

Comrade Hsieh Fu-chih's Speech*

FROM start to finish, preparations for the setting up of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee enjoyed the solicitous attention of our great leader Chairman Mao. At this moment of general rejoicing by the people of the Peking municipality, let us join in wishing our most respected and beloved great leader, Chairman Mao, a long, long life! Long, long life to him!

The Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee has been established as the result of a heroic and protracted struggle waged by the proletarian revolutionaries, workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary intellectuals of the capital, raising high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and adhering to the proletarian revolutionary line, against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and against the bourgeois reactionary line.

Peking is where our great leader Chairman Mao lives, it is where the supreme command of the proletariat is. The infinitely brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung is illuminating the whole world, the whole of China and this capital of our great motherland. But the old Peking Municipal Party Committee, in which a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists were long entrenched and which was shielded and supported by the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, consistently waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, rabidly opposing our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao, viciously attacking and disparaging the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and opposing the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. This counter-revolutionary revisionist clique consistently opposed Chairman Mao's theory on class struggle, preached class conciliation, spread the concept of the dying out of class struggle, opposed and undermined the socialist education movement in city and countryside, shielded the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and protected the interests of the bourgeoisie. They consistently opposed giving prominence to proletarian politics, pursued a counter-revolutionary revisionist line in industry, agriculture, finance and trade, culture, education and other fields, and worked vigorously for the restoration of capitalism. They consistently opposed the line of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao on the great proletarian cultural revolution, and made energetic use of the instruments of propaganda which they controlled to disseminate revisionist poison, and so prepare public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. In the work of revolutionizing Peking opera, dance drama and symphonic music, they created all kinds of difficulties for Comrade Chiang Ching and levelled attacks against

her. What arouses particular anger is that they time and again resisted Chairman Mao's directive that Wu Han should be criticized and repudiated, and for a long time took no action in this matter. Following publication of Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's article "On the New Historical Drama *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*," they forbade newspapers in Peking to reprint it; they did not allow sale of the article in pamphlet form, and even attacked the comrades of Shanghai for their revolutionary stand. They consistently followed the counter-revolutionary revisionist organizational line of recruiting deserters, accepting traitors and forming cliques in pursuit of their own selfish interests, handing out jobs to their close associates and putting bad people in important positions, shielding landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists and attacking proletarian revolutionaries. They consistently maintained a blockade against the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and turned Peking into a "water-tight and impenetrable" independent kingdom, in a futile attempt to make it a base for a counter-revolutionary restoration. The members of this counter-revolutionary revisionist clique were big despots riding on the backs of the masses of the people in Peking. They committed towering crimes against the Party and the people.

The ringleader of the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique in the old Municipal Party Committee, time and again in the most nauseating way boosted himself to the skies among the cadres to prepare public opinion for his usurpation of the leadership of the Party and the state. As a matter of fact, this counter-revolutionary revisionist, the leader of the old Municipal Party Committee, was an outright capitulationist in the past and has been an agent of the bourgeoisie in our Party.

In the early stage of the War of Resistance Against Japan, this counter-revolutionary revisionist followed Wang Ming's capitulationist line of "everything through the united front" and "everything must be submitted to the united front" in the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Area.

In northeast China, during the War of Liberation, he continued to carry out Wang Ming's line still more energetically and followed the capitulationist line advanced by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. He opposed Chairman Mao's great strategic thought of using the countryside to surround the cities and Comrade Lin Piao's correct stand of arousing the masses boldly and setting up base areas.

In international activities, too, he made a lot of statements, behind the backs of the Party Central Committee, negating class contradictions, denying class struggle and glorifying the bourgeoisie and modern re-

*Abridged text.

visionism. He lauded the renegades Tito and Khrushchov and the bourgeois reactionaries of certain countries; he engaged in many capitulationist activities.

Investigation has now established that this counter-revolutionary revisionist became a turncoat and surrendered to the enemy and also betrayed comrades while he was in prison as far back as before the War of Resistance Against Japan. This renegade later colluded with the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in shielding a group of traitors and placing them in important leading positions in the Party, government and army. It is a tremendous contribution of the young Red Guards that they brought to light this big traitors' clique within our Party during the great cultural revolution.

Putting up the signboard of Communists and wearing a cloak of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, this handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee are in reality loyal lackeys of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. They cling to the bourgeois ideological system and the capitalist system and oppose Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and the socialist system. They are a group of anti-Communist, anti-popular counter-revolutionaries. The struggle between us and them is a life-and-death struggle.

This gang of counter-revolutionary revisionists fear and hate intensely the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself. Repeatedly using double-faced tactics and resisting Chairman Mao's directives, they engaged in a series of underground activities obstinately opposing and sabotaging the great cultural revolution. They were caught red-handed while carrying out these anti-Party conspiratorial activities.

In response to the call of our great leader Chairman Mao, the proletarian revolutionaries in the capital, with the might of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt, smashed the "three-family village" gangster inn [See *Peking Review*, No. 22, 1966, for article "On 'Three-Family Village'"] with one blow, stormed the counter-revolutionary revisionist lair of the old Municipal Party Committee, and crushed them completely.

Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee approved publication of the country's first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster from Peking University [see *Peking Review*, No. 37, 1966, for article "Hail a Big-Character Poster at Peking University"], made a timely decision to reorganize the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and form a new Municipal Party Committee. All these steps had the warm support of the people of the whole city and country, and gave a tremendous impetus to the great proletarian cultural revolution which had just started.

However, the principal leading members of the new Peking Municipal Party Committee failed to carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. On the contrary, they pursued the bourgeois reactionary line. In June and July of 1966, the great

proletarian cultural revolution in Peking proceeded under the direct control of the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road who turned Peking into a base for carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line. Taking the stand of the reactionary bourgeoisie, they exercised a bourgeois dictatorship, protected the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the old Municipal Party Committee, shielded the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and aimed the spearhead of the struggle at the proletarian revolutionaries. The top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road personally directed many units in attacking the revolutionaries from all sides, suppressing the revolutionary masses, practising a white terror and branding large numbers of the revolutionary masses "counter-revolutionaries" or "Rightists." They almost nipped the great proletarian cultural revolution in Peking in the bud and spread the pernicious influence of the bourgeois reactionary line throughout the country.

At that crucial moment, Chairman Mao returned to Peking and saved the great proletarian cultural revolution. The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party adopted the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." This proclaimed the bankruptcy of the bourgeois reactionary line and rekindled the raging flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

As soon as new things such as the Red Guards and the extensive exchange of revolutionary experience appeared on the horizon, Chairman Mao firmly supported them. The Red Guards of the capital played their role in arousing the struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line in all parts of the country. Here in Peking, Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms, Comrade Lin Biao, received more than ten million Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students, giving the proletarian revolutionaries tremendous encouragement and strength. The proletarian revolutionaries in the capital, upholding the proletarian revolutionary line and displaying the spirit of daring to think, speak, act, break through and make revolution, smashed the white terror of the bourgeois reactionary line, beat back its numerous counter-attacks and waged the struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. In extremely acute, complicated and tortuous struggles, the proletarian revolutionaries won one victory after another.

In Shanghai, the proletarian revolutionaries set going the storm of the "January Revolution." In the capital, in response to Chairman Mao's call, the proletarian revolutionaries launched a struggle from below to seize power from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. Crowning a considerable period of preparation, deliberations and consultation, the Congress of Red Guards of Universities and Colleges, the Conference of Representatives of Revolutionary Workers and Staff, the Conference of Representatives of Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants

and the Congress of Red Guards of Middle Schools were successively convened in Peking. The Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee—the Peking municipal provisional organ of power—was established on the basis of the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries and in accordance with the policy of revolutionary “three-in-one” combination put forward by Chairman Mao. This is a tremendous victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution, for Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line and for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself is a great pioneering undertaking in the international communist movement. After the proletariat wins political power and rules a country, the resistance of the bourgeoisie grows tenfold, as they dream of recovering their paradise. For quite a long time, they continue to retain a considerable political potential and still, to a considerable extent, have the upper hand in the ideological and cultural fields in particular. The proletariat, therefore, faces the extremely important new problem of whether it is able to maintain and consolidate political power, prevent a capitalist restoration and carry the socialist revolution through to the end. The Marxist-Leninists who preceded us either did not have a chance to solve this problem or were unable to do so. In Yugoslavia, as in the Soviet Union and certain other countries, capitalism was restored through “peaceful evolution.” In China, since the dictatorship of the proletariat was established in 1949, Chairman Mao has led us in waging a series of very important struggles against the bourgeoisie on the political, economic, ideological and cultural fronts. For instance: the struggle in 1954 against the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Sou-shih, bourgeois agents who had wormed their way into the Party; the struggle in 1959 against the Right opportunist anti-Party clique; the struggles on transformation of the system of ownership, namely, regarding state-private joint enterprises, agricultural co-operation, and the people’s communes; the struggle against the Rightists on the political and ideological fronts; and the criticism and repudiation on the ideological and cultural front of the film *The Life of Wu Hsun*, *Studies on “The Dream of the Red Chamber,”* the reactionary thinking of Hu Shih and Hu Feng, Yang Hsien-chen’s theory of “two combining into one,” and so on. All these were struggles waged by the proletariat under the leadership of Chairman Mao himself against the bourgeoisie, struggles waged by the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao against the bourgeois reactionary line represented by the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. The current great proletarian cultural revolution is a big and decisive battle, a general offensive against the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all the exploiting classes. Hundreds of millions of people have been aroused in a revolution to sweep clean from below all the bourgeois representatives who have wormed their way into the Party, government and army. Only such a great Marxist-Leninist as our great leader Chairman Mao,

with his unique Marxist-Leninist wisdom, his extremely rich experience of struggle and his supreme courage and daring, could launch such a world-shaking mass movement on such a giant scale. The struggle to seize power is the inevitable outcome of the struggle between the two classes (the proletariat and the bourgeoisie), the two roads (the road of socialism and the road of capitalism) and the two lines (the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line). Only by overthrowing the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, seizing power from them, dismissing them from office, and placing political power in the hands of staunch proletarian revolutionaries, is it possible to carry the socialist revolution through to the end, uproot revisionism, prevent a capitalist restoration and guarantee that our state will never change colour. The movement for extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the struggle to seize power from below from those Party people in authority taking the capitalist road has its purpose of defending the fruits of victory already won by the proletariat and pushing forward the proletarian revolution. This is not only necessary at present; it will also be so in the future. This is an important development of Marxism-Leninism by Chairman Mao, on a par in importance and greatness with Marx’s founding of scientific socialism and Lenin’s founding of the theory of the seizure of political power by the proletariat in a single country.

Now the proletarian revolutionaries of the whole country are launching a new upsurge in the mass movement to thoroughly criticize and repudiate the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This is a big and decisive battle in the great proletarian cultural revolution. The top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are the chief bosses of revisionism in China. The handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road in certain localities and certain departments are the backbone of the forces they rely upon in pushing ahead the counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Thorough criticism and repudiation of the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road is the most important fighting task at present. We must firmly hold to this general orientation, boldly arouse the masses in a widespread movement for all-round criticism and repudiation politically, ideologically and theoretically, and thoroughly liquidate and eliminate the revisionist poison they have spread in various fields.

The handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are the behind-the-scene bosses of the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee. We must centre our criticism and repudiation on the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and overthrow, refute and thoroughly discredit the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, and wrest back all the positions they usurped. We must

respond to the great call of Chairman Mao, hold high the revolutionary banner of criticism and repudiation, and plunge boldly into the battle to thoroughly smash the bourgeois reactionary line.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In order to attack the forces of the counter-revolution, what the revolutionary forces need today is to organize millions upon millions of the masses and move a mighty revolutionary army into action." We must further extend and consolidate the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries in the course of this great revolutionary mass movement of criticism and repudiation. All proletarian revolutionaries should fight side-by-side and together enhance their command of Mao Tse-tung's thought for the common objective of criticizing and repudiating the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee. **Comrade Lin Piao has pointed out: "We must regard ourselves as an integral part of the revolutionary force and, at the same time, constantly regard ourselves as a target of the revolution. In making revolution, we must also revolutionize ourselves. Without revolutionizing ourselves, we cannot succeed in making this revolution."** In transforming the objective world, proletarian revolutionaries should, at the same time, ceaselessly transform their own subjective world. We should, in the course of this revolutionary mass movement of criticism and repudiation, engage in rectification campaign while carrying on the fight, eliminate self-interest and put public interest first, overcome the tendency to seek the limelight, the mountain-stronghold mentality, the "small group" mentality, liberalism, anarchism, individualism and other non-proletarian ideas, strengthen our proletarian revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline. Divergent views among the different revolutionary mass organizations should be resolved by the method of rectification, in which everyone can take part, mainly by self-criticism. Divergent views should not lead to the fighting of "civil wars," thereby confusing the general orientation of struggle and even giving the enemy the chance to sabotage our great alliance and great unity. We will absolutely not permit the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road to take advantage of the rectification campaign to attack and struggle against proletarian revolutionaries. Likewise, the conservatives should not be allowed to use the forming of the great alliance as a pretext for weakening the proletarian revolutionaries, repressing them and even swallowing them up.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must work conscientiously to unite all those who can be united. The proletariat must emancipate not only itself but also mankind as a whole. Without emancipating the whole of mankind the proletariat cannot finally emancipate itself." We must unite the great majority of the cadres and the masses. The proletarian revolutionaries should not discriminate against or exclude those people who

were hoodwinked by the bourgeois reactionary line. The proletarian revolutionaries should, in the course of the struggle to criticize and repudiate the Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, patiently arouse the class consciousness of the hoodwinked people, help them with great warmth to correct their mistakes, and unite with them in making revolution. Of course, the proletarian revolutionaries must not unite with such reactionary organizations as the "United Action Committee" and its like. The dictatorship of the proletariat must be exercised over such organizations and their chiefs, while their membership should be split up and rank-and-file member treated differently.

In connection with this revolutionary mass movement of criticism and repudiation, we should further implement the policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination advanced by Chairman Mao. The revolutionary "three-in-one" combination must take the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries as its basis and be formed step by step in the course of the revolutionary mass struggle. Every revolutionary cadre should take an active part in this mass movement of criticism and repudiation, actively criticize and repudiate the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, thoroughly expose the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee, completely break with them, seriously criticize himself and correct his own errors and accept supervision and testing by the revolutionary masses. The proletarian revolutionaries should put the main stress on the criticism and repudiation of "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful," that integral part of the bourgeois reactionary line, they should encourage all cadres willing to make revolution to rise up in revolution and bring about the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination in the course of the struggle. The great majority of cadres in the Peking municipality are good or comparatively good. Many of them, such as Wu Teh, Liu Chien-hsun, and other comrades, have begun to stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionaries. We are confident that in the forthcoming struggle they will be able to pass the test, temper themselves and continue to make worthy contributions to the revolution.

Through this revolutionary mass movement of criticism and repudiation we should mobilize the masses more fully, carry out still better the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production," exert greater efforts in going all out, aiming high and striving for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the 1967 industrial and agricultural production plans.

Through this revolutionary mass movement of criticism and repudiation, we should carry forward the mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works in a more thoroughgoing way. Mao Tse-tung's thought has developed in the course of the struggle against diverse opportunist lines, especially in the course of the struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line represented by the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. We will be

able to grasp and master Mao Tse-tung's thought more thoroughly if we make full use of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road as teachers by negative example and criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line thoroughly from every aspect.

As we review the past and look to the future we understand more deeply that holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and giving prominence to proletarian politics are the basic guarantee for carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end and fulfilling all tasks.

Chairman Mao is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. He has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and compre-

hensively and has brought it to a higher and completely new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism at its highest level in the present era, is the most powerful ideological weapon of the proletariat and is our spiritual atom bomb. We proletarian revolutionaries cherish Mao Tse-tung's thought with boundless love, faith, admiration and loyalty. We must resolutely respond to Comrade Lin Piao's call: **"Study Chairman Mao's writings, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions and be his good fighters."** We should fly the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought over every factory, commune, shop, school, government institution, street and every inch of land in the capital. We should build Peking, the people's capital, into the reddest revolutionary city shining always with the radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought.