

**CHIANG CH'UN-CH'IAO SPEAKS TO THE REVOLUTIONARY STUDENTS
OF FUKIEN PROVINCE**

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Comrades:

I listened to the speeches of you comrades today, and I have received many materials from you. Some of these materials I have read before and some of them I have not read yet; I will study them when I go back home. You have proposed many problems and here I have one problem to discuss with you. Tomorrow is the 8th; therefore, the 16 articles have been proclaimed for two months now. What problems have there been in the last two months? On the occasion of the National Celebration, Comrade Lin Piao said that the two-line struggle was still being continued. In some respects the struggle is sharper and more complex than the time before the proclamation of the 16 articles. Why is that? This is due to the fact that before the proclamation of the 16 articles, the masses of some areas were not encouraged to start the movement. The 16 articles point out that there are four kinds of people who oppose the Revolutionary Line of Chairman Mao instead of one kind of people. Some of them are spiritually unprepared and actually do not understand to this day, and others are bad people. Some of the workers and farmers are easily incited. Their defense of the provincial committees and city committees originates in their love for the party and Chairman Mao. They will not refuse to go; if I were a worker regiment I would be willing to go. There is an article saying that the military cannot go. This is the order of the Central Committee. If the military regiments can be moved there would have been shooting long ago. (Laughter) There was no movement of the military all over the country. (The students said: "In some places the militia has been in motion." Comrade Kuan Feng said there are some movements in some areas.) The Central Committee made this order just because there are some movements in some areas so as to guarantee that no matter how

sharp the struggle is, there has not been serious incidents. This explains that class struggles are very complicated and very sharp. This fact also proves that the proletarian cultural revolution started personally by Chairman Mao is necessary. Nothing can keep our country from changing color.

You comrades have been insulted and injured. There has been hardship. This also proves that this revolution is absolutely necessary. This type of phenomenon occurs now while we are under the leadership of Chairman Mao of the Central Committee of the Party. If the political power had been in the hands of someone else, where would you go to tell your hardship? What would you do? Would you have been coming here to tell your hardship? (Some students said: "Our heads would all have been chopped off." Kuan Feng said: But we would still want to carry out the revolution!)

My comrades, we must broaden our vision a little. Being attacked and oppressed in this proletarian cultural revolution is after all a temporary thing; we will triumph in the end; although we did not expect it to be this complicated. Maybe you did not expect it either! Why was it like this? Your propaganda bills were printed and our propaganda bills were not printed. In politics, this sort of thing happens. It maybe necessary to struggle a few hours, dozens of hours, or several days (The students said: "On the streets of Chang-chou Shih, reactionary propaganda bills printed in newsprint were discovered.) The condition in your Fukien Province is perhaps even more complicated. The enemies may try to take advantage and there may even be open Kuomintang members. This revolution is extremely difficult. Comrades, do you not all feel that you are sorry to be born too late to participate in the struggles of the past? You can still train yourself by participating in this rough struggle. Solong as the authority of the country is under proletarian dictatorship, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, you will still be able to come to Peiping; you will still be able to make contact all over the country. The Central Committee of the Party completely supports you. Our central revolutionary group of course will stand on the revolutionary position. If we do not stand on the revolutionary position we will be removed.

I have a few feelings here after I have read your memorandums. You comrades feel the oppression is very heavy and very fluctuating and you ask us what to do. The two of us (meaning Kuan Feng and the speaker) have just discussed the matter. As to what to do, we would like to ask you what to do. (The students answered very determinedly: Struggle to the end.) It is not that the Central Committee hasn't said anything. Are the 16 articles clearly written? They all know that the 16 articles were formulated under the personal support of Chairman Mao, and some of them also participated in the meetings (the students said: "Yeh Fei also participated." Kuan Feng interrupted: "Those who would not carry it out just would not carry it out.") This is the complication of the problem. At the conclusion of the 8th Plenum

of the 11th Congress, the Central Committee had expected that. Chairman Mao publically pointed out that there would be two conditions: some will carry it out and some will not. The condition will be like that all over the country. This condition has occurred now. In some areas, it is like yours, and in some other areas the situation is more serious than yours, while other areas is less serious than yours. The condition is universal. Everything the Central Committee said, everyone will make use out of it. Each person has his own interpretation of the 16 articles. Comrade Lin Piao said that the proletarian command headquarters should not be bombed. Do you think this is correct? (The students all answered: That's right!) Comrade Lin Piao said completely correctly! Revolutionary comrades should stay awake; but someone would claim that he is the revolutionary headquarters and no one should hit him. When Comrade Lin Piao said those words, he did not include the criticism of provincial and city committees by the revolutionary comrades. (Clapping passionately) We must say that those who violate the 16 articles and attack the 16 articles are bombing the proletarian headquarters. This headquarter is the headquarter presided by Chairman Mao (Prolonged clapping and applause: Long Live Chairman Mao!) When you go back you must tightly hang on to the 16 articles formulated personally by Chairman Mao. If others do not carry it out, we must carry it out. We will carry it out as it is and not change a thing. If we reason, we reason the 16 articles. The words of Lin Piao are a development from the situation while the spirit remained to be on the basis of the 16 articles.

We want your help. These are concrete problems. Who are the objects? Who are the masses around us? What kind of condition is the leftist? What is the condition of the central element? We are still not very clear about the thing. We must strengthen the leftists, win over the middle elements, and isolate the extreme few rightists. Of course, the number of leftists is few. They are few now and they will be few in the future. Don't think that in the future all will be leftist. Of course, many will want to become revolutionaries but the determined and persistent revolutionary leftists will always be few. Marx and Engels were only two people. Who gave them a printer, a propaganda vehicle, and a recorder? They had extreme hardship then. (Comrade Kuan Feng: Even food was a problem.) Engels had to run to the factory owned by his father. His father was a capitalist and was not red (Laughter). Was not Lenin's case the same? The case with Chairman Mao was the same also. The Kuomintang wrote a great many propaganda bills against Chairman Mao. You all think, how many propaganda bills did the Kuomintang write against the Communist Party? How many propaganda bills have there been to slander you? (The students said: There were 300,000 in Tan-fu Second Middle School alone.) 300,000 are not very many! Chiang Kai-shek wrote more articles than the four volumes of Mao Tse-tung's works, but Chiang Kai-shek was overthrown!

New things are always few at the beginning; and growth is extremely difficult. We must learn the revolutionary spirit from our revolutionary foreigners and teachers. Now the situation is much better than theirs in

the past. The power of the state is in the hands of Chairman Mao! (Kuan Feng: Being attacked is a good thing; how can you become revolutionary leftist without being attacked?) (Prolonged clapping) In the past, Chairman Mao was expelled from the party many times; he was fired from his job; but truth was finally on the side of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao. Although the number is few, but the final victory is certain. (Clapping) We are still the minority in the world. How many parties are united with the Chinese party? There are still more on the side of the revisionists of the Soviet Union. One comrade inquired about the relationship between the minority and the majority. This relationship will change. (Kuan Feng said: This majority is temporary and is false.) If you practice revolution, you will have victory. The minority of the two revolutionary party will gradually expand. If it expands in one day, it will fall. Please don't think that I said this here today and tomorrow you go back and your team will expand immediately. That kind of expansion will be blown away in the first storm and later you would only have just a few of you. The revolution must be carried out by solid work; there is no short-cut in revolution. You must be prepared to take detours, to take the very hard road. You must walk on solidly every where, and every region is different; but the general direction is the same.

Their oppression is nothing but political oppression and economical oppression. The Central Committee dispatched a communication saying that the Capital Third Headquarters is entitled to equal material treatment. The Central Cultural Revolution Group said so. Premier Chou En-lai said so also; but that was no use. Don't you think what ever the Central Committee says it will be carried out. On the day before yesterday, the Third Headquarters sent a communication asking us to a meeting and the communication was still hand written. Later we investigated, to find out that the Central Committee had decided that the Third Headquarters should have equal treatment and why was it not carried out. Later, a printed communication was delivered to us. I threw away that printed communication and kept the hand-written one; it was precious! (Clapping) I say this because, what I want to say is revolution depends upon oneself. (Kuan Feng: Unite the revolutionary comrades to form a strong nucleus.)

Yesterday, Chiang Ch'ing talked about the importance of policy and strategy, and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the ideas of Mao Tse-tung, attention should be given to flexibility. The weakness of some of our comrades is that they are in a hurry to win the majority. In that manner, they will be attacked, because the leftists cannot be a very large number. Those who are followed by the middle elements will be very powerful. We must use our heads to handle these people. How do we go about to do our work? We should not be very angry with those students who attacked us before; we are all colleagues, after all! (Kuan Feng: We are all fellow students and brothers of the same class. They are only temporarily deceived.) In Peiping, all those who said that way, won over many comrades. Cussing everybody and everything is not a good thing for us. You must consider that. Not only when you are dealing with the workers and farmers, even

when you are dealing with your fellow students you must insist upon the line of Mao Tse-tung's ideology. This is not just one or two days. Some people will follow you today and in a couple of days the situation changes and they run away. They will continuously divide and continuously regroup. The road is crooked. When you go back, you should think about this problem. You have written memorandums to say that you are anxious to go home. Before you go home, go to some of the schools in Peiping and take a look. Their struggle is quite sharp. For example, in the Peking Aviation School, in Peking College of Geology, Peking Normal University, and Tsinghua University, sometimes the group was isolated to have only 10 people. (Kuan Feng interrupted: Sometimes they were locked up.) Yesterday, P'eng Ta-fu was rehabilitated. He was judged to be a counterrevolutionary before. You must go and ask them. Their experience is greater than ours. Of course, we are also oppressed but we are not going to complain to you today! (Laughter) The difficulties we encounter are different from yours. You are more similar to these schools. Go and get in touch with them and learn from them. The Peking Aviation School had wanted the work group Chao x x to talk to them; but they went to wait in front of the door of the National Defense Science Committee for 28 days and 28 nights; there was no speech. We reported this to Chairman Mao and he said they must speak. They still did not speak. Later Ch'en Po-ta said to them: "Now the two of you just go to these students to give a talk. If you are beaten to death, I Ch'en Po-ta will give my life for your death." Ch'en Po-ta even wrote a promise and signed his name. Even that, they still did not dare to go. They were afraid of the masses to that extent. On 1 October, I debated with him on the tower of T'ien-an-men: "Why would you not listen to Ch'en Po-ta? You would not even listen to Chairman Mao." We were angry. We said: "If you still don't go, tomorrow the students and I will stand together and call you." (Laughter, clapping) Your difficulties are not the greatest, but your being oppressed and we sympathize very much. The attitude of the Central Committee is very clear and I do not have to talk about it here. You are closely related to them. What is their experience? It is beginning to change. There was some indication at yesterday's conference. On the chairman's platform, there were quite a few who had worn the counter-revolutionary caps. When I read the resolution, many cried under that table. From now on, don't you be afraid. The Central Committee has directions and the direction has been communicated. Is that right? Have you all heard the certification of the Central Committee? (The audience: Heard! Kuan Feng interrupted: If they again put the cap on you, you just show them the directive and tell them all to read it.) This type of pressure can be exerted by the Central Committee. The Central Committee would not stand aside; but even so, revolution depends upon yourselves. You must have courage and you must use your head. The first wall poster of Nieh Yuan-hsing was out four months ago. The struggle in these four months has been very hard and very twisted. Perhaps, the situation is getting better; but struggle after struggle more changes will come and there will be more backsliding and repeats before the line of Chairman Mao will win.

We hope you comrades will learn Chairman Mao's works very well to improve your ideological awakening. You learn from Chairman Mao how to carry out the revolution to lead your work and to isolate your enemies. He is also a genius about how to struggle and how to unite. The problems are many and you should all think them over.

Finally, I hope you all truly become good students of Chairman Mao. This is the wish of us all. (Prolonged clapping and applause).

The Hsueh-yu-yung [Learn to Swim] Struggle Group, Ching-kang-shan Red Guards, Tsinghua University, 9 October 1966

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