

SPEECH BY COMRADE CHIANG CHING

**— At the Rally to Inaugurate and Celebrate the
Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee,
April 20, 1967**

Comrade workers, peasants, soldiers, students, and revolutionary cadres, comrades-in-arms, young Red Guard fighters:

Good day to you! On behalf of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party Central Committee, I extend to you our warm congratulations on the founding of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and the militant greetings of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

The founding of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee marks a new victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution in the capital and will exert a great influence on the nation-wide victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution. After the Conference of Representatives of Revolutionary Workers and Staff, the Conference of Representatives of Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants, the Congress of Red Guards of Universities and Colleges, and the Congress of Red Guards of Middle Schools, Peking's proletarian revolutionaries have now further allied themselves and brought about the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination. This is a great victory for the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

Comrade Hsieh Fu-chih has made a very good speech. Here I want to talk about only two points. One is about the relationship between the work of all-out criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party people in authority taking the

capitalist road and the task in various units of struggling [against and overthrowing those Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road], criticizing and repudiating [the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes] and transforming [education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base]. The other is about supporting the army and cherishing the people.

The current situation in China as a whole is very good, extremely good. This is the result of our struggle being led by Chairman Mao, the result of the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries, and the result of the support given by the great Chinese People's Liberation Army.

The development of the situation, however, is not even, and there are reverses. This is a normal phenomenon. There is nothing on the globe that proceeds with absolute evenness, and in very few cases are there no reverses. It is only through repeated contests of strength and struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the course of the great cultural revolution that we can temper ourselves. How can we temper ourselves if there are no reverses? Therefore, to have reverses is not a bad thing.

In the present stage in which the proletarian revolutionaries are forging an alliance to seize power, we should launch a vigorous mass movement to criticize and repudiate the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and, at the same time, gradually turn to the task of struggle, criticism and repudiation, and transformation in various units according to local conditions. This is an arduous task.

The handful of top Party people in authority taking the capitalist road are representatives of capitalist restoration and the behind-the-scene bosses of the counter-revolutionary, revisionist clique of the Peking municipality. For seventeen years and more, they have been putting forward and stubbornly persisting in a bourgeois reactionary line in various fields.

The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has developed in the struggle against this bourgeois reactionary line. We must completely eliminate the pernicious influence of the bourgeois reactionary line on the political, economic, ideological and cultural fronts, and fly the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought over all positions.

The task of struggle, criticism and repudiation, and transformation in various units and the work of criticizing and repudiating the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road do not contradict each other and can be linked together. The all-out criticism and repudiation of the few top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road can give a strong impetus to struggle, criticism and repudiation, and transformation in various units, which, in turn, can bring about a fuller exposure and a more profound criticism and repudiation of the poisons spread on various fronts by that top Party person. This requires us to do some hard thinking, to study Chairman Mao's works well, and to do good work in investigation and study.

This is a task of the foremost importance. For its fulfilment, a revolutionary leading organ must be set up in every unit. Naturally, in some units where the Party and government leadership or management are in the main good, the seizure of power is unnecessary. Nevertheless, it is necessary for nearly all the units to form the great revolutionary alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and so set up the provisional organ of power. Otherwise, without the revolutionary alliance and "three-in-one" combination how can you proceed with struggle, criticism and repudiation, and transformation? And who will give the leadership? Isn't this crystal-clear?

Comrades, have you thought the matter over? Some students are interested only in going about and "storming", and show great enthusiasm for it. It is a fundamental task of the socialist revolution and socialist transformation, a big job for the

next hundred years, for a unit or department successfully to carry through the struggle, criticism and repudiation, and transformation! If you give a thought to this, you comrades will strengthen your sense of responsibility!

We in the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party Central Committee should also carry out the work of penetrating investigation and study. And, working together with you comrades, we shall learn from your good experience and then help you in your work.

We have been comrades-in-arms sharing weal and woe over the past year. I hope that you comrades will think seriously of the question of struggle, criticism and repudiation, and transformation. You should not divert the aim of struggle from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, but should thoroughly refute them. The handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the former Peking Municipal Party Committee, the former Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee and the former Ministry of Culture must also be exposed, criticized and repudiated in a more thoroughgoing way.

Since the directives of supporting the Left, of supporting industry and agriculture, of placing certain units under military control and of military training, issued by Chairman Mao and resolutely supported by Comrade Lin Piao, the People's Liberation Army has thrown in great strength, and the P.L.A. cadres and soldiers have done a great work and scored initial brilliant successes.

You are fully at liberty to criticize people in the army, no matter who, by writing big-character or small-character posters, whether sending them directly to the persons themselves or to upper organizations or even to the Party Central Committee. But the spearhead of the attack should in no circumstances be directed against the army.

The revolutionary masses should adopt a correct attitude towards the army and give it support. **Chairman Mao teaches**

us, **"Without a people's army the people have nothing."**¹ The eight-point order issued by the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee on January 28 is correct and is still in force. The main aspect of the order deals with the point that the masses should adopt a correct attitude towards the People's Liberation Army, that is, giving support to the army.

The army for its part should also adopt a correct attitude towards the masses, that is, to cherish the people. **Chairman Mao teaches us, "The army must become one with the people so that they see it as their own army. Such an army will be invincible. . . ."**² As to the present ten-point order issued by the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee on April 6, it is also correct and remains in force. The main aspect of the order deals with the point that the army should adopt a correct attitude towards the masses, that is, cherishing the people.

The spirit embodied in the eight-point order is identical with that of the ten-point order. It is wrong to counterpose the latter to the former, and by no means should the ten-point order be used to wreck the eight-point order. If you do so, you are doing wrong. The reason why we raise this question is that we fear comrades may commit mistakes or be misled by evil-minded persons. Hence, with particular emphasis we put forward the call to support the army and cherish the people.

Chairman Mao teaches us,

. . . We are confronted by two types of social contradictions — those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves.³

Since they are different in nature, the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and the contradictions

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "On Coalition Government", *Selected Works*, FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, pp. 296-97.

² Mao Tse-tung, "On Protracted War", *Selected Works*, FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. II, p. 186.

³ Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, 1st pocket ed., FLP, Peking, 1966, p. 2.

among the people must be resolved by different methods. To put it briefly, the former are a matter of drawing a clear distinction between ourselves and the enemy, and the latter a matter of drawing a clear distinction between right and wrong.¹

We should be good at distinguishing between the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people. The two different types of contradictions must not be confused. With regard to the contradictions among the people, including controversies among mass organizations, they should be properly handled by **applying the method of presenting facts and reasoning things out and the principle of "unity, criticism, unity"**. It is wrong to brand certain organizations and people that hold a different view as being "counter-revolutionary". It is also wrong to use the method of handling the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy to settle disputes between different mass organizations, let alone the use of violence.

Comrades, we hope that the broad revolutionary masses in Peking, under the leadership of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, will hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, consolidate and develop the revolutionary great alliance in the course of the all-out revolutionary criticism and repudiation, and build Peking into a great school for studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's thought in a creative way.

Let us acclaim:

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the Red Guards!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the Chinese Communist Party!

Long live Mao Tse-tung's thought!

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

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.