

Text of an article entitled "Premier Chou Is Chief Staff Officer to Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin" and subtitled "Ch'en Po-ta, Ch'i Pen-yu, Hsieh Fu-chih, Yeh Ch'un, and other comrades speak at a reception given to members of the central group of the Red Guard Congress and representatives of organizations which have put up big-character posters against the Premier."

Po-ta: Today's meeting is held jointly by the Central Cultural Revolution Group and Peking Revolutionary Committee, to discuss questions of the revolutionary great alliance. Now I ask Vice Premier Hsieh to speak.

Fu-chih: Today, comrades of the Cultural Revolution Group want to discuss with you all some questions. Peking is where Chairman Mao lives; it is where the Cultural Revolution Group is located. The situation of the cultural revolution is excellent...

Peking is a place where Chairman Mao lives and the Central Cultural Revolution Group is located. It is the center of the cultural revolution. Things in Peking can be done well, and the whole nation must learn from Peking. Anything that is badly done in Peking will exert an adverse influence on the whole nation.

Now, by promoting splits from a small to a large scale and thereby causing big splits, you have exerted a great influence. This influence is not good. The Premier acts under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Central Committee. The Premier handles the important affairs of the State.

The two things are unfavorable [sic] to our country. At present we are waging a struggle against Liu, Teng, P'eng Chen and the handful of capitalist roaders in authority in various units, and this is the main spearhead. The great alliance and great unity of the revolutionary forces is based on the principle of Chairman Mao and the thought of Mao Tse-tung and under the leadership of the Cultural Revolution Group, with the main spearhead aimed at the handful of capitalist roaders in authority taking the capitalist road headed by Liu and Teng. Those of you who are studying foreign affairs must also carry out a struggle against the Soviet revisionists, the Mongolian revisionists and the imperialists.

Inside the country, great efforts still have to be made to thoroughly criticize and repudiate China's Khrushchev and to eliminate the poison spread by him. This is the general orientation. This general orientation must not be interfered with. If we concentrate our main energies on fighting a civil

war and write big-character posters aiming at the Premier who is discharging the principal functions of the State, then this is liable to upset our camp. As Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, I will also share the responsibility.

Comrades, please think: what is our principal task at present? How is our camp faring? Do we not have to have a revolutionary camp from top to bottom under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought? What is the chief target? From the basic-level rebels to the Central Committee, should we not have a revolutionary camp with Chairman Mao as the commander? Should we not have a great alliance and great unity?

Chairman Mao has taught us that small truth should submit to great truth and great truth should sway small truth. In a civil war, both parties have certain small truths, but these small truths must be subordinated to the greater truth. You also think that there are some truths in putting up big-character posters against the Premier, but you must submit yourselves to the greater truth. Whether you put up big-character posters against the Premier or engage in a civil war, as I see it, your action is a mistake of orientation.

Now, in doing anything you are divided into two big factions. We do not like that. Has not your "616" examined itself for putting up big-character posters against the Premier? Why has it put up such posters again? Of course, you comrades of the Congress of Red Guards of Universities also should not level charges indiscriminately against comrades against whom big-character posters have been put up. (Someone of the "616" said that it was justified to put up big-character posters against the Premier).

Anyway, we do not approve of this. If you have any complaints against the Premier, you may write to him or to Chairman Mao or Vice Chairman Lin. You may make suggestions to the Premier. The present chief target must be grasped, and our ranks must have a basic unified viewpoint. What you are doing would disrupt our orientation and affect our chief objective.

Today we are having a talk with you and you may make your suggestions. The last time we discussed with your rebel group, "616," for six or seven hours. But you said that justice was with you, not with me. Let Comrade Po-ta state his view. The university students look down upon me.

Po-ta: Each one of you has his own reasons. But the fact is, you do not submit to the greater truth. You said that the Premier protected Chang Yen. But in saying this you had not made the facts clear. The Premier did not protect Chang Yen. (Someone said "The Premier protects Ch'en I.")

I am the greatest royalist [sic]. I protected Ch'en I several times. The Premier has never protected Ch'en I. It is I, the greatest royalist, who

protected Comrade Ch'en I. How can you put the blame on the Premier? You should pause and think.

Nevertheless, in my speeches I have not said that I would protect Ch'en I. But the basic idea of my speeches is to protect him. I am not qualified to be a foreign minister. A foreign minister is chosen by the State. Can you of a single school appoint a foreign minister? Whom do you represent? Don't you have some common sense?

(Possibly, the "616" fighters again argued, and defended themselves.)

Pen-yu: Don't talk nonsense! By so saying you have only made yourselves appear very childish.

Po-ta: I cast a vote for Comrade Ch'i Pen-yu. But one vote won't do, and none of you is capable of becoming a foreign minister. You are not even clear in your speech. You said that the Premier protected Chang Yen, but I can refute you quite easily. What you said is unreasonable. How could you become a foreign minister?

Making arbitrary arguments won't do. Words do not count. You are concerned about the important affairs of the State, but making a mess of the important affairs of the State won't do. Without taking the general situation into consideration, you cannot claim that you are concerned about the important affairs of the State. You said that I did not protect Comrade Ch'en I, but I said I did. Did I protect him? What would you say to that? (Someone said: No!) No matter what you might say, I did protect him. How could you put the blame on the Premier? You may beat me down today; I am ready.

Pen-yu: The Premier did not protect him. But it must be made clear that the Premier may do so if he wishes, and this also goes for Comrade Po-ta. You may oppose Ch'en I, but you cannot oppose the Premier because the Premier and Po-ta protected Ch'en I. It is a mistake for you to oppose the Premier. Do you oppose the Central Committee because it protected some people?

Ch'en I has mistakes and shortcomings and you may oppose him. In dragging him out, you have not caught up with the idea of the Chairman. But at home and abroad the Premier enjoys a high prestige, and you can't oppose him. In the past we had spoken to you about this. That was not the opinion of an individual, but the opinion of the organization. You should closely follow the Central Cultural Revolution Group and follow the general orientation. However, you have acted differently.

The Premier is the chief staff officer to Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin. If he has done something badly, you may make suggestions. But how can you oppose him? Those of you who study foreign affairs will have to engage in political struggle in the future, and political struggle is not a child's game! If you go to excesses, you would be placed in a passive

position and people would put up big-character posters against you, saying "to oppose Premier Chou is to oppose the revolution." And the foreigners would spread the rumor saying that Ch'en Po-ta and the Premier are at loggerheads with with other. You may do foolish things. Today we talk the matter over with you, and you should restrain yourselves.

The Premier cannot be beaten down. The Premier is the representative of our State; he assists Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin in carrying on the concrete work. The Premier has a fine political style. You opposed the Premier and he said: "Please don't arrest them." Is there any other premier in other countries like ours?

The last time you said "it is wrong to oppose the Premier." But several days later -- after your return -- you opposed him again. You acted like children. Was this a political struggle? The great cultural revolution must be under leadership. When did Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin order you to oppose the Premier?! Chairman Mao did not point to that. Do you consider yourselves as being obedient to Chairman Mao by doing what Chairman Mao had not asked you to do?

The Premier helps Chairman Mao in work, and cannot be opposed. Your opposition to the Premier will bring joy to Liu and Teng and to the imperialists and revisionists. The imperialists and revisionists are afraid of the Premier and Ch'en Po-ta and are creating rumors against them every day. You must pay attention to the international situation and closely follow Chairman Mao.

In the violent storms Chairman Mao has an elaborate strategic plan. Whether you understand it or not, you must follow it. Chairman Mao's words we may not necessarily understand, but we must act on them. Before the War of Resistance [to Japan], Comrade Lin Piao had said to Comrade Yang Ch'engwu: "Chairman Mao's words should be put into practice whether you understand them or not."

Comrade Yang has not forgotten this remark and has been closely following Chairman Mao, and this time he is among the first ones to rebel. You must not think that you are superior to all others, that you have sharp eyes, and that you can see everything. I do not think so, we ask you to consider what we have said.

Po-ta: Don't create rumors. Those who do are doomed to failure. You must not listen to rumors.

Po-ta: It is very bad to oppose the Premier! You have misjudged the important affairs of the State. This is no concern for the important affairs of the State but a mistake. You shouldn't have put up big-character posters against the Premier. You must heed Chairman Mao's advice and carry out investigation and research. Failure to make investigation and research would make one liable to misjudge some key questions and make a mistake in orientation.

It won't do just to exaggerate things. Failing to see the important things means that you have not grasped the thought of Mao Tse-tung. You must concern yourselves with the important affairs of the State, such as the question of the State's prestige.

Liu Ling-k'ai, the Premier has forgiven you. And now you have again opposed him. You have not given him even face. Now it is reported that two big factions are to be formed in Peking. Is this right?

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Fu-chih: To bring about a revolutionary great alliance, we must uphold the truth and rectify the mistakes. You must not bombard Ch'en Po-ta.

Po-ta: You must not bombard Vice Premier Hsieh. You may bombard me.

Yeh Ch'un: The Central Cultural Revolution Group and Vice Premier Hsieh have done lots of work and are very modest. Today's meeting is my first contact with you, and I feel that I can discuss questions with you. "616" also wants to concern itself with the important affairs of the State but the material in its hands is not reliable, and investigation and research will be needed.