

## DIRECTIVE ON THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

*by Lin Piao*

Chairman Mao has taught us that bad things may turn into good things under given conditions. The Wuhan incident is a very bad thing, but it has had great repercussions in all parts of the country and has had immense educational significance. It has thoroughly exposed Ch'en Tsai-tao's reactionary line and his counter-revolutionary activities; it has also exposed the acuteness and complexity of the class struggle.

Of all the large military regions in the whole country, we were worried about two — Peking and Wuhan — in the past. We had no way to deal with them, but the great cultural revolution has solved this problem. The law governing the development of things is such that when a bad thing reaches its limit, it will change for the better. Chairman Mao has said that the worst is bound to take a quick turn for the better. The forces of the revolution will always advance, while the forces of reaction will always come to nought. However reactionary he may be, Ch'en Tsai-tao cannot resist the torrent of the revolution. To expose is better than to conceal, and it is a good thing for bad people and bad things to be exposed. Chairman Mao has taught us that the worst is bound to take a quick turn for the better. The solution of a problem will be stalled if it gives us no pain. When the problem is not solved and exposed completely, we have no reason to strike him down.

The situation of the great cultural revolution is excellent. Great, brilliant victories have been won. In carrying out the great cultural revolution, we rely on two conditions: firstly, the thought of Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Mao's lofty prestige;

secondly, the power of the Liberation Army. It is only with these two conditions that we dare to give free rein to the masses and let all bad things be fully exposed. With these two conditions, bad things can be turned into good things. We cannot do without these two conditions, and, in particular, without the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Only Chairman Mao has such courage and stamina. At present, Chairman Mao, healthy and robust, is personally leading and steering the great cultural revolution. In this revolution, all bad things will be fully exposed and all latent troubles brought to light. They will be transformed into good things, things beneficial to the proletariat, so that our political power will be further consolidated. The old stage will be smashed and transformed into a new stage of victory.

A very great victory has been won in this great cultural revolution. The price we have paid is very, very, very small, but the victory we have gained is very, very, very great. On the surface, it seems very chaotic, but it is the reactionary line and the reactionary classes which have been thrown into disorder. They have been exposed, and the handful of Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road have been toppled. Such disorder is necessary and normal, without which reactionary things cannot be brought to light. The reason that we have dared to do so is precisely because we have the extremely high prestige of Chairman Mao and the power of the Liberation Army to depend on. With such conditions, if we do not let them expose themselves now, when should we? Disorder is nothing to be feared of under Chairman Mao's leadership.

Disorder is manifested in four different conditions:

1. Good people struggling against bad people.
2. Bad people struggling against bad people. We may make use of such struggles in an indirect way.
3. Bad people struggling against good people. This is the case with Peking, the navy, the air force, the General

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Staff Department and the General Rear Services Department, where good people have been struggled against. They have suffered, but this has also done them some good.

4. Good people struggling against good people. This of course is not good, and some damage has been done. But this is a contradiction among the people, and it can be easily resolved.

Only the third case — bad people struggling against good people — we do not want to see. Good people were struggled against: for instance, Comrade Ch'iu Hui-tso was subjected to struggle by bad people for more than a month. Li Tso-p'eng, Wang Hung-k'un and Chang Hsiu-ch'uan were also struggled against, and so did Wu Fa-hsien. In the past you have suffered some hardship; now you have gained something. Good people should not be afraid of being struggled against by bad people. At most, you would share the lot of Ch'iu Hui-tso, Li, Wang, Chang and Wu Fa-hsien. You must put up with it and control yourselves. You should see that the situation is very favourable to us, and that this is a great plan for a hundred years, a thousand years. With our great leader Chairman Mao living in good health, with his lofty prestige and the power of the Liberation Army, we have nothing to be afraid of. Bad people will certainly be criticized and punished. Even if Heaven has been turned upside down, we can reverse it.

In various areas, some comrades have made mistakes. Now that we have Ch'en Tsai-tao, let us not have Chang Tsai-tao or Li Tsai-tao. Those who can be saved should be saved. As for those who have not fallen, we should not hope that they will fall. But we ourselves should make up our minds to rectify our mistakes. If we fail to do so and persist in taking the road which will lead to our downfall, then nothing can be done.

There are three ways to prevent our fall:

First, we must tightly grasp the conditions at the lower

level. We must carry out investigation and study of the Left, the Right and various mass organizations in order to understand their conditions. Chairman Mao has said that investigation and study are essential work. Only when we have grasped the true situation can we bring forth the questions and suggest ways to settle them.

Second, we must closely follow the Central Committee. We must seek instructions from and report to Chairman Mao, the Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee. We must not have the idea that we need not report to the Central Committee so long as we ourselves understand the situation, nor the idea that we need not seek instructions from and report to the Central Committee because the matter is small and we are intelligent enough to handle it ourselves. We must not hesitate to trouble the Central Committee. We must seek instructions from and report to it on all matters, big and small.

The Premier and the comrades of the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee are all working day and night. You may send a telegram or make a telephone call. In the case of a telephone call, few people would hear it and the message would be passed around slowly. A telegram may be read by everyone. Besides, you may take a plane and reach here in one or two hours. Don't act on your own because you think your ideas are right and you are clever. This I must repeat for it is the most important of the three ways.

Third, after one year of the great cultural revolution, the line has been drawn clearly between the Left and the Right. You must not divide people into Left or Right on the basis of whether or not they attack the military districts, but on the basis of whether they support or oppose the great cultural revolution which Chairman Mao has personally initiated, and whether they protect or oppose Chairman Mao. You must stand firmly on the side of Chairman Mao, on the side of the Left, on the side of the masses. You must not judge a group

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as to whether it is leftist or rightist and look at the problem simply on the basis of whether the class status of its members is pure or not, whether it has many or few Party members or many or few cadres. Class status must be examined, but it is not everything. The main thing is to see on what line it stands.

In dealing with the conservatives, you must carry out adequate political and ideological work and the work of splitting them up and winning them over. Don't let them stand opposite to us for a long time. It is necessary to win over the broad masses who have been hoodwinked and make them stand on the side of the revolutionaries. In dealing with leaders of the conservative groups, you must act according to the spirit of Chairman Mao's instructions, and arouse the masses to drag them out. You must firmly support the Left and win over the hoodwinked masses. If there are problems among the Leftists themselves, you should emphasize the importance of alliance and convince them not to engage in a civil war, and not to promote departmentalism, the mentality of getting into the lime-light, and devotion to the interests of small groups. These tendencies can do no good to the Leftists, but can do good to the Rightists.

The masses must not be suppressed. When problems arise or incidents occur, make a report to and seek instructions from the Central Committee. There is no need for haste; instead, you should solve the problems slowly and step by step, follow the principle of "four quick, one slow." Make yourself understand the situation and then make a report to and ask instructions from the Central Committee. Wait for its approval before you act. This is the style of work consistently advocated by Chairman Mao.

Frankly speaking, I am worried lest our comrades who are entrusted with such heavy tasks would make mistakes to the disadvantage of the great cultural revolution. Now that we rely on the army, things will be fine if the army does not

make mistakes. To avoid making mistakes, it is necessary to rely on the Left and the masses, but the most important thing is to seek instructions from the Central Committee, from the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee.

Those who have made mistakes would be wise to admit them and examine and rectify them as soon as possible. This will satisfy the masses and gain their understanding. It is no good to refuse to admit mistakes and try to hide them. It is dangerous to persist in the mistakes and refuse to correct them; it is useless trying to resist. The army's involvement in the great cultural revolution occurred in a hurry. Since they don't understand the situation, they can hardly avoid making mistakes. When they make mistakes and refuse to admit them, they cannot get away with them. If they correct the mistakes they have made, they will gain the understanding of the masses. A communist should have such a spirit.

The past revolutions were also carried out in a hurry, such as the land reform, the Autumn Harvest Uprising, the struggle against local bullies, the fight against Chiang Kai-shek and Japan. After the lapse of several decades, we finally became familiar with the rural conditions and clear about these problems. Following the victory of the revolution, we embarked on a new stage and adopted new systems, and new situations arose. The theory, the line, the principles and policies of the socialist revolution had not been studied before, and we were not prepared theoretically and ideologically. We had overthrown the "three big mountains" (imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism) in the past, and we did it in the pattern of a bourgeois democratic revolution. After the victory things have changed, and we have to carry out a revolution against the bourgeoisie.

The present revolution is a revolution against those of us who have been engaged in the former revolutions. We are not prepared for such a revolution and we do not understand it. Only Chairman Mao — who has attained the highest theoretical

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level — has had the foresight with regard to the theory, line, ideology, principle and policies. He knows very well what should be done and has long prepared himself. Those comrades with a higher ideological and theoretical level are prepared; other comrades in general have not prepared themselves ideologically. In the past, we were familiar with the land revolution in the countryside, but were not familiar with capitalism. In such developed capitalist countries as the United States, Britain, France and Japan, even an ordinary worker knows clearly what capitalist exploitation and aggression means. But in China capitalism was not developed, and in the past, because we were in the countryside, we did not see much of capitalism and had little understanding of the law governing the development of capitalism. If we view the revolution of today in the light of the ideas, policies and theories that applied to the bourgeois democratic revolution, we can hardly avoid making mistakes and we cannot understand the great cultural revolution of today. If we still use the methods which we used to fight the local bullies, to fight Chiang Kai-shek and to fight Japan, we are bound to make mistakes. There are two different attitudes towards mistakes made: there are those who are willing to correct their mistakes and those who refuse to correct their mistakes. Great harm would be done to the Party by those who refuse to correct their mistakes. Those who have made mistakes in the last 18 years generally followed these two patterns. Those who have made mistakes are still welcome if they correct them.

The questions discussed by Chairman Mao at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee were of great significance to the socialist revolution. This was a major development of Marxism. However, we did not understand why, in doing new things, we still cherished the same old ideas in our minds. Our Party is a political party of the proletariat. In the past, however, only the leading nucleus of our leadership group was genuinely Marxist-Leninist. Apart from the backbone elements, many had bourgeois ideas and some were bourgeois elements. Therefore, when we make mistakes, we must correct

them; failing this, we would embark on the capitalist road, the state would change colour and individual persons would become power-holders taking the capitalist road.

The present great cultural revolution is actually a transitional movement leading to a great political revolution. Without a great political revolution, capitalism would come about. The great cultural revolution is a great socialist revolution in the political and ideological fields. Without such a revolution in the political and ideological fields, there can be no socialist society. Theoretically and ideologically, we still do not know whether it will be capitalism or socialism. We are still confused as to what is right and what is wrong, but we will see the light if we study Chairman Mao's theories well. Only when we have mastered the thought of Mao Tse-tung can we attain socialism.

Today, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, we must study well and properly transform our world outlook. Otherwise, we would make mistakes. Once we have learned and mastered Mao Tse-tung's thought, we will also have understood Marxism-Leninism. Only thus can we avoid making mistakes.

In order to make a success of the great cultural revolution, we must rely on the Liberation Army, which was created by Chairman Mao. In order to avoid making mistakes, we must seek instructions more often from the Central Committee and from the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee. On the other hand, we must strengthen political and ideological work in the armed forces, put politics in command, study Chairman Mao's works, let Mao Tse-tung's thought command everything, and develop and advance in the socialist direction indicated by Chairman Mao, and not in the direction of capitalism.

Chairman Mao's thought must be put in command. The work of the armed forces is very complicated. But all problems can be solved readily if we grasp the study of Chairman Mao's



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works and study and apply them creatively. Unless we do a good job of this, we would suppress the people, as in the case of Inner Mongolia.

For some time after the struggle against T'an Cheng, the study of Mao's works was quite successfully grasped in the General Political Department, but in the course of the great cultural revolution, it performed badly and failed to keep abreast of the situation. Its principal leading cadre made one mistake after another, and we tried again and again not to let him fall, and now we are still trying to help him out.

We principally rely on the military regions, armies, divisions, regiments, battalions and companies to promote the study of Mao's works. Grasping the study of Chairman Mao's works is a magic weapon. We mainly rely on the military regions to carry out this work. The main thing is to grasp well the study of Mao's works and the education on the two lines, and to teach the troops to treat the revolutionary Leftists, Red Guard young fighters and revolutionary masses correctly.

At present, it is necessary to grasp the mass criticism — criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line and the small handful of top-level power-holders in the Party who are taking the capitalist road. Only by grasping well the political and ideological work, knowing well what is in the minds of the cadres and fighters and arming them with Mao Tse-tung's thought, can we accomplish the "three-support" (support the Left, industry and agriculture) and "two-military" (military control and military and political training) tasks.

Some cadres participate in the three-in-one combinations; others have been transferred to local work. The basic question of the revolution is political power. But many people have an inadequate understanding of the importance of this question, of the importance of political power and the importance of the leadership group. They need to sober up their minds. In the

past 18 years, the capitalist roaders in the Party controlled a number of Party and government organs. Since the start of the cultural revolution, some leadership groups have fallen, and a new State machine has to be built. The leadership group is very important, for it holds political power and is itself a State machine. The leadership group of the old power-holders has proved itself incompetent to be a State machine. It has fallen and has been taken over by the military. Our State machine was infested with capitalism and revisionism. Its fall did not do any harm, so let it fall. Our leadership group should be forever loyal to Chairman Mao and to Mao Tse-tung's thought; it should be composed of people who always follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary road.

In taking over the State organs, military men should avoid making mistakes, but if mistakes are made, they should correct them immediately in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings. Cadres of the military regions, provincial military districts and people's armed forces departments who have made mistakes should be called here for corrective training in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions. Let the revolutionary rebels be their teachers and their own mistakes be their teaching materials. They will come here to learn the lessons of experience. Those Party and government personnel who failed to correct their ideology in the past should also be given education. Their failure to correct their ideology can be turned into a good thing through education. Those who return to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line should be welcome.

Cadres should be treated in accordance with the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid futures ones, curing the sickness to save the patient," which was set forth by Chairman Mao. Even for those who have been overthrown for the time being, it would be good if they can be made to change over through education. The majority of the cadres can be won over, including even those who have not yet corrected their ideology, so that they can be made to change their attitude. Those who have corrected their mistakes may be given work,

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while those who are still unable to correct their ideology may be replaced. Those who may be saved from being overthrown should not be overthrown; those who have been overthrown may still turn over a new leaf after education.

The leadership group is a State machine. It must conform to the thought of Mao Tse-tung and adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, or it must be replaced. But we cannot destroy them without giving a warning by teaching.

Lest you may make mistakes, let me remind you once again of the three ways to avoid mistakes, especially the second one. Things should rather be done a bit slowly. Give everything a good thought and make no haste. If they are delayed for a few days, the sky would not fall. The Premier and Comrades Po-ta and Chiang Ch'ing are working day and night. I hope that all of you at the higher and lower levels will pay more attention to seeking instructions and making reports.

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