

CHOU URGES KWANGTUNG FACTIONS TO UNITE

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Full text of an article entitled "Premier Chou En-lai Gives Important Instruction."

The following is a report on a reception given by Premier Chou to a number of representatives of both sides of the Canton area who are in Peking:

Time: 10:55 p.m. -- 12:30 p.m., November 8, 1967.

Place: Small conference room of Chekiang Hall of the People's Great Hall.

Persons received: Representatives of both sides, numbering 11 persons each.

Leaders at the reception included: Ch'i Pen-yu, Wu Fa-hsien, Li Tso-p'eng, and Huang Yung-sheng.

When Premier Chou and other central leaders walked into the conference room with firm steps, all representatives rose and clapped their hands warmly. Premier Chou and the other central leaders warmly shook hands with the representatives one by one.

Premier Chou said: "You want to leave Peking, don't you? It was our original intention to let you go on the 26th of last month; your departure has thus been postponed for more than ten days. Tomorrow you workers of Canton will be holding an alliance rally, and your departure won't be postponed any longer, will it? The Central Committee will send a congratulatory telegram. Hasn't an agreement been reached on the problem of the railways?" (A representative of the railways replied: "It has been reached.")

Premier Chou continued: "Revolutionary mass organizations simply have to set up a great alliance. We must take the 12 Articles as a test. Must a preparatory group of a revolutionary committee be established? Will you make preparations here or set up the group after you go back? This evening we have invited all three sides here. Some of your problems are relatively similar. We must take the 12 Articles as a test."

Premier Chou asked separately the representatives of the District Headquarters, Red Headquarters, Kung-lien, and Red Flag Workers whether military control was to continue as it was or a preparatory group of a revolutionary committee should be formed. (Four representatives replied: "We'd better set up a preparatory group first.")

Premier Chou said: "Good. You four are in favor of having a preparatory group. What about the Kung-ch'iao [industry and communications] Red Flag?" (Answered a representative of the Kung-chiao Red Flag: "We too are in favor of having a preparatory group.")

Premier Chou continued: "The future revolutionary committee will have the representation of sailors and railway workers. Where is the representative of seamen?" (A representative replied: "The representative of seamen hasn't come.") Premier Chou asked again: "Will the representative of railway workers agree to this?" The representative of railway workers replied: "Agree."

The Premier said happily: "We must have a great alliance revolutionary committee. The working class has taken the lead, and now we shall see what the State organs are going to do. What is the view of the State organs on this?" (A representative of the Liaison Headquarters of the Central-South Bureau told the Premier: "If conditions permit, we may as well form a preparatory group here. At present, however, there are serious controversies.") Premier Chou corrected him, saying: "It is not that there are serious controversies. The trouble is caused by several leaders of yours. Now Comrades Chao Cho-yun and Ma Fu still have to be investigated. They are not yet qualified. Comrade Ch'en Yu did a great deal of work after he went back the

last time. Comrade K'ung Shih-ch'uan has done a good job in working on the workers!"

The Premier instructed: "Now is the time to start the struggle-criticism-transformation, and to make fruitful studies. You must have faith in the Central Committee. You must talk to each other, and must not stir up trouble again after signing an agreement. The Central Committee has nominated five persons (referring to the Preparatory Group of the Provincial Revolutionary Committee), and on the last occasion Comrade Wu Fa-hsien had explained the problem of Comrade Ch'en Te. Comrade Wu Te is an old cadre who has been tested and tempered in prolonged wars, and has done a huge amount of work in the past. The mistakes that are found are not his alone. The Military Control Committee has already borne the responsibility. Let's first ask five comrades to go back and then hold a consultation to expand [the scope of education]. This time we specially ask Comrade Ch'en Yu to remain behind, so he will not go back until this conference is over."

A representative of the Tungfanghung of the [Kwangtung] Provincial Party Committee told the Premier: "In attending the study classes, we do not enjoy the four big freedoms. The four big freedoms must be guaranteed before things can be done well." The Premier said: "The four big freedoms are essential in the matter of attending study classes. There must be no suppression of one faction by another."

The Premier then instructed: "Kwangtung, after all, is more civilized than Hupeh, isn't it? Now the two factions of Kwangsi have rushed here. But the leadership still dares not sign. Kwangtung and Kwangsi are located on the front line. You have reached 12 agreements, while in Kwangsi ten have been reached. Kwangtung will not fall behind Kwangsi, will it? You must make haste to hold an inauguration rally. Originally I have already reported to the Chairman, saying that the problem of Kwangtung might be solved by the end of the month (October). Now the solution has been delayed for more than ten days. The two Kwang [Kwangtung and Kwangsi] should catch up with the situation, and not because they are under my charge. The reason is that they are located on the front line of national defense. Today cadres are being put to a test. The instruction of Chairman Mao on the question of Ch'en Tsai-tao (The Premier read out Chairman Mao's instruction) means chiefly that we must correct our mistakes seriously and not generally, and that after correcting them, we may come forward afresh. The people you have overthrown should still be given hope. Things should be done in accordance with the Chairman's instructions, and things should be judged not from the factional character but from the Party spirit. Aren't you saying every day that you want to act on Chairman Mao's directives? Now the Chairman has given many new instructions. You must carry on your studies in accordance with the Chairman's latest instructions. You may say that today I have a little less democracy; let it be so. After repeated consultations, I have driven you to sign. This is something extraordinary. In face, it is the alliance of the working class which has driven you to sign together."

The Premier then continued to instruct: "In the past we said that we should take the Left as the core. Now ours all are revolutionary mass organizations. We sometimes say mass organizations, and sometimes say revolutionary mass organizations. All the masses are determined to make revolution. Can it be that under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship the masses do not want to make revolution? There is no strict distinction between revolutionary organizations and mass organizations. But they are assigned priorities. They all want to make revolution; otherwise why should we say that it is necessary to unite with over 95 percent of the masses? In regard to the world revolution in the international arena, 90 percent of the masses will also have to be united! The other 10 percent refers to the exploiting classes. After 18 years of endeavor in China, the masses of course want to make revolution. Nevertheless, organizations may be advanced or backward, and we must not think that the masses do not want revolution.

The leadership, too, should be subject to analysis. Some organizations were controlled by capitalist roaders last year; this year they have changed because the capitalist roaders are no longer in power.

The army is behind the Left, but we cannot say that the army does not have a single capitalist roader. Yet the army is under the personal command of Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin, and it will rise when ordered to do so. Subjectively the army is behind the Left, and it has not been so deeply influenced by Liu Shao-ch'i's black self-cultivation. Why is it that the Party and government have changed so slowly? Up to the present moment there are still some people who have not recognized their mistakes, chiefly because they have been deeply influenced. But the diehards are a minority. Things are different with the army. Subjectively it is behind the Left.

When it comes to overall seizure of power and to the discovery of new problems, the radicals invariably want to seize power first, yet, more often than not they fail to seize power in the proper way. This is due to the lack of a great alliance. This year's seizure of power presupposes a great alliance. Everybody must stand on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and grasp the common program. You must seize power together by the application of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the 12 Articles. In this respect, there had not been much experience in the early days of the great alliance. With the exception of Shanghai, some twists and turns were experienced in other places. Tsingtao is comparatively good. In Heilungkiang the rebels first seized power but later they split up. I still advise them to unite together. In Shansi power was quickly seized with the army's support, but there the masses have not been extensively mobilized. In Peking, it has been urged that power should be seized only after the alliance is formed. For instance, when the January storm broke out, they seized power from the Peking Municipal Party Committee without our knowledge. They reported the good tidings to us, and we went to congratulate them. Later, things did not work out as they should, because a few people could not hold the power. Without an alliance, power seized could not be kept and retained. It was not until April 20 that we took over power; by then we had already set up the Congress of Red Guards of

Schools, a Congress of Workers, and a Congress of Peasants. From January 20 to April 20, a period of three months, there were still a few places where alliances had not been formed. This seizure of power was mature, yet not completely mature.

In some cases power was seized by only one faction. Kwangtung has two experiences. Wu Ch'uan-pin, you remember them best. You people said that the orientation for power seizure in Kwangtung was correct, but that the number of participants was not large and they were not widely represented. Without alliances, seizure of power became surrender of power, and power could not be retained. In the case of the railways, power was seized by one group, and the other group was unhappy. Thus, seizure of power was not a success. Now they have united together, and comrades of the Ch'un-lei group have also recognized this problem. This is a big step in the right direction.

The Premier asked the representative of Ch'un-lei: "Have you people made sure of your thinking?"

Ch'un-lei replied: "We have."

The Premier said: "Then I congratulate you. But when you go back, you still have to work hard."

The representative of Ch'un-lei said: "We'll resolutely follow the Premier's directive."

The Premier said: "This is a victory for the thought of Mao Tse-tung. We are still studying. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin had never discussed the question of power seizure, and only Chairman Mao has brought it up and asked us to study it in the course of practice. For instance, those of you from Anhwei are rebels and are opposed to Li Pao-hua. But if only one group seized power, there could not be a success. This is also true of Nanking and Shensi. Therefore we must unite to seize power. I said that "Lien-chih" of Kwangsi was a mass organization, but the 'April 22' had become arrogant and conceited, thinking that I had said that they were rebels. In the past, some conservative organizations either protected the capitalist roaders or demanded alliances. When several mass organizations wanted an alliance, some might be a little more radical, others might be a little more gradual in approach. Take the 12 Articles as a test. That you had argued with each other some moments ago was a good thing, because the purpose of argument was to see whether you abided by the 12 Articles a hundred percent. If you were able to execute them with resolution, all would be fine; it would also be good if others violated them while you did not. You must not think that if others could go against them, you might do so as well. Failure to execute them would shake your mass organization. The practical test is to see whether you observe them or not.

There is nothing wrong to take the Left as the core. But no matter which group you took as the core, things did not work out. Wen-hui Pao of Shanghai has also criticized this, saying that it was most foolish and ridiculous to take me as the core. We must test ourselves by the practice of struggle. Some of our old cadres have joined the revolution for several decades, and the truth is not that they have not performed merits in the past, but that they have not performed any new merits. Moreover, some have not even been able to pass the test.

The report made by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing in accordance with the Chairman's directives brought up the need to perform new merits. You young comrades have been doing merits for only one and a half years, and what capital have you got? The burden is so heavy! It is important that you continue to test yourselves in practice and with the thought of Chairman Mao and the "12 Articles." The masses, too, are testing you. The principle with regard to the Left is right but cannot be fixed. Concretely speaking, those who are Leftists today may not necessarily be such tomorrow. Things may not be that easy in practice. Speaking strictly, the masses may be divided into Left, middle and right. But those who belong to the right may easily be construed as rightists and then as conservatives. And conservatives may easily be regarded by people as royalists with guns. I am not in favor of using the royalists with guns, and it would be bad if the mass organizations were described as the rightist organizations, because there is a big difference between them and the bourgeois rightists. At first the advanced are always in the minority, but invariably they continue to develop, making discoveries, inventing something, creating something and advancing.

Now everybody is arguing about passing judgement on our character. What is the meaning of this? Passing judgment on our character depends on test by prolonged practice. So you must not let the Central Committee pass a judgement on your character. Letting the Central Committee pass a judgement on your character may seem to give you security. But just as Comrade Ch'en Po-ta has said, things carried to excesses would take the opposite direction. Therefore, in doing anything you must measure it with the thought of Chairman Mao. You must follow the Central Committee closely, and cannot say that rebels can do anything they please. It is inadvisable for one to do anything one pleases. We must through practice recognize the principal aspect of the contradiction.

You are faced with the task of holding a commodities fair. When the two groups go back, they must gradually reduce their factional character, assist the Military District Command, and support the work of the Military Control Committee.

The representative of the Red Headquarters reported on the demand of the personnel undergoing compulsory labor to develop the four big freedoms and to "rebel." The Premier said: "Of this T'ao Chu had boasted once. When you go back, workers, peasants, State organ cadres, and students should issue a joint statement and unite to deal with the foes. The Chairman recently

instructed: What are ghosts and monsters? They refer to landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, wicked elements, and rightists who have not properly reformed. Party capitalist roaders are not called ghosts and monsters they are traitors and spies who wormed their way into the Party and must be eliminated. Last year an editorial of Jen-min Jih-pao entitled "Sweep Away All Ghosts and Monsters" referred to landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, wicked elements and rightists in society who have not properly reformed themselves.

(The representatives reported on the problem of supporting the rural youths.) The Premier said: "You must unite together. Anything may be criticized. If you fight over a cadre, that would only please the capitalist roaders, who would secretly laugh on the sidewalk. Is it true that there are still capitalist roaders and traitors in your Kwangtung, and that they have not been criticized. From tomorrow you must do some work well. You must go back on the 11th and create an atmosphere conducive to the formation of great alliances."

(A representative of Doctrine Guards reported that some organizations said that the Doctrine Guards were the targets of dictatorship and were the stumbling blocks to the great cultural revolution.) The Premier said: "You have signed the 12 points, haven't you? What about the Doctrine Guards being the 'stumbling blocks'? You have all stood on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and may be united with!"

The Red Headquarters of Literary and Art Circles reported that the East Wind Group had rehearsed the play The White-Haired Girl and said that this was approved by the Premier. The Premier said that he had no knowledge of it. At this time, representatives of the District Headquarters and Red Headquarters said: Our Workers Revolutionary Committee had not heard about this at all. We were surprised. The Premier said: You see, they don't know, either! Then, Comrade Huang Yung-sheng discussed the problem of theatrical performances during the duration of the Commodities Fair. The Premier said: This problem should be handled by the Peking three services and the literary and art bodies of Shanghai despatched by the central authorities. The two factions of you need not stage any shows.

A representative of the Revolutionary Workers' Joint Committee (Kung-ke-lien) made a report on the problem of communications in the city. The Premier said: "You workers and students should not interfere with the city's communications. It is said that you have still not removed the several checkpoints. When you go back tomorrow, you should remove them and surrender your guns to the Military District Command. You must talk about the great alliance and the '12 Articles,' and take 'combat against self-interest and criticism of revisionism' as the key link. Every organization and every unit should make a telephone call [to me] when you go back, and must remove the checkpoints (referring to the Flag groups). We shall hold a meeting day

after tomorrow. Today we shall have a little less democracy. We must raise our vigilance and must not arrest any people. Are you going to select several spokesmen day after tomorrow?

The representatives reported on the problem of black market for guns in Canton at the moment. The Premier said: "Canton faces Hong Kong and Macau, and the enemy is capable of doing anything. When you come across them, get hold of them and hand them over to the police. I hope that you will unite to deal with the enemies. Military control of the railways may be announced, and students must not get involved in this. Students of 'T'ieh-chung' [Railway Institute] should also be advised to go back and must not have any privileges." Finally the Premier said goodbye to and shook hands with the representatives one by one. Moreover, he said with concern to the representative of the Doctrine Guards: "The Doctrine Guards must return to the school and make a success of military and political training."

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