.02.10

[Meeting units: Tongji University Dongfanghong Brigade, Shanghai First Hospital Xinghuo Liaoyuan Brigade, East China University of Science and Technology Hongqi Brigade, Tsinghua Jinggangshan Shanghai Liaison Station, Peking University Cultural Revolution Shanghai Liaison Station, Beijing Workers' and Peasants' Physical Education Institute Shanghai Liaison Station.]

Regarding the current issue of the large united front:

Zhang: Beijing calls it the "Beijing People's Commune," and we in Shanghai also call it the "Shanghai People's Commune." There is a sentence in the People's Daily, not sure if you all have noticed! On June 1st last year, Chairman Mao referred to the first large-character poster from Peking University as the "Beijing Commune Manifesto" of the 1960s. At that time, Chairman Mao insightfully and brilliantly foresaw that our national institutions would take on a brand new form. Who participated in drafting this? (Dongfanghong Brigade from Tongji University responded: We participated.)

Yao: Only a large united front has power. When one organization speaks, no one listens; when thirty organizations speak, people listen. This is what I feel is necessary right now. I'm not sure if you have similar thoughts or if we can form a cone-shaped structure through struggle.

Regarding the Red Guard Association:

Yao: Go look at the streets; the large-character posters calling for the downfall of Chen Pi-xian and Cao Di-qiu have almost disappeared. The focus has shifted to the Central Cultural Revolution group. The central directive points out that the struggle's main direction should focus on the capitalist reactionary line promoted by the Shanghai Municipal Party

Committee, led by Chen Pi-xian and Cao Di-qiu. However, the Red Guard Association has diverted this struggle, and the direction is wrong. The issues of Chen and Cao were never fully addressed, and Cao Di-qiu still refuses to admit that he was overthrown. The Red Guard Association has also disrupted the large united front. In Shanghai, there are two types of large united fronts: one among the leftists and another, intentionally or unintentionally, among the rightists. Now, some reactionary elements are also emerging, so we need to be mentally prepared. Our understanding of the Red Guard Association's leadership was previously unclear. Fighting with us for six hours (referring to the January 28th struggle at the Sino-Soviet Friendship Building against Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenxuan) was a good thing, as it made us realize a certain issue.

Zhang: Regarding the establishment of the new municipal committee, Zhao Quanguo (the former head of Shanghai) has been arrested and imprisoned. After Zhao Quanguo returned to Beijing, he opposed me, but I don't know the reason. When I was in Beijing, Chen Pi-xian certainly called the Central Committee to ask for my return, saying the municipal committee couldn't support me anymore. I wondered if they were trying to push me to the frontlines to set a trap. I always felt there was something behind this. It's abnormal that there are no large slogans in the streets calling for the downfall of Chen Pi-xian. True revolutionary comrades should master the direction of the revolution.

Currently, we still need to focus on the overall direction of the struggle and achieve a true united front. Otherwise, if we unite without a solid ideological foundation, it will lead to division later on. In the history of our party, it started with twelve delegates at the first party congress; now, what is the situation? Chen Gongbo was a big traitor, Zhang Guotao... You are all young, so pay attention to training yourselves in times of turbulence. When Chen Pi-xian joined the revolution, he was still a Red Guard, enduring difficult conditions. Yet today, he is thinking of following the capitalist road. When you are in power in the future, pay attention. When the conditions change, if you are not careful, you will slowly slide down. Right now, there is division, and maybe your numbers are smaller, but that's okay. As Chairman Mao said: true revolutionary leftists are always the minority. The Red Army originally had hundreds of thousands, and later only a few tens of thousands. When did they become stronger? After the Long March, they became strong... The

January Revolution lasted for several days, and now it's February. I don't know who won... Now, some people say: "My organization is good, as it is made up of people below the rank of section chief." Treating the section chiefs as representatives of the ruling class and fighting them is a huge mistake. What should we do now? Should the Red Guard Association be included as part of the struggle? In the previous stage, the scope of attack was too broad. We need to distinguish between certain leaders of the Red Guard Association and the Red Guard Association's fighters.

The contradictions will transform, and you might have realized this! What was originally revolutionary may also turn to the opposite.

Yao: If an organization does not dare to engage in debate and resorts to using force to suppress individual organizations, where will this lead? Some leaders of the Red Guard Association are very afraid of others rising up to oppose them... The direction has shifted. The Red Guard Association has made a mistake in its big direction. Currently, the two tasks are: (1) Struggling against the ruling class within the party led by Chen Pi-xian and Cao Diqu, who are taking the capitalist road. (2) The united front and the fight for power. Both of these have been sabotaged by the Red Guard Association. Chairman Mao advocates for the united front, and we need to distinguish between the fighters and the leaders of the Red Guard Association. Only through struggle can we unite the fighters of the Red Guard Association; we cannot do this without struggle... I have had contact with the Red Guard Association twice. Once, at the Sino-Soviet Friendship Building, they struggled against us for six hours and even made us read: "You've moved the stone and hit your own foot." I think this is a universal truth that applies to anyone.

Zhang: "Doubt everything" is the wrong slogan, it's an anarchistic slogan, and it's a slogan against Mao Zedong Thought. Chairman Mao said: "We should trust the masses, we should trust the Party. These are two fundamental principles. If we doubt these two principles, then nothing can be accomplished." Doubting everything is a slogan against Marxism. In the past, it was not criticized because the ruling class used this slogan to suppress the masses. Wang Renzhong and Zhang Pinghua used this slogan to suppress the masses.

I hope comrades think about it. What should we do? Struggling with the Red Guard Association is only one aspect.

Students must go to the workers to become true Marxists-Leninists.

Is it better for the Shanghai People's Commune to be established sooner or later? This is an indispensable transitional mechanism.

Yao: The necessity of a united front is that when concentrated, it has power. It is necessary to concentrate and establish a "Shanghai People's Commune."

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan's speeches at the “Rally for the Further Development of the Three Combines and Power Struggle Under the Great Red Flag of Mao Zedong Thought”

Attachment: Zhang Chunqiao's Speech at the Shanghai Mass Meeting
Conveying Chairman Mao's Latest Instructions

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan 1967.02.24

[Shanghai Municipal Government held the “Raise the Great Red Flag of Mao Zedong Thought, Further Carry Out the Three Combines and Struggle to Seize Power Oath-taking Conference.” Yao Wenyan and Zhang Chunqiao delivered speeches at the meeting.]

XXX: Now, let's welcome Comrade Yao Wenyan to host the meeting (applause).

Yao Wenyan: Now, I announce the official opening of the rally for further advancing the struggle for power through the three combinations under the great red flag of Mao Zedong Thought. Everyone, please stand! Play “The East is Red!” (The song “The East is Red” plays). Please be seated!

Comrades, fellow fighters: Currently, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is facing a very favorable situation. The storm of the January Revolution is sweeping across the country, and the experience of the three combinations in the struggle for power is continuously being enriched and developed. The proletarian revolutionary line, represented by Chairman Mao, is achieving victory after victory in the struggle. We should be full of confidence, raise high the great red flag of Mao Zedong Thought, and in the units where power must be seized, further launch the struggle against the small group of capitalist roaders within the Party and seize power from them. We must carry the revolution through to the end! We will achieve even greater victories in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution! (Slogans)

In the storm of the January Revolution, we have seized power from the small group of capitalist roaders in the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and the Shanghai Municipal People's Committee from the bottom up, and established our own highest authority, the three combinations. Recently, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao and I went to Beijing to report on Shanghai's work to Chairman Mao and the Central Committee, and participated in discussions on a series of important documents that have been issued. Comrades, we can tell you that our most beloved and great leader, Chairman Mao, is in very good health! (Slogans)

We personally heard Chairman Mao's many extremely important instructions regarding the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and personally heard Chairman Mao's greater, meticulous care and enthusiastic support for the Shanghai proletarian revolutionaries and the broad revolutionary masses. We have been greatly encouraged. Chairman Mao's instructions are the guiding light on our revolutionary journey, and the priceless treasure of our revolutionary people.

Chairman Mao pointed out: the second, third, and fourth months are the crucial moments of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. During these three months, we must see the results of the Cultural Revolution. Our current task is to widely convey Chairman Mao's instructions and voice to all the revolutionary rebels and revolutionary people in the city, firmly implement and turn them into our practical actions. Chairman Mao has said that humanity must constantly summarize experiences, make discoveries, inventions, creations, and progress.

Based on Chairman Mao's instructions, we must analyze the situation, summarize our work, and clarify the current struggle tasks. We must continue to display the Shanghai working class and the revolutionary people's dauntless revolutionary pioneering spirit. We must continue to move forward and further develop the mass movement of studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings, criticize and overcome bourgeois ideology, improve our proletarian consciousness, strengthen and expand the great unity of the proletarian revolutionaries, and the great unity of the people. According to Chairman Mao's consistent instructions and policies, we must correctly address cadre issues, universally develop revolutionary three combinations, promote revolution and production, consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, suppress

counter-revolutionaries, and promptly identify and resolutely crush various new counterattacks by the class enemies. Comrades, recently the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee held an expanded meeting, where we conveyed Chairman Mao's and the Central Committee's instructions and discussed the current situation and tasks. The meeting decided to rename the Shanghai People's Commune Temporary Committee to the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee. We reported the results of the discussion to Chairman Mao and the Central Committee, and received approval from the Central Committee. (Slogan)

Today, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao will convey Chairman Mao's instructions to everyone and lay out the current tasks. During the meeting, a draft of the current situation and tasks of the Shanghai Cultural Revolution will be read, for discussion and trial implementation by all revolutionary mass organizations and the broad revolutionary masses.

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao's transmission, I hope everyone will refrain from posting it. Because some of the things discussed today are still intended for internal communication. Now, let's invite Comrade Zhang Chunqiao to give the report. (Cheers, applause)

Zhang Chunqiao: Comrades, fellow fighters, hello! It has been a long time since we gathered together to discuss issues. Just now, Comrade Yao Wenyuan mentioned that we recently went to Beijing. I went on the 12th, at the request of Chairman Mao. (Cheers)

Now, there is a big poster on the street asking, "Why did Zhang Chunqiao go to Beijing again?" We can now respond: It was Chairman Mao who asked us to go to Beijing. (Applause) We arrived in Beijing on the 12th, and Chairman Mao quickly received us that same day. Later, Chairman Mao convened a meeting with the central leadership to discuss Shanghai's work, as well as other issues. Before we left, Chairman Mao received us again. As Comrade Yao Wenyuan has already said, the first thing we should report to comrades is that Chairman Mao is in very, very good health (Cheers). Every conversation we had with him lasted a long time, but Chairman Mao's energy was very strong, and he was always in a happy mood. Every time we talked, he was very familiar with the situation in Shanghai. Whenever we mentioned an issue, Chairman Mao already knew about it and could speak about specific situations. He was very

very concerned about the Cultural Revolution in Shanghai. During our week in Beijing, we felt this every day. Chairman Mao, the Central Committee, the State Council, the Premier, the Central Military Commission, and comrades from the Central Cultural Revolution Group, as well as comrades from all other departments of the Central Committee, were all deeply concerned about the Cultural Revolution in Shanghai. This moved us greatly. As you know, the two of us were received by Chairman Mao several times over the course of three days. This was not just an honor for us personally, but we knew that we were representing the Shanghai revolutionary rebels, and we were going to report to Chairman Mao on behalf of the comrades here. (Cheers)

Chairman Mao gave very high praise for the achievements of the revolutionary masses in Shanghai during the Cultural Revolution. Comrades are all aware of this. In the past, we were already given high praise. The seizure of power by Shanghai's Wenhui Bao (Wenhui Daily) and Jiefang Ribao (Liberation Daily), as well as the "Open Letter to All Citizens of Shanghai" and the "Urgent Notice" issued by various revolutionary organizations in Shanghai, were all quickly read by Chairman Mao as soon as he received these documents. He quickly decided to broadcast them nationwide. In this recent conversation, Chairman Mao also said that, overall, Shanghai's work was very good. He spoke about a portion of the history, for example, when workers in Shanghai were mobilized during the Anting incident. He said, "Last time you went, there were only one or two thousand people, but now it has grown to over a million." The fact that one million workers were organized shows that the mobilization of the workers in Shanghai was more complete. Chairman Mao asked us about various situations, including students, farmers, and cadres, in all aspects. He even inquired about some of the cadre situations in the city committee. We reported everything to him. He even asked about some details that he knew. For example, he asked, "Weren't students at the docks at that time? Are they still there now?" We told him that when we accompanied Comrade Kang Sheng to the docks, we still saw many students there. Chairman Mao said, "Very good." He was very concerned about the students, workers, farmers, cadres, and the situation of the Shanghai military forces, and he was very attentive to every good creation and revolutionary action of the Shanghai revolutionary masses. We felt Chairman Mao's care for Shanghai, and this was the greatest honor for us, the Shanghai revolutionary rebels, and for the revolutionary masses

of Shanghai. It was the greatest encouragement and support for us. (Cheers) With Chairman Mao's support, with the support of the Central Committee, no matter how many difficulties we face, no matter how much the class enemies try to oppose us with various tricks, they will not be able to stop us, the revolutionary masses of Shanghai, under the leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao, from winning one victory after another!

Next, I would like to address several issues separately.

The first issue I want to address is the question of seizing power, because this topic was discussed a lot with Chairman Mao. I want to talk about it in some detail. Our proletarian cultural revolution has entered a new stage. This new stage began with the revolutionary masses in Shanghai seizing power, which is what we now refer to as the January Revolution (cheers). We all know that the fundamental issue of any revolution is the question of power. Our proletarian cultural revolution, at its core, is also about solving the question of power. However, this time, our struggle to seize power is different from 1949, when we took power from the Kuo-mintang. There are differences in the tasks and nature of the revolution.

Chairman Mao said during our conversation that the current revolution, the proletarian cultural revolution, is a revolution under proletarian dictatorship—it is a revolution that we initiated ourselves. Comrades, pay attention to Chairman Mao's words: he said this revolution is under proletarian dictatorship, and it was initiated by us. This revolution was launched by us—it was initiated by the Central Committee led by Chairman Mao, and led by Chairman Mao himself. Recently, he asked the Central Cultural Revolution Group to consider writing an article entitled "Revolution under Proletarian Dictatorship." This is an important theoretical issue.

In our understanding, what Chairman Mao meant by this statement is that the power we have established over the past seventeen years is proletarian dictatorship. Yesterday, the editorial of the fourth issue of Hongqi magazine explained this point: for the past seventeen years, politically, Mao Zedong's revolutionary line has been dominant, not the Liu-Deng line. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, we have established a proletarian state power, which is a dictatorship of the proletariat,

following Mao Zedong's revolutionary line. We cannot say that for these seventeen years, our state power has been bourgeois power, or that it has been dominated by the Liu-Deng line. That would be an incorrect assessment. Chairman Mao's statement emphasizes proletarian dictatorship, affirming that our rule for the past seventeen years has been a rule of proletarian dictatorship. However, he also says we need revolution because part of our proletarian dictatorship has been usurped—not entirely, but partially—by the bourgeoisie. Some elements within our system, a small group within the party, have usurped power. Therefore, revolution is necessary! This is dialectical reasoning from Chairman Mao. He first acknowledges that we have proletarian dictatorship, but then says revolution is still needed because a part of our system, not all of it, has been taken over by the capitalist roaders.

Some places have raised a slogan calling for the “complete improvement of proletarian state power.” This slogan is reactionary! Why complete improvement? Because, in essence, it is calling for the overthrow of proletarian dictatorship and the establishment of capitalist dictatorship. The correct way to phrase it would be “partial improvement.” This is our understanding of the concept of revolution under proletarian dictatorship.

Why is this revolution initiated by us? This is because, after seventeen years of unification and stability in the country, issues have emerged within the system. While the country has been unified and stable, it has also led to certain problems. In this period of stability, part of the power—political, economic, and cultural power—has been usurped by the capitalist roaders within the party. Chairman Mao launched the cultural revolution to improve proletarian dictatorship, to strengthen it, and to make it more solid. This way, we can root out revisionism and ensure that our socialist motherland does not change its color. We feel that Chairman Mao's proposal of this thought is a very important issue.

For instance, the fact that this revolution is happening under proletarian dictatorship is a key point. Chairman Mao often simplifies complex issues into a single sentence, and that sentence becomes very important and allows us to think through various problems. If we understand this point correctly, it will be crucial for our current struggle to seize power. If we do not understand this, we will not grasp the necessity of this revolution or the problems we need to solve. If we thoroughly understand

Chairman Mao's point, then we can proceed correctly according to his thoughts. (Cheers) This is the first point I want to convey regarding the question of seizing power. The second issue I want to address in the struggle for seizing power, and in the development of the revolution under proletarian dictatorship, is the central issue of the "three combinations." This is the key to whether we can seize power and consolidate it afterward. (Cheers)

We all remember that in Shanghai, the power of the old Shanghai Municipal Committee and the Shanghai People's Government was seized several times. On January 14th, the Second Army Group of Shanghai seized power once and issued an order. On January 22nd, other units in Shanghai seized power again. On January 24th, the Red Revolutionary Committee and other units seized power once more. What did they seize? They seized a few rooms, some went to the Municipal Committee and the East China Bureau, took the big seal, and thought that seizing the seal meant seizing power. But in reality, they did not seize real power! Many of you comrades might not know this. They seized power, but after giving orders, no one listened to them. (Cheers)

This was the situation with the Municipal Committee, and the same happened with the East China Bureau. The East China Bureau was seized a few times too, but did they actually seize power? In the end, they took over a few rooms, and some people forced Wei Wenbo and Han Zhengyi to sign some documents and obtain a few items like a car. That's about all they got. They couldn't take anything substantial. For instance, in our work in Shanghai, we didn't see any real impact from these actions. Therefore, I believe that those comrades who are trying to seize the East China Bureau should stop. If you want to seize it, you must have the "three combinations," but they cannot achieve this. I have discussed this at the central level. The East China Bureau's power cannot be seized this way, because the power of the East China Bureau's Secretariat cannot be seized—it represents the Central Committee. Seizing that would be like seizing power from the Central Committee.

If you want to seize power, you can only seize the East China Bureau's administrative offices, which are just a few rooms. What is there to seize? I'm talking about the Municipal Committee and the East China Bureau's administrative offices. There are other units, as comrades here probably

know better than I do. Many districts, counties, enterprises, and factories have been through repeated attempts to seize power, but none of them succeeded. So what does this show us? It shows that without a great alliance of proletarian revolutionary factions, power cannot be seized. Without this great alliance, power cannot be seized by just one or two units. The attempts to seize power by small groups only lead to sectarianism.

For example, there's a unit that attempts to seize power—what did they get? They seized a printing factory, thinking that by taking over this factory, they had seized power. But if others come to print things, they won't allow it. This kind of power struggle is a small sectarian attempt to seize power, turning the public ownership of the factory into a private ownership by a small group. This destroys socialism. Every factory, every institution, every school is part of public ownership, not the property of any small group or individual. How can it belong to a small group? If it does, it becomes private ownership from public ownership. This essentially destroys the socialist economy and resembles the practices of Yugoslavia. (Cheers)

We must clearly tell these comrades: this path cannot be followed. This is the Yugoslav way! There are ideas of worker autonomy, small groups, etc. That is capitalist ownership. Now, we all understand—we understand the necessity of a great alliance to seize power. However, simply saying “great alliance” doesn't fully explain everything. It's not just about having more mass organizations involved, but about having the right form. The key to this form is what Chairman Mao proposed: the three combinations. (Cheers)

The three combinations, as comrades now know, means the representatives of the genuine revolutionary mass organizations, the representatives of the People's Liberation Army stationed in the region, and the representatives of the revolutionary leadership. Without any one of these three, the alliance cannot be considered complete. It's not just about having more mass organizations involved; it's about ensuring all three components are present. If there is no representation from the People's Liberation Army or revolutionary leadership, then even if you have revolutionary mass organizations, you will not be able to seize power or consolidate it. Chairman Mao has talked a lot about the three combinations during our conversation. We have learned from Chairman Mao's instructions,

thought about them, and exchanged views with comrades. When we were in Beijing, we happened to meet comrades from Shanxi and Shandong. Shanxi's experience is particularly clear—without the military, they could not have seized power. Why? Because the Shanxi Provincial Committee was extremely reactionary and had prepared to use armed force. They had undercover agents and guns, and they were prepared to arrest the revolutionary leaders. The People's Liberation Army firmly stood with the revolutionary faction and supported their seizure of power. Only with the backing of the military could the revolutionary masses, who had no weapons, succeed in seizing power. We have all read Chairman Mao's words: "Without the people's army, the people have nothing." This is a fundamental truth. Without an army, there can be no power in any country, especially in a class society. If you want to seize power and there is no military backing, how can that happen? When we seized power from the Kuomintang, we had the military backing us. Today, when we are reclaiming power that was usurped by those on the capitalist road, we still rely on the support of the People's Liberation Army. Without this strength, it would be impossible.

What about revolutionary leaders? Do we need them? Yes, we absolutely do. Because when the masses engage in revolutionary action, they inevitably need leaders. For example, a revolutionary faction or a battalion needs a leader, even if they don't call them a "commander" or "team leader." They may use titles like "servant" or "attendant," but leadership is necessary. Now, when we want to seize power, we need leaders—either new or old cadres, those who have experience in leadership. Why do we need a group of revolutionary leaders who have had experience? Because the tasks ahead are vast. Even for someone like me, who has been involved in work for some years, if you asked me to take charge of the whole of Shanghai's work, I would find it extremely difficult. Why? Because I haven't dealt with many of these tasks before. I'm not experienced in many areas. For example, I never had an interest in economic or financial issues. I can openly admit that I never looked at certain documents because I had no interest in them. I might know a little about business or production, but not much. But now, facing all these problems, I feel the burden is too heavy. If this is hard for me, imagine how much harder it would be for ordinary workers or students. In my conversation with Chairman Mao, I mentioned that it would be difficult for a university graduate, or even someone about to graduate, to take charge of a large city like Shanghai.

Chairman Mao responded by saying that even being the president of a university would be too challenging. A university is a complex institution, and a graduate or someone who hasn't graduated yet would not fully understand the entire situation in the school. Later, Chairman Mao even remarked that being a department head would also be difficult. A department head needs to have expertise. But as a student who hasn't finished their studies or a fresh graduate, they lack sufficient knowledge and teaching experience, not to mention management experience. So, Mao said, it would be quite challenging for someone like that to become a department head. We have cultivated teaching assistants, lecturers, and some of the former leadership cadres. Chairman Mao said that some older individuals shouldn't be completely disregarded. He also mentioned that Zhou Gucheng, for example, might not be suitable anymore. He had a concern about this issue. Comrades, especially young comrades, don't be discouraged by this! Why did Chairman Mao say these things? He also said, "The young comrades are full of hope." During this Cultural Revolution, they have made significant contributions. But now, it's difficult for them to directly step into leadership positions such as provincial or municipal party secretaries. There is a process involved, and they still need to learn.

The concept of the "three combinations," as I understand it, is a way to help young comrades learn. In the past, we often discussed how to cultivate successors. How do we hand over the baton? It turns out that the three combinations are not only a method for seizing power but also a way to pass on leadership from old to new. Everyone works together for a few years—seven, eight, or even ten years. By the time you are in your late twenties, and after learning for ten years, being a provincial party secretary at thirty years old is still considered very young!

Chairman Mao has always shown great love and high regard for young comrades. But now, we cannot emphasize this too much. The current focus is on the necessity of the three combinations. As I've mentioned, we cannot ignore the difficulty for young workers and students to directly step into leadership roles. Take the situation in Shanghai as an example: the revolutionary mass organizations in Shanghai are very strong, and Chairman Mao has given high praise for this. But let's think about this—if the Shanghai commune committee hadn't implemented the three combinations when it was established, I believe the commune would have

been destroyed quickly. Don't you think there was a danger? There was such a danger because the second and third communes were already being planned. There were those who wanted to destroy the commune, and if there hadn't been the military to protect it, I am not overestimating the influence of comrade Yao Wenyuan and myself. Our participation in the Central Cultural Revolution Group gave us enough status to prevent those opposing the commune from acting. So, you can see why many people failed to seize the power of the Municipal Committee. They failed because the three combinations weren't in place.

When we established the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee, it also followed the principle of the three combinations. This form will continue to evolve and strengthen. Essentially, the basic power structure consists of three representatives: the mass organizations, the military, and the revolutionary leadership. This basic form has already been established, and we will continue to enrich and strengthen it. As a result, the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee will become more solid. Anyone who opposes such an organization will not only face opposition from all the revolutionary organizations but also the People's Liberation Army, which will come to protect it. This ensures that the temporary power organization can become authoritative and trustworthy enough to lead the cultural revolution in Shanghai. In the future, this authority and strength will only increase.

Some people might try to oppose the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee, just as they once opposed the commune. If they choose to challenge it, they will face the consequences, as we are prepared to confront them. (Cheers, slogans)

The second point I wanted to emphasize is the importance of implementing the three combinations. Chairman Mao repeatedly emphasized this issue. He first talked about the need for a revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a revolution that requires a great alliance. The best form of this alliance is the three combinations. The problem now is to fully implement Chairman Mao's instructions, particularly by expanding the three combinations at the city level and applying this method when seizing power in any other units or areas. Every power struggle must be carried out with the three combinations. Is it possible to achieve the "three-in-one"? Shanghai has more than 600 cadres at or above the level

of deputy bureau chief, and over 6,000 cadres at or above the level of section chief. Can we not find suitable candidates for the “three-in-one” from these 6,000 or 600 cadres? Of course, it is possible, and in fact, we should say that these 6,000 are just the section chiefs, and there are even more at the level of department head. Among such a large number of people, the vast majority are good or at least relatively good, and we should have full confidence in that.

Of course, the number of revolutionary cadres in Shanghai, or the number of cadres participating in the revolution in general, is relatively small and came late. The revolutionary action of Shanghai’s bureaucratic cadres didn’t really start until December 18, when the conference began, which was quite late. But compared to the rest of the country, Shanghai was still ahead in some ways. When Mao Zedong heard the news, he was very pleased, saying that even Shanghai’s bureaucratic cadres had joined the revolution. However, the total number of rebels was not very large. Among the rebels on December 18, most were ordinary cadres, and there were no top leaders, such as the municipal party secretary or deputy mayor, involved. This is not the fault of the revolutionary rebels or the revolutionary masses, but the responsibility of those who chose not to participate in the revolution. We cannot take responsibility for them.

At the same time, we should recognize that the first ones who should be held responsible are Chen Puxian and Cao Diqu. They owe a debt to the cadres, as they followed a bourgeois reactionary line, which led a large number of cadres astray. There had to be someone leading this. Moreover, as we know, many of the central instructions were not properly communicated to the cadres in Shanghai. Many comrades and ordinary cadres, including middle-level cadres, did not receive these instructions, nor were they communicated well even within the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee. This resulted in the failure of the central government’s and Mao Zedong’s voice to reach the masses and cadres.

After the 11th Plenary Session of the Central Committee, what was communicated? It was not well conveyed. It is said that during the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee meeting, Cao Diqu only conveyed the message for an hour. How could that be effective? How much can be conveyed in just an hour? The central work meeting was also not properly communicated. For example, the “Big Character Poster” about “Fighting

the Headquarters” issued by Mao Zedong after the 11th Plenary Session was not well conveyed to the masses or to the cadres. So, when the Red Guards from Beijing took action and raised the slogan of “Fighting the Headquarters,” many Shanghai cadres were confused and didn’t understand what was going on. Many of these issues should have been the responsibility of the leadership, especially the responsibility of the top leaders. They should have conveyed these things. For example, with the Anting incident, whose instructions were passed on? It was only the instructions of Tao Zhu. Cao Diqu then called Tao Zhu, who gave him a response in a certain tone: “Since the central government has already acknowledged it, we should just continue working on it and try to correct it.” Cao Diqu, therefore, followed this advice and carried out his actions accordingly. Later, I informed the Municipal Party Committee of the Chairman’s views, but the Municipal Party Committee not only failed to communicate it to the general cadres, but even the Party Secretary’s office didn’t receive it, and even Ma Tianshui didn’t know. Ma Tianshui, who later made a serious mistake by going to the industrial and transportation conference to speak out, later told me in Beijing that he didn’t know Chairman Mao’s opinion. This is why he dared to go to the central meeting and continue attacking me. If he had known Chairman Mao’s opinion, I don’t think he would have had the courage to act that way. He simply didn’t know.

Meanwhile, Chen Puxian and Cao Diqu encouraged him by saying, “When you get to Beijing, speak up, say whatever you want!” They pushed him in this direction. As for these people, you can see that they have incurred a great deal of debt—not just to the people of Shanghai, but also to the cadres. I believe they also owe a debt to their comrades around them. Later, they tried to use things like “distinction between internal and external” and “organizational discipline” to suppress the cadres, preventing them from speaking up. In this kind of situation, many cadres, including leaders, made various errors.

Earlier, I mentioned that the responsibility must first lie with them, but the leadership must also bear responsibility. We cannot blame the revolutionary masses for this. We believe that the majority of the more than 6,000 section chiefs and over 600 deputy bureau chiefs in Shanghai are willing to revolutionize and follow Chairman Mao. Otherwise, how can we explain this issue? Why, when Comrade Ke Qingshi was still alive,

were these same cadres able to implement Chairman Mao's line and firmly follow him, making Shanghai's work relatively good, especially during the period after 1958 and 1959, when the work in Shanghai was among the best in the country? Wasn't it these cadres? Wasn't it these 600-plus deputy bureau chiefs? I do not deny that there were a few bad elements among them, but I am talking about the majority. These comrades, at that time, under Comrade Ke Qing-shi's leadership, achieved good results. We just read the quotations, which say that when we evaluate cadres, we should not only look at their actions at a specific time or on a specific issue, but at their entire history. So, we should examine the performance of these cadres over the past 17 years. We can compare that. Many of these cadres, during Comrade Ke Qing-shi's time, followed Chairman Mao's line.

Their actions during the Cultural Revolution were not identical—there was not a uniform response. We should take an analytical approach. When Chairman Mao spoke to us this time, he again emphasized that we should believe that more than 95% of the masses and more than 95% of the cadres will follow us. This refers to following Chairman Mao. Specifically, he mentioned that there is a large number of petty bourgeois elements in China, such as the small peasants and small urban petty bourgeois, including a group of small business owners. The numbers are substantial. Chairman Mao said we must be good at guiding them, and they will follow us. Chairman Mao always emphasized: "We must believe in the majority." The bourgeois reactionary line does not believe in the majority; it does not believe that the majority wants revolution, and as a result, it loses the majority and isolates itself.

Therefore, to realize the "three-in-one", the most important thing is how we deal with the issue of cadres. In the third issue of Hongqi magazine, there was an editorial specifically addressing the correct way to treat the issue of cadres, and the fourth issue had a dedicated article on the same topic. These two editorials were discussed by the Central Committee, and Chairman Mao read them. In the first one, Chairman Mao made many important revisions. As for the second editorial on how to correctly treat cadres, we had not yet had the chance to inquire about it. We only know that on the day we left, it was sent to Chairman Mao, and he read it. There were many important revisions. For example, there is a well-known phrase in the third issue of Hongqi magazine, which you often see in the newspapers: "As long as they are not anti-Party or anti-socialist elements,

and do not persist in their mistakes or refuse to change, they should be allowed to amend their ways and be encouraged to atone for their wrongs.” This sentence, the part “and do not persist in their mistakes or refuse to change,” was added by Chairman Mao. Originally, it was: “As long as they are not anti-Party or anti-socialist elements, they should be allowed to do this and that.” Chairman Mao added: “As long as they are not anti-Party or anti-socialist elements,” and further emphasized “and do not persist in their mistakes or refuse to change.” This reflects Chairman Mao’s great thought: if an anti-Party or anti-socialist person does not insist on their error, or if they are not persistently uncorrectable, this is acceptable. So, the emphasis is on those who are not beyond saving. As we just read in the quotations, we must “treat and save people.” Chairman Mao added those words, which made the policy boundary much clearer and broader.

Now, comrades, I have already mentioned in other meetings that many comrades have been quite busy lately, especially after the struggle for power. It is said that before the power struggle, they had time to study Chairman Mao’s writings, but now, after the power struggle, they are overwhelmed with work, not reading books or newspapers. This is dangerous. These two editorials and many of the recent documents issued by the Central Committee need to be considered word by word. Often, just a slight change in two words can result in a significant difference in policy, because the revolution is constantly developing, the situation is changing, and if our minds do not adapt to these changes, we may make mistakes.

During this conversation, Chairman Mao repeatedly emphasized the issues of “down with everything” and “question everything.” These slogans—“down with everything” and “question everything”—became quite popular and widespread. They represent an anarchist ideology, which is counter to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; it is reactionary. This kind of thinking influenced our revolutionary faction. Although it is not the ideology of the revolutionary rebels, it still affected us, influencing some of our comrades. This is because, during the Cultural Revolution, the stubbornness of certain people led to the illusion that there were enemies everywhere. Consequently, when others propagated slogans like “down with everything” and “question everything,” some comrades felt that these ideas had validity. However, comrades, if we really think about it, these slogans cannot stand. If someone proposes

“down with everything,” does that person also wish to destroy themselves? Clearly, no, they do not. They only want to bring down certain things. Similarly, when they say “question everything,” do they really question everything? No, they do not question themselves. This slogan, if we consider it carefully, falls apart. There is no such thing as “down with everything” or “question everything.” What can happen is a struggle between two classes—the proletariat overthrowing the bourgeoisie, or the bourgeoisie overthrowing the proletariat. You cannot have the bourgeoisie overthrowing the bourgeoisie. That would mean internal contradictions within the bourgeoisie. This kind of slogan is now hindering our great unity, especially obstructing our “three-in-one” cooperation. If this problem is not resolved, the “three-in-one” will not be able to take off.

If every person is to be doubted, if every person is to be overthrown, how can we achieve unity? Those who advocate “down with everything” and “question everything” will eventually be doubted and overthrown themselves. They will inevitably go to the other side. Chairman Mao was very clear about this, saying, “They will definitely end up on the opposite side and be overthrown by others. They won’t last long.” Chairman Mao directly studied a case in the Central Meteorological Bureau, where a unit reported to us: “When we arrived in Shanghai, we encountered a problem. When we spoke with one of the rebels, we asked about their organization. They said, ‘Our rebel faction is great; it doesn’t have a single division head.’” (Laughter) This implied that their organization was pure, but when we mentioned such things, Chairman Mao responded by saying, “There’s another unit here that doesn’t even want deputy section heads.” This unit had over 30 deputy section heads, but none were kept. This was clearly not class analysis but rather based on titles. What about the class struggle? In terms of class, there are the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and within each of these classes, there are ruling factions—the proletariat faction and the bourgeois faction. A section head may either support Chairman Mao and follow him or oppose him. It should be divided like this.

Now, there are many who do not talk about class. For example, there was a city-level organization in Shanghai, the Municipal People’s Committee’s rebellion committee. In Beijing, we received a report from the State Council stating that all positions with the title of “chief” should be abolished, and that any such suggestion should be sent to the central govern-

ment. While it's possible to suggest this, it was sent as a formal telegram from the State Council, which included many incorrect statements. For instance, it said that traditionally, section heads managed chief officers, and chief officers managed their subordinates. It stated that in the future, section heads should still manage chief officers, and no chief should manage a section head unless the system is reversed and a section officer becomes a section head, which is meaningless. These are just title issues. They claimed that anyone with the word "chief" in their title was riding on top of the Party and the people. I say that this kind of statement is reactionary. Would that mean that our Minister of National Defense, Lin Biao, is riding on top of the Party and the people? Of course not. Titles like "Minister of Defense" are not inherently about class struggle. For example, both Peng Dehuai and Lin Biao were Ministers of Defense, but they came from two different classes. This approach is wrong. If we do not discuss class, then we cannot move forward with the "three-in-one" cooperation. If we discuss class, then we can reconsider our team and evaluate each individual accordingly.

Chairman Mao said, "Those who refuse even deputy section heads will not last long." He was very clear about this: such an attitude—"kick everything out"—will eventually lead to their own downfall. We must not allow this kind of "one-stick approach" to prevail. Chairman Mao repeatedly advised us to read Lu Xun's *The True Story of Ah Q*, particularly the chapter on not forbidding revolution. We should allow others to revolutionize. One of the conditions for a successor that Chairman Mao set is that not only should they work with those who share the same views, but they should also cooperate with those who hold different views, and even with those who once opposed them but whose opposition was proven wrong. This is the quality of a proletarian politician and a potential successor, and Chairman Mao himself is a model for this.

Looking at current events, many things have been exposed, and the big-character posters have gone public. Many issues that the Central Committee had not previously made public are now coming to light. For instance, Comrade Zhu De, the Supreme Commander, opposed Chairman Mao from the time of Jinggangshan. We are now studying the Gu-tian Conference Resolution, which addresses many of Zhu De's mistakes, as he represented the wrong tendency. But Chairman Mao still worked with such people, always hoping to unite more people. On this issue,

we should learn from Chairman Mao. Now, based on Chairman Mao's ideas, we need to analyze the situation of our units carefully. We should understand the class background of each person and create the conditions for those leaders to correct their mistakes.

In Shanghai, from what we understand, there are some people who have not had the opportunity to speak out, and they should be given a chance. Of course, we should not require every cadre to make self-criticisms or undergo some sort of formal review. However, some individuals, if they do not make a self-criticism, may not have a chance to present themselves, as they have not been given that opportunity. We should give them a chance to step forward, to express their stance, and welcome them to declare their rebellion if they choose to do so. We also encourage them to network with each other and exchange ideas with trusted individuals. If they are willing to join the revolution and return to Chairman Mao's line, we should offer them that opportunity.

However, once we offer the opportunity, if they choose not to take it, that is their personal choice, and it becomes their matter. It is important that we create the right conditions for them to make this choice. We should not wait until all conditions are perfect before carrying out the "three-in-one" cooperation. We should not insist on perfection, thinking that we need only the very best cadres for this. That may be too difficult to achieve. Instead, we must treat people according to their different situations. Some may need to be removed, some may be asked to take part in leadership, some may work in general roles, some may even be included in the core leadership, and there may be other roles as well. These are all possible ways of dealing with the "three-in-one" issue, and comrades should be encouraged to think creatively, but the goal should always be to achieve the "three-in-one."

Some comrades fear that others may be opportunists pretending to rebel, or that we might make mistakes in recognizing the right people. However, comrades, this is nothing to worry about. Revolutionaries and rebels should fear nothing. How can we suddenly become afraid? If someone is an opportunist, they will eventually be exposed. If they haven't been exposed yet, then we cannot just assume they are opportunists. And if we make mistakes in recognizing someone, we can correct that later. We cannot just say we are not allowed to make mistakes, because that mind

set—based on slogans like “down with everything” and “question everything”—is a result of fear, which prevents us from acting decisively. Even revolutionary comrades will make mistakes from time to time, but if we do, we will correct ourselves firmly and resolutely. There’s no other way. As long as we stick to this principle, we won’t become reactionary, unrepentant individuals. The key is to avoid being a “counter-revolutionary” or someone who refuses to change. We need to accept mistakes as part of the process. If we make an error in judgment by wrongly recognizing someone, it’s not a catastrophe; we just need to correct it. If we’re afraid of making mistakes, then in the future, when we face new challenges, how can we act?

Therefore, each unit should carefully consider the situation and consider who can play leadership roles. It’s better to first choose a few role models—someone who can take on a particular position. Once we identify such role models, it will be easier to proceed. The important thing is to avoid being paralyzed by fear and hesitation.

What was just discussed applies specifically to the revolutionary rebels. I hope that we all now focus on working with the cadres, as we hope they will firmly stand with us. Simply doing the work ourselves is not enough; they must also come around. They may have many concerns now, saying, “It’s too late,” or that they didn’t stand with us earlier. But if they admit it was wrong not to stand with us before, then not standing with us now is only making it later. So when will they stand up, if not now? The Party and the people are ready to welcome them back into the fold.

The central leadership, under Chairman Mao, has been clear on this issue. If they have made mistakes, even serious ones against the Party and the people, as long as they are willing to sincerely correct themselves, the Party still welcomes them. And there can be benefits to past mistakes. For instance, making a mistake in political line could, in the long run, help them develop a kind of “immunity” to future mistakes. A previous error could also lead them to avoid repeating that mistake or turn a negative situation into a positive one. Now, there are emotional barriers for some. Some comrades may say, “We fought them, so how can we work with them now?” We say that those who fought them should be the ones to do the work of bringing them back, because we are carrying out Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line. What is wrong with that? We are all students of

Chairman Mao, and we are all carrying out his line. Now, the goal of the “three-in-one” is still to follow Chairman Mao’s line. On this point, cadres at all levels, especially leaders, must first adjust their emotional stance. We cannot hold grudges against the revolutionary rebels. Revenge, or settling scores, is absolutely not allowed. If we were targeted in the struggle, and if we truly learned from the experience, then we should become more quickly aware and return to the Party’s line, to Chairman Mao’s line. So, even if some things went too far in the struggle, we should recognize that we are executing Chairman Mao’s line of “correcting the past while avoiding repeating mistakes, and saving people through criticism.” Would we, then, not follow this principle when it comes to working with the revolutionary rebels? It is not acceptable to engage in unrelenting attacks.

If some young comrades went too far in their actions, we can only understand it. Every revolution comes with a cost. Our great revolution, which has decided China’s future, is unprecedented in world history. Doesn’t it deserve to pay some price? But when we look at the price we paid, it has not been too high. Compared to the bourgeois revolutions, we have paid much less. The French Revolution, the English Revolution, and the German Revolution, with their repeated power struggles, cost far more. Our cost has been relatively small. So, yes, some were attacked—some of it was justified, and some might have been a bit excessive—but even so, it was just a small price to pay. In the end, it can be seen as part of the contribution to the revolution!

To be honest, without the courage of the revolutionary young fighters, their boldness to think, speak, and charge forward, the lid on the class struggle in Shanghai would never have been lifted. This achievement cannot be erased by anyone. Without such a great mass movement and without Chairman Mao’s leadership, would we have been able to recognize some of the issues? Would the current transformation of Shanghai into what it is today have been possible? No, it wouldn’t. If someone fails to see the main trend, the core aspects of the current revolution, it proves they have not yet understood what the revolution is truly about. We have advised some people to think about the big picture. Think about how this great revolution is not just about a few days or even a few years, but about determining the fate of our country for decades and generations. This is a major issue. Think about that, even if you have some personal grievances, you should let them go. This is a great test. Therefore, we must implem-

ent the three-in-one system now. We also hope that the revolutionary rebels will actively engage and resolutely follow Chairman Mao's instructions. We also hope all cadres, including those in leadership positions, including the members of the Municipal Party Committee, if they are still willing to revolutionize, if they are still willing to follow Chairman Mao, we are prepared to consider their issues according to Chairman Mao's instructions. We listen to Chairman Mao's words. We also hope that those who have made mistakes, even serious mistakes, will think about whether they are willing to follow Chairman Mao, whether they are willing to correct their mistakes. Will they remain obstinate and unrepentant, or are they ready to change and stand on Chairman Mao's side? This is a critical moment, and we cannot delay any further. We ask them to consider this so that our three-in-one system and our struggle for power can progress more smoothly. This is the issue of the three-in-one system." (Shouted slogans)

Next, I want to discuss the organizational form of the three-in-one system and the issue of the power structure. I also want to talk about why the Shanghai People's Commune changed its name. On this issue, Chairman Mao also gave detailed instructions during his talks. Everyone talks about the Paris Commune, and we have all spoken about establishing a new government based on the model of the Paris Commune, right? Chairman Mao said the Paris Commune was established in 1871, and now, 96 years later, if the Paris Commune had not failed but succeeded, it would have inevitably turned into a bourgeois commune. This is because the French bourgeoisie would not have allowed the French working class to hold power for long. This was the Paris Commune. The 'Soviet' is the form of government in the Soviet Union. When the Soviet government was first established, Lenin was very happy, thinking it was a great creation by the workers, peasants, and soldiers — a new form of proletarian dictatorship. However, Lenin did not anticipate that this form could be used by both the working class and the bourgeoisie, and Khrushchev eventually used it too. Now, the Soviet system, which was initially Lenin's, has become Khrushchev's. Chairman Mao also said that Britain is a monarchy with a king, the United States has a presidential system, but essentially, they are the same — both are forms of bourgeois dictatorship. He also gave many examples: South Vietnam had a presidential system, while the neighboring Cambodia, under Sihanouk, was a monarchy. Which one was better? Perhaps the monarchy under Sihanouk was better. India has a presidential

system, and neighboring Nepal has a monarchy. Which one is better? Looking at their current performance, the monarchy seems a bit better. Chairman Mao pointed out that ancient China had three emperors and five kings, and the Zhou Dynasty had kings, the Qin Dynasty had emperors, and Qin Shi Huang called himself both emperor and the leader of the three emperors and five kings. The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom referred to its leader as the 'Heavenly King.' Emperor Gaozong of the Tang Dynasty, who was the husband of Wu Zetian, was called the 'Heavenly Emperor.' Chairman Mao said, 'Look, names change, but we cannot focus on names. The issue is not the name but the substance. The question is not the form but the content. Whether it is a presidential system, a monarchy, or a bourgeois democracy, these are forms, and what matters is not the form but the substance. The word 'president' in English is the same as 'principal' in a school; it's just a word, so being a principal is pretty much the same as being a president. Therefore, Chairman Mao said we should not change names too much.' He also cited the historical example of Wang Mang, who was known for changing names. When he became emperor, he renamed all the official titles and the counties. This is like today, when many people don't like the title 'chief' and want to change it. He changed everything. Chairman Mao said that one afternoon, the Red Guards changed the street names in Beijing, and later, they couldn't remember them. Wang Mang issued an edict to change the names of the counties. For example, there was a county called Xingyang in Henan, which he renamed Qi You, and he had to specify both names in the edict. This caused a lot of administrative inconvenience. Chairman Mao emphasized that this kind of form can be used by foreign countries, by the Chinese, by the proletariat, and by the bourgeoisie. The key lesson is from the Paris Commune and the Soviet system. He said we can imagine that in the future, if the People's Republic of China is overthrown and the bourgeoisie takes over, they may not change the name of the country. They might still call it the People's Republic of China, but it will no longer be a proletarian dictatorship; it will become a bourgeois dictatorship, just like the Soviet Union. They might not change the name, still calling it the Soviet Union, still calling it the Soviet Socialist Republic, but it will have changed. So Chairman Mao proposed that the core issue is not the name, but which class holds power. Who is in control? That is the fundamental issue, not the name. He said, shouldn't we be more cautious and not change the names too much? Because now there's a problem — everyone wants to call themselves a People's Commune, and provinces

and cities are all following suit, with some even calling themselves the same as Shanghai. Chairman Mao has been considering this issue repeatedly lately, and comrades in the central government have also been thinking about it. Initially, they hadn't thought of it this way. If every province and city calls itself a People's Commune, what would we call the State Council? What would the People's Republic of China be called? Chairman Mao said, then a problem arises — it's a change in the form of government, a national system issue, a question about the national name. Should the People's Republic of China be changed to the Chinese People's Commune? Would the President of the People's Republic of China need to change to the Director of the Chinese People's Commune, or perhaps the Chairman of the Commune? (Laughter) This problem arises. Not only does this problem arise, but another issue follows — if the name is changed, then everyone has to change, and if we change to the Chinese People's Commune, we face the problem of whether foreign countries would recognize it. Because if the national name is changed, foreign ambassadors would be invalid, and they would need to be replaced and re-recognized. Chairman Mao said, 'I estimate that the Soviet Union would not recognize it. They wouldn't dare because it would bring trouble to the Soviet Union. How could there be a Chinese People's Commune again? It would be difficult for them to handle. Perhaps capitalist countries might recognize it.' Then there's another issue. Chairman Mao said, 'If everyone calls it a Commune, what will happen to the Party? Where would the Party stand? He said, there must be a Party, a core. You can call it the Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Workers' Party, the Kuomintang, or even Yiguandao (a religious group) — but there must be a Party. Even Yiguandao is a party. The Commune must have a Party. Can a Commune replace the Party?' Chairman Mao said: 'So, I think we should still keep the name as it is. Don't call it a Commune. We should follow the old practices. In the future, we should still hold the People's Congress, still elect the People's Committee. Changing names back and forth is just a change in form, not addressing the content.' Now, regarding the temporary power structures being established, should they still be called the Revolutionary Committees? We also discussed whether the universities should still be called the Cultural Revolution Committees because the 'Sixteen Points' regulation said that factories should either have a Revolutionary Committee or simply be called a Revolutionary Committee. Factories with the 'three-in-one' system should have committees that include cadres, includ-

ing technical cadres, leadership cadres, and ordinary cadres, as well as workers — not only young workers but also older workers and militia. This is the name that Chairman Mao suggests. The previous constitutional provisions, such as the National People's Congress, the provincial and municipal People's Congresses, should remain unchanged. In the future, it will still be called the State Council, and there's no need to change the name. The municipal governments will still be called People's Committees. Chairman Mao said, there's no need to change it.' However, Chairman Mao also said that the people of Shanghai love the name 'People's Commune,' so what should we do? He asked us, 'Have you consulted with the people of Shanghai?' There are only a few options.

One option is not to change it, and Shanghai would still be called the Shanghai People's Commune. The advantage of this approach is that it can protect the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people of Shanghai, because everyone really likes the name 'Commune,' he said. What's the downside? The problem is that you would be the only one in the entire country, so wouldn't you feel very isolated? (Laughter) Because right now, we can't even publish it in the People's Daily. Everyone else is calling themselves a People's Commune, and if the central government recognizes the Shanghai People's Commune and it gets published in the People's Daily, then the whole country will ask, 'Why is Shanghai the only one allowed to call itself a People's Commune and not us?' (Laughter) This situation would be difficult to handle. According to Chairman Mao's suggestion, the option of not changing the name has both advantages and disadvantages.

The second option is for the entire country to change, but if that happens, as mentioned earlier, it would involve changes to the political system and the country's name, which would lead to issues with recognition and many complicated matters. There wouldn't be much practical significance to this either. The third option is to make a small change, and Shanghai could change its name so that it would be consistent with the rest of the country. Of course, you could change it sooner or later, not necessarily right away. If everyone says they still don't want to change, then you could leave it for a while. This is Chairman Mao's basic thought. He was worried about dampening the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people of Shanghai. He said that the matter needed to be looked at carefully, considering both protecting the revolutionary enthusiasm of the

people of Shanghai and finding a solution to the problem. Comrades, from this, you can see how Chairman Mao always looked at problems from a broader perspective and in greater detail. When a problem came to him, he would think about it repeatedly, considering aspects we hadn't even thought about, myself included. Comrades, I don't think many of you thought about it either—I certainly didn't—like the issue of the country's name or the recognition issue! We never thought about it back then, even though many units were advocating for establishing communes. We thought it was fine to change the name to 'commune' and get on with it. But when we did, we reported it to the central government, and at that time, we didn't think further about it. Sometimes it crossed our minds—what about the issue of membership in the commune? For instance, who could be a member of a rural commune? In our Shanghai People's Commune, who could be a member and who couldn't? How would this issue be resolved in the future? We thought about it briefly but didn't think it through because we were too busy. But Chairman Mao? He thought about these issues repeatedly and very carefully. He paid special attention to protecting the people's revolutionary enthusiasm.

In the end, after discussing Chairman Mao's thoughts at the central meeting, it was agreed that the name of the temporary power organizations across the country would not be 'commune.' However, a special note was added to the central documents: 'Except for Shanghai, where the central government will give further instructions,' leaving room for the revolutionary people of Shanghai to make their own decision. (Long applause, slogans: Long live Chairman Mao!)

So, Chairman Mao's considerations on these issues were very thoughtful and meticulous, especially in regards to the enthusiasm of the people of Shanghai. (They were concerned that we wouldn't stop them.) Chairman Mao said, 'What do you think, can this be understood?' We replied that the people of Shanghai would follow Chairman Mao's instructions. When Chairman Mao spoke, the people would listen. (Slogans) After we returned, we conveyed this message to the enlarged meeting of the commune committee. Everyone unanimously agreed, with no disagreements, fully supporting Chairman Mao's instructions. The central government left us this leeway. After careful consideration, we decided that, in line with the nationwide consensus and Chairman Mao's instructions, we would change the name of the Shanghai People's Commune Temporary

Committee to the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee. (Applause) Based on the mood in today's meeting, it further proves that what we said to Chairman Mao was not mere words. We believe that the entire revolutionary mass organizations of Shanghai, and all the revolutionary masses in Shanghai, will certainly agree to change the Shanghai People's Commune Temporary Committee to the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee. (Applause) (Slogans)

Now, some people are spreading rumors saying that Chairman Mao didn't approve because Shanghai did not implement the 'three combined' system, or that the Red Guard faction didn't participate, so the People's Daily didn't publish it. Some people even put up posters with seven, eight, or ten questions. Now I ask these people to take back their questions and stop spreading them. (Applause, slogans) We only changed a name. The political power, party power, financial power, and cultural power in Shanghai were all transferred from the old municipal committee and old people's committee to the hands of the proletarian revolutionary faction. This fact cannot be changed by anyone. (Slogans)

There was someone at a meeting who said that the slogan 'All power to the Shanghai People's Commune' was wrong, mainly because this commune was initiated by a minority. To be more precise, I can say it openly—it did not include him. (Applause) I can clearly state our position: the slogan 'All power to the People's Commune' is exactly the same as the current 'All power to the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee.' It is a completely correct slogan. (Applause, slogans)

Because the real meaning of this slogan is that it places all power in the hands of the revolutionary Shanghai people, with the proletarian revolutionary faction at the core and the worker-peasant alliance as the foundation. In other words, it takes all power away from the bourgeoisie and the capitalist-road authorities and returns it to us. Such a regime is the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our power is different; it will not be shared with any individual opportunist or small group. They can only be enemies of the proletariat and have no right to speak. (Slogans)

The people who say that the Shanghai People's Commune was initiated by a minority, if they are not being insincere, at the very least, they simply don't understand what the January Revolution was about. The January

Revolution is about one class overthrowing another. It was the proletariat of Shanghai rising from the bottom up to take power from a small group of capitalist-road authorities. This revolution started in Shanghai. The Shanghai working class is truly a good student of Chairman Mao. They are truly the heroes of the 1960s. They bravely shouldered the heavy burden of both revolution and production. Comrades, you can recall that our January Revolution actually started in the second half of December last year. Our struggle to take power didn't begin with the establishment of the People's Commune Committee, but by then, we had already seen that the railway was blocked, the ports were congested, the Red Guards were threatening to stop work, and the municipal committee continued to promote economic opportunism. Shanghai was already paralyzed. At this time, if we had not taken power, comrades, it's not that we would have waited another month. If we hadn't issued the 'Notice to the People of Shanghai' and the urgent communiqué at the beginning of January, I think, in less than ten days, Shanghai would have been uncontrollable, or even more difficult to restore. Our power struggle began at that time—truly from the bottom up. By the time the People's Commune was established, we had already taken control of the municipal-level power. The municipal committee had already stopped functioning. On January 6th, at a meeting, they announced they did not recognize Cao Diqu as mayor. We had already taken power. The establishment of the People's Commune and the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee was simply a way to formalize the outcome of the January Revolution into an organizational form.

Because of this, it has deep popular support. So when Chairman Mao saw this phenomenon, he recognized it as a new form—this bottom-up power struggle. This was something Chairman Mao identified, which is why he personally approved the 'Notice to the People of Shanghai' and the urgent communiqué. The congratulatory messages from the central government, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group were all signs of the deep popular foundation. How could anyone say this was something started by a minority? Some people even say it was because of me. I thank you, but I don't have that much power. (Laughter) If the millions of people in Shanghai hadn't risen up to seize power, no one could have created such a situation. Our comrades have a slogan: 'We will defend the People's Commune with our blood and lives.' I say this is a solemn revolutionary

slogan, showing our determination to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat with our blood and lives. Changing the name today does not change our determination. We will still defend our dictatorship with our blood and lives. (Applause, slogans)

There are a few people—just a few—who are influenced by sectarianism, small groupism, and anarchism. I wouldn't call them too bad, but at least they are confused by these ideas and the word 'private.' These people will never understand what it means to defend the People's Commune with blood and life. If there are still some people who want to make an issue out of the name change of the People's Commune, I advise them not to waste their time. There's nothing to gain by making an issue out of this. (Slogans)

The main issue discussed above is the power struggle, and the following issues are simpler.

The second issue is about grasping the revolution and promoting production. There are many central government documents on this topic. Yesterday, the newspapers published a letter from the central government to the poor peasants and cadres of rural communes across the country, along with letters to intellectual youth going to the countryside, and notices about temporary workers, contract workers, and outsourced workers. Documents regarding primary and secondary schools, the cultural revolution in the arts, work teams, and documents on confidentiality and archives in government agencies have also been issued. These documents were written after extensive investigation, research, and discussion by the central government. For instance, the issue of whether to open schools or not—before we returned to Shanghai, we had several meetings in Beijing in December, repeatedly seeking opinions. We consulted primary school teachers, students, and parents, and after several months of investigation, a decision was made. The same approach was taken with middle schools.

Similarly, the document regarding contract workers was also researched for a long time. I will not explain all of these documents here, as they have already been issued. Our task is to firmly implement them. The question now is whether we can execute and carry out these instructions. First and foremost, the revolutionary rebels must make a firm decision and find all possible ways to ensure that the central government's instruc-

tions are carried out. Although comrades from every county have come, there are still relatively few rural comrades present. They are listening to the radio, not here at the meeting. Most of the people here are from the city. We hope that all comrades in Shanghai, especially the poor peasants, will actively respond to Chairman Mao's call to grasp the revolution and promote production, ensuring a good harvest this year. At the same time, we hope city comrades will support agriculture in every way. The greatest characteristic of agriculture is its seasonality. For instance, even a one-day delay can affect the harvest. Whatever revolution we are carrying out, we cannot forget that we all need food. If food becomes a problem, nothing else can be discussed. So, we must make sure to develop agriculture. Whether it's agriculture, industry, or other issues, we must grasp the revolution. Without revolution, production will not improve.

I think we should resolve a certain ideological problem. Some people believe that grasping the revolution and promoting production means that time must be spent on the revolution, thereby taking away time from production. A lot of labor and resources have been used on revolution, with many grassroots organizations and people's commune members being diverted from production work. This is not correct, and it is not good. Comrade Lin Biao once said that when we grasp the revolution and promote production, revolution should be placed first, but we cannot allow the arrangement of time to put revolution first. Instead, we must place production first. For example, factory production should follow an eight-hour workday. Otherwise, if production is disrupted, it will be impossible to promote it. Stores also work beyond eight hours, and agriculture doesn't follow an eight-hour workday. Especially now, with spring plowing coming, time and labor are even more stretched. At this point, when we are grasping the revolution, we must consider the situation carefully.

I particularly want to speak to the rural comrades who are still in the city—this includes intellectual youth who went to the countryside and many workers who have supported the inland. These people are not from rural areas, but have come from inland regions.

You are facing practical difficulties, we know that, but these difficulties should be solved through normal means. There should be no excuse to avoid returning to your posts. For example, comrades who have returned from Guizhou or Sichuan—during our time in Beijing, we received tele-

grams stating that the bourgeois reactionary line in Guizhou was quite severe and had a significant impact on you. But has the situation in those areas changed? Has Guizhou become an advanced region? You should return and unite with the workers there, carry out the revolution, support the revolutionary committees of Guizhou, and fight for power. You should not stay in Shanghai.

Some people seem to have poor labor discipline. They claim they are out to revolt, but in reality, they are just wandering the streets with nothing to do. I'm not talking about everyone, just a few individuals. I still believe that if comrades truly support the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee, they should return to their posts. This idle behavior is not the nature of our working class. Even in the most difficult times, our revolutionary comrades stepped up; we should learn from them and return to our productive roles. We must grasp the revolution and promote production. We cannot go against this principle. We also cannot disregard the regulations outlined in the letter to all citizens of the city and the urgent notices. We support the opinion of the Guizhou Provincial Revolutionary Committee. As for those who neglect labor discipline, they should be dealt with appropriately. First, if education and persuasion don't work, we should stop paying their salaries because the state cannot continue to support people who do not work. If things don't improve, they should be dismissed, and if they engage in bad actions, they will face legal consequences. There is no shortage of people in Shanghai, but in fact, the population will still be mobilized to go elsewhere. Those hoping to find work in Shanghai should give up that hope—there is no chance. Let go of that desire! (Warm applause, slogans) So, I won't elaborate further on the revolution. I will leave it at that. As for promoting production, it will be easier to handle once we have addressed this.

Now, as for suppressing counter-revolutionaries, I don't need to talk much about it.

Comrades in Shanghai should remember that class struggle is sharp here. Not only does Shanghai have domestic landlords, rich, reactionary, bad elements, and rightists, but there are also foreign elements in those categories. Their numbers are small, only a few. Strategically, we should disdain them, but tactically, we must take them seriously. Suppressing counter-revolutionaries should not be taken lightly. The situation is com-

plex and requires careful observation. We especially need the broad masses to remain vigilant, as the complexity of the current situation is due to the presence of many counter-revolutionaries. If they openly declare themselves as counter-revolutionaries, it will be easy to deal with them. Some are using the banner of revolution, while others have cleverly infiltrated revolutionary groups. All revolutionary comrades in Shanghai should stay alert.

Our policy for suppressing counter-revolutionaries has always followed Chairman Mao's principle, which is to rely on the dictatorship apparatus, the people's army, and the public security forces. At the same time, it requires the combination of the dictatorship apparatus and the revolutionary people, emphasizing the full implementation of the mass line. If the broad masses of revolutionary people rise up, it will not matter what banner or methods these counter-revolutionaries use; whether they engage in secret or public activities, we will be able to expose them. This is one point. I hope comrades will be vigilant.

Secondly, I hope that our People's Liberation Army and public security organs will strengthen their efforts. At the same time, the local revolutionary rebels must fully support the People's Liberation Army. As you can see, I just mentioned our revolutionary committee—the strongest pillar of Shanghai's Cultural Revolution is the People's Liberation Army, which includes not only the Army but also the Navy and the Air Force. This is our most reliable support! (Applause, slogans) Our Army, Navy, and Air Force have already done much to support the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee and the revolutionary rebels. On behalf of the Revolutionary Committee, I extend deep gratitude to the officers and soldiers of Shanghai's Army, Navy, and Air Force! (Warm applause, slogans)

At the same time, we assure the People's Liberation Army comrades that if anyone attacks you or attempts to take action against you or military institutions, the entire revolutionary faction in Shanghai will stand firmly with the People's Liberation Army! (Warm applause, slogans)

Of course, some situations have arisen. In some places, the People's Liberation Army, following central government instructions, has implemented military control. However, some organizations in those areas have claimed to be revolutionary rebel groups. I've spoken to some of them

beforehand, and they should have obeyed the central government's orders to implement military control. But in those organizations, there are a few individuals who do not support military control, even going so far as to cross out the military control order and surrounding military representatives. We believe this is completely wrong. Those units that have made this mistake, if they claim to be revolutionary rebels, should write a self-criticism and apologize to the military representatives. If they do not do so, we will take other measures! (Slogans)

I must repeat here that there are many rumors circulating on the streets, and these rumors are becoming increasingly absurd. Some people, though few in number, rely on creating rumors for a living. One such individual, from the municipal party committee, openly circulated what was supposedly a four-point directive from the Premier. When I looked at this directive, I wasn't surprised; I thought, if the central government had such a directive, they wouldn't keep it from us. So, we called Beijing to inquire, and there was no such directive. But this person went around pretending it was from the central government, saying it was the Premier's four-point directive. When people asked him about it, he said, "No, it wasn't the Premier's, it was from Comrade Chen Boda," and when further questioned, he said, "It wasn't even from Chen Boda, it was something I heard somewhere else" (laughter).

Some people in the Honggehui (Red Guard) also spread rumors, claiming that a telegram from the central government's Cultural Revolution group on January 29 was fake, and then another call came from Beijing, saying that after passing through the General Staff, it was relayed to the Honggehui in Shanghai—again, supposedly the Premier's directive, and once again, it had four points. It seemed the Premier only issued four-point directives (laughter), stating that the Honggehui was wrong, and Zhang Chunqiao's troops were also wrong, as though everyone should be punished equally. This was pure nonsense! The Premier never issued such directives.

The Shanghai Red Guards even published two major bulletins, claiming the Premier said that demobilized soldiers should not form separate organizations, but Shanghai could be an exception. Another bulletin claimed the Premier said that the Red Guards nationwide were bad, but Shanghai's Red Guards were the best (laughter). These things were obviously

rumors that we could easily recognize as false when we arrived in Shanghai. At a meeting in Beijing, we joked about it with the Premier, and everyone had a good laugh. The rumors were completely unfounded. There are also many rumors about me. Recently, I saw a rumor that I had a conversation with the comrades from the Commercial Bureau, during which I emphasized the importance of a certain commercial office. I must clarify that I have talked to comrades in the commercial sector multiple times, but I never discussed such an office.

Some of the rumors have even claimed that I received a phone call from the State Council's reception desk in Beijing, saying that representatives from Shanghai's Industrial and Commercial Corps came to report against the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary General Headquarters and myself. They even claimed that one day, 500,000 workers in Shanghai held a massive demonstration. Those of you in Shanghai, do you know of such a demonstration? It was only a hundred or so cars. Just these past few days, I've heard of several more bizarre phone calls, claiming that Comrade Wang Li had analyzed the situation in Shanghai with five directives. I checked the timeline; we were in Beijing at the time, so there's no way this could have happened. I didn't even bother asking Wang Li, because there was no need to. Another rumor said that the central Cultural Revolution group had responded, saying something about the Shanghai People's Commune, and the central government didn't acknowledge it. Well, let me state clearly here: the central Cultural Revolution group never had a reception desk. Where is this so-called Cultural Revolution reception desk? (Applause, laughter) In Beijing, isn't the Labor People's Cultural Palace the place? That's the office for the Central Committee's General Office and the State Council Secretariat's Cultural Revolution reception desk. The Cultural Revolution group never had a reception desk. Just yesterday, I saw a message claiming the Cultural Revolution group had a first liaison station and issued new directives. That's even more nonsense! Where are these things coming from? There isn't even a reception desk, so how could there be five directives? It's absurd! (Laughter)

Some people are just relying on this method—spreading rumors, pretending they're coming from Beijing, and posting them on Shanghai's streets, assuming no one can refute them. Frankly, I'm not interested in refuting these rumors; they aren't worth addressing. But if we really had to, it would be simple. If you can spread rumors, why can't we just give

the Premier a call to ask about it? Let them keep spreading lies! These people need to be careful when they're fabricating stories. If they impersonate the central government, we'll take action. (Applause)

We say revolution has no crime, and rebellion is justified. If you have a reason, state it openly—don't rely on rumors. Making a living off rumors will never fill your stomach. (Laughter) If you have a legitimate reason, then present it! As for the leaders of the Honggehui, if you have a legitimate reason, you are free to speak. But no more rumors. We believe the fighters of the Honggehui are committed to revolution, and we have never doubted that. The Honggehui's fighters have called us to say they want to hold a meeting to apologize. We told them, "You have nothing to apologize for; you're not guilty." The fighters of the Honggehui are innocent; the guilty ones are the small group of leaders. (Warm applause)

As for those leaders, we hope they can truly correct their mistakes. We are not prepared to eliminate them outright, but we still maintain an honest attitude. They should not use deceptive tactics or deliberately provoke the Honggehui fighters to deceive them into continuing with the wrong path. We are still following the attitude expressed in the central Cultural Revolution Group's telegram of January 29: we support the Honggehui fighters' rebellion, and we welcome them! (Applause)

Now, there's another movement trying to provoke the feelings of the children of our revolutionary cadres and military officers. Yesterday, I saw a flyer from something called the Revolutionary Cadres and Military Cadres Children's Joint Combat Corps. This was a counter-revolutionary flyer, deliberately trying to stir up the feelings of the children of military and revolutionary cadres, suggesting that society is turning against them and their parents. This is pure nonsense! The vast majority of our revolutionary cadres stand with Chairman Mao, and the vast majority of our military and political cadres stand with Chairman Mao. The majority of the children of military and revolutionary cadres also stand with Chairman Mao. These children are with the Party, with the people, with Chairman Mao! (Warm applause, slogans, "Long live Chairman Mao!")

Even if they have some flaws or mistakes, they can be corrected. Those who try to stir up their emotions and lead them down the wrong path with movements like “联动” (a reactionary movement), they will not

succeed. We hope our revolutionary comrades will be responsible to the Party and the people, treating these young comrades well, because they are with the Party. They won't always follow their parents; they will follow the Party. We are confident that we can do a good job with them. Only in this way can we prevent the reactionary “联动” organization from expanding in Shanghai.

Finally, I want to talk briefly about the issues of organizational reform, ideological rectification, and style of work. I won't say too much on this, as I've already spoken for quite a long time. Now, to carry out Chairman Mao's instructions and to continue the Cultural Revolution in Shanghai, we need to reorganize the revolutionary factions. Specifically, we must raise the ideological level of the revolutionary rebel organizations in Shanghai. These organizations have made great contributions to the people of Shanghai and to the people of the entire nation, and this is evident to all and cannot be erased. However, we must also acknowledge that there are many problems. I'm talking about the revolutionary rebel organizations here, not counter-revolutionary or reactionary organizations. Our ranks include some impure elements that need to be cleansed.

At the same time, we suggest adjusting the organization according to the development of the struggle. Some organizations now need to be restructured along the lines of their specific units, industries, systems, or regions. Right now, many revolutionary organizations are cross-sectoral. For example, some are workers' organizations, but they also include peasants, civil servants, students, and cultural workers. This is very mixed, and some organizations that were originally student-led have now absorbed workers and others. This is not ideal. It's better to organize by industry, and there's also an issue with organizing strictly by units. If people are organized across different units, it becomes hard to identify who the bad elements are. But organizing within a unit makes it easier to root out those bad elements.

From the perspective of the overall struggle, and especially the three «struggle, criticize, and transform» (斗批改) approach, it might be better to organize by system. For example, textile workers could form a larger organization, or metallurgical workers could form a joint organization. This way, when they critique or struggle with issues within their own system, it would be more convenient and effective. This is a suggestion

that I hope comrades will consider. This issue involves many revolutionary organizations, and it can only be solved through democratic methods and consultation. There are many types of guild organizations, and some groups that are solely focused on economic struggles have actually led to divisions within the working class. For example, groups formed by university graduates from 1956—if you are part of such a group, I advise you to think carefully. Whether it was 1956, 1957, or 1965, each year has its own mix of left, right, and middle elements. You cannot claim that every single person from those years was a revolutionary. We must organize according to class, based on the left, middle, and right. We are revolutionary rebels, so we should organize as revolutionary rebels.

There are also some very peculiar groups. I heard recently about some tombs being dug up—some people whose families had been affected organized a “rebel headquarters.” But what are they rebelling against? They wanted funds, stamps, and other things, but that doesn’t constitute a legitimate revolutionary organization! Some organizations are not acceptable or should not have been formed. I hope these groups will disband voluntarily. (Applause)

Some organizations have too many idle personnel. I mentioned before that this needs to be addressed. Gradually, we should aim to select representatives based on the principles of the Paris Commune. There are some organizations in the city with large names, but when you ask, there are few members. They still want houses and cars. I would hope that these people return to their original positions and focus on production and revolution. If you can organize the revolution in your unit well, that would be a good achievement. Many of us still haven’t taken control of certain units!

Another issue I want to address is the importance of study. We must make a concerted effort to study Chairman Mao’s works. You cannot use the excuse of being too busy to read. For some former leaders of the old city party committee, this was a major mistake: they didn’t study. It was difficult to get them to read Mao’s works. Even when a study session was scheduled for Saturday, no one showed up. This is something that requires self-awareness. Comrades, I hope you will think about a line from the editorial of *Hongqi* magazine’s third issue. It said, “We hope that some people do not become fleeting figures.” I want to emphasize this, as

we have recently noticed a few individuals—though not many—who had made significant contributions during the Cultural Revolution, but who have now made significant mistakes. This message is for those individuals. To all comrades here, we must ask ourselves: is it possible for us to fall into the same trap? Is it possible for us to become conceited after achieving a small victory and let personalism grow again? The only solution is to eliminate our blindness and increase our self-awareness. We must study Chairman Mao's works thoroughly, not just read a few quotations during meetings. We need to really learn Chairman Mao's thoughts. It's important to study his works, especially for those who now hold power.

Many of you here were not in power before, but now you are. The question is, are you part of the proletarian leadership or the bourgeois leadership? This is a test we are facing! If we hold power and follow Chairman Mao, actively read his books, and struggle with the bad things in our minds, then we can become part of the proletarian leadership. But if we let bourgeois ideas develop in our minds, we may become part of the capitalist leadership, and then we must be overthrown. At that point, some of you here may rise up to challenge us. I am speaking now while we are in a good mood, and it will benefit us. To avoid being overthrown, we must first think about the possibility of being overthrown! (Applause and slogans: "Always listen to Chairman Mao!")

On the matter of study, we must make sure to learn from Chairman Mao thoroughly. Chairman Mao spends a significant portion of his time each day reading books and newspapers. He reads all the newspapers from the Red Guards across the country, and he looks through all the leaflets. Every day, his secretary gives him a stack of newspapers and leaflets to read. Why does he need to understand so many things? He gathers a lot of information from this. He has told the comrades in the Central Cultural Revolution Group and us: no matter how busy you are, you must spend four hours a day reading and looking at newspapers.

Comrades, can you all manage to set aside just two hours for this? (Laughter, applause, and the slogan "Listen to Chairman Mao's words!") Comrades, the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee and all of our revolutionary factions here—we are following Chairman Mao's instructions. We have confidence that no matter how rampant the class enemies may be, they cannot defeat us! However, a fortress is easy to breach from within.

If we do not manage our own affairs well, if we do not firmly and thoroughly follow Chairman Mao's instructions, if we do not constantly study Chairman Mao's works and conscientiously transform our worldview, then we might cause harm ourselves.

So, as I conclude my speech, I want us to have this confidence: the enemy cannot defeat us! We have that confidence! We must study Chairman Mao's works well. We possess the most powerful weapon—Mao Zedong Thought. The Cultural Revolution in Shanghai will, under Chairman Mao's care and the guidance of the Party Central Committee, achieve even greater victories! (Applause and slogans) I wish all comrades good health! I wish everyone even greater victories in their work! (Warm applause and slogans)

The end. (Thunderous applause and slogans)

The Nankai University Broadcasting Society and Data Group, based on recordings, compiled and reprinted the March 4, 1967 document from the 12.26 Combat Group of Tianjin City Finance School on March 8, 1967.

Attachment: The Latest Instructions from Chairman Mao Conveyed in Zhang Chunqiao's Speech at the Mass Rally in Shanghai

[From February 12 to 18, Chairman Mao invited Comrades Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan to Beijing. During this week, the Chairman met with them three times and gave many important instructions.]

(1) The Issue of the 'Three-in-One' Combination

Chairman Mao said: Seizing power must follow the "Three-in-One" combination. The situation in Fujian, Guizhou, and Inner Mongolia is not too problematic, though there is some disorder. Currently, in Shanxi Province, 53% of the power is held by revolutionary masses, 27% by the military, and 20% by government cadres. Shanghai should learn from them. The victory of the January Revolution has been achieved, but February, March, and April are crucial and even more important.

Chairman Mao stated that the slogans “Doubt Everything” and “Overthrow Everything” are reactionary. The Shanghai Municipal People’s Committee pressured the Premier, demanding the abolition of all leadership positions—this is extreme anarchism and extremely reactionary. Who initiated this? Now, many refuse to use titles like “director” and prefer to be called “service staff” or “attendants,” but this is just a superficial change; in reality, leadership roles still exist.

The Chairman said that in Hunan, a slogan emerged: “The current proletarian dictatorship must be changed”—this is a reactionary slogan.

(2) On the Shanghai People’s Commune

Chairman Mao said: Since the establishment of the People’s Commune, have you considered a series of related issues? If communes were established nationwide, should the People’s Republic of China change its name? If changed, it would become the “People’s Commune of China”—would other countries recognize it?

The Soviet Union might not recognize you, though Britain and France might. If changed, what would happen to the embassies in various countries? Have you considered these issues?

Currently, many places are applying to the central government to establish People’s Communes. There is an official document from the central government stating that, except for the Shanghai People’s Commune, no other places are allowed to establish communes.

Chairman Mao suggested that Shanghai should make a change—to rename it as the “Revolutionary Committee” or revert to the “Municipal Party Committee” or “Municipal People’s Committee.”

Chairman Mao also said: The commune has been too lenient in suppressing counterrevolutionaries. Some people have complained to me that in the Public Security Bureau, people are arrested through the front door but released through the back door.

Chairman Mao stated: The power structure in schools can be called either the Cultural Revolution Committee or the Cultural Revolution Leading Group.

(3) On the Central Cultural Revolution Group's Emergency Directive

Chairman Mao said: I have read it; it is well written and has a rebellious spirit.

The last point states: "Necessary measures will be taken."

If the mass rally to attack Zhang Chunqiao takes place, necessary measures must be taken to arrest people.

(4) A Few Accounts to Be Settled Later

1. The Shanghai Municipal Committee Office issuing orders to the Premier.
2. The issue of the Red Guard Revolutionary Committee (红革会).
3. The Guangzhou Revolutionary Committee (广革会) opposing military control of the radio station.
4. Opposition to military control at Longhua Airport.

(5)

1. The phrase "The world belongs to us..." (Note: This quote was made by Chairman Mao in 1920) is used a lot now, but I can't remember it myself anymore, so don't use it in the future.
2. In the future, do not mention "down with the stubborn elements who persist in the bourgeois reactionary line," instead say "down with the ruling party members who are taking the capitalist road."
3. The Chairman asked, "Are the students from Tongji University still at the train station and the docks?" Zhang Chunqiao replied, "They are still there." The Chairman asked again, "Were they still there when you arrived?" Zhang answered, "Yes, they were." The Chairman said, "That's good. Before, the students and workers were not truly united, but now they are truly united."

4. I have read Liu Shaoqi's *On the Cultivation of Communist Party Members* several times, and it is anti-Marxist-Leninist. Now, our methods of struggle should be more sophisticated. We cannot always rely on things like "smash the dog head" and "down with so-and-so." I believe university students should study it better, select a few passages, and write articles to critique it.

5. The arts community should also return to their original units to conduct the cultural revolution.

6. The *Wenhui Daily* is doing very well. I agree with their stance of not attacking the local cadre in the alleyways, and I support them. Comrade Zhang Chunqiao said, "The *Wenhui Daily* is under a lot of pressure." Chairman Mao said, "We must support them."

Zhang Chunqiao conveys Chairman Mao's latest instructions

1967.2.24

[At the 'Rally to Vow to Further Carry Out the Struggle for Power and Raise the Great Red Flag of Mao Zedong Thought' Held at the Shanghai Cultural Revolution Square on February 24, 1967]

Comrades and fellow fighters of the revolutionary rebel faction:

Greetings! It has been a long time since we sat together to discuss matters.

On the 12th, Chairman Mao called us to Beijing. He quickly met with us that day, and later convened and chaired a central meeting to discuss issues related to Shanghai and other matters, issuing a series of decisions. Before we returned to Shanghai, the Chairman met with us again.

First, I want to report to the comrades that Chairman Mao is in very good health. Each conversation we had with him lasted a long time, but his energy remained strong and his mood cheerful. He is very concerned about Shanghai and understands the situation very well, which moved us deeply. Chairman Mao gave a very high evaluation of the contributions made by the revolutionary masses in Shanghai during the Cultural Revolution.

This time, he said, "The work in Shanghai, on the whole, has been very good. When the workers in Shanghai were involved in the Anting Incident, there were only a few thousand of them; now there are over a million. This shows that the workers in Shanghai were organized very quickly." Chairman Mao also inquired about the situation with the farmers, students, and government officials. This is the greatest trust, assistance, and support for the revolutionary rebels in Shanghai, the workers, and the people of Shanghai. With Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee's support, no matter how difficult the challenges ahead, and no matter how many tricks the class enemies may play, they will never be able to stop our progress.

1: Regarding the Issue of Seizing Power

1. The Proletarian Cultural Revolution has entered a new stage, which began with the “January Revolution” in Shanghai.

The fundamental issue of the revolution is the question of power, and the fundamental issue of the Cultural Revolution is also the same. This struggle for power is different from the one in 1949 when power was taken from the Kuomintang. Chairman Mao said: “This revolution is a revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; it was initiated by us, and it is we who have set it in motion.” On that day, Chairman Mao also instructed the Central Cultural Revolution Group to write an important article titled “On Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.”

Our understanding is that Chairman Mao here indicated that for the past seventeen years, China has been under the dictatorship of the proletariat, with Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line occupying a dominant position, rather than the Liu-Deng line. But why is there still a need for revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat? Chairman Mao explained: “Because part of the proletarian state apparatus has been usurped.” Chairman Mao’s words are dialectical—first affirming the whole, then negating the partial. He also pointed out that the slogan “completely improve the dictatorship of the proletariat” is reactionary, as it seeks to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and establish bourgeois dictatorship. The correct expression should be to partially improve the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Why has this revolution been initiated by us? Because after seventeen years of stability since the founding of the country, China, which had endured over a hundred years of turmoil, has finally achieved unification and stability, and people were generally satisfied. However, like everything, unity and stability have both positive and negative aspects. Part of the state apparatus had been usurped, and within stability, there existed instability. This revolution aims to completely uproot the roots of revisionism. Chairman Mao’s ability to summarize deep truths into simple phrases is remarkable.

2. In the struggle for power, the key factor today is the “three-in-one combination.”

This is an important condition for both seizing power and consolidating it. The authority of the Shanghai Municipal Committee and the Municipal People's Committee has been seized several times: on January 14, the Second Military Corps, upon returning to Shanghai, seized it; on January 22, the "Shanghai Three Forces" and other four organizations seized it; on January 24, the Red Guards seized it again. But what exactly did they seize? A few rooms, the big seal, and they thought they had power, but in reality, they never obtained real power. They issued statements, but no one listened to them. The East China Bureau was also like this. They seized a few rooms and asked Wei Wenbo for a few cars, but got nothing else. I think such power seizures are not worth pursuing.

The central directive clearly stated that the authority of the East China Bureau Secretariat cannot be seized because it is the representative organ of the Central Committee; seizing it would mean seizing the authority of the Central Committee itself. The authority of the East China Bureau office can be seized, but it's just a matter of a few rooms, and there is no real meaning in it. This shows that only a broad united front of proletarian revolutionary factions can truly seize power. If only one or two organizations seize power, it will only lead to factionalism and small-groupism, essentially turning public ownership into small-group ownership. This, in turn, undermines the socialist economy, much like the situation in Yugoslavia, where they were promoting workers' "autonomy."

We speak sharply on this matter to make these comrades realize that this path cannot be followed. If you want to seize power, you must find the best form of a large united front — this is the "three-in-one combination." If one part is missing, it is not a true united front. A united front is not simply about the number of mass organizations; if it lacks the other two components, it is not a united front, and it cannot seize power or consolidate it. Chairman Mao emphasized this aspect the most this time.

We attended the report from the representatives of Shanxi Province: without the support of the stationed military in Shanxi, the province would not have been able to seize power. The Shanxi Provincial Committee was thoroughly reactionary, organizing plainclothes agents and distributing guns. Liu Geping lived opposite two agents, with their guns pointed directly at his window. Liu was at risk of being captured at any moment. It was only because the stationed military firmly supported the revoluti-

onary rebels that the unarmed revolutionary masses were able to seize power. Therefore, the support of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) is essential. So, can there be a revolution without revolutionary leaders? No, there cannot! A fighting team needs a leader. In the current power struggle, leadership is necessary, whether new or old. Why do we need experienced old cadres who have held leadership positions? The reason is simple. For example, some workers have shown great courage, dared to rebel, and contributed significantly to the Cultural Revolution, but if you were to hand them control over a city like Shanghai or a province like Jiangsu, they would find it difficult because they lack experience. They might be more familiar with managing a workshop, but managing an entire city is another matter. It's not just workers — even I, who have done some work in the past, would find it difficult to suddenly take over all the affairs of Shanghai. I used to participate in discussions within the municipal committee, but I wasn't the one making decisions. When Comrade Ke was alive, if we encountered an unsolvable issue, we would go to him for instructions. After he fell ill, we realized the weight of the burden, and it has only gotten heavier since. There are many things I don't understand well, like finance and taxation — honestly, I had no interest in them before. I have some understanding of rural affairs, but it's far from enough... Chairman Mao said: A university student can't be the president of a university before graduating, as they are unfamiliar with the whole school. Even being a department head wouldn't work, because they haven't taught before and lack leadership experience for the entire department. It should still be teachers and assistant professors trained in the past who take on the responsibility. Young comrades present, don't be discouraged — Chairman Mao also said that young people have made many contributions during this Cultural Revolution, but it's still not suitable for them to take over the position of provincial or municipal committee secretaries immediately. My personal understanding is also like this — the “three-in-one combination” is a great way for young people to gain experience. If young people, in their twenties, follow older revolutionary cadres for seven, eight, or ten years, they can still be relatively young when they become provincial committee secretaries in their thirties.

Take Shanghai, for example. Chairman Mao gave us high praise, but if the temporary committee of the People's Commune had not implemented the “three-in-one combination” when it was first established, the plaq-

ue would likely have been smashed long ago. Wasn't there this danger? Weren't others already preparing for the second and third communes? Even the guard company assigned to protect the commune's office building had asked for instructions about what to do if someone came to smash the plaque. Therefore, without the support of the PLA, it would not have been feasible. I am not overestimating my role or that of Yao Wenyuan; personally, we had little impact. However, because we participated in the work of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, it made certain people think twice before attacking the People's Commune. This demonstrates the importance of the "three-in-one combination." Some people always want to test things. In the past, there were those who opposed the Shanghai People's Commune, and now there are those who oppose the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee. We are very clear in our stance — if anyone dares to try, let them come!

The Shanghai People's Commune has already established a certain level of authority, and in the future, its authority needs to be further strengthened.

There are more than 600 department (bureau) heads and over 6,000 division chiefs in Shanghai. Is it difficult to find objects for the "three combined" ("三结合") among these 600 or 6,000 people? Most of these comrades are still good. Of course, they took a long time to rise up, until the large meeting on December 18, but this was still considered early on a national level! Chairman Mao was very pleased when he heard this. Those who revolted were mostly regular cadres, with none from the Standing Committee of the Municipal Party Committee or the Deputy Mayors. This cannot be blamed on the rebels; it's their own fault, and also that of Chen Puxian and Cao Diqu. They pushed an anti-proletarian line and misled many cadres. They didn't seriously pass on many instructions from Chairman Mao and the Central Committee, causing many cadres to be unaware of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao's voice. At the 8th Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, Cao Diqu only passed on the instructions for an hour at the Standing Committee meeting of the Municipal Party Committee. It's said that Chairman Mao's "Bombard the Headquarters" Big Character Poster wasn't even conveyed. As a result, when the Beijing Red Guards arrived, many cadres were resistant. In the "Anting Incident," Cao Diqu only passed on Tao Zhu's instructions, while Chairman Mao's instructions weren't even commun-

icated to the Standing Committee, leaving Ma Tianshui unaware. Therefore, under Cao's incitement, he even went to the Central Industrial and Commercial Meeting to protest. So, Chen and Cao not only owe debts to the people of Shanghai and the broad masses of cadres, but also to their fellow comrades. They also used "separation of inside and outside" and "organizational discipline" to limit the cadres, which is why we understand now why under the leadership of Old Ke (Ke Yuyi), the work in Shanghai was still done quite well! Particularly during the 1958 and 1959 periods, Shanghai's work was among the best in the country! Weren't these the same 600+ department heads and 6,000+ division chiefs?

Chairman Mao said not to only look at the actions of the cadres in a short period, but to consider their entire history. Moreover, during the Cultural Revolution, their attitudes were not uniform. Chairman Mao taught us: We must trust more than 95% of the masses. More than 95% of the cadres will follow us. There are many small bourgeois elements in China, but as long as we guide them well, they will follow us too. Chairman Mao, no matter when, always trusted the overwhelming majority of the masses. The reactionary bourgeois line is one that does not believe in the majority. The editorial in issues three and four of Hongqi is very important. In issue three, there is a passage that originally said, "As long as they are not anti-Party or anti-socialist elements, we should allow them to reform and encourage them to make amends." Chairman Mao revised it to say, "As long as they are not anti-Party or anti-socialist elements and persist in not changing or remain uncorrectable..." Chairman Mao's addition of these words embodies the greatest thought, clarifying the boundaries of policy and making them much broader.

Some comrades, before seizing power, paid attention to studying Chairman Mao's works, but after seizing power, they became so busy that they stopped reading books and newspapers, which is very dangerous. These two issues of the editorial should be studied word by word!

The idea of "doubt everything, overthrow everything" is reactionary. This is not the thinking of the revolutionary factions, but it has influenced us because we saw so many stubborn people and became very angry, so we believed it when others propagated it. In fact, this slogan is fundamentally incorrect. The people who shout this slogan do not overthrow themselves, do not doubt themselves, and do not question whether this slogan

is wrong. Class struggle is the confrontation between two classes, one class overthrowing another. Does the bourgeoisie overthrow the bourgeoisie? Unless they have internal contradictions. The people who shout “doubt everything, overthrow everything” will ultimately go against themselves and be overthrown by others.

In Shanghai, when we asked about the rebel organizations, they always said: “Our organization is great; there isn’t even a section chief.” The central government has an agency that doesn’t even want a deputy section chief, and they think they are pure. This is a complete lack of class analysis. Recently, the State Council informed us of a document in which a rebel headquarters of a municipal committee issued a notice to the State Council requesting the cancellation of all “leaders.” Many things in it are wrong, such as “traditionally, section chiefs manage departmental heads, and departmental heads manage employees.” I believe this will still be the case in the future. “Leaders have always ridden on the heads of the Party and the people.” Is Comrade Lin Biao, as Minister of Defense, also riding on the heads of the Party and the people? This is reactionary. Chairman Mao made it very clear: “If you don’t want even a deputy section chief, you won’t last long.” Chairman Mao stated in the five criteria for successors: “...not only should you unite with those who share the same opinions as you, but you should also be good at uniting with those who have different opinions from you, and even those who opposed you and who have been proven wrong by practice.”

We understand that in Shanghai, some people have never had the opportunity to speak, and we should give them the opportunity, let them come forward, let them network, and let them return to Chairman Mao’s revolutionary path. Of course, there are some who, even if given the opportunity, won’t change. We shouldn’t wait until the conditions are fully mature to implement the “three combinations,” and we shouldn’t necessarily seek perfect cadres for the combination. We can approach it differently. Some can participate in core leadership, others can engage in general work, and other forms can also be considered.

Some are worried that they are “opportunists,” but there’s nothing to fear. Opportunism will be exposed sooner or later, and the revolutionary rebels fear nothing—so why are we afraid now? This is also a result of the influence of “doubt everything, overthrow everything.” If we make a

mistake in the future, we will immediately be overthrown. After returning, each unit should line up and select role models, and work with the cadres to have them step forward. Some of them admit they stood late, so let them step forward quickly! “As long as they are not anti-Party or anti-socialist elements and have not persisted in their errors, they can be dealt with this way.”

Now, there is emotional resistance on both sides. After fighting for so long, we now have to unite. Emotionally, people think it's not good. But what's wrong with this? Our struggle was to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and today's unity is also to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Cadres, especially leading cadres, must first pay attention not to hold grudges. After some struggles, sometimes things went too far, but they should be understood. The rebels should “punish the past, prevent future mistakes, cure sickness, and save people,” and cadres should also apply “punish the past, prevent future mistakes, cure sickness, and save people” to the rebels and the revolutionary young soldiers. Every revolution pays a price, but how could such an unprecedented revolution in history not come at a cost? Our cost is small compared to the cost of the bourgeois democratic revolutions in England and France. Some struggles were completely right, others were excessive, but they are still your contribution to the revolution! Honestly speaking, without the revolutionary young soldiers charging ahead, without Chairman Mao's leadership, without such a great movement, could the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee's lid have been lifted? Could some people have been exposed? No, it's impossible! These great achievements cannot be erased. Let's still look at the bigger picture! From the perspective of the country's and the world's future, don't just focus on yourself. Including the comrades in the provincial and municipal party committees, as long as they are willing to correct their mistakes and follow Chairman Mao, we welcome them. Those who have made mistakes, even serious ones, now is the crucial moment for them to choose their path.

3. Chairman Mao said: “The Paris Commune was established in 1871, and now it has been 96 years. If the Paris Commune had not failed at that time, but had been victorious, I believe it would have become a bourgeois commune by now. Because the French bourgeoisie would not allow a proletarian commune to exist for such a long time. The October Revolution created the Soviets, and Lenin was very happy, but he didn't

anticipate that this form could be used by the proletariat as well as the bourgeoisie. As a result, it was exploited by Khrushchev..." South Vietnam has a presidential system, and its neighboring country Cambodia has a monarchy. I think the monarchy in Cambodia is better. India has a presidential system, and Nepal is a kingdom. I think the kingdom system in Nepal is better. Later, Chairman Mao gave examples from the Zhou and Han dynasties, and when talking about Wang Mang, he said that he was the one who liked changing names the most, just like how the Beijing Red Guards changed the names of all the streets. In the end, the new names couldn't be remembered, so people still used the old names. Therefore, names shouldn't be changed too often; the form is secondary, the content is primary, and what matters most is which class is in power. For example, the Soviet Union changed, but the name didn't change. I think we should remain steady. Now, all the provinces and cities are learning from Shanghai and calling it a People's Commune, but what about the State Council? Should the national name be changed? If it were changed to the Chinese People's Commune, then the President of the country would have to be called the Commune Director or Chairman. Once the national name is changed, there is the issue of whether other countries will recognize it. I think the Soviet Union would not recognize it because it would not be in its interest. Once the Commune is established, should we still have a Party? I believe we should still have one, as there must always be a core, regardless of whether it's called the Communist Party, Social Democratic Party, or something else... In short, there should still be a Party. I think the name should remain unchanged. We should still hold the People's Congress, and the State Council should still be called the State Council. Shanghai People's Commune could be changed to Shanghai Revolutionary Committee!

Do the people of Shanghai really like the name People's Commune? You should go back and discuss with everyone. If you still want to keep the name "People's Commune," the advantage is that it protects the enthusiasm of the people of Shanghai, but the disadvantage is that you are the only ones in the whole country doing this, which might be very isolating. If it's printed in People's Daily, then everyone will be calling it the People's Commune, and it will lead to a series of problems. After you return, discuss it with everyone. If it must be called that, then call it that. In any case, we should neither dampen the enthusiasm of the people of Shanghai nor affect the broader picture.

From the above, I personally feel that Chairman Mao stood high and saw far. Whenever a problem reached him, he always considered it in great detail, from many perspectives, and over a long time. Moreover, he always protected the enthusiasm of the people. Later, the Central Committee decided that the term “People’s Commune” should no longer be used, but it left room for the people of Shanghai by stating, “Unless otherwise instructed by Chairman Mao.” After we returned to Shanghai and held a meeting, everyone unanimously agreed to change the name.

Now, many people say that Chairman Mao didn’t agree to call it a People’s Commune because the “three-in-one” (three-way combination) was not implemented, and because the “Red Guard Committee” didn’t participate. To these people, we ask you to take back your statements! The fact that the Shanghai proletarian revolutionary faction seized the power of the Shanghai Municipal Committee and Municipal People’s Committee cannot be erased.

At a meeting, someone said: “The slogan ‘All power to the Shanghai People’s Commune’ is wrong because it was organized by a minority.” In reality, it is because it did not include him. Now we can clearly state that the slogan “All power to the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee” and “All power to the Shanghai People’s Commune” are both completely correct.

Our power must never be shared with individual opportunists.

Those who shout that “the Shanghai People’s Commune was organized by a minority,” if they don’t have ulterior motives, simply do not understand what the January Revolution was about. The struggle to seize power in Shanghai started in late December. At that time, the “Red Guards” were engaged in the “Three Stoppages” (stop production, stop transportation, and stop business), and if power hadn’t been seized, in just one month—no, in just twenty days—Shanghai would have been irreparably damaged. In fact, the power had already been seized during the meeting on January 6th, before the Commune was even formally established. Tens of millions of people in Shanghai rose up to seize power, and with such a strong mass foundation, how could this have been the work of a minority? Some people even say that I was the one who initiated it. Thank you, but I don’t have that much influence. Today, we are just changing the name, and some comrades have proposed that “Defend the People’s

Commune with blood and life” is a very solemn slogan. Now we can say, “Defend the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee with blood and life.” There are a small group of people—just a small group—who are engaging in factionalism and groupism, driven by the pursuit of “private” interests. Honestly, anyone who tries to make a political issue out of changing the name of the People’s Commune will not have a good outcome. I advise you not to waste your efforts.

2: Focus on Revolution and Promote Production

Recently, the Central Committee has issued a series of documents, and our task is to resolutely implement them. We, the revolutionary rebels, must be determined to ensure that the instructions of the Central Committee are carried out. First, we must focus on agriculture. The greatest characteristic of agriculture is its strong seasonality—if we delay by even one day, it can have a significant impact on the yield. No matter what kind of revolution is being carried out, people still need to eat, so we must promote production. However, in order to do well in production, we must also focus on revolution.

But, when we talk about focusing on revolution and promoting production, we should not extend the time for the revolution endlessly or remove too many people from production. Comrade Lin Biao said: Revolution comes first, but in terms of time, production is the main priority. Especially during the spring plowing season, we need to address the situation according to the current specific conditions.

For those comrades supporting agriculture, supporting the interior, and supporting Xinjiang, I hope you will sincerely understand and implement the instructions of the Central Committee. It is an immense honor for you to go there. If the situation there is not improved, no matter how well Shanghai is developed, it will be of no use. We should remember that Comrade Ke went to Sichuan precisely because he was concerned about the development of the interior, and it was there that he passed away. Some people, unable to achieve their goals, want to return to Shanghai and resort to fighting against local cadres, settling cadres. Some people eat the people’s food but do not serve the people, and have done many bad things in the city, which becomes an even bigger problem. In Xinjiang, many young people have returned to their original places, and product-

ion has been greatly affected. There are some workers from state-owned farms staying at the Peace Hotel—what are you doing? Your positions are in the countryside. If you continue staying here in the hotel, you will be corrupted. We know that among you, there are a small number of bad people, but the vast majority of workers should not fall for their schemes.

Laziness and slacking are not characteristics of the working class.

3: Suppressing Counter-Revolutionaries

Shanghai not only has Chinese landowners, capitalists, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists, but also foreign landowners, capitalists, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists. In terms of strategy, we must disregard them, but in terms of tactics, we must take them seriously. The situation is very complicated, and we must carefully observe. They are using the banner of “rebellion,” and some have even gone to great lengths to infiltrate rebel organizations.

The guideline from Chairman Mao on suppressing counter-revolutionaries has always been to combine the power of the ruling apparatus with the support of the masses. We must firmly support the People’s Liberation Army, not only the ground forces but also the navy and air force. The three branches of the military in Shanghai—army, navy, and air force—have provided strong support to the revolutionary rebels in Shanghai. Here, on behalf of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee, I would like to express my deep gratitude.

There are still a small number of people in Shanghai who oppose military control. If these people are truly rebels, they should first apologize to the military representatives. If not, we will take other measures.

Now, there are some people in society who make a living by spreading rumors. For example, some in the municipal committee fabricated Premier Zhou’s four-point instructions. There have been false reports about the “Red Revolutionary Committee” and the instructions from the Premier, two exaggerated reports from the “Red Guards,” and even fabricated five points about Shanghai’s situation from Comrade Wang Li. Even more absurdly, someone recently spread rumors about supposed instructions from the Central Cultural Revolution Reception Station regarding Shan-

ghai's situation. It is enough to say one thing: there is no such "Central Cultural Revolution Reception Station," no reception stations at all, so how could there be any instructions? It is easy for us to debunk these rumors, but we don't want to and it's not worth the effort. These rumor-mongers should be cautious—using the names of the Central Committee and national leaders for deception is punishable by law. We say "revolution is innocent, rebellion is justified," but if you are right, come and speak up! Do not make a living by spreading rumors, because rumors will not fill your stomach. As for the small group of leaders of the "Red Revolutionary Committee," if you are right, speak up! I have never doubted that the fighters in the "Red Revolutionary Committee" are revolutionary. They called me and asked for a public apology meeting, and I said, "What crime have you committed? The only ones guilty are a small number of leaders of the 'Red Revolutionary Committee.' We need to reach out to them and see if they sincerely repent."

Currently, some people are trying to incite the children of revolutionary cadres and military cadres. To you, we say: Most of the revolutionary cadres stand with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and even more so do the military cadres. These are valuable assets to the Party and the country, and we absolutely do not allow any expansion of "joint actions" in Shanghai.

4: Organizational Rectification

The contribution of the revolutionary rebels in Shanghai to the Cultural Revolution is undeniable and visible to all the people of the country. I am talking about the revolutionary rebel organizations, not counter-revolutionary organizations. Within our ranks, there are some impure elements, and at the same time, we need to adjust according to the demands of the struggle. We should establish organizations according to systems, departments, and units. Some organizations are very mixed, with workers, students, and cadres all together. They float on the surface, and bad elements infiltrate unnoticed. If we organize according to specific systems, like the textile system or metallurgy system, it will be much easier to resolve issues within those systems. Furthermore, some organizations inherently have a divisive nature. For example, there are organizations formed by university graduates from 1956, which establish a "rebel headquarters" based on the year of graduation. No matter which year you graduated, there will

always be divisions between left, middle, and right. We must organize based on class, and categorize them as left, center, or right, not according to any other principles. There are also organizations that more obviously carry an economic-oriented nature, like those formed by people involved in grave relocation, who establish a “rebel headquarters.” Honestly, I don’t understand what they are rebelling against. I advise those who are floating on the surface to return to their original units and focus on the struggle, criticism, and reforms. Many units haven’t even completed their tasks yet.

The revolutionary rebels must focus on studying Chairman Mao’s works. We must avoid being short-lived figures. In both Beijing and other places, we have found a group of people—though still a minority—whom we admire and who are very talented, but they have all made relatively serious mistakes. This is a lesson we should all remember. My words are directed at these people. In conclusion, we must eliminate blindness and strengthen consciousness. After seizing power, everyone has become part of the ruling faction, but whether we are part of the proletarian or bourgeois ruling faction will depend on our future actions. If we do not handle it well, we might be overthrown by others, perhaps even by some comrades here. To prevent this from happening, we must be mindful of our actions.

Chairman Mao reads a large stack of newspapers and pamphlets every day. He repeatedly tells the Central Cultural Revolution Group that no matter how busy they are, they must dedicate at least four hours every day to reading. Can those of us present also set aside two hours?

At the end of my speech, I want to say that we must believe the enemy cannot defeat us. We must continue to advance with victory!

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Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan's Speech at the Expanded Meeting of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan 1967.03.12

[Zhang Chunqiao has recently been focusing on the grassroots power seizure in Chuansha County and Huangpu District. At the meeting, comrades from Chuansha County first introduced some of the situations.]

Zhang Chunqiao:

Regarding the issue of organizational structure, if things continue as they are now and drag on for another two or three months, the masses will inevitably rise up against them. After the power seizure at the district and county levels, we should not rush to immediately reform the organizations and establish new ones, because the previous structures have been paralyzed for two or three months. Building new ones will take a lot of time, and the masses are not familiar with them. It's better to improve the original ones. The so-called smashing of the state apparatus means removing the bad elements inside and forming a three-way combination team. The Cultural Revolution began in the schools, but now the universities are lagging behind. Society is expanding its power seizures, yet the universities have not even begun their struggles and criticisms. How can they be reformed? There are still many tasks to be done. We must consider the overall situation, and students should return to school.

These organizations (referring to the various groups within the Revolutionary Committee) should never establish large institutions. We should not take matters to the bureaus to handle; instead, we should get the original machinery running again and reform it, striving to establish the three-way combination. There should be no creation of new departments, just reform the existing ones. Does this mean restoring the old Municipal Committee or the old People's Committee? As long as the three-way combination is implemented, it's not the same. If the three-way combination is not implemented, then it is possible. We must work faster to get things done. Does this mean there is no mass base? The working class is in power, but that doesn't mean turning the Revolutionary Com-

mittee into all workers. The key is to look at which line it is following. Of course, we must bring in excellent representatives from the working class, and at the same time, continually promote new cadres. When considering cadres, the first thing to look at is whether they are revolutionary, whether they are loyal to Chairman Mao. Of course, we don't rule out the fact that some bureaus have absorbed workers and set up committees. However, these committees can only discuss major matters; when it comes to implementation, the various departments will carry it out. There should be a division of labor. Now, regarding the situation of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee, please think about it. There is not a single labor model worker inside, nor are there any representatives of farmers. How many committee members should there be? Let's discuss. I tend to lean toward having more. The committee should have a standing committee that handles daily work. Various mass organizations must strengthen organizational discipline. Representatives should consider how to lead the teams well. Some things become known quickly outside; the latest instructions from Chairman Mao that were conveyed last time were reported by foreign news agencies. What's more important is to properly lead the teams. For example, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions has millions of people—how is this team being managed? How are they being armed with Mao Zedong Thought? There is a difference between political organizations and mass organizations. Some matters should not be handled in the name of the Revolutionary Committee. The Revolutionary Committee spokespersons must bear legal responsibility. Now, there are some people discussing the “picking peaches” issue. Chairman Mao referred to two classes, not individuals. What peaches can individuals compete for? When making a revolution, there should be no pursuit of fame or profit. This “peach” should fall into the hands of the proletariat, not into the hands of individuals. If it falls into individual hands, it means misunderstanding the meaning of this struggle. Don't think too highly of yourself. Without Chairman Mao's instructions, could power have been seized? If one day the fourth page of the People's Daily is all about Shanghai, I would be somewhat worried. If the People's Commune name change had not been instructed by Chairman Mao, it would have been destroyed long ago. This power was seized by the Party, the masses, and Chairman Mao. Don't think too highly of yourself. Recently, some comrades in Shanghai have become so arrogant, thinking they are number one in the world, when in fact, at most, they are number two, with Chairman Mao being number one. If people inside start fighting

among themselves, there will be no need for class enemies to interfere; it will collapse on its own. Recently, some people have inflated the “I” in their minds, with no regard for Chairman Mao, the Party, or the masses, and no sense of the enemy. We need to summarize and rectify our thoughts so that we can all act according to Chairman Mao’s thoughts. Some people are more concerned with personal interests, not putting the revolution first. The more difficult work lies ahead. We must open the door to rectification; if we don’t rectify, we must do it behind closed doors. In any case, it must be done. We need to correctly handle contradictions among the people. Some organizations, when rectified, immediately turn to fighting, calling each other “big poisonous weeds,” “big conspiracies,” or “scavengers.” These terms are for the enemy; what “big conspiracy” could there be among comrades? Be harsh with the enemy, but kind with comrades. Of course, this does not mean being soft; we must grasp the big direction of the struggle. Problems between mass organizations can only be solved using the method of unity—criticism—unity.

Should we resolve city-wide organizations? This issue has already been addressed in the draft resolution, and we should proceed according to its spirit. I believe each organization must first understand its own situation. Some organizations have both revolutionary factions, conservative factions, and even counter-revolutionary elements. The commanders should return to their units, gain experience, and ensure the great unity within their own factories or schools, as this will grant them the right to speak. Everyone should return, go down, and work on resolving the great unity within their factories and schools. If city-level organizations are to be retained, they must not interfere with the great unity at the grassroots level; if they do interfere, the proposal is to overthrow this headquarters. City-level organizations should support the grassroots unity, regardless of the name under which it is united.

Comrade Yao Wenyan:

The Cultural Revolution has reached a very important moment, and the task ahead is to carry the Cultural Revolution through to the end. The overall situation is favorable. However, from a national perspective, the struggle for power at the city level has not been sufficiently widespread. In some areas, power has been seized, but the three-in-one system (three-way cooperation) has not been fully implemented; in other areas, the

class lines are not clear enough. In Shanghai, while power has been seized, there is still the task of carrying the revolution through to the end, following Chairman Mao's revolutionary line to complete the tasks of fighting, criticizing, and transforming—rooting out the revisionist elements, embedding Mao Zedong Thought in the hearts of every person, and overthrowing the ruling class that is following the capitalist road within the Party. Solving organizational issues is crucial to carrying the revolution through to the end.

There is something I need to mention: the day before yesterday, some people from Zhejiang came to hold a seminar and mentioned hearing rumors that “the Cultural Revolution is going to be stopped abruptly.” This claim is completely wrong. Now, even in Washington and Tokyo, such rumors are being spread. These people stand on a reactionary position and cannot understand the Cultural Revolution. We must push forward and complete it. Right now, there are many who are dispersing the army's morale, practicing factionalism, small-groupism, individualism, and striving for power. All of these must be eliminated. The revolution is deepening and advancing, not stagnating. This year, Chairman Mao summarized the nationwide struggle as a class struggle in all aspects. It is of great importance for students to return to school and take over key positions in the revolution. Capturing this position will be significant for consolidating socialist foundations and training the working-class successors. Students must always combine with the workers and peasants and continue to participate in the struggle, criticism, and transformation. The revolution is progressing, and we must view the various phenomena arising during the transitional period with a revolutionary perspective.

(Zhang: There are claims like, “First, drive out the students, then drive out the workers.” How can this be? If such things happen, the revolutionary committee will have to step down. This kind of thinking is wrong. Just think about it, when construction workers build houses, do they live in them themselves, or do they let the masses live in them? The proletariat should have this kind of spirit—fighting for the class, for the masses, and for the people's power, not fighting for individual power. Otherwise, they are unworthy of being called proletarian revolutionaries. Small-groupism forgets the people, forgets class interests, and forgets the general direction of the struggle. After seizing power, class struggle has not ended; it has merely changed forms. The class enemies still want to restore the old

order—Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, Chen Boda, and others are all attempting a restoration. We must maintain a sense of enemy awareness. Rectification must be done properly. We must adopt the approach of “punishing the past to warn the future” and “treating illnesses and saving people.” We must point out comrades’ shortcomings and allow for revolution. We should not resort to methods like arresting, smashing, or expelling. An organization cannot exist without addressing contradictions among the people. Every institution must quickly get the work underway, implement Mao Zedong’s revolutionary line, focus on relying on the masses, grasping key examples, and implementing policies, connecting upper and lower levels quickly.)

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Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan's Speech During a Meeting with the Staff of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee

Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan 1967.03.20

[Location: Sino-Soviet Friendship Building, Shanghai.]

Xu Jingxian: Since we seized power on February 5, everyone has participated in the work of the Revolutionary Committee and achieved a lot. You have done very well. On behalf of the comrades of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee, I extend to you the greetings of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Among those working with us are revolutionary students, members of mass organizations (38 rebel organizations), and revolutionary students from various places. Therefore, today's grand gathering is also a welcome for them. Everyone has long been eager to meet Comrades Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan.

Today, Comrade Chunqiao has taken time from his busy schedule to meet with us. Now, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao will speak to everyone.

Zhang Chunqiao:

I just heard that although everyone is working in the Revolutionary Committee, some of you have never seen me in the same office. That is terrible! It seems this is also a criticism of us—because we are too bureaucratic! I sincerely apologize. Every day, we receive a lot of letters, and many people request to meet us. Even if we sat for half a day reading them, we wouldn't be able to finish!

Just now, the "Fight to the End" group from Jiaotong University sent me a note, saying that ever since the Anting Incident, I had promised to meet with them but still haven't done so... (At this moment, someone starts recording.)

Zhang Chunqiao, somewhat annoyed, says: Why record this? It makes everything so tense and modernized. This habit is not very good. Let's just talk casually! Once, I casually chatted with some comrades from the East China Bureau, and suddenly, a leaflet about it appeared in Beijing. This time, when Mao Zedong's voice was transmitted, it also reached Beijing. But after reading it, I found that much of the content was not what I had said. This is not good. Now that we have seized power, even within our own ranks, we must still distinguish between internal and external matters!

Now, back to the topic. We have been working together, so we are quite familiar with each other. After returning to Shanghai for two and a half months, I haven't really done much. Mainly, I have been listening to reports, meeting only a few people. Much of the work has been done by the comrades here, as well as Shanghai's revolutionary workers, peasants, students, and cadres.

Take the reopening of the railway station, for example. We don't know how to operate trains. Wasn't it the railway workers and the Tongji "Oriental Red" fighters who made it happen? At most, we offered some suggestions—and sometimes, even those were wrong! But when everyone's work is put together, the achievements are enormous.

The situation in Shanghai is very good, and the national situation is also very good. Sometimes, I feel that a day passes very quickly, yet at other times, it feels very slow. It has been a month since I returned from Beijing, and when I think about it, many tasks are still unclear and unresolved, which makes time feel slow and makes me anxious. But overall, time is passing quickly.

The situation in Shanghai is very good, and the national situation is also very good. Sometimes, I feel that a day passes very quickly, yet at other times, it feels very slow. It has been a month since I returned from Beijing, and when I think about it, many tasks are still unclear and unresolved, which makes time feel slow and makes me anxious. But overall, time is passing quickly. The resistance from above comes from Liu and Deng's line. Liu and Deng no longer hold real power, but can we say they have been completely overthrown? No, we cannot. The criticism of Liu and Deng's line across the country is still weak, and in Shanghai, it is even

weaker. In the past, we mentioned them in mass meetings, but the criticism was never thorough. For example, Liu Shaoqi's book *On the Cultivation of Communist Party Members* has been poisoning minds for 20 to 30 years, and it was even republished in 1962, having a terrible influence. Yet, to this day, there has not been a single truly weighty critique of it. The Central Cultural Revolution Group is short on people and overwhelmed with work—sometimes, even publishing an editorial in *Red Flag* is difficult. So, we hope that comrades here will take up this task. Liu and Deng are just two representatives; they represent a small clique. Tao Zhu is another one—he was brought up after Liu and Deng were ousted. Are these the only three? Of course not. In Shanghai, aren't Chen and Cao the same? When Liu Shaoqi gave speeches, he at least had some so-called "theory," but Cao Diqu had nothing at all. If we do not thoroughly criticize the bourgeois reactionary line represented by Liu and Deng, then we cannot say the Cultural Revolution has been completely carried through.

Because class struggle within socialism still exists, and the struggle between two lines certainly persists, the bourgeoisie will definitely attempt a counterattack. So, while we must see the excellent situation before us, we must also always remember class struggle and remain aware that class enemies still exist. This is the fundamental direction.

Now, as everyone returns to schools to launch the revolution, the key question is: what is the direction of our struggle? Our focus must still be on the capitalist-roaders within the Party and the bourgeois reactionary line. Otherwise, we will lose our way. This issue is present in both the workers' movement and the student movement.

In the workers' movement, some are shifting their focus to attacking other mass organizations, desperately trying to label them as counterrevolutionary. The same is happening in schools—students are fiercely debating among themselves, but instead of targeting Chen and Cao, they are fighting each other. Some students think that since Chen and Cao have been overthrown, nothing is left but to engage in internal battles. They say, "Internal war until the end is victory!" Some even claim they have a basis for this—"Didn't the Chairman say this?" No! People are too quick to label others as "counterrevolutionary" or as "conservatives." They accuse others of "bombarding the Central Cultural Revolution

Group” or “bombarding Zhang Chunqiao.” The moment someone speaks, they shout, “The conservatives are overturning everything!”—demanding that person sincerely confess to Chairman Mao. But if someone remains silent, they are accused of being “centrist,” “compromising,” or “muddling through.” How can this be? If someone speaks, they are attacked; if they don’t speak, they are also attacked. Is this the correct direction of struggle? Take, for example, the January 26 power seizure in Nanjing. It was, of course, a major organization, but they practiced factionalism instead of promoting broad unity. They labeled many leftist organizations as counterrevolutionary—what kind of power seizure is that? The same problem exists in Zhejiang.

After the establishment of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee, internal contradictions and struggles naturally arose—this is well known. But the situation was never as severe as in some other places. We never issued any orders declaring certain mass organizations as counterrevolutionary, including the Red Guards. We must consider that they have so many fighters, most of whom are revolutionary. If we recklessly attack them, they will be burdened with a heavy load.

Everyone must clearly understand the necessity of revolutionary unity and reject factionalism. We must remember that imperialist enemies, such as U.S. imperialism, are still out there. Only when we recognize the need for unity can we truly come together. However, in recent times, we have noticed that in the activities of both workers and students, the overall direction is not as clear.

We cannot reject everything and overthrow everyone. In fact, this slogan—”Down with everything!”—was originally promoted by Tao Zhu in Beijing. He said, “Aside from Chairman Mao and Lin Biao, everything else can be doubted and bombarded.” The leaders of the Shanghai Red Guard Association made serious mistakes; they were heading in the wrong direction.

This is not to say that Yao Wenyan and I cannot be criticized. What criticism can’t we accept? We can even be bombarded. But that is not the real issue. The real issue is: what standpoint are you taking? The Red Guard Association sabotaged revolutionary unity at a crucial moment in Shanghai, causing a counterrevolutionary backlash. We hope that when

everyone returns to school, they will firmly grasp the correct direction of struggle. Once the direction is clear, the issues between different organizations can be properly resolved, since these are internal contradictions among the people. For example, in Zhejiang, two major organizations that had been received by the central leadership were in intense conflict. But when they were guided toward the correct direction, persuasion resolved the issue. One cannot simply declare, “Only I am truly revolutionary; everyone else is not.” That will inevitably lead to the opposite outcome—falling into the wrong side of history.

Our revolution has only just begun. We are all learning, especially the younger generation, whose worldview is still being shaped.

I have heard that things are getting intense among middle school students, and some are even forcing each other to undergo “tests.” How can this be? A middle school student not making mistakes? That would be a miracle! Even university students should make mistakes. Lenin once said that youth are bound to make mistakes. If someone makes a mistake, let them reflect once or twice—why force endless confessions?

We must let people engage in practice and give them time to think. We cannot treat our fellow students as enemies, demanding, “Speak! Speak!” (Mimicking the gesture—everyone laughs.)

When you return, whether to university or middle school, you must manage your own affairs. I never attended university, and I have been away from school for a long time, so school issues should be solved by you. That way, you will develop creativity. But you must never lose sight of the larger direction.

Educate yourselves and liberate yourselves—this has always been Chairman Mao’s policy. Do not be afraid of making mistakes. Some of you may worry, “I work for the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee—what if I make a mistake when I return?” It doesn’t matter! Even Chairman Mao’s best students make mistakes.

When you go back, you must fully implement Chairman Mao’s line and achieve revolutionary unity. The Red Guards are not a big issue. In the past, we had the city-wide Red Guard Association, but now it no longer

exists, which gives everyone even more freedom to organize and implement bottom-up revolutionary unity from the class level. These past few days, everyone has been asking whether city-level institutions are still necessary. Can we simply implement a bottom-up grand unification without considering them? In Shanghai, I actually think it is possible to retain a few large organizations. This is not to encourage internal battles, but because Shanghai has unique characteristics and significant external connections.

For example, when U.S. imperialists attacked our people or when we support Vietnam, Beijing holds rallies, and Shanghai cannot be absent. In such cases, mass organizations can take the lead. From this perspective, there is a need to maintain some city-level institutions.

However, from the perspective of grand unification, I also support their dissolution. But if they are not dissolved, that is also fine—as long as these organizations adhere to the principle of grand unification, it is acceptable. Once, when I visited a factory, I spoke with a certain organization about their views on uniting with other revolutionary groups. Their response was: “First, we do not advocate it; second, we do not support it; and third, we do not recognize it.” This won’t work! Isn’t this exactly the line of Chen and Cao?

We must understand that the masses will move forward, and we cannot stand in opposition to them. If we do, no matter how great our past contributions were, we will still be overthrown.

Some say, “Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee support us.” That is useless. Did Chairman Mao not support Liu Shaoqi in the past? Without Chairman Mao’s support, could Liu have held such high prestige? Chairman Mao even publicly declared Liu as his successor. But now that Liu stands in opposition to history and the masses, he has been overthrown!

Students need to return, so after some discussion, the main point is this: we must firmly grasp the general direction of the struggle, achieve grand unification, and strike at a small handful to isolate the enemy to the greatest extent. Only in this way can we fulfill the historical mission entrusted to us.

Yao Wenyan:

Everyone wants me to speak, but I don't have much to say. Chairman Mao has said that without investigation and research, one has no right to speak.

You have all participated in the work of the Revolutionary Committee and accomplished many great things, as Comrade Chunqiao just mentioned. This has been an unforgettable period! Since the January Revolution, revolutionary workers, peasants, students, and cadres in Shanghai have fought alongside us, carrying out a tremendous amount of work. Our own contributions have been the smallest and the weakest.

Though this has been an unforgettable experience, the revolution must continue forward. Do you still remember? In 1949, when Shanghai had just been liberated and the People's Liberation Army had just entered the city, I was still working underground, and Comrade Chunqiao was one of the takeover officials. At that time, we were as thrilled as we are now with the victory of the January Revolution! But the revolution did not stop there; it had to keep advancing.

I vividly remember some old comrades from that time—some have continued to advance with Chairman Mao, while others hesitated and wavered at a crossroads, and some have even degenerated! In the end, there are only two paths: one leading to socialism, and the other to capitalism.

Therefore, my first hope is that when you return to your schools, you will always hold high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought, always remain loyal to Chairman Mao, always be loyal to the Party, always be loyal to the people, and always be loyal to the revolutionary cause. That way, we can continue fighting in the same trenches and carry the revolution through to the end!

Didn't Chairman Mao teach cadres to maintain their integrity in old age? For us in the younger generation, isn't there also a need to preserve our early integrity? It is not difficult to become a revolutionary during a revolutionary upsurge, but only at a turning point, at a critical moment, can one truly be tested. This is also the best kind of training for a person.

I hope we can continue fighting together!

Truth is not afraid of fire. My second hope is that everyone will go back and seriously study the Sixteen Articles. Looking at them now, many parts are written very well! They contain specific policies and editorials, but the Sixteen Articles serve as the overarching guideline. We must uphold this path.

Many issues we discuss today were already defined in the Sixteen Articles, such as the mass line, the Party's class line, and cadre policies. The second section, "The Mainstream and Its Twists and Turns," is particularly well-written—it fully embodies Chairman Mao's thought. (Reads aloud: "Since cultural revolution is a revolution... one must understand that the path of revolution is tortuous and not smooth.")

Class struggle has seen several setbacks in the past. For us, this has been a great lesson and has helped us gain experience in class struggle. Will the movement experience setbacks in the future? The Sixteen Articles say: "Because resistance is strong, the struggle will have setbacks, and there may even be multiple setbacks." This is certain. If one is a true revolutionary, one must think this way.

A small handful of capitalist-roaders within the Party will never willingly accept their demise. They will look for opportunities to counterattack. But when we see them fighting back, we must not think the future is pitch black. As long as the masses are fully mobilized, they will be completely powerless. In victory, we must anticipate difficulties; in difficult times, we must see hope. These two aspects must never be forgotten. We must unwaveringly follow Chairman Mao's line to the end!

This period has been deeply educational for me. Chairman Mao has always supported new revolutionary forces among the masses. It was Chairman Mao who first discovered and supported the Red Guards. He personally approved the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster to be broadcast nationwide, igniting the flames of the Cultural Revolution. Since then, Chairman Mao has continued to provide support.

In Shanghai, at crucial moments of the revolution, it was always Chairman Mao who supported us—for example:

- Letter to the People of Shanghai
- January 9 Emergency Announcement
- The takeover of Wenhui Bao and Jiefang Daily
- Most recently, even the March 6 Wenhui Bao editorial opposing “excessive zealotry” was prominently published in People’s Daily with Chairman Mao’s approval!

When you return to school to make revolution, you will encounter many problems. You must dare to make revolution, while strengthening proletarian revolutionary consciousness, scientific understanding, and organizational discipline. You must dare to propose revolutionary initiatives and push the movement forward.

The world never stands still—it is a world full of contradictions. Everything develops through contradictions. At the same time, we must actively support the revolutionary creativity of the masses. Our revolution can only advance if the masses are guided by Mao Zedong Thought.

So my third hope is that you all continue to uphold revolutionary creativity, dare to make revolution, and establish the authority of the proletariat. Proletarian authority means concentrating the will of millions of people. The development of the Red Guards has followed this very process—from schools to society, from one city to the entire nation.

Now everyone is rushing back to make revolution, not for any other reason. This means that our Cultural Revolution has entered a new phase, at a critical moment. When everyone returns, it is to establish your revolutionary base well. We must truly realize what Chairman Mao said—that the bourgeoisie no longer rules our schools. At that point, everyone can rise up again. Only in this way can we make a greater contribution to the revolution.

Zhang Chunqiao: Let me add a point. It is good that everyone is going back now. At the last Standing Committee meeting of the Revolutionary Committee, I mentioned that recently the enthusiasm of the Red Guards

seems to have dwindled compared to before. Some even feel downcast. This is not acceptable. We must go back to the schools, properly reorganize, and then rise up again! What I mean is that everyone should go back and organize your thoughts, reorganize your groups, and in the future, your morale will be higher, your numbers greater, and you will be able to choose an appropriate time to rise up. And it must be on a higher level. Therefore, my words are encouraging everyone to go back, to return to the schools. I didn't expect the students' enthusiasm to be so high. The next day after hearing this, they went to Nanjing Road to destroy the "Four Olds," even cutting off their small pant cuffs. When someone objected and argued with them, the student, probably after losing the argument, said, "Zhang Chunqiao told me to do it!" (Laughter). How could I tell them to cut it off? There are many rumors now, and there is no need for me to clarify them.

Some schools have not even established an authoritative organization yet. How can they rise up? Right now, it is still better to go back, reorganize, and in the future, we can discuss when to rise again. Actually, we have already made some suggestions and plans. Perhaps we could hold a "Worker Representative Congress" on May 1st and a "Red Guard Representative Assembly" on May 4th. It would be a "Red May," a good start. However, due to recent busy work, we haven't been able to do it well. There are indeed many difficulties.

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Zhang Chunqiao's Speech at the Shanghai Revolutionary Rebel Faction Rectification Conference

Zhang Chunqiao 1967.03.26

Comrade Yao Wenyan just gave a systematic speech. We had discussed his speech beforehand, and he had written a draft, which we both revised five times. So, today I didn't prepare a draft because it was agreed that his speech would represent both of us. While sitting here earlier, many notes were passed, and some questions were raised. I think I need to add a few things.

From Comrade Yao Wenyan's speech, comrades can see that there are a number of issues in our Shanghai Proletarian Cultural Revolution. As for the emergence of these issues, we bear responsibility. First and foremost, I am responsible. Because on some matters, our political and ideological work has not been tight enough or deep enough. The work has not been thorough, and some situations were not fully understood, or we did not understand them accurately. We felt the problems, but they were discussed in small circles, with many people being spoken to in private, having meetings. However, because our discussions were not directly with all the comrades of the city's proletarian revolutionary faction, some things were passed on, and we don't know how they were relayed! Some of it was even completely distorted! Some things we never even said. I can't go through all of that here today, and there's no need to, but in general, we have a responsibility. We did not do well in this regard. Even if our words or ideas were correct, that does not necessarily solve the problem. Many things follow the laws of class struggle, which cannot be changed by people's will. For some individuals, I helped them a lot, talked to them again and again, but it was in vain. This includes people like Chen Puxian and Cao Diuqiu. We spoke to them many times, but to no effect. We also have some of our revolutionary faction comrades in similar situations. The opinions we have expressed, including the ones Comrade Yao Wenyan mentioned, may be correct in some cases, but they may not be entirely appropriate, and some may even be wrong. Comrades may agree with us, or they may disagree. Why do I mention this? Because

we are undergoing a rectification campaign, which is about opening our minds, expressing all kinds of different opinions, and allowing criticisms. If comrades disagree with our opinions, they can criticize them, and we welcome such criticism. Both of us share a common hope, which is that we hope for sharp criticism. We don't speak in vague terms; when we criticize others, we do it sharply, and we hope that if others criticize us, it will also be sharp.

Every day we receive many letters, hundreds of letters each day, and they contain many valuable suggestions and various issues raised. Of course, we can't respond to all of them, but they are very helpful to us. Some comrades have asked for talks with us, but up until now, we have been unable to meet those requests. We hope comrades will continue to send us letters or discuss matters with us, and they can offer suggestions or criticisms. This type of criticism between comrades is normal and will not cause confusion. We cannot allow an atmosphere to develop in Shanghai where it seems that Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan cannot be criticized. That would be disastrous! Criticizing us is in no way the same as attacking the Central Cultural Revolution Group or attacking the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee. Attacking the Central Cultural Revolution Group or the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee and offering constructive criticism are two very different things.

In the midst of criticism, as Chairman Mao said, there are two types: one is hostile, and the other is internal to the people. The masses can also distinguish between the two. We can distinguish them as well. We welcome criticism from comrades, but for attacks from enemies, we obviously have our methods of dealing with them. This is what I wanted to say first.

Second, I would like to talk about the rectification. The opinions we express are merely our observations, and whether our opinions are correct, whether our observations are accurate, we discussed earlier. When we carry out rectification, the primary thing is to rely on studying Chairman Mao's writings, with Chairman Mao's works as the main study material. Our speeches can only serve as supplementary. Isn't it said somewhere that we are mayors, and we should use Mao Zedong Thought as a weapon to study and learn, distinguishing wrong thoughts? Whether we are correct or not, that still requires comrades to judge. Comrades themselves also

need to study Mao Zedong's works primarily, with Mao Zedong's works as the main study material. Comrade Yao Wenyuan mentioned in his speech that there is a very bad atmosphere. Some people live by relying on street news, hearing rumors, seeing big-character posters on the street, or what some leader's speech from Beijing conveys, and they write about it. This is improper and misleading. We have our experience; many big-character posters from the central comrades we have seen, and upon looking at them, we immediately know that some records and their original meanings are totally inaccurate. We cannot rely on that. We may be able to help comrades here because we can more accurately understand the central opinions, and we will definitely explain them to comrades, but we still need to distinguish between what are Chairman Mao's opinions and what are our own opinions. This distinction is important. As for studying during the rectification, it is still mainly about studying Chairman Mao's works. I said that some comrades have asked me to talk about supplementary issues. These are the kinds of issues: One is that some comrades want me to talk about the situation because they say it's been relatively isolated recently. There has been less street news, fewer big-character posters. Most of the students in Beijing have gone back, and information is not as accessible. Is the current situation good or not? We say the situation is very good. When we look at the situation, we should follow Chairman Mao's long-standing teachings and distinguish between the main stream and the tributaries. Because, of course, there is now a countercurrent, which is also a kind of tributary. We need to look at the situation in the whole country and the situation in the world. The first major global situation right now is China's Cultural Revolution. The Cultural Revolution in China is not only determining the current global situation but also determining the global situation in the coming years, and the direction in which it will develop. Looking at the situation of the Cultural Revolution nationwide, in general, it is very good. Whether it's good or not should be compared. We can compare it with a year ago, but not over a longer period. Yesterday, we suddenly realized that the 29th of this month, just three days from now, will be the one-year anniversary of Chairman Mao's slogan "Down with Yan Wang and liberate the little ghosts." Last year at this time, the Chairman arrived in Shanghai (...). At that time, Yang Shangkun was living in Shanghai, and Lu Dingyi was still in Shanghai on March 8th. On March 8th of last year, he was here in Shanghai, and Peng Zhen was in Shanghai in February. At that time, these "Yan Wang" were still very active, and this was the situation. What

was the country doing at that time? It was still implementing Peng Zhen's February outline, the outline from the five-man group's report, a revisionist outline. Peng Zhen's lid had not yet been uncovered; that was the situation. In the end of March last year, Chairman Mao proposed to "Down with Yan Wang, liberate the little ghosts," with Yan Wang referring specifically to Peng Zhen and Lu Dingyi, and little ghosts referring to the revolutionary youth, focusing on schools and the cultural sector. At that time, the Cultural Revolution was still in its preparatory phase. Looking back at the tasks Chairman Mao proposed that day, after a year, we can see that many of them have already been resolved. The Ministry of Propaganda, headed by Lu Dingyi, has already been dissolved. The Ministry of Propaganda under Tao Zhu has been dissolved, and it has been replaced twice. The Beijing Municipal Committee and the Cultural Group of the time, the Five-Man Group, have also been dissolved. These three tasks have been solved. The only task that has not been solved is the simplification of state institutions. When he talked to us, the central task boiled down to a few key points: Down with Yan Wang, liberate the little ghosts, dissolve the Five-Man Group, dissolve the Ministry of Propaganda, dissolve the Beijing Municipal Committee, and simplify the institutions. Comrades, think about how much has changed in just one year. Not only have Peng Zhen and Lu Dingyi been removed, but the issue of Liu and Deng has also been uncovered. The Cultural Revolution has developed to where it is now. It has led to nationwide class struggle and has reached the January Revolution, the beginning of power seizures. Now, wherever power has been seized, and with central approval, such as in Shanghai, Shanxi, Guizhou, Heilongjiang, and Shandong, these are the areas that have been approved by the central government. The situation in these places after power seizure, while the struggles are fierce, have stabilized. The situation in Shanxi is generally as follows: all the regional committee levels and municipal levels, such as Datong and Yangquan cities, have been taken over. Most of the counties have been taken over, though not completely. Guizhou is in a similar situation. In Guiyang, things are looking good, although some regional commissions have not yet been fully taken over. There is still some ongoing struggle. Don't think there are no struggles—struggles exist everywhere, but the situation is good overall. The situation in other places is the same. In Shanghai, comrades can see that the power of the proletarian revolutionary faction is rapidly growing. Has our strength become stronger since the January Revolution, or weaker? Of course, the situation in Shanghai is much better than it was during the

January Revolution. A student wrote to me saying that when he went to another place, he felt that in Shanghai, it was the world of the proletarian revolutionary faction. He felt comfortable and happy every day. But when he went to another place, he felt the difference. We hope that Shanghai will always be this way, a place where the proletarian revolutionary faction reigns. Anyone who follows Chairman Mao here can feel at ease and happy. Of course, not everyone is happy. If all ten million people in Shanghai were happy, that would be terrible. There must be someone unhappy. Is Chen Puxian happy now? Of course not. Cao Diqu is also not happy. There are always people who are uncomfortable. But if those who are happy become too comfortable, then today's meeting might not even take place. So, if those present today want to stick to the revolution, then you will probably be branded counter-revolutionaries. These are places where power has already been seized with central approval, and the situation is very good. There are also places where conditions are gradually maturing for power seizure, or places where power was seized before, but not very well. There are all kinds of situations, and in some places, the three-way cooperation has not been implemented yet. Some places have not seized power, but conditions are gradually maturing. Comrades can see from the newspapers that the situation in Beijing is gradually improving.

In Beijing, everyone can see that if you carefully look at the newspapers, you can already see the conditions for the Three Combines (the combination of workers, peasants, and intellectuals) are becoming clear, it's just a matter of when the revolutionary committee will be established. The list of revolutionary leadership cadres has already been published, with several names already standing out: Wu De, Liu Jianxun, Gao Yangwen, Ding Guojue, and Li Qingquan. The city committee already has five people in the standing committee. Unlike Shanghai's committee, Beijing's new committee was established after overthrowing Peng Zhen's committee. However, the new committee also made mistakes, which is the situation.

Their army's list is also ready, and so are the mass organizations. The Red Guard Congress has been held, the Workers' Congress has been held, and the Poor and Lower Middle Peasant Representatives' Congress has also been held. The major mass organizations have already selected representatives to join the Revolutionary Committee of the City Comm-

ittee. So, the temporary power structures in place have become quite mature. As far as we know, Tianjin's conditions are also quite mature. Therefore, more and more units are gradually meeting the conditions, though there are still many areas with greater difficulties and more twists and turns, such as the current conditions in Jiangsu and Zhejiang, which are not yet mature. Thus, the national development is unbalanced, but in general, things are looking good. As for the revolutionary situation, it's in good shape. As for production, the situation is also good, but we are quite concerned about how things will turn out this year. From the materials we've seen, the overall national production situation looks good, but one of the most worrying aspects is the decline in coal mining production. During that period, due to economic winds, many coal miners left the mines and went out to connect with others. This had an impact on coal production, which began to decline in January and continued into February. There were a few days when we were extremely worried, because Shanghai doesn't produce coal or iron, and if coal doesn't come, it poses a significant threat to Shanghai.

From the recent materials we've received, things have started to improve. After the second half of March, for example, the Datong coal mine in Shanxi, which has a significant relationship with Shanghai, being one of the largest coal mines in the country, saw a recovery in production after the power was seized. The Yangquan coal mine also saw a rise in output after the power was taken. So, all problems boil down to revolutionary issues, to political power. If power is not in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries but in the hands of the capitalist roaders, production will inevitably decline. However, once power is seized and conditions mature, production recovers. Therefore, we should never listen to those who claim that production decline is due to the Cultural Revolution. On the contrary, the decline in production proves the necessity of the Cultural Revolution; it is the capitalist roaders who are responsible for the decline, not us. If we let Chen Puxian and Cao Diqu continue to manage, where would Shanghai be if we hadn't seized power in January? This shows that the improvement in the economic situation is directly linked to the development of the revolution. This is the mainstream situation. We can see that the mainstream is heading in the right direction, but there are also countercurrents and tributaries. The tributaries refer to internal issues within the proletarian revolutionaries, such as small groupism, individualism, and anarchism. These are also developments within our revolution,

but they are not the mainstream. If anyone exaggerates these issues to attack us, it shows that their position is wrong. The mainstream situation remains positive. Now, as for our opponents—the capitalist roaders, who are still in power—they naturally do not want to step down. As comrades may have noticed, why did Comrade Zhou Enlai raise certain issues during his speech at the Beijing Workers' Representative Conference? He pointed out that class struggle is still extremely sharp and complex. He urged comrades to stay vigilant, to implement a large revolutionary united front, to adhere to the "three combines" policy, and to resolutely fight back against the capitalist counter-revolutionary restoration. He then listed four "absolute prohibitions": 1) the restoration of capitalist roaders within the party; 2) the counterattack of the bourgeois reactionary line; 3) the counteroffensive of those dismissed during the Four Cleanups; and 4) any actions or speeches by landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, and other reactionary elements of the exploiting classes. We must firmly carry on the proletarian cultural revolution to the end.

Zhou Enlai's speech was certainly based on solid reasoning because the struggle is still extremely intense and sharp. This struggle is a life-or-death battle: will the proletariat win in China, or will the bourgeoisie triumph? Will the socialist road prevail, or will capitalism win? Will the revolutionary line, represented by Chairman Mao, succeed, or will the counter-revolutionary line, represented by Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, take over? This is a question about China's fate and the fate of the world. Both classes have made their decisions. We, represented by Chairman Mao and the national proletarian revolutionaries, have made the decision to win this fight and defeat the bourgeoisie. But will the bourgeoisie accept defeat? Will they exit the stage of history? Of course not. Liu and Deng have not given up, and people like Tao Zhu haven't either. There are still figures who haven't been fully exposed before the masses. The bourgeoisie will always find their representatives and try to launch a restoration and counterattack. They will never surrender and will use every method to achieve their goal. Some places are attempting to use the united front to facilitate the restoration, taking control of the leadership and presenting themselves as part of the proletarian revolutionaries or rebel factions, but in reality, things have changed. They haven't undergone criticism or reflection, and the masses haven't approved of it. In some places, the proletarian revolutionaries' rectification is being used, or errors made by proletarian revolutionaries in their work are being

exaggerated to justify widespread purges and arrests. They are randomly declaring organizations to be counter-revolutionary, effectively establishing a white terror. In such circumstances, as Comrade Yao Wenyan said earlier, we must remain vigilant, especially given how favorable the situation is in Shanghai. We must remain cautious.

We must pay attention to the country's major issues. As Comrade Yao Wenyan just mentioned, we should not only focus on a small group or a factory; we need to care about the work of the entire city and the fate of the whole country. We should have the determination to see that the revolutionary forces in Shanghai bear heavy responsibilities. As comrades in Shanghai, we have obligations to the people of the whole country, to the Central Committee, and to Chairman Mao, and we cannot shirk these obligations. We must ensure that Shanghai is well-managed, and our current situation will not allow anyone to disrupt it. This place must remain under the control of the proletarian revolutionaries. No counterattack or restoration can succeed here.

Not only that, but we must also make this resolution. Of course, the Central Committee has already notified us to stop the mass mobilizations and power seizures in various places, but we believe that the revolutionary forces in every locality, despite the difficulties they may face, have the strength to change the situation. If necessary, the proletarian revolutionaries in Shanghai, having strengthened through the rectification campaign, are now more powerful. If the Central Committee and Chairman Mao need our support in those areas, we can immediately offer it. Of course, at this moment, there is no such requirement, but we must have the resolve to make sure that Shanghai is well-managed. We started the January Revolution early! Moreover, Chairman Mao gave us so much support, so we shouldn't fail in our mission. The largest and most concentrated industrial workforce in the country is in Shanghai. Can't the working class in Shanghai take on this responsibility? We should, and we can. The work we have done so far has yielded results, and now we should do even better.

The overall revolutionary and production situation in the country is good, but there are countercurrents. Some people are attempting to restore the old order, but this is expected. If you want a revolution, there will always be counter-revolutionaries; if you want to seize power, there will be those

who want to reverse it. This is in line with dialectical materialism—there's nothing strange about it. Even in Shanghai, we welcome those who want to seize power. If you want to overthrow the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee, go ahead and do it! Some of the heads of the Red Guards are trying to reorganize; I say, if you have the courage, don't hide your intentions. Bring out your flag, wear your armband, and come forward. (Applause) Let's have an open, fair, and righteous struggle. Show your courage and come to debate in front of the people of the entire city. The television station can let you give a televised speech. (Applause) Didn't Chen Puxian speak? Why can't you? You can! We believe the revolutionary masses in Shanghai will know how to respond to you.

Since the January Revolution in Shanghai, our work has been too smooth! There have been too few setbacks, and it's been unsatisfactory. (Applause) If you come forward and give us an opportunity, let our fighters have more battles so we can become even stronger. We would be very grateful. (Applause) Setbacks only serve to strengthen us, and any counter-revolutionary activities will only make our struggle against the restoration more thorough. It will make the revolution in Shanghai more complete and eliminate the bourgeoisie in Shanghai more thoroughly! (Applause) This is the situation.

Now, let me talk about another issue. As Comrade Yao Wen Yuan just mentioned, we must stick to the broad direction of the revolution, the great united front of the revolution, and the "three combines" of the revolution. I'd like to offer a few opinions and also respond to several questions.

Our task is heavy. We not only have to be responsible to the people of Shanghai, but we also have a responsibility to the people of the whole country and even the people of the world. No matter how heavy the burden, we have decided that we must take it on. What do we rely on? We rely on the masses, on the millions of revolutionary people in Shanghai. We need to organize further and implement the great united front. While we have a small group of good comrades, in this period, there has indeed been a rise in wind-chasing, small-group thinking, and bourgeois ideas, which narrow our vision and make us forget how heavy our task is. We forget our responsibility to the whole country and the world, and that we still have enemies. Some people want to restore the old order and are not

thinking about these things, but instead are focused on their own small groups. This leads us to forget how serious our task is today. Do we want to have more people in the revolutionary ranks or fewer? Is it better to have more people involved in the revolution, or fewer? Should we organize a vast army or just a few small groups? Have we thought about these issues? When we don't think about these things, we sometimes lose direction, and we don't focus on the big picture. When people think the big picture is wrong, even good comrades are confused! Right now, we're not talking about the bad people; losing direction is truly a painful thing. When the direction is wrong, everything else becomes upside down.

I remember traveling to Beijing by train. The first time I went there decades ago, I lost my sense of direction. When I reached Pukou, I completely lost track. I should have been going to Beijing from Shanghai, but when I passed Pukou, the train headed north! I kept feeling like it was going south. On the way back from Beijing, I lost my sense of direction again when I arrived in Tianjin. The directions were all reversed—north and south, east and west were all mixed up. Even though I knew where south and north were, my perception was wrong! But this isn't like traveling by train. No matter whether you lose your direction or not, the train will eventually bring you back to Shanghai. Revolution, however, is not like that, comrades. In revolution, the “train” has to change direction, and sometimes it will derail. It may even turn on its own comrades, attacking them as enemies while considering the enemies as comrades. It might mistake bourgeois ideas for proletarian ideas and vice versa. If everything is turned upside down, then that's disastrous.

I've just heard some letters, and they are all advocating for the end of internal conflict. But the reality is that this internal conflict is far from over, and the sides involved often don't even recognize each other's positions. One side labels the other as “counter-revolutionary,” accusing them of distributing leaflets or organizing counter-revolutionary activities. But counter-revolutionaries are always a small number, while the majority are revolutionaries. Of course, there are differences in consciousness—some are wrong on this issue, some are wrong on that issue. There are even places where meetings are difficult to hold because one side is labeled as reactionary, while the other side is blamed for following a bourgeois counter-revolutionary line. These organizations are constantly accusing each other. The problem is not just the presence of reactionaries but the

contradictions within the revolutionaries themselves, particularly in the form of small-group thinking, which often leads to violent conflicts. We have never incited the people to fight each other, and we have never encouraged armed struggles. But some people, especially among workers, have been driven into such conflicts. It's not the workers themselves, but certain instigators who want to manipulate the situation for their own small-group interests or personal goals. For example, not long ago, I was very angry when I visited the China Welfare Association. Some of the people there told me that foreign comrades were staying there and that no one was allowed to enter. But there were those who insisted on entering and caused trouble, even taking the keys and opening drawers. This wasn't the behavior of revolutionary people. It's clear that there were ulterior motives involved, possibly related to organizing factions.

Regarding armed struggles and internal conflict, we need to analyze the situation carefully. Both sides may have been influenced by small-group thinking and made mistakes that led to violence. We should continue to discourage violence. We've said many times that we should not destroy things like telephone machines. These are national assets. Why destroy them? Can't they serve the proletariat as well as the bourgeoisie? It makes no sense to destroy them. If the rebels believe they are justified in doing so, the real losers are the socialist state. Destroying these things won't solve anything. The bourgeoisie will continue their restoration, and they will build even better things than what we destroyed. Without touching the soul of the issue, without engaging in political struggle, we can't solve the problem.

We must address the problems between revolutionary factions through negotiation. Even when dealing with counter-revolutionary organizations, we must fight them in a lawful and just manner. The power is in our hands, and destruction won't work. If we don't address the big issues and fail to unify our thinking under Mao Zedong Thought, we won't be able to unite or implement the "three combines." Without unity and the "three combines," our political power cannot be consolidated.

The struggle between the restoration of the bourgeoisie and the counter-restoration, as well as the struggle for power and counter-struggles for power, ultimately depends on which side—the proletariat or the bourgeoisie—can win the support of the masses. If we, following

Chairman Mao's thoughts, unite as many people as possible around us, the bourgeoisie cannot restore the old order. However, if we fail to unite and instead exclude people, it will be disadvantageous for us. The idea of the "three combines" works the same way. If we implement the three combines well, our revolutionary forces will be organized more effectively, and we can unleash tremendous power. But if we don't implement the three combines, or don't implement it well, we will face difficulties in our work. Of course, some cadres may criticize, saying things like, "Look, in the end, we still need to unite with me." If you are a good comrade, you should not say such things. But if you are someone pursuing a capitalist road to power, then please step aside. What we need is the revolutionary three combines. We must adhere to the cadre policies set by the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, with principles. For anyone who wants to join the revolution, we should do everything we can to help them. However, if someone continues to act in a way that suggests they think they are indispensable, we can rest assured that we can continue the revolution without them. Some people may not have much ability, they may not be able to drive a train or a ship, and they may need someone to drive their car. What's so special about that? This is a message for those who act like they are irreplaceable.

On the other hand, we must understand that we should patiently and diligently help all comrades who want to participate in the revolution. Based on my understanding, some comrades, after half a year of struggle, have become confused, not knowing what to do. Some comrades who were once articulate now find it difficult to express themselves clearly. They don't know how to conduct self-criticism. I'm talking about good comrades—those who do not oppose Chairman Mao's policy, who are not posturing, and who are not trying to reverse progress. They just don't know what to do. In addition, some of our comrades are wary of them, and so they hesitate to engage in conversations or to make firm decisions about working with them. As a result, they end up working with people who haven't done much wrong but also can't do much. These people, while they should be given a chance and a proper role, cannot solve our problems by themselves. Honestly speaking, if a person has made mistakes but is genuinely willing to correct them, such a person might actually be more valuable in the three combines than someone who hasn't made any mistakes. Why? Because they have experience. They understand the difference between the bourgeois reactionary line and the peo-

ple's line more deeply, because they have lived through it. If such a person makes the decision to change, they may become an even better comrade than someone who has never made mistakes. So, we should not give up on these people; we need to help them. This is not the same as the restoration of capitalism. On the other hand, if someone quickly refuses to reflect on their mistakes or even acknowledge them, and they are brought into the three combines too hastily, that is suspicious, and we need to be cautious. This is the kind of situation where we might see the restoration of capitalism. We need to be vigilant and careful in our approach.

We've been working in a very detailed way. For example, comrades like Chen Linhu and Wang Shaoyong have attended many meetings and fought directly with Chen and Cao. And it wasn't just in a small room; it was on television, broadcasted for all the people in the city to see. They clearly drew the line between the bourgeois reactionary line and the capitalist roadists. Such comrades should be trusted.

There is a misconception some people have, thinking that the three combines must always follow the original structure. For instance, if someone was previously a director, does that mean they must always be a director in the three combines? That depends. If their original mistakes weren't too serious, and they've reflected on them well, and their abilities are suitable, then yes, they can take up their previous role. However, it's not a fixed rule. Some might need to first undergo ideological education. Now, some units have not implemented the three combines because of this issue. So, we suggest that they transition gradually. They don't have to immediately return to their original positions. Later, when it's time to make decisions on leadership roles, we can see who is suitable.

Some people, like a county party secretary, may face difficulties in their current post due to their past mistakes, but they can still be a revolutionary comrade. Perhaps moving them to another county would help. Revolution can happen anywhere, and it's okay to make such adjustments. Some people need to be promoted, especially if they have performed well during the Cultural Revolution. There are many ways to handle these situations. The three combines do not mean returning to the old leadership structures. We must not do that. Right now, our goal is to keep the structure intact as much as possible. We are in favor of fewer

changes, because excessive changes can make things worse. But we do want to encourage early implementation of the three combines at the lower levels—like factories, companies, and bureaus. If the workers approve, we can go ahead and implement the three combines, even if higher-level approval is delayed. If the workers approve, we can move forward. So, we should not wait too long. Whether it's in factories, companies, bureaus, or counties, the goal is to build the broadest unity. We can start the three combines where possible, and the key is the approval of the masses. We still retain the right to approve, but it's for preventing false attempts to seize power.

The purpose of this guideline is to prevent fake power grabs. In cases where power is taken illegitimately, and the masses are powerless to overturn it, the city's Revolutionary Committee has a veto power to ensure that we don't recognize such actions. In such situations, we will stand by the masses, supporting them from top to bottom. This is the reason we have this power and the reason we should proceed with our work without restrictions. All revolutionary actions will be supported by the Party, and this is something we should trust.

On the other hand, we expect all comrades in the city to demonstrate initiative and creativity. We cannot simply copy others or imitate others' actions. Right now, the movements around large-scale unity and the three combines are often just copied. This is not ideal because each factory, each unit, has different circumstances. Don't blindly copy; don't simply repeat what others have done, even something as basic as holding a meeting. For example, when the Shanghai People's Commune was formed, they issued a declaration, a number one order, and a salute to Chairman Mao. When the County Revolutionary Committee was established in Chuansha, they did the same—issuing a notice, a number one order, and a salute to Chairman Mao. Later, when we went to Huangpu for a meeting, we saw the same format again.

We advised the comrades in Huangpu to try a different approach. Based on our experience, the Shanghai People's Commune only issued a number one order, and they didn't issue a second order. Why should they follow this form? They don't need to. The circumstances are different for each place. When you need to issue a notice or an announcement, do so in a way that fits your situation. For instance, if Huangpu is having their

own revolution, there's no need to replicate the same format that others used. It's more important to think critically about your own situation and use creativity in the process. There's also no need to rush into things. Some people seem to think that every unit must experience a power struggle. But in reality, the draft resolution of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee stated that each revolutionary organization should assess whether a power struggle is necessary for each unit. If the current leaders of a unit are not capitalist roaders, do we really need to overthrow them? If not, we don't need to initiate a power struggle. That doesn't mean we shouldn't mobilize the masses or establish mechanisms for supervising leadership. We must still do so, but this should be done in a creative and flexible way based on the specific situation.

I have two further issues for comrades to consider. First, are there any units that don't require a power struggle? We don't need an immediate answer, but please think about this. It seems like there is a tendency to assume every unit must undergo a power struggle, but not all units need this. As mentioned in the draft resolution of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee, it's important to discuss which units truly require a power struggle. If the leadership is not aligned with a capitalist road, we may not need to conduct a struggle in that unit.

Second, are there any cases where the current first leader of a unit doesn't need to be overthrown? Why is this important? Because at a recent citywide TV conference, we thoroughly reviewed the crimes of Chen Puxian and Cao Diqu. Now, many units are copying this example by targeting their leaders—such as a bureau removing both the head of the bureau and the party secretary. But should every unit be like this? Perhaps the first leader in a unit is good, and it's only the second leader or the third leader who is part of the capitalist road faction. Each unit is different, and we should analyze each case carefully. Revolution requires courage. If the current leader is not a capitalist roader, we need the courage to recognize that. If we fear being labeled as “counter-revolutionaries,” we may hesitate, but we must not be afraid of doing the right thing.

Finally, we should not rush through things. For example, the Red Guards in various universities and middle schools are already uniting and selecting representatives to hold a citywide Red Guard conference. If the middle schools unite first, they can hold their conference first. If the universities

unite first, they can do the same. There's no need to rush. Eventually, there will be a citywide Red Guard conference to elect the city's leadership structure. At this stage, the first-level leadership in various institutions has already been abolished in some cases, and we're okay with that. However, some organizations feel that it's better to keep their existing structure. We won't force them to change. Some comrades are asking what to do if their superiors don't approve of large-scale unity. I've told the workers in the industrial system, "Don't worry about it, just do it yourself." We cannot let anyone stand in the way of the masses' revolutionary actions. No matter what leadership position we hold, we must always stand with the revolutionary masses, not against them. The masses are always advancing; humanity is always advancing, and we too must keep moving forward. Chairman Mao said that the masses are the true heroes, and we ourselves are often immature and laughable. The masses must rise up and bring revolution—no reason should stop them.

If anyone tries to suppress the masses, they will be left behind in their revolution. Revolutions don't need anyone's approval, and they certainly didn't need approval from Cao Diqu when the Second Workers' Union was founded. Revolution means doing things without asking for permission and unleashing creativity. We need to observe the new situation and face the challenges of large-scale unity with this mindset.

There's another issue to discuss: production. There's not much to say about it because the key issue right now is still revolution. Focus on revolution and promote production. However, within the revolution, the issues of big unity and the three-in-one system must be resolved. If these aren't addressed, our production won't improve, and it's already being hindered. Many units are engaging in internal conflicts, messing up production. Some research institutions even claim that the Central Committee's instructions don't apply to research units. I don't know what faction you belong to, but you're still part of the revolutionary workers and cadres, aren't you? It's said that research units haven't adhered to work schedules, spending all day debating and neglecting their actual work. Some research departments haven't done any work for months, which is inappropriate. Comrades, you should know, we want our country's scientific research to advance quickly. We're in a race against U.S. imperialism, fighting for time and speed, to see if we can surpass them. (Recording cuts off) It's acceptable to engage in revolution during off-hours, as per

the central directive. But what if people refuse to change, refusing to listen after repeated instruction? Then they shouldn't be receiving wages, it's only fair. The socialist system is that those who don't work shouldn't eat. If you don't work, why should you receive a salary? Right now, there are still some people from the Chongming and Baoshan farms, and some others wandering around in the city, not going back. I don't know what they're doing; they just want to be assigned work in the city. Let me repeat what I said last time: are you resigned to this? If you don't go back, the city will never assign you work.

Moreover, short-distance transportation is extremely tight. Many warehouses in the harbor have large cargo volumes, and some shipments can't be sent out, and goods on ships can't be unloaded. Why? Because there aren't enough vehicles. Where have all the vehicles gone? The comrades attending this meeting should think about it! We've occupied too many vehicles that aren't used for production. If any vehicles were taken from production units, they should be returned to those units to serve production. Some units shouldn't be using cars or jeeps, but many institutions have them. We suggest that everyone return the vehicles. If they came from somewhere, send them back. We also suggest that the Public Security Bureau's Traffic Department check all vehicle plates in the city and reorganize them. If any vehicles are found that don't belong to your unit, they should be seized. This will benefit both our production and our revolutionary comrades.

Another issue is that the army comrades have participated in the local Cultural Revolution and have made great achievements. Based on the instructions (recording cuts off), we hope that the revolutionary comrades in each unit will welcome the People's Liberation Army (PLA) comrades. It's a great opportunity to learn from the PLA; at the same time, they should report their unit's situation to the PLA truthfully—without hiding, distorting, or exaggerating. However, Shanghai has too many units—8,000 factories, 2 million students. We can't send the whole reserve and field army to each unit because you can't send just one person to a location. We've discussed this with the three army branches and with comrades from the Nanjing area. Initially, the army will focus on key departments, the most urgent ones, like transportation and logistics, which are critical to the city. For other places, we'll have to wait. So, comrades in Shanghai still need to focus on self-reliance, including

military training. We can't wait for the PLA to come to conduct military training, and the PLA can only help for a short time. They can't stay with you long-term, so self-reliance is key. You still have militia forces, and there are demobilized soldiers, so why can't you conduct military training yourselves? You can! Military training and political education should go hand-in-hand. So we hope comrades will be creative, rely on themselves, and find ways to help one another. (Slogan) Today, there are army comrades here, and I'm also wearing a military uniform. I want to say a few words to the army comrades, because some have been in Shanghai for a long time, some haven't, and even those who have been here don't know the big units well. Also, the army... (Recording cuts off for about ten minutes) under the leadership, or perhaps voluntarily, how did they end up being ignored? They fought against them, and later, a batch of people criticized the bourgeois reactionary line, resulting in these young people being labeled as part of the bourgeois reactionary line. So, those so-called "evil elements" or bourgeois reactionary authorities came forward to claim their own liberation. I want to criticize the bourgeois reactionary line, but they locked up those young comrades in "cow pens." I say this is an abnormal phenomenon—what's really going on here? I hope comrades in the cultural and artistic sectors will think about it themselves. I suggest dismantling the cow pens, not creating them. Let the youth speak for themselves and correct their mistakes. What's the point of locking them up? They're still human, not cattle. The ideological problem won't be solved by locking them up, and it may even imprison good people. I suggest that comrades in the cultural sectors—if other units have cow pens—I support you not creating them. Don't lock people up, let's debate! We can debate with Chen Piexian and Cao Diqu; what's there to fear? The truth is on our side, don't use such methods.

Another issue is the issue of our Party. I mentioned this when I gave the transmission on the 24th. Chairman Mao said that we must always have a Party. The current situation is only temporary; it's impossible to have no Party. How can various revolutionary rebel organizations replace the Party?! The Revolutionary Committee cannot replace the Party either. We must have a Party. Without a Marxist-Leninist Party, a Party based on Mao Zedong Thought, our revolution cannot move forward. Some people say we don't need a Party now, and when they see Party members, they criticize them. I say, these people have at least some emotional issues. Some even say, "Your Party is the Liu-Deng Party." Where is that? The

chairman of our Central Committee is Chairman Mao. We cannot have no Party. As for the issue of the Youth League, the Central Committee has not yet made a final decision on how to resolve it. Several ideas have been discussed: one is to retain the Youth League, another is to transform the Youth League with the Red Guards, and another is to have the Red Guards represent the Youth League. The Central Committee has not yet decided which direction to take. Of course, the current Youth League members are still Youth League members, and the current Party members are still Party members. Any decision to expel Party members in a mass meeting is invalid. How can a mass meeting expel members of the Communist Party? Some have forced an organization to expel a Party member, which is of course invalid. Some non-Party members have taken over Party branches and appointed themselves as branch secretaries, which is also invalid. Some non-Party members have declared themselves Party members and have recruited new Party members. This, of course, cannot be recognized.

We believe the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee has collapsed; its authority has been seized by the Revolutionary Committee, and a new Municipal Party Committee has not yet been established. In this situation, we have consulted with the Central Committee and asked Chairman Mao, "What should we do about the Party issue?" Chairman Mao's opinion is to set this issue aside for now, as you are currently unable to address it. Today, we are just telling the comrades about this issue. At the same time, we want to say: we hope all Party members do not forget they are Communist Party members. Youth League members at any time should live up to their title. Even as an individual, you should still hold yourself to the standards of a Communist Party member. Communist Party members who have joined revolutionary rebel organizations should play a model role within them. Hold yourself to these standards, and once the Central Committee gives clear instructions on this issue, we will discuss it in detail. For now, we can only say: we should set an example, behave like a Communist Party member, and behave like a Youth League member in our work. We believe that the vast majority of Party and Youth League members will not forget that they are Party members and Youth League members. If someone has made mistakes during the Cultural Revolution, they should correct them quickly, just like we expect from others. If there are mistakes, correct them. It's about "learning from the past to prevent future mistakes, treating illness and saving people."

Finally, I would like to say a few words: that is, we in Shanghai (missing section) should become a model for implementing the Central Committee's decision on the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a model for fighting against the small group of capitalist roaders within the Party, a model for achieving great revolutionary unity, a model for opposing sectarianism, anarchism, factionalism, economism, and selfishness. I believe this message is very appropriate for all the proletarian revolutionaries in Shanghai, all the revolutionary masses, all Communist Party members, Youth League members, all Red Guards, all soldiers and officers of the People's Liberation Army, and all cadres. We should make every effort to become such a model, so that Shanghai does not disappoint Chairman Mao and the Central Committee's expectations of us, and does not disappoint the expectations of the people across the country. Let Shanghai become the strongest fortress of the proletariat, the best city where the bourgeoisie has no place to stand. It should be our Chairman Mao's city, the city of the Communist Party of China, and a model for the entire nation.

That's all I have to say today. That's the end.

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Speech by Qi Benyu, Zhang Chunqiao, and Xie Fuzhi when meeting with the representatives of Beijing secondary schools

1967.04.13

Qi Benyu: Kuai Dafu, I heard that you supported Liu Gang's big-character poster dismantling the Red Guards' Middle School Congress?

Kuai Dafu: I haven't seen that big-character poster.

Li Dongmin: Kuai Dafu is very "concerned" about the Cultural Revolution movement in middle schools. (Laughter)

Qi Benyu: Previously, everyone had a good opinion of you. Why do they have such strong opinions about you now?

Crowd: Kuai Dafu might as well represent Liu Gang.

Qi Benyu: Don't say that. How can Kuai Dafu represent Liu Gang? How about this—each side selects a representative to briefly state your viewpoints. Keep it simple. Middle school students have been fighting fiercely lately. The Central Cultural Revolution Group has sent us here today to give our opinions.

Our opinions represent those of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, and I have been designated to speak. Comrade Xie Fuzhi is one of the main responsible persons of the Municipal Revolutionary Committee Preparatory Group. He shares some of our views and will also speak.

Our general opinions have been discussed, but we haven't coordinated every specific point. These are just for your reference. If you have objections, don't argue here—discuss them later. This is not about suppressing democracy. If our points are correct, accept them; if not, you are free to disregard them.

The following discussion will focus on three main issues:

1. How to treat our great People's Liberation Army.
2. Class perspective and class line.
3. The glorious combat mission of middle school Red Guards.

(1) How to Treat Our Great People's Liberation Army

Everyone already knows that we must cherish and protect the PLA. Chairman Mao said, "Without a people's army, the people have nothing." Understanding the Chairman's highest directive is not a simple matter. Middle school Red Guards must correctly approach our glorious and great Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Right now, big-character posters criticizing Li Zhongqi are plastered all over the streets. We do not support this approach. Of course, we also do not agree with the claim that attacking Li Zhongqi is equivalent to targeting the proletarian headquarters, but we do not support directing criticism at Li Zhongqi. Comrades Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, and Chen Boda all disapprove of this, and Kuai Dafu does as well. This issue was raised at the April 4th meeting, but it did not receive enough attention from comrades.

Some say that criticizing Li Zhongqi is not an attack on the PLA. However, Li Zhongqi represents the Chinese People's Liberation Army in military training; he is the deputy commander of the Garrison District and supports Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Posting so many big-character posters across the city is not conducive to the development of the struggle and does not align with the current primary direction of the movement. Of course, those who posted the posters may have had good intentions, but after investigation, the Central Cultural Revolution Group has determined that Li Zhongqi is a good comrade and belongs to Chairman Mao's headquarters. (Applause)

Comrade Yang Chengwu personally wrote to us, detailing Li Zhongqi's background. Li Zhongqi led a small unit that defected and joined our forces at Liupan Mountain. In the winter of 1935, he was a cavalry company commander and later became a battalion commander. He participated in the world-shaking Battle of Pingxingguan. In 1938, he was promoted to deputy regiment commander along the Pinghan Railway, where he became one of the most renowned deputy commanders in the Eighth Route Army. The Japanese feared him greatly. Later, he led his troops to Yan'an and took part in the defense of the revolutionary base.

During the Liberation War, he fought in North China. After liberation, he first worked in the Central Military Commission and was later transferred to the Garrison District.

This comrade may have made mistakes and has shortcomings, which can be pointed out with goodwill, but we do not advocate overthrowing him or bombarding him with criticism. He is not a capitalist-roader within the Party. We hope comrades will carefully consider this opinion. We are not forcing you to accept it, but we urge you to think it over.

The PLA has made significant achievements in supporting the leftist movement, agriculture, and industry. Whenever the rebel faction faced difficulties, the PLA provided support. In provinces such as Shanxi, Guizhou, and Heilongjiang, the PLA stepped in during critical moments to assist the leftist forces. Some officers and soldiers were even beaten and arrested while supporting the left, with some suffering injuries such as broken backs.

The PLA not only has a history of great contributions but has also played a major role in the Cultural Revolution, providing substantial support to the left. When the capitalist-roaders in the Party stirred up economic opportunism, the PLA stood up against it. Through military takeovers, they seized power in key areas such as railways and factories, quickly restoring production. During this process, the PLA also spread Mao Zedong Thought, studying Mao's works alongside students and making significant efforts. As Red Guards, we must recognize these great achievements. Failing to do so would mean losing our direction. However, in some places, the PLA's support for the left has encountered problems, such as in Qinghai, Sichuan, and Inner Mongolia. Some of

these issues were manipulated by bad elements, but in most cases, they resulted from misunderstandings among comrades handling specific tasks. Many lacked a clear understanding of the two-line struggle and the movement as a whole. These are problems of perception and falling behind the movement, not simple issues that should be judged harshly.

If we reflect on our own experiences, we can understand this situation. Just because some mistakes occurred, does that mean the PLA follows the Liu-Deng headquarters? Have you always strictly followed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line? Even Kuai Dafu has made serious mistakes—his errors were not small. Compared to his, yours are even less significant. Who doesn't make mistakes? Learning to swim in turbulent waters inevitably means swallowing some water. Perhaps you should go back and reflect—are you always completely correct? When I was young and learning to swim, I drank a lot of water. If we become arrogant now just because we think we are right, we risk heading in the wrong direction.

I myself have made serious mistakes. For example, I once believed Ye Xiangzhen was a leftist, but I was wrong. Does that mean I belong to the Liu-Deng headquarters? Of course not. You wouldn't say that about me because you trust me.

(Zhang Chunqiao interjects: "In Shanghai, Cai Zuquan initially engaged in 'protectionism' but later corrected himself. I made a fair statement: 'Since he has corrected himself, let's not keep attacking him.' But some people accused me of being his backstage supporter.")

Qi Benyu: Don't recklessly escalate issues; otherwise, things will become difficult to handle. The capitalist-roaders within the Party are only a small handful, not a widespread phenomenon. If you see them everywhere, you'll end up attacking the masses. We've all had our share of difficulties, so we must allow others to go through theirs as well. They are veteran fighters, while you are new fighters.

(Fu Chongbi: "We are new fighters too!")

If the PLA makes mistakes, you should point them out, but you can't just condemn them outright. Right, Vice Premier Xie? Should only the Red Guards be allowed to make mistakes while the PLA isn't? The Cultural

Revolution depends on the Chinese people—on the Chinese People's Liberation Army. We must cherish this army as we cherish our own eyes. The PLA is glorious, great, wise, and correct. Without it, there would be no Cultural Revolution. The "Four Great Freedoms" rely on the PLA for protection. Right now, we are fighting to overthrow Liu and Deng—is the Soviet revisionists' threat insignificant? Without the PLA, the Soviets would have already attacked. Peng, Luo, Lu, and Yang were colluding with the Soviets inside and out—some details I won't discuss here. Without the PLA, the Soviets would be causing chaos. Under no circumstances should we fail to protect the PLA.

Even Li Zhongqi himself said, "These young fighters are admirable. Even if they overthrow me, I won't strike back at them." This is why we must protect the army even more. The PLA has its own specific difficulties and cannot freely express opinions. No matter what, we should not harm them or expect them to act exactly as you do. Li Zhongqi is a good comrade in our army—he is a fine revolutionary. We cannot impose Red Guard standards on him.

Some places fail to analyze the situation properly, treating minor issues as the main trend. That is wrong. Posting military matters on the streets is inappropriate—we do not support that. It is also incorrect to assume that because Qinghai has issues, Beijing must have them too. In some places, people have targeted the PLA, only to later plead guilty and admit their mistakes. Comrade Lin Biao has said: "No need for self-criticism." But now some are again pointing the spearhead at the PLA—this is an even greater mistake.

Certain conservative organizations are even more dangerous. There are bad elements in the military, but they are an extreme minority. In some places, treating the PLA as an enemy rather than as class brothers is a serious mistake.

Since Comrade Lin Biao became Minister of Defense, he has upheld the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought and achieved tremendous success. Chairman Mao's slogan, "Learn from the PLA," was not raised arbitrarily—it is because the PLA is good. Chairman Mao never called for learning from the Sichuan Provincial Committee or the old Shanghai Municipal Committee. So now, is attacking the PLA the correct direction,

just as some attacked the Northwest Bureau? Chairman Mao called for learning from the PLA, yet you insist on attacking them—is this the right direction?! The PLA's support work in Qinghai had the most serious issues, but in most places, they have done well. We must assess things comprehensively—don't just focus on a single flaw while ignoring everything else. That is not the approach of a true revolutionary faction. You, the “Red Flag” faction of Beihang and the “Jinggangshan” faction of Tsinghua, must properly handle your relationship with the PLA, or you will repeat historical mistakes.

If you continue directing your attacks at the PLA and escalate your conflict with them, don't expect things to turn out well. That will only make communication with you even more difficult—history has already provided examples of this.

Last time, some students stormed the Ministry of National Defense. Liu Zhijian wanted to suppress them, but I persuaded him not to. The second time they went again, I also persuaded him not to act. But if they go a third time, it will be hard to say what happens next. If a military unit has made mistakes and is correcting them, yet you still target the PLA, it will make things very difficult. I hope the students pay attention to this point.

Recently, I have noticed that middle school students have a high level of awareness, but when it comes to the PLA, university students seem to have a better understanding.

(Crowd: “But Kuai Dafu doesn't! He blindly supports things without investigation.”)

Kuai Dafu's issue is something you can help with. If someone corrects their mistakes, they should be allowed to do so.

(Crowd: “Why does he always make mistakes?!”)

Liu Gang's big-character poster against the Red Guards Congress was inappropriate—if she withdraws it, that should be enough.

(Crowd: “Some people say Li Dongmin is a reformist, a right-leaning opportunist, and sympathetic to the ‘Joint Action’ faction...”)

I don't agree with calling Li Dongmin a reformist or a right-leaning opportunist. He opposes the 'Joint Action' faction, so how could he support it? But at the same time, we shouldn't oppose Liu Gang either—she is also a good comrade. Let's clarify right and wrong through discussion and move on. I suggest that both sides stop keeping score against each other and stop fighting. Agreed?

You have raised good opinions about the PLA and military training. Li Zhongqi supports you, but putting up big-character posters against him is not a merit. Fu Chongbi should not retaliate against you—he won't, because he is a good person. Both factions should stop blaming each other.

Honestly, I think some of you are not even as bold as the heroes from 500-600 years ago. Back then, without Mao Zedong Thought, people would fight and then reconcile. When Li Kui and Zhang Shun fought, Song Jiang stepped in and said, "Stop fighting, you're all brothers. Let's go up the mountain and drink together."

Now, I'm not telling you to go drink, but you must unite. If you hold grudges over every little mistake, you are betraying Mao Zedong Thought. Back then, Li Kui never read Quotations from Chairman Mao, and he couldn't recite a single quote—but he still knew how to unite!

Right now, the New Peking University Commune and the Geology "East Is Red" group are fighting, and I am particularly dissatisfied. You are all part of the same family. If there are internal conflicts, you should mediate them. If there are internal contradictions, you must clarify right and wrong, but you should also mediate. Don't be afraid to mediate—this is not right-leaning capitulationism, and it is not muddling through. If they call for mediation, then just mediate. Don't be afraid.

We must correctly treat the People's Liberation Army (PLA). Since its establishment in Jinggangshan, the PLA has always been correct, striking fear into the enemy and shaking the world. We must not tarnish the reputation of the PLA. We must protect it as we would our own eyes. If there is dust in our eyes, we should help wash it out, not dig out the eye. The PLA is a tool for resisting imperialism and revisionism. To turn the spearhead against the PLA is a grave mistake, just like attacking Chairman

Mao, Vice Chairman Lin, or the Central Cultural Revolution Group. The PLA is everything to the people—without it, there is nothing. We must learn from the PLA. If some individual military leaders make mistakes, we should help them, but if there are a very few bad elements in the army, they can be criticized. Figures like Luo Ruiqing, who are counter-revolutionary double-dealers, can and should be struggled against because they do not represent the entire PLA—they are counter-revolutionaries. (Vice Premier Xie added: “He is a Kuomintang member.”) You can criticize them—that is correct. We have never said otherwise. But you must not attack the PLA. The key point is, do not tarnish the PLA. If there are mistakes or shortcomings, they should be resolved internally. If they do not accept the criticism, you can report it directly to the Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao, or Vice Chairman Lin.

Additionally, we hope comrades will take note: The Central Cultural Revolution Group does not support a large number of students going out. You should issue a notice that no more people should be sent out. The Central Committee has explicitly ordered a stop to nationwide mass travel, and this is an instruction from the Central Committee that must be followed. A few Red Guard reporters may be sent to gather information, but they should not do so in the name of the Central Cultural Revolution Group—just to gain an understanding of the situation.

(2) Class Perspective and Class Line

Vice Chairman Lin Biao recently made a recorded speech, which we will discuss later. He said: “The Communist Party is about class struggle. If the Communist Party does not engage in class struggle, it is not a Communist Party.” Throughout history, in China and abroad, class struggle has always existed. Every individual carries a certain class imprint. We must consciously apply a class struggle perspective to analyze matters and guide our actions. If we abandon the class struggle perspective, we will make huge mistakes and lose our direction. Every issue, every judgment, and every viewpoint must be examined through the lens of class struggle—otherwise, they are incorrect. For example, on the issue of social background and youth: Some young people belong to the proletariat, while others belong to the bourgeoisie. Some cadre children belong to the proletariat, while others belong to the bourgeoisie. The class perspective must guide the middle school movement, ensuring that we firmly grasp

the main direction of struggle. We know that the middle school movement has long debated class line issues. At first, it was about opposing the reactionary “bloodline theory,” then it shifted to opposing the reactionary “background theory.” Many people are concerned about this issue, so I have studied it carefully. This is not a simple matter—it must be approached with a class perspective. Mao’s Selected Works, page 1279, states clearly:

“In the issue of Party rectification, we must oppose both ignoring class background and the dogmatic application of class background.”

Both of these tendencies are incorrect. Initially, reactionary couplets advocating “only background matters” emerged. Comrade Chen Boda said this was feudal. But this idea is not new—it is a remnant of feudal society. Even the bourgeoisie promotes bloodline theories. They claim that Germans have noble blood, that the Aryan race is superior, that people with blue eyes are superior, while those of yellow skin are inferior. This also existed in ancient times—sons of emperors and generals were considered noble, while slaves’ children were seen as inferior.

Because such propaganda ruled people’s minds for so long, the working masses came to believe their fate was unchangeable and did not dare to rebel. Even peasant uprising leaders believed they needed to install a ruler with the surname Liu because “Lius have good fortune”—but this is nonsense. Some people today still accept these reactionary bloodline theories. Some have been officials for so long that they have influenced their children to believe in their own “noble lineage.” When others disagree with them, they resort to “beating, smashing, and looting” to suppress opposition.

This is a historical tragedy. These people, having lived in privileged conditions, have forgotten the working people and have embraced reactionary bloodline theories. All comrades, especially the Red Guards—particularly the old Red Guards—must pay close attention. But this tragedy is not over yet. Many people are still not fully aware. Some are still engaging in “beating, smashing, and looting.” Some have been locked up by the Ministry of Public Security, and some have not yet been released. The Tsinghua Affiliated High School Red Guards wrote the “Three Theories,” which I think were well-written. I have feelings for

them, so I went to their school to have a discussion with them. After the meeting, they distributed leaflets saying that I didn't have a car and had to ride in Wang Li's car. They even somehow heard that I was a 17th-grade cadre and said their families were better off than mine. I don't own a car, and I'm very happy about that. It's truly pathetic that they divide people into different ranks! At the "August 1st" school, students don't even clean their own windows. They go out, see someone with an unbuttoned shirt, and call them a hooligan, then beat them up. They don't know how to use their hands, don't know the difference between grains, and that's truly pathetic! On top of that, they watch movies about emperors and generals with their fathers, getting deeply influenced by them. They have become 20th-century Don Quixotes. They even dream of overturning their situation, saying things like "we will overturn it in ten years" and "we will take power in twenty years." But I don't think they will ever take power!

I also believe that "On Class Background" is incorrect—it has serious errors, very serious errors! Its main mistake is that it denies the class perspective, class analysis, and the influence of class background on individuals. It disguises a bourgeois viewpoint under the guise of objectivism to oppose bloodline theory, but in reality, it ends up aligning with bloodline theory. It attacks the socialist system, claiming that our country has created a caste system.

By denying class analysis, erasing class perspectives, and attempting to completely negate the influence of class background, it contradicts Chairman Mao's words:

"In class society, every person lives within a specific class position, and all thoughts bear the imprint of class."

"On Class Background" denies this class imprint and completely rejects the influence of family background on individuals, ignoring class status altogether. There are indeed some people who take a rigid "class composition-only" approach, but we advocate that people of all backgrounds must reform their thinking through great storms and struggles. Those from exploiting-class families must betray the class position of their families. However, "On Class Background" tells people not to care about these things. In reality, it echoes the "Focus on Performance" distortion promoted by Peng Zhen's anti-Party group. It stirs up discontent among

young people against the Party, inciting them to attack the Party. This is a toxic ideological weed! I hope comrades will not fall for it! (Crowd: The “Middle School Cultural Revolution Newspaper” has already been banned.) Just banning it is not enough—we must critique its reactionary ideology. (Crowd: In some schools, mentioning “class background” is automatically equated with “bloodline theory.”)

This shows that some people are trying to stir up trouble while pretending to oppose bloodline theory. We must be vigilant! We must firmly uphold Chairman Mao’s two principles:

1. Opposing the rigid “class composition-only” view
2. Opposing the complete neglect of class composition

We must first look at class background, but that’s not the only factor. Even if someone’s background is bad, we welcome them to rebel! But we cannot completely ignore class background, class analysis, and the influence of class position.

(3) The Glorious Combat Mission of Middle School Red Guards

This mission is to launch a mass critique of the Liu-Deng line. Every Red Guard fighter must actively participate in this grand critique. Only by doing so can we push forward the struggle-critique-reform movement in middle schools and destroy the “Joint Action” group (联动). Yesterday’s People’s Daily published an editorial from Wen Hui Bao. The Central Cultural Revolution Group believes this editorial is correct and should be promoted nationwide. Some people disagree and have given feedback to People’s Daily. That’s fine—we welcome criticism. But this editorial is correct.

The approach taken by the young revolutionaries at Shanghai’s No. 6 Girls’ School has broad significance, but some people don’t understand it yet. Many schools are still divided into two factions:

- Some are revolutionary faction vs. revolutionary faction.
- Some are revolutionary faction vs. conservative faction.
- Some are revolutionary faction vs. counter-revolutionary faction (Joint Action group).

For revolutionary faction vs. revolutionary faction, the key issue is whether the conflict is based on principles or non-principles. Using your own words, this is the issue of “picking peaches.” Some so-called revolutionaries are not fighting for the interests of the working class, but for their own personal or factional interests.

This is wrong. Taking advantage of the revolution for personal gain is not a proletarian mindset—it is a bourgeois mindset! Some people’s actions are misguided. If someone seeks personal gain, then we must criticize them. If someone fights for the working class, then we support them. But if they represent personal interests or small factions, then, ideologically, they are embracing bourgeois thinking. These actions are not in line with Mao Zedong Thought, and we should not follow them.

Revolutionaries must unite and act according to the editorial in *Wen Hui Bao*. Why start an internal war among revolutionaries? Revolutionary factions should follow the editorial’s guidance.

For revolutionary faction vs. conservative faction, some factions are relatively conservative. Conducting a total purge is not the right approach. People should educate themselves and learn through struggle. Revolutionary and conservative factions can unite—but this must be on the basis of criticizing Liu-Deng. However, criticizing Liu-Deng should not be directed at students. The conservative faction cannot last forever—eventually, they will recognize their mistakes. But punishing entire organizations or classes for conservatism is wrong. We must not turn our attacks on individuals. Any unity between revolutionaries and conservatives should also follow the editorial in *Wen Hui Bao*. If the conditions aren’t ripe yet, we can wait.

For revolutionary faction vs. counter-revolutionary faction (Joint Action group), there can be no unity. If you unite with them, you are just muddling through. If someone shouts “Long live Liu Shaoqi!” then we cannot unite with them. They must recognize their mistakes and take concrete action to criticize Joint Action. However, we must distinguish between ordinary members and the leaders of Joint Action. Most members were misled, and we should separate them from the hardline reactionaries. The *Wen Hui Bao* editorial does not mention this distinction, but aside from that, it is generally applicable. The task for middle school students is to

to carry out mass critiques to promote unity. We must study Chairman Mao's writings carefully and recognize the greatness of his revolutionary line, while understanding the harm of the Liu-Deng line.

The "Great Criticism," "Great Struggle," and "Great Unity" must be combined with the internal struggles within each school, targeting the capitalist-roaders within the school's Party leadership. The bourgeois reactionary line implemented in middle schools is also related to Liu and Deng. The "Great Criticism" and "Great Unity" must also be integrated with struggle, criticism, and transformation (斗、批、改). In carrying out the work of struggle, criticism, and transformation, both secondary and higher education institutions must establish exemplary models to ensure this process is conducted properly.

Currently, in many schools, it is still unclear who the capitalist-roaders in the Party leadership are, and the direction of the internal fighting is incorrect. Experience in struggle, criticism, and transformation is essential. Tsinghua University lacks such experience—Kuai Dafu is not very competent, and your school is also engaged in internal fighting. Now, the "Jinggangshan" battle team is even criticizing the "Red Flag" commentator's articles. Kuai Dafu failed to lead properly—who should be blamed? Himself! The idea of "attacking a large group while protecting a small faction" is wrong. You should not be criticizing the "Red Flag" commentator's articles but rather studying them carefully. "Red Flag" represents the Party Central Committee, not Lin Jie or any other individual. School-based struggle, criticism, and transformation are extremely important—if you do it well, you have accomplished a great task.

Revolutionary factions in secondary schools must achieve unity, raise their level of Mao Zedong Thought through Great Criticism, and form unity through struggle and criticism. We must avoid internal fighting and focus on participating in Great Criticism. Through Great Criticism, internal problems must also be resolved.

The secondary school Red Guard Congress should not follow the example of the university Red Guard Congress. Their approach is problematic—they are not as energetic in criticizing Liu and Deng's line, yet they are highly enthusiastic about fighting internal battles! They ignore Liu and

Deng's entire line while loudly chanting slogans about criticizing them but doing nothing in practice. Currently, internal fighting in secondary schools is escalating, yet "Lian Dong" (联动) is left unchecked while the internal battles continue. Comrade Xie Fuzhi is very angry. He is usually a kind person who rarely gets angry, but now he is furious.

The "Dongfanghong" faction at the Geology Institute and the "New Beida Commune" are engaged in heated battles. The Central Cultural Revolution Group has raised the issue of investigating "Lian Dong" several times, but you have not acted on it. (A member of the crowd interjects: "The 'Bingtuan Battle Report' has not criticized 'Lian Dong.'") You should write articles criticizing "Lian Dong" and publish them in school newspapers rather than in the "People's Daily." The "Bingtuan Battle Report" is not rightist opportunism—I agree with that. (Another member of the crowd says: "The Red Guard Congress is reformist and rightist opportunism.")

I do not believe the secondary school Red Guard Congress is rightist opportunism. (At this point, the crowd becomes noisy.) Please, everyone, be quiet and listen to the leader's speech.

I am not a leader—these two comrades here are. I am just an ordinary worker. Has Yang from No. 4 Middle School arrived? (Someone replies: "Yes.") Can you work on "Lian Dong" and try to win them over? (Yang replies: "I don't know them and cannot find them.") "Lian Dong" advocates that "a hero's son is a hero"—your father is a hero, so you can engage with them more. But you are not necessarily a hero yourself. You can ask comrades from Beihang University's "Red Flag" and Tsinghua University's "Jinggangshan" to help you. Work to bring the common people in "Lian Dong" back to Mao Zedong's revolutionary line. Do you dare to do it? (Yang: "Yes!") Do not be afraid!

Alright, that is all I have to say. Is that okay?

Comrade Zhang Chunqiao's Speech:

I do not have much to add. Comrade Qi Benyu has already covered what we discussed. I will just share a few thoughts. Red Guards across the country are watching Beijing. I work both in the Central Committee and

in local areas, mainly in Shanghai. You live in Beijing, but you do not consider the impact of your actions on the Red Guards nationwide. Last year, Chairman Mao received over ten million Red Guards in Beijing. This year, the Central Committee has decided to end the “cross-regional networking” (串联), so Red Guards from across the country can no longer come to Beijing. The actions of Beijing’s Red Guards have a huge influence on the whole country. Over the past few days, I have sensed a serious problem in Beijing: the Red Guard Congresses in both universities and middle schools have been established, and we hope that you will lead the way and provide us with experience to serve as a model.

To be honest, I have been feeling worried these past two days. The way the university students are fighting is completely wrong.

Someone passed me a note saying that “attacking Li Zhongqi” is not the same as “attacking the People’s Liberation Army.” Comrade Qi Benyu just explained this—Li Zhongqi is a member of the proletarian headquarters and a good comrade, though he has made some mistakes in his words. The “Sixteen Articles” (《十六条》) have already made this point. We must strictly distinguish between those who have said the wrong things or made mistakes and the capitalist-roaders within the Party leadership. In the future, you and I will also make mistakes in our words.

Now, all over the streets, there are big-character posters labeling Li Zhongqi as the backstage supporter of “Lian Dong.” If “Lian Dong” is counterrevolutionary, then you are basically calling him counterrevolutionary, too. Some comrades wrote in their notes that they might face pressure in the future. I hope comrades do not oppress others—this is a big trap. If you attack others now, you will be criticized in turn later. We must adhere to principles. Our opinions are not imposed on you—we are only discussing major issues that require your careful consideration.

Right now, we must not stray from the correct direction. If we deviate even slightly, the entire course will be wrong! Some actions may seem correct when viewed in isolation, but when considered in the broader context, they are incorrect. I have no more to say. I hope the students in Beijing’s secondary and higher education institutions will firmly grasp the overall direction of struggle and set an example for the nation. The whole

country will follow your lead. As soon as you establish the Red Guard Congress, schools nationwide will start preparing for their own Red Guard Congresses. The general direction of the Red Guard Congress should be affirmed. You want to reorganize it, but I am not familiar with the situation. We often recite one of Chairman Mao's quotations: "Revolution is not a dinner party..." As long as the general direction is correct, do not be afraid of making mistakes. Errors that have already been made cannot be revised like an article—we should work together to improve the situation.

Right now, Tianjin is also experiencing similar issues, with three separate factions, and the middle school students are the most active. There are shortcomings, but I think this is inevitable. It is impossible to do everything perfectly from the start. We also hope you will improve in this area.

In short, I hope you will become a model and an example for the entire country!

Comrade Xie Fuzhi's Speech:

Comrades, students, just now Comrade Qi Benyu and Comrade Zhang Chunqiao both spoke on behalf of the Central Cultural Revolution. Our great leader Chairman Mao has told us that we must rely on the masses, the People's Liberation Army, and revolutionary cadres—this is the three-way reliance. The main reliance at the moment is on the revolutionary rebels. Reliance on the People's Liberation Army is indispensable. The PLA is the army led by Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin, and it has played a significant role in defending the Cultural Revolution. If there are errors or shortcomings, they can be raised internally. This is very important. We must have a correct understanding of the People's Liberation Army.

Someone passed me a note asking if criticizing Li Zhongqi should be checked. I believe that criticizing Li Zhongqi should be done with a high level of self-criticism, but I think it's not necessary. Criticizing him has benefits for the PLA as well. After tomorrow, there should be no more criticism. The PLA understands you and there is no need for further checks. (Comrade Qi Benyu interrupts: "If you want to check, go ahead, but it's not compulsory. Recently, Comrade Jiang Qing took a car ride

around Beijing and was not satisfied after seeing the big-character posters criticizing Li Zhongqi. The middle school Red Guard Congress should cover these up with posters.”) I disagree with the checks. I do not agree with the idea of pressuring those who criticized Li Zhongqi. Also, other students should adopt a high attitude and stop discussing the people who posted those big-character posters. I completely agree with what the two comrades said earlier. Comrade Zhang Chunqiao made an excellent point. Zhang Chunqiao mainly works in Shanghai, but his speech was aimed at both Beijing and Shanghai, and Comrade Bo Da also raised this issue.

Now, Beijing’s Red Guards have taken on a leading role. Beijing’s Red Guards must continue to lead through the turbulence. First, we must read Chairman Mao’s works, listen to Chairman Mao’s words, and act according to his instructions, becoming good soldiers of Chairman Mao. In the proletarian Cultural Revolution, we must firmly stand with Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line and firmly stand with the Central Cultural Revolution Group. We must resolutely fight against the small faction within the Party that follows the capitalist road and the bourgeois reactionary line! This is where Beijing’s Red Guards have played a role. Especially, the current struggle against Liu and Deng must be thoroughly defeated, and “Lian Dong” must be discredited! We must tightly grasp the direction of struggle and also combine it with the fight against Peng, Lu, Luo, Yang, the remnants of the old city Party leadership, and the capitalist-roaders in our Party.

The key to the middle school movement is that the struggle with “Lian Dong” has not been completely won. We must theoretically and ideologically criticize the thoughts of “Lian Dong” and dismantle their organization. The leaders of “Lian Dong” have not been completely defeated; they are still active. At the same time, we must win over the majority of the deceived masses in “Lian Dong.”

Middle schools have done a great deal of work against “Lian Dong,” but there is still much effort to be made. Internal issues should be resolved internally, and we must tightly hold onto the big direction of the struggle, fully focusing on the enemy. The big direction must be united, and small problems can be left aside. Never deviate from the big direction! Mistakes can be forgiven, but they must be solved through criticism and self-criti-

cism. There are many people here today. Comrade Qi Benyu has already spoken a lot, and since we haven't heard the opinions of the masses and the time is late, we should not continue the discussion. Let's continue it tomorrow, and that's how we will proceed.

Comrade Fu Chongbi's Speech:

Students, just now Comrade Qi Benyu, Comrade Zhang Chunqiao, and Vice Premier Xie Fuzhi spoke. I believe it is a good thing for students to post big-character posters about the garrison district. It is a spur for us, and we think it's very good. Some of the opinions raised are very correct and good. We must correct our mistakes. The previous military training went on for a bit too long (i.e., the daily training hours were extended), and some schools enforced the experiences of Yan'an Middle School. Some people made mistakes in their words, and we welcome everyone's criticism. We are all part of the same group, and we welcome you to speak up. We have already made some adjustments with the comrades responsible for the military training. We made mistakes, but bad things can be turned into good things.

You care for the People's Liberation Army, but do not post big-character posters on the streets. Instead, you can deliver the big-character posters to the garrison district and give them to us. It's no big deal if they've already been posted. Once corrected, that's fine. Those who posted the big-character posters should also be at ease. The PLA sees you as revolutionary young soldiers, so don't worry too much. The PLA, under Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin's leadership, will firmly stand with the students. We will resolutely criticize Liu and Deng and fight to defeat and discredit the small faction of capitalist-roaders within the Party. We welcome everyone to offer their opinions, and it's no problem to criticize. If there are problems, we'll stay in touch and help each other.

Zhang Chunqiao's Speech at the Expanded Meeting of the Military Commission

Zhang Chunqiao 1967.04.14

[Time: Afternoon]

I will report on the situation in Shanghai.

The situation in Shanghai is quite good. The revolutionary masses are in high spirits, and the mood of the people is relatively relaxed. This situation has emerged, and we believe it is mainly due to two factors: one is the leadership of Chairman Mao, and the other is the support from the masses. Chairman Mao is deeply concerned about the work in Shanghai. At every critical moment, Chairman Mao has given instructions. Every new creation and initiative by the revolutionary masses in Shanghai has received the support of Chairman Mao. The power struggle in Wenhui Daily, the Appeal to All the People of Shanghai and the Urgent Notice issued by various revolutionary rebel factions in Shanghai, were all first supported by Chairman Mao. The article written by the East Red Combat Team of Shanghai Sports University, titled "Where Are We, the Lu Xun Regiment, Going?", was also discovered first by Chairman Mao. Many issues in Shanghai that we hadn't noticed or addressed yet were already being attended to by Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao said: "This cultural revolution is a revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." We have repeatedly reflected on this sentence, and it contains a rich meaning. The great achievements of this revolution, with such a small cost, are largely due to the fact that it is being carried out under the dictatorship of the proletariat and under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao.

Some say we should not rely on the leadership of the Party, constantly talking about trusting the masses, relying on the masses, and letting the masses liberate themselves and educate themselves. I believe this only proves that, in their minds, they do not regard Chairman Mao's leadership as the leadership of the Party, nor do they consider the decisions of the

Central Committee as the leadership of the Party. The “Sixteen Articles” clearly defined the route for the masses to educate and liberate themselves—does this not count as the Party’s leadership? They neither understand the revolution nor the masses, and certainly do not understand that our revolution is taking place under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

With the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party, the masses in Shanghai have been mobilized. Of course, there are still imbalances. There are also many shortcomings and mistakes in our work. Our temporary highest authority body, which was named “Shanghai People’s Commune,” was a major mistake with a large impact. This was proposed by the masses, and we agreed to it. After Chairman Mao noticed this, he asked us to reconsider and suggested changing the name to “Revolutionary Committee.” During this process, Chairman Mao’s handling of the errors made by the masses and cadres in the revolution deeply educated us. Chairman Mao clearly pointed out that the name was inappropriate, but also took into account the enthusiasm of the revolutionary masses in Shanghai and how to resolve the issue in a way that would not dampen their enthusiasm. Chairman Mao repeatedly taught us that we should change the name without hurting the enthusiasm of the masses. Because of Chairman Mao’s high prestige and the sound, persuasive reasons he provided, we were able to resolve this smoothly when we returned to Shanghai. Not only did the masses remain calm, but they were also in high spirits, deeply touched by how Chairman Mao cared for this matter and showed such love for the enthusiasm of the masses.

How to treat the mass movement is, in fact, the fundamental issue in Marxism. Chairman Mao repeatedly raised and taught us how to handle the issue of the masses. I want to give a few examples to explain this.

One example is the handling of the Anting incident.

When discussing the workers’ movement in Shanghai, the Anting incident is always mentioned. In early November last year, revolutionary workers rose up to form a revolutionary organization, but the Shanghai municipal party committee did not approve it. Over 2,000 workers took a train to Beijing to complain. Not long after the train departed, the Ministry of Railways ordered them to be thrown off at Anting, Suzhou, and Nanjing stations, with the largest group being at Anting. The workers called this

the Anting Incident. The workers resisted, causing the trains between Shanghai and Nanjing to be completely suspended. There were actually two approaches to handling this incident—one was to suppress it, and the other was to support it.

The proponents of suppression included figures such as Tao Zhu and Shanghai's Chen Puxian and Cao Diqu. On November 11th, I went to Anting to handle the matter. Tao Zhu's approach was to send the workers back to Shanghai and not to support or recognize their organization. I arrived at Anting and spoke with the workers' representatives, trying to persuade them to return to Shanghai, with the reasoning that production was urgent and the railway should not be interrupted. These general principles were, of course, correct, but they didn't work. I calmly listened to them and tried to understand the real situation. Before dawn, we held a mass meeting, which lasted until 4 PM, a full 16 hours. The workers finally agreed to return to Shanghai.

From this negotiation, I realized that many workers in the factories had been labeled as "counter-revolutionaries," and most of the people who came were also labeled as "counter-revolutionaries." In order to oppose the municipal party committee, they organized a Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters and held a founding meeting, inviting the municipal committee to attend. However, the municipal committee did not attend, and after the meeting, they requested a meeting with the municipal committee's standing committee, but they were refused. Left with no choice, they took the train to Beijing to complain. After boarding the train, they were thrown off at this small station, and they had been there for three days and nights, with not a single person from the municipal committee showing up. The workers became increasingly angry.

If we had followed Tao Zhu's approach in this situation, the workers would not have returned to Shanghai. To force them back would have meant suppressing them. These workers had already been labeled as "counter-revolutionaries," and on top of that, they had "disrupted transportation." Using white terror and suppression would have seemed like a "justifiable" course of action. It was the workers who educated me, and it was Chairman Mao's guidance that supported me, helping me avoid making a serious mistake at such a crucial moment. I promised

to responsibly resolve their issues, and that was how I was able to persuade them to return to Shanghai. On the 13th, we returned to Shanghai and continued talks with their representatives. After clarifying the situation, we realized that the transportation issue was a symptom, a result; the real issue was that the workers had risen up to lead a revolution—that was the essence, the root cause. We decided to recognize their organization as a revolutionary and legitimate one. We only advised them that interrupting the trains was not good and that they should not use such methods in the future, but we did not excessively criticize them.

This approach was firmly opposed by the municipal committee, which said I had not upheld principles. Cao Diqu angrily called Tao Zhu, and Tao Zhu immediately supported him. I also called Comrade Chen Boda and asked for central instructions. With Tao Zhu's support, Chen Puxian angrily called Comrade Chen Boda, questioning why this had been done. He asked, "Isn't the central government's rule that we cannot form rebel organizations within the factories, nor can we form citywide rebel organizations? Why are we recognizing this now? How much power are you giving Zhang Chunqiao?" He was extremely aggressive, repeatedly asking "why" several times.

Tao, Chen, Cao, and others were all in favor of suppressing the student movement and the workers' movement. They stood on a bourgeois reactionary position and failed to understand that the workers' movement had to rise; it was inevitable. If only the student movement had risen, but without the workers and peasants joining in, the complete victory of the Cultural Revolution would have been impossible. This is the law of past revolutionary movements. Of course, the approach of Tao and Chen, Cao was not supported by the central leadership. The central Cultural Revolution group and the Standing Committee of the Central Committee finally reported to Chairman Mao, and Chairman Mao supported the workers and masses of Shanghai.

Yesterday, I saw a report about a deputy commander who, in a local talk, angrily insulted the revolutionary factions, saying they were worse than bandits. He said, "No matter how many of you there are, tens of thousands or more, I can destroy you with just one order." I advised this comrade to pay attention: when we were handling the Anting incident, the workers in the revolutionary rebel factions were not tens of thousands but

only a few thousand. We could have suppressed them, but the workers would rise again and overthrow those who suppressed them. We must never think that, just because we hold power, we can suppress the masses. On the contrary, we Communist Party members can only carry out the proletarian revolutionary line led by Chairman Mao and support the actions of the revolutionary masses.

Today, the situation in Shanghai is relatively stable, and the handling of the Anting incident has been key to this. The people who returned from Anting and other places have become the backbone and key leaders of the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel faction, and it is these people who have organized the one million workers in Shanghai.

The municipal committee relied on the conservatives. With their support, the "Workers' Red Guard" was formed. Since it was government-backed, they quickly produced 300,000 armbands overnight. Many party members and league members joined. By mid-December, there were 500,000 workers in the rebel faction, and 500,000 in the "Workers' Red Guard," making them evenly matched. However, after several major confrontations, by early January, the "Red Guard" collapsed. The workers' rebel faction became the main force of the Cultural Revolution.

The students in Shanghai rose up, the workers rose up, the cadre workers rose up, and the peasants began to rise as well. Through their revolutionary struggles, they achieved a great unity of the revolution. On December 25th, Chairman Mao spoke about the situation and said, "Shanghai is very hopeful." Indeed, just a few days later, the "January Revolution" stormed into action.

The citywide power struggle took us by surprise, and we were not mentally prepared for it. When Comrade Yao Wen Yuan and I arrived in Shanghai on January 4th, we were there in the capacity of Central Cultural Revolution Group investigators. Regardless of whether we were talking to workers or students, no other conversation could take place except about the severe economic pragmatism being promoted by the municipal party committee. The leaders of the "Red Guard" were calling for power cuts, water cuts, and halting transportation, putting enormous pressure on the rebel factions. We had known about some of these situations before arriving, but seeing them firsthand was a different

matter. The train stations were completely disrupted! The entire station was unmanaged, no one was operating the trains, not even the ticket sellers or ticket checkers. The port, which usually handled 100,000 tons a day, had fallen to only 35,000 tons. Foreign ships, which typically docked about 20 ships, were now overcrowded with over 120 ships. Some countries even deliberately insulted us by hanging Chinese flags upside down on their ships. Both workers and students, when talking about these issues, were extremely angry but didn't know what to do. By this point, the municipal committee had completely collapsed, and no one was managing anything.

At that time, we consulted with the workers' revolutionary rebel leaders from critical departments like the train stations, ports, water plants, power plants, and other key sectors, such as the telegraph bureau, post office, and telephone bureau. We discussed what to do next. The most pressing issue was that the rebel workers had been holding their posts, some of them for two or three days without resting, and were on the verge of exhaustion. Moreover, the development of the revolutionary rebel factions was unbalanced. In some key departments, there were very few rebel workers. We decided to rearrange the teams, sending workers and students to key sectors. For example, at the train station, the railway rebels, along with 600 students from Tongji University, took control. Similarly, the port was managed by organizing the rebel factions from various sectors and mobilizing students from schools to work as dock workers. Some people were worried about whether this would be effective, but we encouraged them to take responsibility boldly. The trains had always been operated by them, and since the railway chief couldn't be found, what else could be done but for them to manage it themselves?

The workers in Shanghai performed exceptionally well, and the students showed remarkable strength and wisdom. We did very little; mainly, we held discussions and gave them some advice. For example, documents like "The Appeal to All People in Shanghai" and "Urgent Notice" were completely drafted by the workers and students, and we didn't change a single word. They quickly took control of the fate of the Cultural Revolution, the socialist economy, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. When the congratulatory message from the Central Committee arrived, the term "January Revolution" came into being. The power struggle of the "January Revolution" started like this. Later, various factories, instit-

utions, and schools seized power. Some did it poorly, but most did it well. At that time, however, the concept of “three combinations” had not yet formed; we were mainly relying on a large revolutionary alliance. If we look back now, there were many shortcomings. Recently, some comrades who visited Shanghai reported that some issues, like those at the port, had not been resolved, even criticizing the workers for poor management. We explained to them that they should consider the circumstances under which these workers had taken action. The entire railway bureau had collapsed, and nine workers had formed a command center and organized a meeting of rebel representatives from Shanghai, Nanjing, Bengbu, Nanchang, Hangzhou, and other cities to mobilize the masses and restore order to the entire railway system. Of course, one might question whether these nine workers were highly skilled, and the answer is no, they had plenty of flaws, especially after gaining power when personal desires crept in. But their achievements cannot be erased. The ones who should be criticized are the municipal committee members Chen Puxian and Cao Diqu, the department heads, and the party secretaries who abandoned their responsibilities and caused such great losses. We must focus on the big picture, on the mainstream.

In Shanghai, the revolutionary organizations made plenty of mistakes. Just before the formation of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee in mid-January, the largest Red Guard organization, called “Honggehui” (Shanghai Revolutionary Committee of the Red Guards), suddenly launched an attack on Comrade Yao Wenyan and me. They raised the so-called “picking peaches” issue—not about which class should be in charge but about personal and small group interests. On the 22nd, we discussed with the heads of various revolutionary organizations and asked them to propose the list for the new municipal committee and city government. The next day, slogans appeared on the streets opposing the formation of the Shanghai municipal committee, explicitly attacking me as a two-faced figure like Tao Zhu and Wang Renzhong, claiming I was there to “pick peaches.” At that time, we had discussed letting them stir things up, not intervening. Workers didn’t support them, and many student organizations didn’t support them either. After several days of disturbance, it became clear that their actions were unreasonable. Comrade Yao Wenyan and I still attended their meeting, enduring six hours of siege, during which we patiently tried to persuade them to prioritize the greater cause and unite against the enemy. They refused

to listen and insisted on holding a “down with Zhang Chunqiao” mass rally. The Central Cultural Revolution Group decided to issue a telegram criticizing them. Before sending the telegram, we deliberated for two days on whether to send it. After the criticism, most accepted it, though a few did not and continued to stir things up for a few more days. During this period, many worker and student organizations wanted to arrest the leaders of “Honggehui,” but we intervened and no one was arrested. The “Honggehui” rebels eventually turned against their own leaders and planned to hold a large meeting to demand an apology. We made it clear that such a meeting should not be held, as the soldiers had committed no wrong. If the leaders confessed and clarified the facts, they should be given a way out. For conservative organizations like the “Red Guard,” the Revolutionary Committee never declared them illegal or banned them; instead, they were defeated through the struggle of the masses. The Revolutionary Committee only arrested one person, the deputy director of the dispatch office, who was one of the leaders of the “Red Guard.” He used his position to send a train of “Red Guard” members to Beijing, disrupting the entire railway system, which was a violation of the law. Some other “Red Guard” leaders were arrested by the workers and handed over to the police, leaving only a few who are still under investigation.

In terms of the cadre issue, we are also facing other problems, particularly regarding real counter-revolutionaries who, for various reasons, need to be arrested but haven’t been detained enough yet. We are focusing on solving this issue.

Now, let’s talk about the cadre issue in more detail. This problem is relatively serious. Almost all of the ministers, department heads, and even section chiefs have been sidelined, and some units even removed their division chiefs. This was, of course, the result of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee implementing the bourgeois reactionary line. At the beginning, the committee used the achievements of the past few years and the positive influence of Chairman Mao’s criticism of “Hai Rui Dismisses Official” to deceive both the masses and cadres. They emphasized “organizational discipline” and the division between “internal and external,” which harmed many cadres and party members. It wasn’t until mid-December that the civil servants began to rise up in rebellion, and they were mostly from middle or lower-level positions, with a relatively small number of people. This highlighted the need to realize “three com-

binations.” We were now faced with how to liberate the large number of cadres who had been sidelined. The problem of liberating these cadres is both a cadre issue and a mass issue. What kind of line should be followed? Can we replace people without involving the masses? If we don’t follow the mass line and instead take a simplistic approach—isolating a few people in a small room to form the “three combinations”—even if we bring out the cadres, no one will listen to their orders. “Three combinations” should not be merely about appearances; it’s a process of self-revolution. If there is no revolution that reaches the soul, then just making an appearance is useless. For the masses, it is a process of re-evaluating and re-identifying the cadres. “Three combinations” is a revolutionary process, a struggle process; we can’t simply group people together and call it “three combinations.” Especially when some people have executed a bourgeois reactionary line and committed serious mistakes, without using revolutionary methods, this problem cannot be solved.

We mobilized the masses to discuss this issue. The people made lists of who should be opposed and who could be won over. Some people were very hard to win over. Comrade Jiang Qing spoke about Chen Puxian last time, and it was indeed difficult to win him over. Comrade Jiang Qing also talked about how, until last October, when the Central Committee held a work conference, she had worked hard with him. She asked him to go back and organize the work. She even sincerely told him, “Comrade Zhang Chunqiao and I will assist you, and if necessary, Comrade Bo Da can go to Shanghai to help.” Wasn’t that great support? But now, we can clearly see his nature. He stood before me and said to Comrade Jiang Qing, “The Cultural Revolution in Shanghai was controlled by Cao Diqu, and many important issues weren’t communicated to me!” The truth is, he knew all the bad things the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee did—some of these were his ideas, others were discussed with him. This man was two-faced, always following the old tricks of politicians. Some even say he was just like Rao Shushi.

As Comrade Jiang Qing mentioned, when they asked this person to speak to the masses, all he needed to do was say, “I stand firmly with you, and I’m with you in the revolution.” This would have been enough. But he refused to go and totally ignored them. Jiang Weiqing could have taken action at that time; he initially accepted our advice and decisively dealt with the Kuang Yaming issue, so he could have been proactive. But later,

he became increasingly entangled in things, and there was no way out for him. He wasn't guided by the people's will, and we couldn't help him. Chen Puxian was the same. When I visited Shanghai in January, I spoke to him and conveyed Chairman Mao's words. I told him, "Chairman Mao said you could be burned, it would be good for you." I hoped he would withstand the test, but he didn't. We had known him a bit before, but we hadn't seen his true nature. He was always behind the scenes manipulating things. After returning from the Central Committee, he tried to play both sides, meeting with the revolutionary faction one day, the conservative faction the next, and switching back and forth. As a result, both sides thought he was decent, but eventually, when everything came to light, both sides turned against him. Shanghai's economic pragmatism, the chief culprit, was still him, although he tried to shift the blame to Ma Tianshui and Cao Diqui. After investigating, it was clear he was behind it. His basic slogan was "a little looseness in the economy." He squandered national resources, yet refused to correct himself. On January 9, the "Emergency Notice" against economic pragmatism was issued. On January 11, the Central Committee's congratulatory telegram to Shanghai was sent out, making it clear that ownership could change and anyone who violated this would be treated as a counter-revolutionary. Yet, on the same day, he signed to turn the "tiger car" into a state-owned vehicle. On January 16, he authorized the "Red Guard Association" to issue 10,000 yuan for funds. There weren't many high-ranking cadres who transferred assets, but he and Cao Diqui did. They moved their most cherished valuables, such as watches and gold, to Chairman Mao's residence. This was a criminal act. He hid his assets everywhere, eventually hiding them in places he thought were safe. I called him and warned him not to stay there, as it would bring serious consequences. Fearing he wouldn't listen, I even had Premier Zhou call him. He eventually moved, but his lifestyle had completely changed. His family ate at large hotels, and their meals were delivered daily with different breakfast variations. He even insisted on using ultraviolet light to disinfect the door handles whenever a guest left his room, afraid of infectious diseases. This man had completely become bourgeois, always thinking he was a "Red Little Devil," an old comrade, and that he could still be saved, thinking his actions were beneficial for the revolution. But so far, there has been no result. For those who can still be saved, we will continue our work. Take, for example, Wang Shaoyong. He was a supplementary secretary of the municipal party committee and had strongly followed the bourgeois reactionary line. However, his

attitude was still good, and he did some relatively positive work. Some of the masses still had a good impression of him. We thought we could learn from his experience, and the masses believed he could still be won over, so we decided to give it a try. The approach we adopted was as follows: first, a group of comrades from the revolutionary faction held small meetings with him. Previously, the meetings had been large-scale, sometimes with tens of thousands or even hundreds of thousands of people. While these had some benefits, they lacked the detail needed for thorough scrutiny. In a small meeting, every issue was addressed in depth. We asked him: “Which actions did you take? Which did you not? Why did you do this? How will you admit your mistakes?” During these meetings, representatives from the revolutionary faction criticized him and helped him reflect. Gradually, both Wang Shaoyong and the revolutionary faction became more aligned in their thinking, and they started building confidence in each other. We then sent him to the unit where he had made mistakes to reflect further.

However, when an individual is left alone to reflect, they can only engage in self-criticism and find it difficult to expose others. This led to the masses doubting whether he had truly separated himself from the bourgeois reactionary line. Additionally, his tone during these reflections was often subdued, and his speech lacked enthusiasm, which made the masses feel that he had not fully “stepped forward” in his role. For someone in his position, leading the revolution while distancing himself from the revolutionary masses felt too distant and disconnected.

Given these circumstances, we thought that in the course of the struggle, cadres not only needed to criticize themselves but also needed to expose others and make it clear that they had distanced themselves from figures like Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, Chen Puxian, and Cao Diqu. We organized a televised meeting with about 200 people, inviting all the heads of departments, ministers, and deputy ministers in Shanghai, regardless of whether they had held official titles or not. Workers and students watched from home, and there were numerous phones set up for people to call in with opinions. This format allowed both the audience and the participants in the meeting to interact, making it a session of exposure and criticism, as well as an opportunity for Chen Puxian and Cao Diqu to reflect. The meeting began with their reflections, followed by cadres revealing and criticizing them. This format worked well, help-

ing to resolve several issues and giving them a chance to redeem themselves. However, their self-reflections were inadequate, which was fully exposed to the masses. Calls flooded in from the public, and the cadres at the meeting criticized them as well. At the same time, it provided an opportunity for the cadres to present themselves. The masses saw how the cadres confronted Chen and Cao face-to-face, making it clear that they had distanced themselves from these individuals. The meeting lasted for four and a half days, and at the end, the masses ranked the cadres based on their performances. Wang Shaoyong ranked first, followed by Ma Tianshui.

Based on this foundation, another public meeting was held, where Wang Shaoyong made another self-criticism. Representatives from the revolutionary masses—workers, students, and government cadres—expressed their views on his self-reflection. Finally, the revolutionary committee approved his participation in the work of the committee. We had worked on him for nearly two months, doing detailed work. While this process seemed slow, it had the significant advantage of being more reliable, as it involved a true self-revolution, where his soul was touched and transformed. During this process, the masses were educated and helped, so he truly stepped forward.

A few days later, when we held a mass meeting, we decided to test the waters by announcing that the meeting would be chaired by Wang Shaoyong. As soon as it was announced, over 10,000 people in the audience applauded and welcomed him to chair the session. This indicated that the masses accepted him. Ma Tianshui also stepped forward, and the masses supported him as well. Whether there will be any reversals in the future is uncertain, but at least for now, this was a relatively good method for achieving the “three combinations” of the revolution. It wasn’t about compromising or hastily bringing a few people together in a small room, but about mobilizing the masses and engaging with the cadres on a broader scale.

We plan to hold such televised meetings once or twice a month in the future, always providing opportunities for Chen Puxian and Cao Diqu to reflect. This approach benefits them, allows the cadres to present themselves, and educates the masses. It keeps them focused on the larger direction of the struggle: fighting against Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, Chen

Puxian, Cao Diqu, and the bourgeoisie in the party. Although the situation in Shanghai seems to be improving, we must still be prepared for significant reversals in thought. After seizing power, there is still the possibility of reverting to a capitalist path. The key issue will be how we handle the masses, and how we lead the revolutionary faction. This faction is a solid one, tested in battle, and its core is made up of leftists, but it still contains a large number of centrists. As the faction grows larger, it becomes more susceptible to the growth of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas. There are even a few bad elements within the group. If we don't approach this correctly, we could make mistakes by either approving everything or rejecting everything. We need to guide them carefully, balancing the fight with ideological reform, and educating them with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

There's an emotional and attitude issue at play when it comes to helping them. I exchanged views with some soldiers from the Shanghai security forces. I asked them whether they liked or disliked the revolutionary faction. They said that previously they had disliked them because they had always stayed out of things. They weren't allowed to read the Red Guard pamphlets and had to hand them over to their supervisors. They didn't understand the revolutionary actions like smashing, looting, or even engaging in armed conflict. The higher-ups had never educated them on these matters. When did their attitudes change? They said it was after January 11, when the central government sent a congratulatory telegram to Shanghai. The telegram was signed by the four major institutions: the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group. When they saw that even the Central Military Commission supported the revolutionary faction, they decided to support them too. This emotional shift was crucial. Once they saw through the true situation and realized the revolutionary faction was not as bad as they had thought, everything became much easier. The key is to go to the masses, interact with them, and once they get to know the revolutionary faction, it becomes easier to understand them. This is not too difficult. We, too, must continue to follow Chairman Mao's teachings and immerse ourselves in the masses, transforming ourselves in the process.

Finally, I raise a question, that is, many places have already established or are about to establish revolutionary committees. Military control is also

also preparing to create conditions for the establishment of revolutionary committees. How to make the revolutionary committees truly become a revolutionary, representative, and proletarian authoritative organ? This requires a lot of work, and we must give them full support.

At present, the leadership members of the revolutionary committees generally held relatively low positions before and were not well-known in society. The workers' movement in Shanghai is so vigorous, and the workers' rebel factions are very strong. However, the truly high-level political leaders with strong work abilities are still lacking. How to help them improve their political ideological level is a big problem related to whether we can cultivate successors. This is very important.

Once a revolutionary committee is established in a place, it becomes the highest authority in that place. Whether the army, comrades from outside, or upper authorities, all must find ways to support it and establish its prestige. Only in this way can it take charge of the revolution, manage production, and push the cultural revolution forward.

The work in Shanghai has not been systematically summarized. Among the problems we have encountered, I mainly talked about the issue of how to treat the masses. If there are any mistakes, I hope comrades will criticize me.

