

INTERVIEW WITH CENTRAL STATE COUNCIL JOINT HOSPITALITY
STATION OF CENTRAL COMMUNIST PARTY

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1. What is the capitalist reactionary line? What form does it take? And why should it be so thoroughly criticized?

Answer: This problem has not been clearly discussed by the chief of the Central Government. We must talk about the opinions of the individual according to the documents and editorials of the Central Government combined with the current conditions of the movement. We will recommend to you several documents:

a. The announcement of the 11th Plenum of the 8th Congress, the 2nd half of the portion concerning internal affairs.

b. The 4th, 5th, and 7th articles of the 16 articles.

c. The editorials of Jen-min Jih-pao on 11 August and 1 October, and the editorials of Hung-ch'i in No 10 and No 13 issues. We must form our opinions according to these documents combined with the current situation of the movement.

Mainly, the capitalist counterrevolutionary line means the several methods adopted by the enemies of the class, and some people (some of those who are responsible for the work group and party committees.) to fight against the proletarian cultural revolutionary movement. They are separated from the people, they are against the people, and against ideas of Mao Tse-tung, they are against the 16 articles. They stand on the side of the reactionary capitalist class to protect the rightist faction, to attack the leftist faction and to oppress the mass movement. They attempt to bomb the

proletarian revolutionary headquarters; they attempted to knock down this glorious proletarian cultural revolutionary movement. They adopted many conspiracies to incite the masses to struggle against the masses in order to reach their goal. The forms take mainly the following two aspects: one type is the true enemy of the class. Before their appearance is fully exposed, they often appear as the leftist faction of the revolution. They hold the red flag to oppose the red flag in order to deceive and cheat some of the masses and attempt to knock down the proletarian revolutionaries and to bomb the proletarian headquarters. They create all kinds of rumors and crimes against some revolutionary comrades in order to attack the revolutionary masses. The other type is some, mainly the leaders of party committees and work groups, who make the mistake of direction and line. The word "fear" comes before anything else for them and consciously or unconsciously they maintain traditionalism. They incite the workers and farmer masses to struggle against the students; they incite the masses to struggle against the masses; they incite students to struggle against students. They people, when their mistakes are corrected, become the internal problem of the people; if they do not recognize their mistakes and they do not examine themselves carefully and continue to develop in the same manner, they will take on the opposite nature of the contradiction.

This is due to the fact that in the former stage, some units carry out the capitalist reactionary line; some units give such crimes "counter-revolutionary" and "rightist factions" to the true revolutionaries. If this capitalist reactionary line is not thoroughly criticized and if these revolutionary comrades are not thoroughly liberated, then we will not understand who should we depend upon for liberation and who should we unite and who should we attack, and we will not know clearly who are we to depend upon to carry out the task of completing the struggle, criticism, and reform; therefore, currently it is necessary to criticize the reactionary line of the capitalist class.

In summation, this line is what was said in the editorial of Jen-min Jih-pao of 1 October: there are two kinds of strategy opposite to one another; two kinds of opposite methods; one kind is having trust in the masses, depending on the masses, and letting the masses have their way. In the movement of trusting the masses, one can liberate oneself by oneself, education oneself by oneself. This is the revolutionary spirit and revolutionary action of passionately supporting the masses. The other kind is: at the crucial moment of the revolution, they stand opposite to the masses to oppress the masses. The former kind is the line of carrying out Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's ideas; the second kind is the mistaken line of opposing Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Tse-tung's ideas.

2. You just said: "Bombing the proletarian headquarters." How do we understand this problem?

Answer: The headquarters means the leaders of the various ranks from the Central to the local; some are large and some are small. In view

of the nation, in each of the headquarters the majority of the leaders and the majority of the staff members are good. This analyses coincides with the ideas of Mao Tse-tung. Concretely speaking, in every unit, we must examine through the movement to disclose the facts, and make judgements according to facts. Some of them are the authoritarian faction, walking the capitalist road; some comrades are mainly revolutionary but they make mistakes; therefore, we cannot bomb them all; but we must expose the problems.

3. What is the mistake of "left" in form and "right" in fact? Should we criticize the mistake of "left" in form and "right" in fact?

Answer: When we say "left" in form and "right" in fact, we mean those who also talk about the ideas of the chairman and the struggle of two lines, and the 16 articles; they appear to be very revolutionary but in fact they are the opposite. They make up a form and a tone that are not favorable to generate the masses and disclose problems. If the attack is made in terms of the enemies of the class before the problem is clarified, the true enemy may have been missed and the true revolutionaries may have been attacked. We must use the "four great" method to let the masses disclose the problem. We must not attack everything as the enemy of the class. Some people said, one-third or two-thirds of the party organization has been destroyed. This talk is wrong. The "left" in form and "right" in fact and the rightist opportunism are entirely contrary to the idea of Mao Tse-tung and they all should be criticized.

4. What is the masses struggle against the masses? How is this distinguished from the difference of opinion among the masses, talked about in the 16 articles?

Answer: The masses against masses is the reactionary line of the capitalist class carried out by some people. They made use of some masses who support them; therefore, here is the problem of the conspirator. Regarding the debates of different opinions among the masses, we do not call that masses against masses. In a debate, both sides should have complete freedom. They should put forward facts, talk, and reason; they should use reason to convince others. Neither side should oppress the difference of opinion of the other side. They must permit reservation. We consider it wrong; but they themselves consider it revolutionary, and they consider it as practical. If it is wrong, we should correct it, and if it is right, we should insist upon it; but we cannot oppress. In a debate, there should be a difference of opinion, difference of viewpoint, and should concern some people. All this is not the masses against the masses, and they are not criticizing the reactionary line of the capitalist class! We must find the root of the problem. Among the masses, the major problem is influence. When we criticize a mistaken line, we must relate it to certain people; but the sharp end is not pointed to the masses; otherwise it is easy to have another struggle of masses against masses.

5. What is the two general directions of the struggle talked about in the editorials? What are the small groups, and attack a small group of capitalist "right" faction elements? What is the attack against the authoritarian faction, walking the capitalist road within the party?

Answer: This idea is not contrary to the 16 articles. In the 5th article of the 16 articles: "concentrate the energy to attack a small group of extremist, reactionary, capitalist, rightist elements, counter-revolutionary elements, and revisionist elements. We must fully disclose and criticize their crimes of anti-party, anti-socialist, and anti-Mao Tse-tung ideas to isolate them to the maximum." "The emphasis of this movement is on the authoritarian faction within the party that is walking the capitalist road;" therefore, all those who are against the party, against socialism, and against the ideas of Mao Tse-tung are the rightist elements, in which include the authoritarian faction within the party -- that is walking the capitalist road. The latter is the emphasis of the movement because it is extremely dangerous.

6. In the process of disclosing the problem of the leadership of the schools, we must relate to the mistaken line carried out by some of the basic leaders of the organization. Is this masses against the masses, or is this transferring the general direction of the struggle?

Answer: Normally the basic masses have very little contact with the leaders of the school. The mistaken general line is always carried out by a certain organizational membership or individual; therefore, it is normal to concern these people when the concrete data of the leadership of the school are disclosed. Through these pointing factors, the manipulators behind the curtain will be disclosed; therefore, this is not masses against masses and this is not transferring the general direction of the struggle.

7. Who are the leaders of the authoritarian faction within the party walking the capitalist road?

Answer: The authoritarian faction is the major responsible people of the various departments of the party organization. Concretely speaking, in the schools we must first solve the problem of those who are responsible for the schools. After liberation, some problems of the different classes should also be solved. There are authoritarian factions in the various departments and classroom level; but before the above problem is solved the latter problems cannot be solved. In the course of disclosing problems, the action maybe taken in a criss-cross manner. Anytime when there is a problem, it may be disclosed, but the upper level should be the major emphasis of the movement and is the authoritarian faction within the party who takes the capitalist road. We must observe and see if they walk the capitalist road and see if they are anti-party, anti-socialist, and anti-Mao Tse-tung's ideas.

8. Should the decision of firing the leaders of the various ranks

be made by the cultural revolution of the unit itself?

Answer: The decision of firing the leaders may be based upon the opinions of the masses of the cultural revolution unit itself. Proposals may be made to the Party Committee of the superior rank to be certified. The power of decision rests in the Party Committee of the superior rank.

9. How to handle those leaders who actually can no longer lead, but the case is not decisive?

Answer: Generally, the method of suspension may be adopted. The method of firing should be done with the certification of the Party Committee of the superior rank.

10. In the movement, there are some students who took the position of family reaction and burned some reactionary documents; they hid treasures. If these facts are disclosed, does it mean masses against the masses? Does it mean criticizing masses?

Answer: Of course, not! If they are not disclosed, then we are protecting bad people and bad things. As to how to treat them, this is a problem for the future.

11. Will you please talk to us about the interpretation of the statement "the lackeys of the capitalist class"?

Answer: This problem is not whether or not this statement is wrong. There are some who are against the family and counterrevolutionary capitalist, and it doesn't matter if we cuss them. We do not mean that it is wrong to cuss them. We mean that if you cuss them, you would lose the masses, and will not be able to win their hearts; because in this manner, we will cause the students who have a bad breeding to be separated from us. As far as strategy is concerned, when it is in form isolating the enemy but in fact it is isolating ourselves. In the proletarian class does not win them over, the capitalist class will win them over.

12. The slogan "Doubt Everything", correct or not?

Answer: The key is what are they doubting. Some said this slogan is proposed by Marx. We must observe under what condition did Marx make such a proposal and what was he talking about. In the Proletarian Cultural Revolutionary Movement, before the problem is clarified, we can doubt the leaders of all the units; the problem is the doubt is for the purpose of investigation and study in order to distinguish right from wrong. We must not make conclusions subjectively. We do not necessarily propose the slogan of "Doubt Everything"; but we may even propose that. This is not counterrevolutionary; because there is no definite interpretation of the slogan of "Doubt Everything." Each person may have a different interpretation; it is easily misunderstood and it is easily made use of by the enemy.

13. When outside units borrow our broadcasting materials and hold a meeting, can we record their meeting without letting them know?

Answer: In this movement, it is best not to record the voices even within a single unit; because in the movement, changes of opinion and changes of viewpoints are permitted. In some places, when someone said something wrong, others grabbed them and called them counterrevolutionary; therefore we should not record voices. The Central Government talked about this problem and during the debate, recorders are not used. And hidden recorders are not allowed.

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