

SPEECH AT THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE WORK CONFERENCE

(October 25, 1966)

by Lin Piao

I shall chiefly talk on two questions — the necessity of the cultural revolution and how to carry it out. In other words, is it necessary to carry out the cultural revolution and if so, how? These two questions are actually interrelated. My point of emphasis shall be on the importance of the cultural revolution.

This conference has been going on for 17 days and is proceeding well. Directed personally by Chairman Mao from the beginning to the end, it is actually a continuation of the 11th Plenary Session (of the 8th CCP Central Committee — tr.) aimed at further clarifying the question of the two different lines.

The situation of the great cultural revolution in the past several months was such that great effort had been exerted at the two ends but insufficient effort in the middle. There was even some resistance in the middle and the situation was at one time a little tense. In view of this situation, Chairman Mao suggested to gather everybody together for discussion.

This conference was originally scheduled for three days; it was later extended to a week and now it has been on for more than two weeks. The longer it goes on, the clearer is the situation and our understanding and the better can we grasp Chairman Mao's line and hold on to it. This meeting is therefore very necessary.

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The two ends I referred to are Chairman Mao's leadership and the masses. With vigour and vitality, the broad masses of people have developed the revolution from schools to society and extended its influence from the cultural sphere to the economic, political and social spheres, and have made great achievements, especially in the political sphere. A number of capitalist roaders in authority have been dragged out from the Party; many bourgeois reactionary authorities in society have been discredited; many hidden counter-revolutionaries and bad elements have been rooted out; many counter-revolutionary cases have been broken and many weapons, radio stations and gold have been uncovered. But the most important thing is that ideologically, it has touched upon people's souls, smashed the old and fostered the new ideology. This is a profound and great revolution. It has brought about great changes in the outlook of society and men's spiritual outlook. Chairman Mao's thought has been widely propagated in the course of this movement; it has taken root in people's minds and has given profound education to the whole society as well as to the young people. Through this movement, many young people can be brought up as reliable successors to the revolution.

During the great cultural revolution, our social production has not been disrupted as some comrades feared it would be. On the contrary, production has continued to increase. Theoretically, the cultural revolution should stimulate production and facts have proved this to be true. This movement has established an example in the world which is without precedent in history; it goes a long way towards opposing revisionism.

As everybody can clearly see, Chairman Mao is at the top. This movement is initiated and led by the Chairman from start to finish. With great energy and determination, he has launched this movement and has mobilized the broad masses to take part in it. An ordinary leader of the political party of the working class cannot possibly have such energy and such a great determination. No one but Chairman Mao, a great Marxist-Leninist with extremely rich experience in struggle

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and profound wisdom of Marxism-Leninism, would have dared to launch such a thunderous revolutionary mass movement that has shaken the whole country and the whole world.

Some comrades under the leadership of Chairman Mao have also made very considerable contributions. They have persistently supported and implemented Chairman Mao's line.

I have just said that there was some resistance in the middle. This was pointed out in the "May 16 Circular" of the Central Committee, which says:

"Most Party committee members have a very poor understanding of the task of leadership in this great struggle and their leadership is far from being conscientious and effective"

Just before this meeting, such a situation still existed in many places. The degree of gravity varied: some places were more serious and some places less serious; some places improved more quickly and other places slowly. In some cases, it was subjective resistance, but in most cases, it was a question of lack of understanding. In the last couple of days, everybody has come to see that the situation existing in various localities can be attributed to two causes: one is local and ideological, but the more important one is that several leading comrades at the central level, namely Comrades Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, have concocted another line which is opposite to Chairman Mao's. This line is as described by Chairman Mao in his big-character poster:

"Adopting the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, they have enforced a bourgeois dictatorship and struck down the surging movement of the great cultural revolution of the proletariat. They have turned facts upside-down and juggled black and white, encircled and suppressed revolutionaries, stifled opinions different from their own, imposed a white terror, and felt very pleased with them-

selves. They have puffed up the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and deflated the morale of the proletariat. How poisonous!"

During these last few days, you comrades have come to understand more clearly the source of reversal.

Culture is the summation of ideology, social consciousness, world outlook, customs and habits, political, legal and artistic viewpoints, the arts including movie, drama and plastic arts, literature and system of education, etc. Why must we carry out this cultural revolution? The deciding factor in carrying out a revolution in the social-ideological sphere is that there has been a fundamental change in the economic base of our society.

Where does ideology come from? Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have always held that ideology comes from material and social consciousness comes from the existence of society, from the economic base of society and from the social ownership system. Since the proletariat seized political power after the liberation of the whole country, there has been a fundamental change in the system of ownership of our society. Lands formerly owned by the landlords have been confiscated and turned over to the peasants and subsequently transformed into collective ownership. Thus, the ownership of farmland has undergone two changes, from ownership by the landlord to ownership by the individual peasants and then to collective ownership by the peasants. The system of ownership by the bourgeoisie, having gone through several stages of transformation, has changed to socialist public ownership. Now we must be prepared to eliminate fixed interests. Since there has been a change in the economic base, the superstructure — the ideology of our society — is bound to change accordingly. We must catch up. If we fail to catch up, our socialist ownership system will not be consolidated, our progress will be retarded, the new social production forces will not develop, and the fruits of revolution will not be

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secure. Should this be the case, we will face capitalist restoration, the people's democratic regime protecting the socialist ownership system will be subverted, the socialist ownership system will be overthrown and revisionism will rule China and lead her back to a semi-feudal, semi-colonial state. Hence, whether to carry out the great cultural revolution or not is an important political question bearing on whether or not the proletarian regime can be consolidated and the fruits of revolution can be developed, a political question bearing on the success or failure of the revolution.

The proletarian revolution, the class struggle conducted by the proletariat, involves three aspects: political, economic and ideological.

To overthrow a regime by means of war is an act of violence. Between 1946 and 1949 (of course, there were many more years before that), we defeated the Kuomintang, seized political power and set up our own country, a country of proletarian dictatorship. The revolution to overthrow the feudal ownership system and the bourgeois ownership system took less time. However, the struggle on another front is more drawn-out and tortuous, namely, the struggle in the ideological sphere. This struggle takes a long time than seizing political power and transforming ownership systems. Next year will be the 50th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet revolution. Can you see to what extent bourgeois ideology has been eliminated and proletarian ideology has grown in that country? After 50 years and the death of Stalin, the Soviet Union has gone backward instead of going forward; she is heading for revisionism, heading for bourgeois restoration of a new form, heading for capitalism which is expressed in a new form and in varying degrees. Yugoslavia was the first to restore capitalism. Besides the Soviet Union, certain other "socialist" countries which won victory ten or twenty years ago, also failed to grasp the struggle in this sphere firmly. As a result, revolution was either suspended or reversed, and capitalism was restored. If we do not grasp this struggle

firmly, we shall encounter the same situation as having taken place in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. The Soviet Union has won the revolution for nearly 50 years, but now revisionism is assuming control. If we do not grasp the cultural revolution perseveringly, the same may come about in China. That is why Chairman Mao made this call: **“You should concern yourselves with state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.”**

Chairman Mao regards the great cultural revolution as an important state affair, a political affair. In March this year when Chairman Mao revised the “Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces,” he agreed to adding the passage that every class struggle is a political struggle, thus reaffirming a classical viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism. If we do not grasp the great cultural revolution firmly and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, we may also change colour half-way.

Ordinarily we have grasped economic construction firmly and this is fine. But not all of the comrades grasped as firmly and paid as much attention to the work of destroying the old and fostering the new in the cultural and ideological spheres as Chairman Mao did. Some people even felt that it was an extra burden: Aren't we doing all right? Why should we carry out the great cultural revolution? It is logical that after seizing political power, we should carry out economic reconstruction. But, on the other hand, a more important task from the long-term point of view is to carry out ideological reconstruction. Ideology provides tremendous impetus for social, political and economic development. Old ideas serve the cause of the old economic base, reflect the demands of the reactionary classes and impede social development. New ideas serve the cause of the new economic base, reflect the demands of the advanced classes and promote and expedite social development.

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Once progressive ideas prevail among the masses, they will transform into a powerful material force pushing social development forward. Therefore, we must break the old ideas in a big way (not in a small or moderate way) and foster new ideas in a big way. It is Chairman Mao's thought that represents the new ideology, the ideology of the people, of the proletariat, of communism and of Marxism-Leninism. It is only Chairman Mao's thought which is sufficiently capable of counteracting the old ideas. Therefore, we should energetically establish ascendancy of his thought. Many comrades have also failed to grasp this point firmly; they have failed to grasp well the work of breaking old ideas and fostering new ideas in a big way. The attitude taken by Comrades Liu and Teng who work in the Centre, toward the propagation of Chairman Mao's thought has been known to all of you in the last few days. The attitude taken by Lu Ting-i of the former Propaganda Department has also been known to all of you. One cannot but feel indignant at this. It is intolerable.

After seizing political power, our domestic tasks have been to suppress the resistance and opposition by exploiters and to engage in economic reconstruction. Apart from that we must also engage in cultural reconstruction, i.e., breaking the old and fostering the new in the cultural sphere. Not only should we do so, but all ruling classes in history have done the same. Any country and any ruling class does not permit the propagation of ideas contrary to its own class stand; it must firmly uphold its ideology so as to consolidate its political and economic systems. The ruling ideology of every historical period has been portrayed as representing the whole society, but actually, it only represented the interests of the exploiting class which occupied the ruling position. The ideology of the ruling class of every era invariably represents the interests of its own class. The ideology of the labouring people had not been in the ruling position during those bygone periods, and most of the labouring people had been fooled and cheated for a long time.

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Ours is a party of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. In accordance with the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, we want to break with the old ownership system and the old traditional ideas completely. We have the right, as well as the need, to establish proletarian rule in the realm of ideology.

Now we have assumed the ruling position in the political and economic spheres, but ideologically we have not been established fully in such a position. Economically and politically, we have overthrown the old class. In the ideological sphere, however, the stuff of the old class is still preponderant. Therefore, there is an imperative need for us to wage a struggle on the ideological front with perseverance, and carry it through to the end. For several decades Stalin had failed to solve the question of ideological struggle. Chairman Mao brought this question up in time and wanted us to solve it. We are fortunate to be entrusted with such a great and glorious task.

I am afraid it will take far longer than several decades, perhaps more than 100 years or several hundred years, to eradicate the old ideas. Of course, contradictions between what is new and what is old will still exist in society in future, even in 200, 300, 400, 1,000 or 10,000 years. Hence, there will still be a struggle in the ideological sphere in which the new opposes the old while the old refuses to concede or withdraw from the historical stage in order to preserve itself. That situation is different in nature from our present class struggle. There is, however, one point in common and that is, the new wants to conquer the old.

I believe there will still be ideological contradictions and ideological struggles in future. Therefore, the struggle in the cultural and ideological spheres is a long-term one and is not a simple and easy matter. Our struggle sometimes takes the form of criticism by newspapers and other publications, as in the cases of criticizing and repudiating "The Life of

Wu Hsun" and "Studies in the 'Dream of the Red Chamber'." The criticism and repudiation of the reactionary ideas of Hu Shih and Hu Feng and of Yang Hsien-chen, Wu Han, Teng T'o, Chien Po-tsan, Chou Yang and others were campaigns of profound significance which Chairman Mao personally directed. When the struggle develops to a certain stage, it requires a dynamic mopping-up and crushing movement of a large scale such as that in the past five months which has shaken the whole society. A movement or campaign of this kind should be carried out for six months or one year in order to establish a solid foundation. Such a movement cannot be substituted by criticisms in the press; it plays an enormous and extraordinarily effective role.

The current movement is a great, epoch-making movement. But large and small campaigns may be carried out alternately.

What is the essence of old culture and old ideology? We may use many different words to express it, such as old culture, old ideas, poisonous weeds, ghosts and demons, reactionary authorities, old learning, old virtues, old arts, old laws, old educational system, old world outlook, etc., etc. These things are essentially old because they are based on the system of private ownership and on self-interest. As to the new things and new ideas, they are new because, to put it briefly, they are based on public interests.

Human society has a very long but unrecorded history of at least 500,000 years. Scientists say the earth was formed six billion years ago. But in the several thousand years of civilization, human society has always been a class society — slave society, feudal society, capitalist society. These societies have one thing in common, that is they are all based on the system of private ownership. This ownership system has had a history of several thousand years. The different schools of thought of the exploiting class — there are ten, eight or twenty of them — all speak for the private ownership system.

The present society of ours is one of socialist public ownership. Land, factories and means of production alike all belong to the public. In the circumstances, in order to consolidate this system of public ownership it is necessary to destroy the old culture of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes, destroy the old ideology which is manifested in different forms and seeks to protect and restore the private ownership system. The existence of the ideology of the exploiting classes and its influence may eventually lead to restoration of the old regime which protects private ownership. Those people who are against wiping out old culture and old ideology are bound to suppress the revolution and the masses. In order to consolidate the socialist economic and political systems, we must foster the concept of devotion to public interests. We must create new men, men with communist spirit, to build a new society. Men with communist spirit are those commended by Chairman Mao, such as Chang Ssu-te, Norman Bethune, Liu Hu-lan and Lei Feng, and also Ouyang Hai, Chiao Yu-lu, Wang Chieh and Liu Ying-chun, etc. They are men of communism, men of a new type. We need this kind of people to create our new society. We must gradually transform members of our society into men of this kind.

What is communism? In a certain sense, communism is for the public. It may therefore be called the doctrine of public ownership. The kind of people we need to cultivate are, as Chairman Mao has said, those virtuous men detached from ignoble interests. We need to cultivate people with such new virtues, men who serve the people with all their hearts and devote themselves wholly and completely to the people. This kind of people are communist people. The other kind of people do everything for private interests. They are concerned only with their own names and interests, they fight for their own names and interests, fight for power and position and struggle to cut a smart figure of themselves. They think of themselves in doing everything and forget the masses and the labouring people; in short, they only care for themselves.

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In a class society, every individual belongs to a certain class, to a certain stratum or group of this class, or to that class, to a certain stratum or group of that class. An individual does not exist in the abstract sense or in isolation. To think of only oneself is an out-and-out bourgeois world outlook. Bourgeois individualism is to gain at other people's expense. For the sake of their own fortune and advantage, they don't care if millions of other people go bankrupt. They see the world from the egoist viewpoint, from the bourgeois viewpoint, but not from the proletarian viewpoint.

We need to cultivate men who do everything for the public. Devotion to public interests also has different class characters. The "public" we talk about refers to the people, to the proletariat, to socialism and communism. Since the founding of our Party, there have been many public-spirited people and there are even more now due to the further spread of Chairman Mao's thought. Since the launching of the campaign for the workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectual youths to study of Chairman Mao's works, good men and good deeds have emerged in very great numbers.

There are two lines for building our country. One is the line similar to that adopted by the Soviet Union, giving sole emphasis to materials, machinery, mechanization and so-called material incentives. The other is the line we are taking now under the leadership of Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao is leading us to build a country of a new type. This country not only works on mechanization, but puts still greater emphasis on revolutionization, so that the latter takes the lead. By comparison, man is of course more important than machinery. Chairman Mao has said that man is the most precious thing in the world. In military operations, weapons are important, but they are not the deciding factor, the deciding factor is man. This is the Marxist point of view, the genuine Marxist point of view. Only through men can machinery be transformed into productive force. Without men, machinery is just a heap

of steel. Machinery is created by men and is used by men. Without men, the machines are nothing because they are useless. Machinery is a potential productive force, which can be turned into a real productive force only through men, through the integration of men and machinery.

Machinery is nothing but an artificial organ. Unlike animals, our people are the tools for liberation. Machines of all types and models are actually substitutes for the different organs of ours for production and labour. They take the places of our hands, assist and increase the capabilities of our hands. All machines are meant to strengthen the capabilities of our organs, to strengthen the capabilities of man. Hence, man is the centre of emphasis. To ignore man is to ignore the greatest source of productive power. Politically, to ignore man is to ignore the forces of revolution.

We are different from countries under revisionist leadership. They devote their efforts solely to mechanization, while we devote ours to revolutionization as well as mechanization, and use the former to lead the latter. Chairman Mao pointed out long ago that the Liberation Army must be revolutionized and modernized. He meant both revolutionization and modernization, not just either one. This applies not only to the army, but to the whole country as well. We should proceed with mechanization on the one hand and revolutionization on the other, and use revolutionization to lead mechanization.

Questions have been asked as to what the priority of the great proletarian cultural revolution is, whether it is necessary, and whether it is an extra burden or a matter within our call of duty. If it is a matter within our call of duty, then if we don't carry it out, we would have neglected our duty. A country under the dictatorship of the proletariat has three main tasks, namely, political construction, economic construction and ideological construction. We have emphasized political and economic construction in the past, but ideological construction, that is, cultural revolution, has not been fully

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developed. We must realize that if the cultural revolution, or ideological construction, is not carried out satisfactorily, the fruits of political and economic construction would also be destroyed. We must therefore follow the example of Chairman Mao and carry out the cultural revolution with great efforts. Chairman Mao's theory can be found in his written works. His books provide us the essential basis for study. We must also study the numerous works of Chairman Mao not included in the books. We must do what Chairman Mao does. Chairman Mao is in every way superior to us, whether in practical experience, in Marxist-Leninist theories and in personal talents. He is the greatest Marxist-Leninist in the world today. We must use Chairman Mao as an example to measure ourselves. We must follow him closely, pattern after him and learn from him. We should place the great cultural revolution initiated by Chairman Mao in a very important position and regard it as an important affair of the state, a political question, an important part of the class struggle and a major battle front. That is exactly what it should be.

Since the cultural revolution is a political struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a struggle between the proletarian and the bourgeois lines is bound to take place. In the last couple of days, all of you have become aware of the struggle between the two lines, one being represented by Liu and Teng which suppresses the masses and opposes the revolution. The other is Chairman Mao's line which puts daring above everything else, trusts the masses, relies on the masses and arouses them into action. That is the mass line of the Party, the revolutionary line of the proletariat. One is the mass line and the other opposes the masses. These two lines within our Party are diametrically opposed to each other. For a short period of time, the Liu-Teng line seemingly took the dominating position and the whole nation acted according to their way of doing things. In the long run, however, Chairman Mao's line is always the victor, because it represents the truth.

Chairman Mao has said, **“People, only the people, are the motive force which creates world history.”** This remark is highly classical; it embodies the finest essence of Marxian historical materialism. Historical materialism asserts that it is the masses of people who push history forward. Only when the live productive forces are moving forward can there be social revolution, can changes be brought about in the system of ownership and in production. The masses are therefore the motive force, the primary force and the persistent force which pushes history forward from one period to another. The masses, because of their great number, have immense power and wisdom. You give them an idea, they come forth with their own. When the ideas and wisdom of a multitude of people are pooled together, problems can be solved one way or another and things can be created.

A revolutionary mass movement is always justified. Even if certain segments or individuals among the masses show deviations to the “Left” or the Right, the mainstream of the mass movement is always in accord with social development and is always rational. This is why we should trust the masses and rely on their creativeness. At the beginning of this movement, we did not set many rules to be followed. Chairman Mao has repeatedly said that the Red Guards were not instituted by us but created by the masses. Thereafter, they appeared all over the country. Many things were initiated by the masses. We must first be pupils of the masses and learn from them. We put their ideas together and elaborate them, and then we become their teachers. To gather and sum up the views of the masses and take the resulting ideas back to the masses for implementation — this has been Chairman Mao’s consistent idea and practice.

Young people of this generation have been brought up in the 17 years after the victory of our revolution. They are now about 20 years old. Most of them are mentally very sharp. Nurtured by Mao Tse-tung’s thought and guided by the correct revolutionary line, they are comparatively more sus-

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ceptible to the new world outlook, the proletarian world outlook. In the midst of the cultural revolution, we should trust these young people.

These path-breaking young fighters are highly commendable for their dauntless spirit. Their daring to blaze the trails has brought to light many inconceivable things and long-standing, difficult problems hitherto unsolved, and helped us make up our minds. At present, many of our comrades are still afraid of the students and the masses. They are afraid of many things. Comrade Po-ta has given many examples, and I shall not repeat them here. The Decision of the 11th Plenary Session of the Central Committee Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has pointed out that the persons in charge in many units are afraid of disturbances. Many are really afraid of disturbances, but such disturbances can only disrupt the enemy, not us. At times we also created some small disturbances among ourselves.

Chairman Mao pointed out long ago that disturbances have their merits and demerits. We should not see only the demerits and turn a blind eye to the merits. Besides, demerits may gradually transform into merits.

Generally speaking, there will not be any big disturbances. Our army is very stable and our production is on the increase. What disturbances can a few students and youths who are engaged in the cultural revolution make? They cannot make any big disturbances. This is the way we look at the question of disturbances.

Chairman Mao has said: "A revolution is not a dinner party, nor a composition, nor a painting, nor a piece of embroidery. It cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. . ." It is unavoidable that there should be some deviations. But, the main current is correct and there is nothing to be afraid of. If you are afraid of small disturbances now, there will

be big disturbances in future. The ghosts and monsters will make rebellion against the proletariat, against us. This time I asked Comrade Hsieh Fu-chih to prepare a report on the results of the Red Guard movement, and I even sent someone to make observations. The fact is that there are people who plan to rebel against us. They have indeed worked out plans to overthrow us. Some people treasure their old title deeds as much as their own lives. They would patch them up when they are torn and would photograph them for preservation before they are worn out. What do they want these things for and why do they keep them in secret places? They fancy that when the Kuomintang and the imperialists come, they can claim ownership to this house and that piece of land. Although the exploiting classes have been overthrown, these people are still alive. Their minds are filled with reactionary ideas and hatred for the people. There are also people within our Party who attempted to change the existing order, people like P'eng (Chen), Lo (Jui-ch'ing), Lu (Ting-i) and Yang (Shang-K'un). These guys attempted to change the existing order by staging a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat. If we don't carry out this cultural revolution, if we don't take care of them, they will take care of us and attack us. At present, there are many rumours and speculations, reactionary handbills and anonymous letters, all hostile to the revolution. These people are vainly thinking of changing the existing order. As soon as an opportunity arises, these scoundrels will come out to make trouble and rebel against the people. Some of them will make use of the organizational principle "subordinates must obey the superiors" to give orders for seizing political power and changing our social order. In fact, they are attacking us, and we have no alternative but to take care of them and attack them. If we don't hit at them, they will hit at us. This is why we say there is a great, latent danger. The Soviet Union had been engaged in revolution for 40 years, but once Khrushchov came out, the whole country changed colour.

We should not be afraid of some disturbances. We should put daring, not fear, above everything else. Otherwise we will

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make mistakes, big political mistakes. It is a big mistake not to trust the masses. It is the Liu-Teng line that does not trust the masses, neither does it trust Chairman Mao. They have no faith in the masses and only believe in themselves, in those who share the same views with them, in the bourgeois world outlook and the bourgeois line.

Didn't Chairman Mao bring up the question of preserving proletarian revolutionary integrity in the autumn of one's life? There is no other way to preserve one's integrity but to have faith in Chairman Mao, trust the masses and treat oneself correctly. These three conditions are essentially in accord with the five conditions laid down by Chairman Mao for successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. The first condition laid down by Chairman Mao is that they believe in Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is a unified doctrine, the only distinctions being the change of time. Mao Tse-tung's thought is higher and more developed Marxism-Leninism.

The second condition laid down by Chairman Mao for proletarian successors is that they serve the people; the third, they be capable of rallying the overwhelming majority; the fourth, they be exemplary in applying democratic centralism. These are all questions of believing in the masses. The masses are the makers of history. If we are any better than they are at all, it is only because we are older and have more experience. Truthfully speaking, in wisdom and virtues we are not nearly as good as Lei Feng and Chang Ssu-te. We have not so far been able to catch up with these heroes. Many comrades are holding senior positions and are well-experienced, but this does not mean that they are better than others in ideology and talents.

There is plenty of wisdom among the masses. Don't you look down upon the students of some twenty years old. I have come in contact with some of them and they really have brains. They can say what we older people, say 60, 70 or 80 years old, cannot say.

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The fifth condition laid down by Chairman Mao for successors to the proletarian revolution is how to treat oneself correctly. How should we look upon ourselves? We should divide one into two. We may have some strong points, but certainly we must also have some shortcomings. We should bring our strong points into full play for the cause of the revolution and carry out unceasing struggle against our shortcomings to meet the requirements of the revolution. We should look upon ourselves as part of the revolutionary force, and always consider ourselves as a target of the revolution. A revolution cannot be carried out well unless we also revolutionize ourselves. We must disengage ourselves from the "ego." We should not look at ourselves only, for if we do, we are localizing ourselves. Marxist-Leninists must transgress such localization. I belong to that "mountain top," so I only look after the interests of that "mountain top" and not the interests of others. This is a kind of localism. Some of our comrades think only of their own unit, but not the 700 million Chinese people and the several billion people in the world. This also a kind of localism. We should not feel different to the others just because our position is higher. We should liberate ourselves from the "ego," liberate ourselves from the localized state and from our own small unit. We must look after the interests of the bigger unit, the interests of the whole. Chairman Mao said the proletariat not only must liberate its own class, but also all of mankind. Until the whole mankind is liberated, the proletariat cannot achieve its own ultimate liberation. This is why we must make an effort to break the shackles of localism.

In order to preserve proletarian revolutionary integrity in the autumn of our lives, it is most important that we implement the five conditions laid down by Chairman Mao for successors. Briefly put, this means that we must have faith in Chairman Mao, trust the masses and treat ourselves correctly.

Chairman Mao has said that we must trust the masses and trust the Party — these are the two basic principles. To

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have faith in Chairman Mao and trust the masses is precisely what we should do now. Otherwise we cannot do anything well. To preserve one's integrity in the autumn of his life is indeed a serious matter, a grave matter. Not everyone can do so. Some people have participated in the revolution for 30, 40 or even 50 years and some have reached the age of 50, 60, 70 or even 80, but whether they can preserve their integrity is really a question. Quite a few have slipped up and failed to preserve their integrity just because they did not do well in the last few years. We must do our best and cautiously and attentively strive to preserve our integrity in the latter part of our lives so as to set an example for posterity. If we have no faith in Chairman Mao and do not trust the masses, but believe too much in ourselves, we will not be able to preserve our integrity.

Liu and Teng are the sponsors of the erroneous line for the current cultural revolution movement, but this line has been enforced in many localities. You comrades have shown great concern for this problem. Of course this problem has to be handled differently according to the individual cases. The sponsors are different from the implementors; some have made serious mistakes and some, light mistakes. The general estimate is that most of the comrades have followed the erroneous line unconsciously, and have unintentionally resisted Chairman Mao's line. In most cases it is a question of lack of understanding and not a question of opposing the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. This we all know. Most of the present secretaries of Central Committee bureaus, provincial Party committees and municipal Party committees are fine old men, but there are also a few bad ones. Naturally, you also have your responsibility. You are responsible, in a varying degree, for implementing the erroneous line in various regions. But individual cases must be handled appropriately according to the gravity of their mistake, which must not be magnified nor toned down. Many people often overlook the fact that a change in quantity will lead to a change in quality; they treat different quantities as the same quantity and

different qualities as the same quality. For example, water freezes below zero degree centigrade; it is a liquid above zero degree centigrade and becomes steam above 100 degrees centigrade. Because the temperature is different, it becomes a different thing. This is why we must treat the cadres at different levels differently and not all the same. They have made light or grave mistakes, but generally, most mistakes stem from a lack of understanding. Only a small handful opposes Chairman Mao's correct line.

So long as our comrades try hard to master Mao Tse-tung's thought, study the policies of the Party's Central Committee, trust the masses and correctly deal with their own shortcomings and mistakes as they occur in the course of work, they can correct their errors and do their work well, do their work in a relaxed and cheerful mood. This will further strengthen the unity of the whole Party under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

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