



**THE GREAT
PROLETARIAN
CULTURAL
REVOLUTION
IN CHINA**

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**COMRADE LIN PIAO'S SPEECH AT
THE PEKING MASS RALLY TO
RECEIVE REVOLUTIONARY
TEACHERS AND STUDENTS FROM
ALL OVER CHINA**

(November 3, 1966)

Students, Comrades and Red Guard Fighters:

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

Chairman Mao is extremely happy to receive you today. This is the sixth time in two months or more, including National Day, that Chairman Mao has received revolution-

ary students and teachers and Red Guards from all over the country. Chairman Mao is the greatest proletarian revolutionary; he is always with the masses, has full confidence in them, shares weal and woe with them and wholeheartedly supports the revolutionary mass movement. Chairman Mao has set the most glorious example for all comrades in our Party and for the younger generation.

The present situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution is excellent! The gigantic, vigorous mass movement is developing in depth with each passing day. A tremendous change has taken place over the whole face of society and in the mental outlook of the people. The great thought of Mao Tse-tung has become more extensively disseminated and has gone deeper into the minds of the people. As a result of Chairman Mao's call "to take a firm hold of the revolution and promote production", the cultural revolution has stimulated the revolutionization of people's thinking and spurred extremely rapid development in industrial and agricultural production and in science and technology. The recent successful guided missile-

nuclear weapon test is a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought and a great victory for the proletarian cultural revolution!

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

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

of the Party's mass line in the great cultural revolution. It is the line of the proletarian cultural revolution.

The bourgeois line is one of opposing the mass line, of opposing the education and emancipation of the masses by themselves, of repressing the masses and opposing the revolution. This bourgeois reactionary line directs the spearhead of struggle against the revolutionary masses, and not against the handful of Party members in authority who are taking the capitalist road, and all the ghosts and monsters in society. It uses various ways and means to incite the masses to struggle against each other, and the students to do the same.

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

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's correct line, the broad revolutionary masses

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

tion by Chairman Mao to the Marxist-Leninist theory on proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

International historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat has demonstrated that without carrying out a thoroughgoing, great proletarian cultural revolution of this kind and without practising such extensive democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat will be weakened and will change in essence, while capitalism will stage a come-back by various means and the exploiting classes will once again ride on the backs of the people.

Such extensive democracy must be thoroughly practised not only between the leadership and the masses; it is also absolutely necessary to carry it out thoroughly among the masses themselves and between all sections of the masses. Unless there is such extensive democracy among the masses themselves and unless they are good at mutual consultation, at listening to dissenting views, at presenting facts and reasoning things out, at using their brains to ponder problems, they cannot possibly educate and emancipate

themselves, achieve the purpose of developing the ranks of the Left, uniting the great majority and isolating the handful of bourgeois Rightists, and fully carry out the line of the great proletarian cultural revolution put forward by our great teacher Chairman Mao.

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

The Central Committee of the Party is convinced that, with the experience gained in the last few months, the great proletarian cultural revolution will in the days to come make still better progress and attain still greater success!

March forward under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Long live the victory of the line of Chairman Mao!

Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the Chinese Communist Party!

Long live Chairman Mao! Long life, long, long life to him!

VICTORY FOR THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARY LINE REPRESENTED BY CHAIRMAN MAO

— Editorial of *Hongqi (Red Flag)*, No. 14, 1966 —

At present, the situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution is very fine. The chief characteristic of this very fine situation is the fact that the broad masses have really been mobilized. Just as Chairman Mao has said:

This is a movement of a momentous scale. It has indeed mobilized the masses. It is of very great significance to the revolutionization of the thinking of the people throughout the country.

The broad revolutionary masses have acquired a still better understanding of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. The orientation of their

struggle has become still clearer and their fighting spirit has soared still higher. They study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively in the struggle, pushing the mass movement of studying Chairman Mao's works to a new high. The movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution is developing in a more penetrating, extensive and healthier manner.

Of late, in response to Chairman Mao's call to "pay attention to state affairs", the broad masses, conscientiously turning their minds to the struggle between the two lines in the great proletarian revolution, have unfolded a mass criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line. This has spread to all provinces, municipalities, departments, colleges and schools throughout the country. All errors in contravention of Chairman Mao's line and all manifestations of the bourgeois reactionary line have been exposed, criticized and repudiated by the masses.

The revolutionary masses have risen to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line. This is an important indication that the broad masses have indeed been mobilized

and that the current situation is very fine. It shows that the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao is penetrating ever deeper into people's minds and the bourgeois reactionary line has gone bankrupt.

It is a very fine thing that the masses have themselves directly grasped Chairman Mao's correct line and have undertaken an extensive and profound mass criticism and repudiation of the erroneous line; it is a very fine thing that the masses in their hundreds of millions are paying such attention to state affairs. It is acting as a great spur to comrades who have a very poor understanding of the work of leadership in this great proletarian cultural revolution and whose leadership has been far from conscientious or effective. It is a great help to those comrades who have followed the bourgeois line, in the correction of their mistakes. It is a most important guarantee that the erroneous line will be rectified further and its bad influence eradicated, and that the proletarian revolutionary line and the 16-point decision con-

cerning the great cultural revolution will be correctly applied and carried out.

The struggle between the two lines has all along centred on the question of one's stand and attitude towards the masses. The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao trusts the masses, relies on them, respects their initiative, encourages them to educate and liberate themselves, boldly arouses the masses to struggle against the handful of Party members in authority who are taking the capitalist road, and gives free rein to the masses to struggle against all ghosts and monsters in society and those in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base. The bourgeois reactionary line, however, runs counter to this. Certain representative personages who have put forward this line are against the masses educating and liberating themselves. In deal-

ing with the masses, they resorted to the "tutelage" practised by the Kuomintang; they treat the masses as if they were ignorant and incapable and look upon themselves as men of wisdom and resourcefulness; they suppress the masses and stifle their initiative; they shift the targets for attack and direct their spearhead against the revolutionary masses, branding them as "counter-revolutionaries", "anti-Party elements", "Rightists", "pseudo-Leftists but genuine Rightists", and so forth.

These two lines are sharply opposed to each other. One is the mass line of Chairman Mao, the other is the line of the bourgeoisie which opposes and suppresses the masses. One is the revolutionary line of the proletariat which enables the great proletarian cultural revolution to be carried through to the end, the other is the bourgeois line of opposing revolution which wants to lead the revolution in the opposite direction and strangle it in its cradle.

Without destruction there can be no construction. Without opposing the reactionary line of the bourgeoisie and eradicating the

influence of this erroneous line, it is impossible to correctly implement the revolutionary line of the proletariat.

A great amount of work is needed before the evil influence of the bourgeois reactionary line can be eradicated. The bourgeois reactionary line has its social basis which is mainly in the bourgeoisie. The erroneous line has a certain audience inside the Party, because the handful of Party members in authority who are taking the capitalist road use it as their protective talisman; and because there are still a considerable number of muddle-headed people inside the Party whose world outlook either remains unremoulded or has not yet been sufficiently remoulded. A process is required for these comrades to return from the erroneous line to the correct one.

Distinctions should be made among those who have committed errors of line. Those who have put forward the erroneous line (there are only one, two or several persons) should be distinguished from those who have put it into effect; those who have consciously implemented the erroneous line (these are

a minority) should be distinguished from those who have done it unconsciously (there is a large number of these); we should differentiate between those who have put it into practice to a serious extent and those to a not so serious extent; differentiate between those who cling to their mistakes and those who are willing to correct them and are already in the process of doing so.

Generally speaking, the contradictions between those comrades who committed errors of line on the one hand and the Party and the masses on the other are still contradictions among the people. Provided that they can correct their errors, return to the correct stand and carry out the Party's correct line, it is not only possible for them to become cadres of the second category [comparatively good] or of the third category [those who have made serious mistakes but have not become anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists], it is also possible for them to develop into cadres of the first category [good]. Nevertheless, these comrades must be sharply told that no matter who they are, and no matter how great their

past achievements, if they cling to the erroneous line, the nature of the contradictions between them and the Party and the masses will change; the non-antagonistic contradictions then may become antagonistic and they will slide down the anti-Party and anti-socialist path.

The mark distinguishing those who rectify errors from those who stubbornly adhere to them is their attitude towards the masses and whether they have publicly admitted before them that they have carried out the erroneous line; whether they have made serious efforts to reverse the verdicts passed on those of the revolutionary masses whom they branded as "counter-revolutionaries", "anti-Party elements", "Rightists", "pseudo-Leftists but genuine Rightists"; and whether they have publicly rehabilitated them and support the revolutionary actions of the revolutionary masses.

A communist who has committed an error of line should be courageous enough to admit his errors, critically examine them and join the masses in criticizing and repudiating them. Chairman Mao has taught us:

Countless revolutionary martyrs have laid down their lives in the interests of the people, and our hearts are filled with pain as we the living think of them — can there be any personal interest, then, that we would not sacrifice or any error that we would not discard?

In the course of criticizing and repudiating the erroneous line, the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient" — a policy which Chairman Mao has consistently advocated — should be adopted towards those comrades who have committed errors of line, "in order to achieve the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades". The revolutionary masses and revolutionary youth who have stood up energetically to criticize and repudiate the erroneous line should all pay attention to this teaching of Chairman Mao's. As to some of the masses who have been hoodwinked for a time by the erroneous line, they should not be blamed, nor should such labels as "Royalists" be stuck on them; instead, patient ef-

forts should be made to help them and to unite with them.

Those comrades who have committed errors of line should modestly, sincerely and wholeheartedly listen to the criticisms of the masses, and, as Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught us, "shed the ugly mantle of pretentiousness and become a willing pupil". They should stand together with the revolutionary masses and eradicate the evil influences caused by the bourgeois reactionary line. No feelings of antagonism should result because of some excesses in words and actions by the masses in the course of criticism and repudiation. Instead one should see that the masses' general orientation is correct, understand how they feel, have faith in the great majority of the masses and in their reasonableness.

Those comrades who have committed errors must get rid of the many "fears" in their minds. In the final analysis, these "fears" boil down to their fear of the masses and revolution. They should act according to Chairman Mao's instructions and replace "fear" with "daring", "self" with "public"

and "having faith in oneself" with "having faith in the masses". Only by doing so can their errors be corrected, can they take the initiative instead of being passive, and give leadership in the great proletarian cultural revolution in accordance with Chairman Mao's line.

All comrades who want to make revolution, let us unite and push forward the great proletarian cultural revolution under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and on the basis of the revolutionary proletarian line represented by Chairman Mao.

SEIZE NEW VICTORIES

— Editorial of *Hongqi*, No. 15, 1966 —

Guided by the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the massive movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution has smashed through the obstacles put up by the bourgeois reactionary line, and is going deeper and developing on an even broader scale. An important feature of the current situation is that the broad masses of revolutionary workers have risen to throw themselves into the movement of the proletarian cultural revolution and a new stage in the integration of revolutionary students and the masses of workers is now starting.

The revolutionary masses have seen through the bourgeois reactionary line which aims to oppose the proletarian revolutionary

line of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Chairman Mao. Some comrades who implemented the wrong line are correcting their mistakes and returning to the correct line. The very small number of persons who stubbornly cling to the bourgeois reactionary line are becoming more and more isolated. The ranks of the revolutionary Left have grown and developed greatly and their level of understanding has been raised much higher.

The revolutionary masses are sweeping away all obstacles and striding forward along the road of the great proletarian cultural revolution opened up by Chairman Mao himself.

The handful of Party members in authority who are taking the capitalist road and the extremely small number of persons who stubbornly cling to the bourgeois reactionary line are not reconciled to defeat. They have made a wrong assessment of the situation. They are playing new tricks and trying in new ways to deceive the masses and continue to oppose the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. Because the revolutionary masses are firmly opposed to

the bourgeois reactionary line, certain persons with ulterior motives make use of the slogan of "opposing the bourgeois reactionary line" to deceive and confuse the people; they are in fact attacking the revolutionary Left and bombarding the proletarian headquarters. Because the revolutionary masses resolutely oppose the bombardment of the proletarian headquarters, some persons with ulterior motives make use of the slogan of "opposing the bombardment of the proletarian headquarters" to oppose and suppress the revolutionary masses, and prevent the masses from criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line.

Whether they are genuinely criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line or just pretending to do so should be judged by their deeds. Some people who have committed errors of line have not made sincere and public self-criticisms and are unwilling to reverse the verdicts passed on those of the revolutionary masses whom they branded as "counter-revolutionaries" and "anti-Party elements" in the course of the cultural revolution. Using both threats and deception

against the masses, they continue to organize those of the masses whom they have hoodwinked to attack the revolutionary Left. They turn right into wrong and vainly try to saddle proletarian revolutionaries with the crime of taking the bourgeois reactionary line, so as to protect themselves and those in authority who are taking the capitalist road. These are people who, as Lu Hsun said, "use the great banner as a tiger-skin to cover themselves and intimidate other people".

Our Party will never permit anyone to attack the revolutionary masses and bombard the proletarian headquarters under the pretext of "opposing the bourgeois reactionary line".

What is meant by the proletarian headquarters? It means those that resolutely support Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought, resolutely carry out the correct line in the great proletarian cultural revolution represented by Chairman Mao, resolutely support the 16-point decision concerning the proletarian cultural revolution, and resolutely oppose counter-revolutionary revisionism and the bourgeois reactionary line.

Against what target the spearhead of struggle is directed is a cardinal matter of right and wrong. It is a principled question of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought. To direct the spearhead of struggle against the revolutionary Left instead of the handful of persons in authority in the Party who are taking the capitalist road, to deceive and hoodwink part of the masses to protect oneself, and to incite the masses to struggle against each other — this is a typical manifestation of the bourgeois reactionary line. No matter under what form it is done — whether work-teams were sent or not or whether they were sent and later withdrawn — adopting this reactionary line and policy means committing the error of the bourgeois reactionary line. It is not a matter of the form of the work-team, but of what line and policy are taken. In some units, work-teams were not sent, and the original leading personnel remained in charge, but nevertheless they committed this error, whereas some of the work-teams, which followed the correct line and policy of Chairman Mao, did not.

How can we call those headquarters which oppress the masses headquarters of the proletariat? Why can't we "bombard" such headquarters?

Our Party can never allow anyone to make the revolutionary masses the target of attack or suppress the revolution under the pretext of "opposing bombardment of the proletarian headquarters".

At the present time one of the characteristics of the handful of Party members in authority who are taking the capitalist road as well as the very few persons who stubbornly cling to the bourgeois reactionary line, is that they act behind the scenes — manipulating those mass organizations of the students and workers hoodwinked by them, sowing discord, creating factions, provoking conflicts in which force or coercion is used and even resorting to various kinds of illegal means against the revolutionary masses. They themselves "sit on top of the mountain to watch the tigers fight". They vainly attempt to use these means to undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In doing these things, they think they are wise, but in fact they are most stupid. There is no doubt that they are lifting a rock to crush their own toes. In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, those of the masses who have been for a time hoodwinked by them are sure to awaken and expose and oppose them. The vast majority of the masses are always sound and they always support the Party and Chairman Mao. Once those of the masses who have been temporarily hoodwinked recognize the true face of the handful of intriguers and schemers who oppose the great proletarian cultural revolution, they will immediately spurn them and move over to the side of the correct line of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao has taught us that the struggle should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force. We must follow Chairman Mao's teaching and resolutely act accordingly. It is one of the most important policies in the great proletarian cultural revolution that the struggle should be conducted by reasoning and not by coercion or force.

This policy is in the interests of the proletariat and the revolutionary masses. Extensive democracy under the proletarian dictatorship can only be guaranteed by insisting on struggle by reasoning, and by resolutely opposing those bad people who provoke conflicts in which force or coercion is used among the masses. Only so can there be an assurance of normal progress of the free airing of views, big-character posters and great debates; only so can the democratic rights of the masses be protected.

A handful of Party numbers in authority who are taking the capitalist road and a very small number of persons who stubbornly cling to the bourgeois reactionary line deliberately create incidents and stir up conflicts in which force or coercion is used. Their aim is to undermine the democratic rights of the masses, to try to sabotage the dictatorship of the proletariat and torpedo the great proletarian cultural revolution. The revolutionary masses and revolutionary organizations must all heighten their vigilance to avoid falling into these traps. When opinions differ, they should discuss matters by presenting the

facts and reasoning things out and, under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and on the basis of the 16-point decision concerning the cultural revolution, unite in a concerted effort to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Those comrades who committed errors of line in the previous stage of the revolution must conscientiously correct their mistakes, draw a sharp line of distinction between themselves and the erroneous line and return to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

To correct their mistakes conscientiously, they must do the following:

Firstly, make a sincere and honest self-criticism before the masses;

Secondly, truly reverse the verdicts passed on those of the revolutionary masses who have been branded as "counter-revolutionaries", "anti-Party elements", "pseudo-Leftists but genuine Rightists", "self-seeking careerists", etc., because of their criticism of the leadership in this cultural revolutionary movement, and rehabilitate them;

Thirdly, do political and ideological work among those of the masses and cadres who have been hoodwinked by the erroneous line, shoulder the responsibility themselves and not shift the blame on to the masses or their subordinates, help them enhance their understanding with their personal account of how they realized their own mistakes, and unite with the broad masses;

Fourthly, go to the masses, learn from them, be their pupils and join them in criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line and eradicating the evil effects left by it;

Fifthly, implement in deeds and not just in words the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, firmly support the revolutionary Left, rely on the broad masses and strike resolute blows against the handful of Party members in authority who are taking the capitalist road.

We believe the broad revolutionary masses are reasonable and will give due consideration to the facts. If only those comrades who

committed errors of line in the past do the things mentioned above, they will be exonerated by the revolutionary masses and regain their confidence. Once they do so, they will regain the initiative and do well in the great proletarian cultural revolution, as well as in their other work.

Should they fail to do so and continue along the erroneous line, their downfall is inevitable.

Six months have elapsed since the large-scale unfolding of the proletarian cultural revolution in our country. Tremendous successes have been achieved and rich experience has been gained in those six months, and every revolutionary can learn a lot from this. Lenin has said:

During a revolution, millions and tens of millions of people learn in a week more than they do in a year of ordinary, somnolent life. For at the time of a sharp turn in the life of an entire people it becomes particularly clear what aims the various classes of the people are pursuing, what

strength they possess, and what methods they use.

We must take Chairman Mao's correct line as our guide, and class struggle as the key link, and apply the method of class analysis to study phenomena of all kinds, analyse the tendencies of the various classes in the current great cultural revolution, and see what methods they use.

Proletarian revolutionaries should do still better in their creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings, strengthen and improve the nucleus of leadership, and further improve their art of struggle. They should investigate and study more, grasp policies, pay attention to methods of work, be good at bringing out the facts and reasoning, and consulting those people who hold different views, discussing problems with them, and uniting with the broad masses. They should welcome the correction of errors by those comrades who have committed errors of line. Only in this way will we be able to expose and isolate to the maximum the hand-

ful of people in authority who are taking the capitalist road, organize the mighty army of the proletarian cultural revolution, seize new victories and fulfil the great historic task entrusted to us by Chairman Mao.