

IMMEDIATELY CURB STRUGGLE BY FORCE
(22 May 1967)

[Full text.]

Of late, a gust of sinister wind of the struggle by force has appeared in some areas, between units and between mass organizations. It has interfered with the great orientation of the struggle, stymied the great democracy under the condition of the proletarian dictatorship, affected

and wrecked production, upset the orderly process of revolution, destroyed state property, and threatened security in the lives of the people. We must be determined to check this sinister wind.

The struggle through coercion of force between mass organizations is absolutely by no means an act of revolution or a heroic deed, but an expression of degeneration. To carry out the struggle through force among the masses is never a policy of the proletariat. As pointed out by Comrade Lin Piao, the struggle through force can only touch the skin and flesh, but fails to reach the soul. The appearance of such a sinister wind at a time when hundreds of millions of people are unfolding mass criticism and mass struggle against the handful of powerholders in the party taking the capitalist road is by no means accidental. The proletarian revolutionaries must stringently place the demand on themselves to resolutely defend and implement the 16-point decision and carry out Chairman Mao's instruction to become models in conducting the struggle through reason, not through coercion or force.

The contradiction between the revolutionaries and some people who have been hoodwinked into participating in the conservative organizations is a contradiction within the ranks of the people, not a contradiction between the enemies and ourselves. Since these people who have been hoodwinked are part of the question of ideological understanding, the proletarian revolutionaries must treat them correctly and help them to settle down with personal warmth and enthusiasm, as well as with an attitude of comradeship and use of the "unity-criticism-unity" policy.

Chairman Mao has said that resolving the contradiction within the ranks of the people cannot be embarked upon with curses, or worse, by resorting to fists or knives and guns; only the methods of discussion, reason and criticism and self-criticism can be adopted. In a word, only adoption of the democratic way and the method of persuading the masses is permissible.

To be able to do thorough and practical ideological work, we must be good at talking and discussing with them and have faith in their own initiative to liberate and educate themselves and welcome them in returning to the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. Regarding some comrades who have been hoodwinked, we should not bear any prejudice toward them, insult them, retaliate against them, or call them "sinister current," reactionary, turncoat, or any other bad names.

As for some people who did not have a clear understanding of the situation, which made them participate in conservative organizations, these must stringently restrict themselves and raise their proletarian consciousness, distinguish clearly between enemies and friends, clearly observe the great orientation of the struggle, and humbly learn from the proletarian revolutionaries. They must firmly stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionaries with a determination to completely divorce themselves

from the bourgeois reactionary line and point the spearhead of struggle at the handful of powerholders in the party taking the capitalist road. For those who have realized that they have erred and corrected their mistake, these are good comrades. We must not allow ourselves to be stirred into action merely through emotions and hurt feelings; in the truth and reality of the proletariat, there is no such thing as "losing face."

Chairman Mao has said that countless numbers of revolutionary martyrs have sacrificed their lives in the interest of the people. This has made every one of us who is still living feel bad upon remembering them. Is there then any personal interest which one cannot sacrifice, or any error which one cannot give up? Under the present acute and complicated situation of class struggle, if we continue to lose the direction, then it will create an opportunity for the bad elements to exploit us and for us to follow others in conducting the struggle through coercion or force. This is extremely dangerous.

It is a normal situation for divergent views and disputes on some questions to occur and even on questions dealing with principle within the ranks of the proletarian revolutionaries and between revolutionary mass organizations. As long as the two disputing sides genuinely place their interest in the overall situation, come to grips with the main contradiction, grasp the great orientation of the struggle, and fully develop the great democracy under the condition of the proletarian dictatorship with the initiation of criticism and self-criticism, particularly self-criticism, then all these divergent views and disputes can easily be solved. The two sides holding different views should strive to reach agreement through majority consent and must not let the dispute on class questions continue without end.

Even on the questions involving principle, they should strive to reach a solution on the basis of truth and reason through the normal procedures of discussion or debate. In the event that some questions cannot be solved immediately, people should be allowed to retain their views or opinion for later discussion. Under no circumstances must one side be allowed to harp on the shortcomings of an opponent, persist in its attack concentrate on an internal war, create antagonism, and even fan the struggle by force.

Conducting the struggle through reason and not by coercion or force is a policy of proletarian revolution advocated by Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee and a policy demanded by hundreds of million of people throughout the country. The proletarian revolutionaries and all the revolutionary people must resolutely defend this policy and resolutely oppose and curb struggle through coercion or force.

Recently our great leader Chairman Mao personally approved and made public an important circular by the Peking municipal revolutionary committee. This important circular points out:

1. The revolutionary masses must resolutely carry out the directive issued by Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee on grasping revolution and stimulating production and work and strive for successes in both revolution and production.

2. Resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's directive on the struggle, which must be conducted through reason, not coercion of force. Hitting, smashing, robbery, confiscation and seizure are strictly forbidden. The small number of bad elements who incite the struggle through force and serious offenders who beat up people should be punished according to the law of the proletarian state. The Peking garrison forces of the People's Liberation Army and representatives of the armed forces have the authority to deal with the question involving the struggle through coercion or force, and all departments concerned must comply and disobedience must not be allowed.

3. Destruction of state property is not allowed. No one is permitted to use communication facilities to take part in the struggle through force. Personnel are not allowed to be employed to take part in the struggle through force by any unit.

4. Resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's directive that resolute efforts be taken to overcome any disorderly or anarchic situation existing in many localities. No violation of labor discipline or law is permitted. No work stoppage is allowed. Resolutely wage struggle against all elements which disrupt the orderly process of revolution and production.

5. Organs of the proletarian dictatorship must follow Chairman Mao's instructions and provide resolute support for the proletarian revolutionaries and carry out their sacred duties to maintain the revolutionary order for the protection and consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship, and protect state property and the great proletarian cultural revolution.

6. Resolutely carry out the notice issued by the party Central Committee, the State Council, the Military Affairs Committee of the party Central Committee, and the cultural revolution group of the party Central Committee concerning leaving town to establish revolutionary contacts. All students and masses of Peking who have already left must return to Peking immediately, except those who have received special permission from the central authority. Students and masses who have come to Peking from other areas to establish revolutionary contacts must similarly go back to their own areas immediately. All workers, peasants, soldiers, and the great masses of cadres throughout the country must study this circular and resolutely carry it out.

Proletarian revolutionary fighters and revolutionary comrades, the great proletarian cultural revolution has been carried out for a full year, during which time we have achieved a great victory. At this important juncture, when we are carrying out a general attack on the handful of the

biggest powerholders in the party taking the capitalist road, we must seriously study the CCP Central Committee's circular, which was written and adopted under the personal supervision of Chairman Mao, and other important articles, including the "Betrayal of dictatorship of proletariat is essential element in book 'On Self-Cultivation'" and the "A Great, Historical Document," initiate the rectification campaign, summarize experiences, resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's policies, raise the level of the art struggle, strengthen the revolutionary, scientific, and organizational levels of the proletariat, firmly grasp the great orientation of the struggle, and strive for newer and greater victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution.