

**CHOU ATTACKS '16 MAY' GROUP**

**Canton, Chu-ying Tung-fang Hung, 1 October 1967**

**[Full text of an article entitled "Premier Chou's Important Speech (Excerpts) Delivered at a Reception of Representatives of Universities and Colleges in Peking on 17 September 1967."]**

**Premier Chou: Comrades! Comrades-in-arms! I had already spoken yesterday. Today I am going to speak again. I don't have an outline for my speech, and it is possible that I may not give a good talk.**

Recently, in July and August the situation of the great cultural revolution as a whole was better than it had been before. The recorded speech of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing has also been broadcast, and you have probably heard it. The situation is excellent; this is the unanimous view of the Chairman, the Central Committee, and the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee. This is not fiction but a fact, for considerable progress has been made.

The objective of the cultural revolution is to bring about a success of ideological revolutionization: To seize power from the capitalist-roaders in authority on the basis of the struggle between two lines and two roads, to strengthen the Party leadership, and consolidate and strengthen the proletarian dictatorship. Today we have entered the second stage: The seizure of power must develop in depth and breadth.

Particularly in July and August when the situation had noticeably improved, the issue was settled in more provinces. After the January seizure of power, revolutionary committees have been set up in seven provinces and cities (Shanghai, Peking, Shantung, Shansi, Heilungkiang, Tsinghai and Kweichow). Apart from these seven provinces and cities, we have adopted transitional methods to solve the problem of power seizure: (1) To effect the transition to the great alliance and three-in-one combination through the military control committee, and set up revolutionary committees; (2) To use preparatory groups of revolutionary committees to speed up the formation of such committees and win victory in the seizure of power.

In July and August we participated in the work of many provinces both in the South and in the North, and problems have already been settled in Honan, Hupeh, Hunan, Kiangsi, Chekiang, Tientsin... problems are being tackled in Anhwei, Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Liaoning. It is expected that by the end of the year problems will have been solved in over 20, or possibly 24-25, out of 29 provinces and cities.

In its second year the great cultural revolution will quicken its pace, because it has been pushed forward adequately during the past year and a great deal of experience has been gained. We should work harder still. Our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: "We must work harder in this respect."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing put forward three tasks to our comrades.

We must defend the proletarian command headquarters headed by Chairman Mao.

Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's article has publicly exposed "May 16" as a counterrevolutionary secret organization. The group sowed dissension in Chairman Mao's headquarters. It used dirty tactics against comrades of the Central Committee. It turned the spearhead first against me, but not as an individual.

Of course, I personally have shortcomings and mistakes. I welcome well-intentioned criticism. But as one of the responsible persons of the proletarian command headquarters, I won't permit any dissension sown between me and the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee. Viciously, they also wanted me to be estranged from the Central Cultural Revolution Group, and this would please the imperialists and revisionists. (Chiang Ch'ing: They ["May 16"] play a role which the enemy cannot play.)

The work now being performed by the Central Cultural Revolution Group is comparable to that by the Secretariat of the Central Committee. We are working together every day, and what dissension can be sown between us? You must be clear-headed. Don't fall into the trap.

It is good to have "May 16" dragged out. We have several principles which I shall tell you now:

(1) We must not enlarge the problem of "May 16," a counterrevolutionary clique. It is dominated by several wicked leaders, who are far from being capable, while the majority of the people there are the hoodwinked. Several diehards in the school must be educated. They are called the "eight regional armies," in addition to some local armies. They are the several wicked leaders in Changsha Middle School No. 1 (Chiang Ch'ing: Actually there are no more than a few men.) So there are only several persons, and their group should not be expanded. We would remind all of you who are sitting here not to listen to them. Young students, being inexperienced, are prone to be taken in; they must not jump to conclusions on seeing certain things.

(2) We maintain that the hoodwinked among you should drag themselves out. If they reform, all will go well again.

(3) We should not reverse the verdicts passed on the old royalists because we have criticized the ultra-"Leftist" "May 16." That won't do. The counter-offensive against the February adverse current was right. Those who criticize Ch'en and T'an will still have our support! We support such work as that done by Peking Normal University in holding an agricultural exhibition. The truth still exists, and we must not waver.

(4) Exposing "May 16" is for encouraging everyone to stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line, so that they may closely follow Chairman Mao's strategic plan, tightly grasp the general orientation of struggle, carry out massive criticism, and turn the spearhead against Liu, Teng and T'ao, and make a success of the struggle-criticism-transformation in one's own unit.

These four points constitute the policy for solving the problem of "May 16", designed as they are to isolate the minority and educate the majority.

Eighteen years have passed since the victory of the revolution and Chairman Mao is still as healthy as ever. He personally initiated from bottom to top the proletarian movement which has no rival in the world. He is leading this vigorous great proletarian cultural movement. This is a great era, and you are most fortunate in being born into it! We cannot compare with you. You must study hard. While you are in Peking, you must not lose this opportunity to seek instructions from Chairman Mao and learn from the worker and peasant masses. In this respect, however, Peking is not so good as Shanghai.

In Shanghai, a criticism has been levelled against us that we have come into so much contact with the students that we have not properly done our work among the workers. This criticism is right. We must work among the workers, and it is necessary to arouse the working class. When the working class movement has arisen, you still have to study hard. If intellectuals do not identify themselves with the workers and peasants, they cannot reform well.

The second task set down by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing is that of consolidating and strengthening the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

This [the PIA] is our Great Wall protecting our frontiers and protecting the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is a pillar of the great cultural revolution. After the seizure of power in January this year, the demand for "three-support" and "two-military" has been put forward; of the "eight regulations" proclaimed in January the chief one is to support the army and create conditions for it. The "ten regulations" announced on April 6 were concerned with cherishing the people. Mistakes made in supporting the Left should be corrected and this will benefit the young fighters. This thesis was elaborated upon by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing on April 20. Thus "supporting the army and cherishing the people" will become complete. We cannot set one against the other. But at that time we did not do propaganda properly. It won't do to grasp one and oppose the other. Subsequently, the "June 6" decree was published!

After the July 20 incident, a mistake was made in propaganda; this was the slogan "Drag out the small handful in the Army.." I do not mean that there are no wicked people in the army; there are, such as Wang I-lun of Inner Mongolia, Chao Yung-fu of Tsinghai, Chen Tsai-tao and Chung Han-hua of Wuhan. The result was that we dragged these people everywhere — Chao Yung-fu's, characters of the T'an type, and Ch'en Tsai-tao's. We already pointed this out to you in August, and it should have some persuasive effect. But you did not listen; instead, you went on setting up liaison stations everywhere, from Canton to Shenyang.

"Drag out the small handful in the Army" reached its height of frenzy in the whole of August, and by the end of the month things got worsened. We could not but issue the "September 5" order, forbidding the seizure of arms...

On September 1, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing made another speech, specifying that there were several places in Peking which could not be raided, such as Tiaoyut'ai, Chung-nanhai, "Hung-ch'i," and the People's Great Hall ... Of course, the masses heeded these words. (Chiang Ch'ing: Early yesterday morning, more than 30 people, acting like robbers, raided "Hung-ch'i." We are investigating, and we are going to solve the case and make arrests. Should we do this? What would you say to this?) (All present: You should!)

Yesterday, when we were holding a meeting, more than 10 people from Kansu stormed into Chungnanhai and came near the Huaijen Hall and came to the center of Chairman Mao's headquarters. We have them arrested, no matter which group they belong to. Should we arrest them? (All present: You should!) We won't do without proletarian dictatorship. The view about "self-destruction of the Great Wall" put forward by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing is entirely correct. However, some tabloids do not subscribe to it. Such an ultra-"Leftist" idea should be criticized.

Some mistakes have been made by the army in supporting the Left, but essentially they have nothing to do with the bourgeois reactionary line last year. Without the red line for 18 years (while there has been the influence of Liu-Teng), how could China have stood erect in the world as a giant? Things have become even clearer this year. The PLA has played a great role. Chairman Mao has exhorted us to believe in and rely on the masses, cadres, and the PLA.

We must believe in and rely on the masses. But the masses must get themselves organized, and the movement must develop in a forward direction. We must believe in and rely on the majority of the cadres, but the cadres must undergo education and win the confidence of the masses; they must be liberated from the bourgeois reactionary line. In this transitional period we must have the PLA. The army has come forward, and its task is so urgent. It is inevitable that it should have some shortcomings and mistakes. It has been divorced from the masses for a long time in the past; it has been preoccupied with rebellion within itself. In the army, there are also men like Lo Jui-ch'ing who do not put politics to the forefront.

Of course, the PLA should study Mao's selected works and set in motion campaigns for four-good companies and five-good soldiers. This will insure the superiority of the thought of the Chairman. The production of mistakes in the army is principally due to lack of experience. If the three requirements [militancy, clarity, and accuracy] can be met within the army, then people, who are not of the type of Chao Yung-fu, will reform on the order of Chairman Mao and at the urging of General Lin. We believe that if we go to war today, the moment we issue the order, the old Red Army soldiers and the soldiers who joined the army at later periods will head for the battlefields and kill the enemy bravely.

I'll give you an example. While the leadership of the armed forces in Tibet was still arguing who were Leftists, the Army did not hesitate to

administer a rebuff against the intruding-Indian troops. This proves our point. No matter whether the enemy comes from the East Sea or from the South Sea, we will beat him. On this we must have full confidence. On this issue we have repeatedly given instructions. But your liaison stations refuse to disband. They pass off for Red Guard Congresses and pretend to belong to the Cultural Revolution Group. There is basically no such thing. They are acting on their own authority. Yesterday and today these people are sitting among you. It is therefore a mistake for someone to suggest that "promoting struggle-criticism-transformation in one's unit is planting a huge poisonous weed."

No matter what group brings up the subject, now we order you to return to your schools within one month. Otherwise, you would be expelled from your school, and those who should graduate shall not graduate. (Chiang Ch'ing: The State will not give them jobs.) Some people come back only to collect their pay packets, but they should not be paid wages. For in the case assumption of command by politics would be backed by material incentives. (Chiang Ch'ing: They think the Party and the State can be cheated.) Some who are on the part-work, part-study basis (such as in Tech'ing) go out to exchange revolutionary experience after getting their pay. Now it is imperative to concentrate energies on promoting the struggle-criticism-transformation in one's own unit. We think that the army should not establish ties with the local great cultural revolution. Where such ties have been established in the past, struggle-criticism-transformation should instead be undertaken in one's own unit.

(Chiang Ch'ing: The army can only support the Left and must not participate in factional struggles.) Only the Left and not individual factions should be supported. Efforts should be made in regard to both military control and military training. In this way, incidents in various areas can be settled with ease.

"Drag out the small handful in the Army" is an ultra-"Leftist" idea; it is harmful to the great cultural revolution. People who hold this idea when they go to outside areas invariably support the faction which opposes the leadership.

Now things are different from what they were in the past. Now the leadership has stood out; its mistakes may be criticised. Things cannot be the same as last year. Your outside liaison stations still bring the factional character of Peking to other areas, and no matter in which respect this problem has arisen.

Now we need to strengthen and consolidate the PLA. The PLA is an unshakable force. When Red Guards were set up, it was said that Red Guards must learn from the PLA and were reserves for the PLA. Some of you sitting here wear armbands. Since you are wearing armbands, it is wrong for you not to learn from the PLA but to create antagonism. The PLA may make mistakes,

but you should take a comradely attitude toward helping them. We believe that if only they are genuine fighters, they will correct themselves. The PLA observes the "four-no." When their guns were seized from them, they still recited quotations from Chairman Mao. Heart-warming stories can be found everywhere.

The third task is to consolidate and strengthen the new-born revolutionary committees.

With regard to these three tasks, you have made mistakes to a greater or lesser degree. This is due to the fact that you have misjudged the situation. Chairman Mao has asked us to tell you that now is the time you young fighters should make fewer mistakes. Let us remind you and help you because we care for you. When you make mistakes, we help you, because certain actions of yours are not consistent with the "16 points."

In those universities and colleges where there were no military control and military training up to "October 1" this year, the army should help you train yourselves. What would you say to that? (Answer: Good!) The National Day celebrations should give expression to the might of the nation which is firm as a rock. The second thing to do is the three-autumn work (harvesting, sowing and plowing). After the National Day celebrations various schools should send out a number of people whom you must lead to the countryside to assist the peasants in doing the three-autumn work well. These two tasks are given to you. You must go down with the Party spirit and not with the factional spirit. That is all for today.

Po-ta: I wish to say a few words. I had already spoken something yesterday. Just a moment ago Comrade Chiang Ch'ing studied the three supreme instructions with you. That is very good. I support the Premier's speech.

The two big factions in Peking have been quarrelling with each other for a long time. But there is no reason why they should not form a great alliance. They live under the same sky and on the same earth. We refuse to form an alliance only with the enemies for whom we have deep-seated hatred, and they should not form an alliance with us either. Today's editorial of Hung-ch'i has this to say: "Within the ranks of the working class there is no conflict of basic interest. There is even less reason for the ranks of the working class under the proletarian dictatorship to be split into two big antagonistic organizations." We do not have class hatred against each other; why, then, should we not promote a great alliance? Why should we form two big factions and impose them on the workers and peasants? There is no reason for this! We should happily greet the 18th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic in the midst of revolutionary great alliance and mass criticism.

Long live the revolutionary mass criticism and great alliance!

**Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!**

**Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!**