ALONG THE SOCIALIST OR THE CAPITALIST ROAD?

by the Editorial Departments of Hongqi and Renmin Ribao

COMMENTS ON TAO CHU’S TWO BOOKS

by YAO WEN-YUAN

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China in the present era is the focal point of contradictions in the world, the storm centre of the world revolution.

Whither China? Will it take the socialist road or the capitalist road? This is not only a fundamental issue of Chinese politics, it concerns the destiny of the world proletarian revolution.

For some decades now, a fierce struggle has gone on within the Chinese Communist Party over this fundamental issue, a struggle between two diametrically opposed lines, at each historical stage of the development of the Chinese revolution and at each crucial moment of revolutionary change.

One line maintains that the Chinese revolution must be led by the proletariat, that it must pass from the stage of the new democratic revolution to the stage of the socialist revolution, that the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat must be carried through to the end and that its ultimate goal is communism. This is the proletarian revolutionary line represented by our great leader Chairman Mao.

The other line liquidates the proletarian leadership of the Chinese revolution, practises bourgeois reformism, and, in the stage of socialism, opposes the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and takes the capitalist road, that is, the dark, old road that would lead China back to semicolonial, semi-feudal society. This is the bourgeois reactionary line pursued in succession by Chen Tu-hsiu, Chu Chiu-pai, Li Li-san, Wang Ming and Chang Kuo-tao right down to the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. And this person represents this reactionary line in its most concentrated form.

The two diametrically opposed lines lead to two entirely opposite prospects, two entirely opposite destinies for the Chinese revolution. It is precisely in the course of the struggle between these two lines that, guided by our great leader Chairman Mao, the Chinese revolution has hacked its way forward through all the difficulties and advanced victoriously.

The essence of this struggle has been the question of which road China should take. Its focal point has always been a matter of political power, a question of which class should exercise dictatorship.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: In the stage of the democratic revolution, the focal point of the programme of the Chinese Communist Party is the joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes led by the proletariat; in the stage of the socialist revolution, the focal point of the programme of the Chinese Communist Party is the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the people’s democratic dictatorship.

The question raised by Chairman Mao at the very beginning of his great work *On New Democracy* is: *Whither China?* In this brilliant Marxist-Leninist work, he sums up the historical experience of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution in an all-round, penetrating and systematic way, scientifically formulates the political, economic and cultural programmes for the new democratic revolution, and clearly and thoroughly charts the road of transition from the new democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. He says: *"The first step or stage in our revolution is definitely not, and cannot be, the establishment of a capitalist society under the dictatorship of the Chinese bourgeoisie, but will result in the establishment of a new-democratic society under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes of China headed by the Chinese proletariat. The revolution will then be carried forward to the second stage, in which a socialist society will be established in China.”*

Chairman Mao sharply refuted the fallacious reactionary theory which calls for a futile attempt to establish the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in China. He explicitly pointed out that, judging by China’s international and internal situation, anyone who dreamed of establishing a capitalist society, a society under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, would eventually find himself in the lap of imperialism, with the result that China would again be-
come a colony or semi-colony and part of the reac-
tionary world under imperialism. Here Chairman Mao has fought
against the right-opportunist Wang Ming whose notorious reputation
had long been established but also the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who has
been exposed recently.

This top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is a seasoned opportunist and revision-
ist, a representative of the bourgeoisie who has
snuck into our Party.

In his brilliant speech The Situation and Our Policy
After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against
Japan, Chairman Mao concluded that the struggle
will be, build what sort of country? To
build a new-democratic country of the broad masses
of the people under the leadership of the
proletariat? Or to build a semi-colonial and semi-feudal coun-
y under the dictatorship of the big landlords and the
big bourgeoisie? This will be a most complicated
struggle. At present it takes the form of a struggle
between Chinese Communism and Chinese Nationalism.
Secondly, the fruits of victory of the War of Resistance and our-
selves who oppose its usurpation. If there is any
opposition, a counter-revolutionary action and
the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who has
be expropriated. And we

Soon after Chiang Kai-shek's "April 12"
counter-revolutionary coup, he followed the
renegade Chen Tu-hsiu in ordering the workers' pic-
tet in Wuhan to hand thousands of rifles over to the
Kuomintang who was himself arrested at a
meeting called by the Workers' Affairs Depart-
ment of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang and
reported to it the so-called "significance and useful work of the workers' pic-
tet by the Hupeh Provincial General Council of
Trade Unions."

After the publication of Chairman Mao's On
New Democracy, he went out of his way to attack
Chairman Mao directly, singing a tune entirely
opposed to On New Democracy. He went so far as
to praise Chiang Kai-shek as "the banner of the rev-
olution" and the revolution can be carried out under the banner of
the Three People's Principles of the Kuomintang — at
least in the present stage of democratic revolution it will
be more conducive to smoothness than any other banner."

"We do not say that we are carrying out the
Three People's Principles instead of obstructively
working out something else." Here this old op-
portunist showed himself up completely as a rene-
gade opposing and selling out the revolution!

After the War of Resistance Against Japan was
won, U.S. imperialism made use of its lackey Chiang
Kai-shek and tried to convert China into its own
exclusive colony. At that juncture the Chinese
people were engaged in a life-and-death struggle against
imperialism and semicolonial and semi-feudal capi-
talism. This was a great battle that was decisive
for the choice between the two destinies, two pros-
tected. The Kuomintang state power con-
fronted the proletariat in a still more ferocious way. In
good time Chairman Mao pointed this out to the
whole Party and the people throughout the country.

Kautsky and their like, all preached the parliamen-
tary road, opposed revolution by violence, betrayed the
people's revolutionary achievements and accomplices of the bourgeois reactionar
The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is a brainless moron. If
there is any difference, it is this—he was prepared to hand over the people's political power and the
people's army with both hands at a time when Chairman Mao's army of more than 1,200,000 and a people
regime was established in areas with a total population of more than 130 mil-
This makes his advocacy of wholesale capita-
ization and betrayal all the more despicable and

At the very moment when the top Party person in
authority taking the capitalist road was attempting
to sell out the fruits of victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, leaders of the "commu-
nist parties" of France and Italy, such as Thorez and Togliatti, were making a political deal with the
bourgeoisie by bartering away the people, the armed forces, and other such official positions of the bourgeois
state, and become men who will go down in history as criminals! At this historical turning point, our
great leader Chairman Mao told us: "The arms of the
people, every gun and every bullet, must all be kept,
must not be handed over." "The rights the people have must never be given up."

With heroic proletarian courage, our great leader
Chairman Mao successfully resisted the worldwide adverse current of capitalism—"the
hanging over of the guns" — and dared to fight on and win victory, so setting a brilliant example for pro-
tarian revolutions throughout the world. Thus the

Later, in his speech on the Party's general line
for the next period Chairman Mao pointed out:
The founding of the People's Republic of China
on October 1, 1949, marked the conclusion of the main
stage of the new democratic revolution and the
onset of the socialist revolution. He said: "The general line and general task of the
Party during this transition period is gradually to bring about the state and
the socialist transformation of agriculture,
handicrafts and capitalist industry and com-
merce by the state over a fairly long period. This

The influence of the capitalist road once again stepped forward as the spokesman for the bourgeoisie to
fight our Party, to poison and to destroy our Party. Chairman Mao has always
been flagrantly campaigning for the development of capitalism in town and country. He raised the
slogan, "struggle for the consolidation of the new demo-

cratic system," namely, "the democratic negatively, "capitalism will be
"socialist won't be over for all time." He

The founding of the People's Republic of China
pushed history forward to a new stage, that is, from
that of the new democratic revolution to that of the
socialist revolution. At that moment, the struggle
for the road to rise New China which was just founded should take
the socialist or the capitalist road? In the final
analysis, this struggle was over the question of whether the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie would be
exercised in China.

On the eve of nationwide victory in the new

Chairman Mao pointed out clearly in his brilliant speech Report to the
Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China: "After the

China. This is not a question of whether the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie would be
exercised in China.
eight more factories, altogether you will be entrusted with 16 factories to run. Your salary will not be reduced but increased; however, you will have no job security, or welfare benefits, and you will have no seniority rights. A worker is said: Of course I will! You will be called to a meeting to discuss how to carry through the transformation to socialism. You will certainly not be found out, because then you will come to the meeting with a beam- ing face.24

How wonderful! A capitalist sells eight factories to the state and gets back 16 factories from the state. And this is called “socialism”! At that time, a generation of capitalists and patriotic “socialism with beam- ing faces”: “In the past we could not understand what the Communist Party had in mind but now we’re beginning to learn.”25 And the top Party person, who has authority and is an old revisionist, said to them obsequiously: “I’ll let you get to the bottom of what the Party has in mind and let you know what you want to know.”26 What true servility! What a genuine offer of services! Haven’t the old and new revisionists all talked about “growing into bourgeois socialism peacefully”? Here indeed was a living sample. And it is they themselves who have truly “grown” into bourgeois socialism.27 Didn’t they say: “The bourgeois who grew into our Party thoroughly expose his own ugly face?”

In order to hoodwink others, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road also hypothesis talked about building the dictatorship of the proletariat, but his dictatorship of the proletariat is not the true dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and genuine bourgeois dictatorship.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road desperately opposed the socialist transformation of agriculture and sabotaged the development of agricultural cooperation. He disparaged the campaign to raise prices and the demand to organize themselves as bankrupt “poor peasants who are unable to farm individually.”28 He described the proposal that the agricultural cooperatives develop into agricultural cooperatives as “errorous and dangerous utopian agrarian socialism.”29 In collusion with a handful of Right-wing opportunists, he cut down the number of cooperatives on a large scale, and altogether 200,000 agricultural cooperatives were dissolved. He said viciously: “What do we mean by laissais-faire? We make allowing free hiring of factory hands for individual farming. If they all have three horses and a plough, that will be very fine. There can be no laissais-faire for those who are the poorest peasants of the country. It’s only possible for the rich, for the bourgeoisie, for individual farming!” Those who interfere with the ‘three horses’ proposition are not to be allowed to do as they please!30 In this way he gave solely to the rich peasants the freedom to develop exploitation, but refused to give the poor and lower-middle peasants the freedom to organize and engage in mutual aid and cooperation. And his futile pur- pose in all this was to hand the vast countryside over to the rich and turn it into a base for the bourgeoisie to resist the proletariat.

Political power has always been the instrument by which one class oppresses another. If instead of developing socialism, the political power of the new China that had just come into being had developed capitalism, the result would certainly have been that it had restricted the proletariat, if instead of re-stricting the rich peasants it had restricted the poor peasants, and if instead of struggling against the bourgeoisie it had tried to fuse with the group from which it hadrepeopled the state and thereby completely abandoned the function it was called upon to fulfill—that of suppressing the resistance of the bourgeoisie and safeguarding the socialist revolution. He, Chairman Mao, would not have been a fundamental change in the nature of the political power of New China? Chairman Mao hit the nail on the head when he said: “What will happen if our country fails to establish a socialist economy? It will turn into a country like Yugoslavia, a bourgeois state in effect, and the dic- tocracy will turn into a genuine bourgeois dictatorship and, for that matter, into a reaction- ary, fascist dictatorship. This question very much warrants our vigilance and I hope comrade the Nationalists will give it serious consideration.”

When the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been completed, do classes and class struggle still exist in socialist society? Should the dictator- ship of the proletariat be maintained and the so- cialist revolution carried through to the end, or should the dictatorship of the proletariat be liquidated and the world enter into a period of socialism? These important theoretical and practical problems were previously unresolved in the history of the international communist move- ment.

Again, at this crucial historical turning point, our great leader Chairman Mao published his On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, his Speech at the Chinese Communist Party’s National Conference on Propaganda and other works. These brilliant, epoch-making documents summarized the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world and the experience of the long period of time of the development of Marxism — a scientific, systematic and penetrating exposition of contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society. This was an important landmark signifying that Marxism-Leninism had developed to a completely new stage — the stage of Mao Tse-tung’s thought.

Chairman Mao clearly pointed out that in social- ism society “the class struggle is by no means eliminated,” that “the contradiction between the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the dif- ferent political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will exist and grow and at times will even become acute.” There are still a number of people who vainly hope to restore the capitalist system and fight the working class for the future of capitalist "bourgeois China". However, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road did his utmost to spread the idea of “the dying out of class struggle”. He made such absurd statements as: In our country, there is no genuine class struggle, and “capitalists, landlords and rich peasants will all go into socialism.” After that, there will be no revolutionary struggle, no land reform, nor socialist transformation”, “there will be no battleground for heroes to show their prowess, for there will be no landlord class or bourgeoisie for us to wipe out”.31 “The dying out of class struggle”! This is a sheer lie. It is the same stuff as “a state of the whole people” and “a party of the entire people” which the Right-wing revisionists and opportu- nists used when usurping the leadership of the Party and the state. It is the most shameful, most thoroughly-betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat! Under cover of “the dying out of class struggle”, top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road wanted to get the proletariat and other working people to lower their guard so that landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and ghosts
and monsters of all kinds could emerge and launch wild attacks on the proletariat, break up the socialist economic base, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

During this period, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road mounted one frenzy attack after another on socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, sometimes out in the open, sometimes behind the scenes. Just before the bourgeois Rightists began their fierce onslaught in 1957, he viciously attacked the socialist system by alleging that "there is no system which is absolutely good" and that therefore "we must put our system as good and all others as unsatisfactory."25 He advocated the bourgeois "two-chamber system", saying that it is being studied at the Political Consultative Conference and the National People's Congress are in a sense the upper and lower houses, adding: "only this is not specified in the Constitution."26 He wanted to turn the People's Political Consultative Conference and the National People's Congress into a bourgeois type of upper and lower house, this was the "parliament" or "police planning institute" put forward by the Chang Po-chun — Lo Lung-chi alliance.

At the Lushan Meeting of the Party in 1959, he actively supported the big conspirator, careerist and vengeful person who styled himself "Hai Jul," and had vain hopes of overthrowing the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao.

After Peng Teh-huai's case was brought to light at the meeting, he failed to act in co-ordination with Peng Teh-huai and, while instigating people from behind the scenes, plotted to tamper with the previously prepared "Hai Jul" case and turn it into a document directed against "the Left deviation" to oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Later he openly attacked the Lushan Meeting and read a report alleging such things as that "the Lushan Meeting is out" and "it should not have fought the Right deviation,"27 "it was wrong to combat the Right deviation";28 "it left an aftertaste throughout the people," which was disingenuous.

Especially during the three years of temporary difficulties, he ganged up with all kinds of ghosts and monsters at home and abroad and worked even more frantically for a counter-revolutionary restoration of capitalism. He, in fact, carried out the Party's general line for building socialism, the great leap forward and the people's communes. He clamoured that he was opposing the verge of bankruptcy; that "the situation is no excellent one";29 "the economy is out of balance";30 "three parts natural calamities and seven parts man-made contradictions have arisen in the worker-peasant alliance". For his own ulterior motives, he demagogically proclaimed that the peasants "have no ease of mind," the workers "have no ease of mind" and the cadres, too, "cannot possibly have any ease of mind,"31 and so on and so forth.

He clamoured: "There should be an opposition; there should be an argument and even conflict between the people and within the Party."32 This is how he prepared public opinion for the bourgeoisie to come to power.

He advocated the expansion of plots for private use of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses and the fixing of output quotas on the basis of households and they encouraged "lemoning it alone". He said: "Sufficient resort should be made in industry and also in agriculture, even to the extent of fixing output quotas on the basis of households and of going it alone;33 there is nothing to be frightened of if some bourgeois elements should emerge in society. There is no need to fight the bourgeoisie."34 With regard to the international struggle, he beat the drum for capitulation to the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries of different countries and favoured stamping out the flames of revolution in the world. He advocated the liquidation of struggle in our relations with imperialism, the revisionists and modern revisionism, and reduction of armament and support to the revolutionary struggle of other peoples.

He said: "Even as regards the United States, we hope to improve our relationships with it too." He even aspired to "develop friendly relations"35 with the U.S. He asserted that Khrushchov was "unable to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union", that Khrushchov was "truly" opposed to imperialism and that "we should unite with them", "seek common ground while reserving differences" and "together oppose imperialism."36 He went so far as to tell the Communist Party of Burma to lay down its arms, alleging: "You can do without your weapons, but you cannot do without your army, and you cannot reorganize your troops into the national defence forces"37 and "cooperate with Ne Win, "to what end?" To carry out a socialist revolution."38

In August 1962 he again issued his sinister book on "self-cultivation" which betrays the dictatorship of the proletariat and leads people to become more revisionist the more they cultivate themselves according to it. The book became the "theme song" of the revisionism of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and "bombard the Head-quarters", in their attempts to create public opinion for the restoration of capitalism! These shocking and revolting facts of the struggle show that after the capitalist economic base was established, the most important task of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road daily and hourly engaged in criminal activities for the restoration of capitalism. Particularly during the three years of temporary difficulties, heaped his fangs and hoisted the black anti-Party ensign calling for "an opposition" and to turn the clock back. He poured venom into the minds of the people, and into the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism on the political, economic and ideological-cultural fronts, thus presenting an extremely serious threat to the political power of the proletariat.

If things had developed according to his counter-revolutionary revisionist line, drastic class differentiation would have occurred in the countryside and the elements would have appeared in great numbers in the cities; the masses of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants would have been split apart and turned against one another, broken into the miserable life of slaves and beasts of burden; our country's socialist economic base would have been utterly destroyed; a complete change would have taken place in the nature of our proletarian state power and history would have been turned back on to the old road leading to a semi-colonial society. What a dangerous thing this would have been!

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in 1962, our great leader Chairman Mao issued the great call, "never forget class distinction, the class enemy is not dead and will never die, the proletariat will have to launch an all-round mass counter-attack against the bourgeoisie. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was now head of the "upper in late autumn", approaching his doom with each passing day!

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The history of the dictatorship of the proletariat tells us that political power remains the most fundamental of all questions in the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Summing up the rich historical experience of the last three years, our Party decided that the world can take into account the grave fact that the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was plotted by the capitalist road, formulated and put into operation a bourgeoisie reactionary line. They-counter Chairman Mao's directive by sending out a large number of work teams to suppress the revolution's mass movement.

In Tsinghua University and at the No. 1 Middle School affiliated to the Peking Teachers' Training Institute, no good regards to the "counter-revolutionary uprising"-denounced struggle in wild desperation as they saw their end approaching, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, in collusion with another top Party person, turned the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, formulated and put into operation a bourgeoisie reactionary line. They countered Chairman Mao's directive by sending out a large number of work teams to suppress the revolution's mass movement.

sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by our comrades, some are our successors, some are like Khrushchov, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter." By "persons like Khrushchov" he referred to Chairman Mao was referring to none other than the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the bourgeoisie.

Why was Chairman Mao's revolutionary line resisted and opposed time and again over the past 17 years? Why did an undercurrent favouring a restoration of capitalism come to the surface again and again? Primarily it is because bourgeoisie had entrenched itself in the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And this bourgeoisie headed by him gave great menace to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the greatest danger to the socialist state.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has sounded the death-knell for the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. A great struggle in wild desperation as they saw their end approaching, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, in collusion with another top Party person, turned the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, formulated and put into operation a bourgeoisie reactionary line. They countered Chairman Mao's directive by sending out a large number of work teams to suppress the revolution's mass movement.
and personally guided the drawing up of the Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This thoroughly exposed the bourgeoisie headed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, proclaimed the bankruptcy of the bourgeois revolutionary line he had been pushing and announced the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. This is another great contribution by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line to the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Led by the great supreme commander Chairman Mao himself, the revolutionary masses throughout the country have carried the great revolutionary mass movement to ever greater heights, and they have finally dragged out this No. 1 agent of the bourgeoisie within the Party and his gang of scoundrels. In the upsurge of revolutionary mass criticism and self-criticism, which has been mounted throughout the country, he and his gang are now caught in a net from which there is no escape, cast by the hundreds of millions of revolutionary armymen and people. They resemble the proverbial "rats scurrying across the street with everyone yelling: Beat them! Beat them!" What is this "monstrous creature", this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, actually like? His own criminal history of sham revolution and actual counter-revolution in the past forty years and more provides the irresistible answer. The evidence of these crimes is conclusive. The iron-clad proofs pile up mountain high. Can he then absolve himself by deception, by denials or by resistance? "Whither now the God of Plague may I ask? The flames of his funeral pyre light up the skies?"

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a major event for our great people. In the brilliant light of Mao Tse-tung's thought the sea of red flags surges forward, the masses in their hundreds of millions are struggling and studying, and are criticizing and redenouncing the bourgeoisie. Mao Tse-tung's thought has become their food, their weapon and their compass. They vow to be good fighters of Chairman Mao to ensure that the proletarian state will never change its colour! Mao Tse-tung's thought has united the hundreds of millions into an all-conquering, invincible material force that is shaking the old world and creating the new.

"Only socialism can save China!"

All through the past decades, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao, has held the mighty army of the revolution, and has directed it to pursue the towering foe, to bind the Grey Dragon, and to make good all that is corrupt and evil. He has steered the ship of the Chinese revolution forward through the torrents, by-passing the hidden reefs, braving the winds and waves and advancing in triumph. He has brought Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage -- the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

It is Chairman Mao who has taught us that the new democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the new democratic revolution. Following the victory of the new democratic revolution, it was necessary, without interruption, for the revolution to move on to the stage of socialism.

It is Chairman Mao who has taught us that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun and that with power in one's hand only with the gun can one be master of the world and wipe out the rule of imperialism and all reaction be transformed.

It is Chairman Mao who has taught us that after seizing political power, the proletarian must persist in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and keep to the socialist road. No matter how many things we may have to do, we must never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is Chairman Mao who personally initiated the great and unprecedented proletarian cultural revolution, and who has taught us that classes and class struggle continue to exist throughout the historical period of socialism, that the dictatorship of the proletariat, the revolution must be carried through to the end.

"The East is red; the sun rises; in China has appeared a new dawn!"

The orientation given by Chairman Mao is the orientation for the revolutionary people of the whole world. The road which he has opened up is the road along which the revolutionary people of the whole world will advance.

Whither China? Whither the world? The wheel of history is moving in the direction pointed out by Mao Tse-tung's thought!

NOTES:
2. Ranchew-Minley Dutia, July 5, 1927.
4. ibid.
6. ibid.
7. "Speech at the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference", November 4, 1956. (Quoted extensively from (See supplement to the May 1957 issue of China Reconstructs))

COMMENTs ON TAO CHU'S TWO BOOKS

by YAO WEN-YUAN

LIKE a succession of gales, the great proletarian cultural revolution is shaking the whole China and indeed the whole world.

The situation is excellent. After a year of stirring battles, the great proletarian cultural revolution is widely accepted with the widespread and rapid establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The masses of the Chinese people have thereby been given the opportunity to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to put a stop to the spasm of materialist critics and revisionists.

The world situation is experiencing the decisive battle of the great proletarian cultural revolution.
July 30, 1966, this man who styled himself "a proletarian revolutionary in the main" waved his fist and guiltily shouted: "You can have me overthrown, too, if you don't believe me." How arrogant he was then! A virtual man-eater! He was trying to infantilize China. Who is the one who dares oppose "a revolutionary" like me? I am a hero and will never, never fall. But the logic of history shows that anyone who comes out in opposition to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the great proletarian cultural revolution and the revolutionary masses inevitably fails. The more desperate he becomes, the heavier his fall. In retrospect, it is clear that the ludicrous performance he put on, glorifying himself and intimidating the people, was just another silly layer of paint on this dealer's face.

"I have always been a revolutionary." Well, let's use these two books as our chief material and see whom this eternally revolutionary person "always" followed, what kind of "revolution" he was engaged in, what "ideals" he really cherished, what "sentiments" he advocated, the "thinking and feeling" of which class he publicized and what kind of "spiritual life" he led.

Bourgeois Counter-Revolutionary "Ideals"

Which "ideals" does Tao Chu belong to? The ideals of which side does he advocate in his books? The evidence he himself has provided gives sufficient answer.

In August 1955, when the socialist transformation of agriculture was beginning, the issue of land began surfacing and the proletariat and the bourgeois were locked in a life-and-death struggle. Tao Chu stepped forward and self-assuredly proclaimed: "Revolution" in another form. "Revolutionary Firmness," he talked of "facing the raging sea" and the ability to withstand the "onslaughters of storms and hurricanes" in the face of the masses. The "cool" one can leap forward, the heroic aspiration of the revolutionary people to transform the world, became "adverse circumstances." As the tempest of socialist revolution raged throughout the country, rich peasants, anti-revolutionaries, bourgeois landlords, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, and at their agents the Peng Teh-hual anti-party clique, they designed a scheme for the ability "to withstand the onslaughts of storms and hurricanes." There is no need to add a single word; his counter-revolutionary stand is crystal clear. . .

Six years went by. It was 1965. On many occasions following the glorious Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao pointed out that the principal contradiction in the country was between the capitalist class and the socialist class, and the socialist and the capitalist classes in the road. In the document concerning the socialist education movement, known as "the 23-point plan," and "the experts" that the main target of the present movement is those within the party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road, and "the experts" who are "anti-patriotic". Chairman Mao's words were rationally opposed and resisted by China's Khurshudov and by Tao Chu and company. Tao Chu said: "I think that at the present stage the task of reflecting the contradictions among the people should be put in the most important position." To say that "contradictions among the people" forms the "main contradiction," and that "the present stage" was a flagrant denial of the fact that the principal contradiction within the country was the struggle between the two classes and two roads. Tao Chu regarded the questions concerning the handful of counter-revolutionaries, renegades, Rightists and those in authority taking the capitalist road as "the people." The party and the masses has been in the forefront of the struggle against the bourgeoisie and counter-revolutionaries who had sneaked into the Party. Has Tao Chu "always been a revolutionary?" No, he has always been a counter-revolutionary! It can be said that at every turning point in history, he invariably and openly took the bourgeois stand and opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and socialism. His much vaunted "ideals" are bourgeois counter-revolutionary ideals, the reactionary ideals of protecting and developing capitalism, the idle dream of overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism in China.

For example:

(1) Tao Chu says: "The idea of socialism is to use every means to ensure rapid national industrialization." This is an out-and-out reactionary theory of "advance of industry first." It doesn't follow that the industrialized United States attained "socialism" long ago? For the achievement of industrialization, there are various means and two kinds of means — the socialist and the capitalist. To take the socialist road, it is essential to rely on the working class and the revolutionary masses, on the keeping of peace in the country, on the revolutionary consciousness and initiative of the hundreds of millions of people awakened by Mao Tse-tung's thought, so that the leadership of the proletariat is really held in hand by the proletarian revolutionaries. On the other hand, taking the capitalist road means reliance on a few bourgeois "experts," on material incentives and state power, and it is repeatedly advocated in Tao Chu's book, it means the usurpation of the leadership of the enterprises by a privileged stratum representing the interests of the bourgeoisie. What Tao Chu says is "economic democracy" is reliance on the bourgeoisie in order to develop the capitalist system of exploitation and oppose the socialist transformation of industry and commerce.

"The history of China in the last century or so is a history of receiving blows, and the reason is that it had no industry." Here Tao Chu talks like a bungling teacher of history giving us a lecture on the "history of China" to show how naturally a reversal of history. The main reason why the Chinese received blows in the 190 years from 1849 to 1949 is not that they had no industry, but that political power was in the hands of the lackeys of imperialism, in the hands of the reactionary bourgeois and the northern warlords down to Chiang Kai-shek. Ever since the seizure of power throughout China by the proletariat and masses, we have had the leadership of our great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the imperialists have had to stop and think how strong their snouts are before they try to attack us. The masses of China have now gone deeper and deeper the thought of Mao Tse-tung penetrates the consciousness of the people and the stronger the dictatorship of the proletariat is, the certain it is that no one will be able to match us in a war. This is the proletarian revolutionary ideal. To attract the receiving of blows in the past entirely to the lack of industry to cover up all the crimes of the vicous traitors and to pretyfy the Chinese lackeys of the international bourgeoisie who have tried to restore capitalism in the name of "developing industry." This chimes perfectly with the theory of national betrayal of China's Khurshudov! (2) Tao Chu says that "the idea of communism" means "comfortable houses." It is to "provide every room with electricity at night and radio, everybody to dress sparcely and ride in motor cars." In short, it means "good food, good clothing and good housing." It means pleasure-seeking, eating with a golden spoon, with a cheap "communist" label thrown in, to whoever gives him "good food and good housing." This is indeed the philosophy of the lowest traitors! Communist Party members and leaders should not have this kind of capitalism in essence — that is the definition of Tao Chu's "idea of communism." Wouldn't it follow from this definition that the life of the U.S. bourgeoisie perfectly fits the "idea of communism?"

(3) Tao Chu says that it is a "loyal" ideal always to work in the same environment as a navigator, aviator, scientist, writer, engineer, teacher . . . He lists one expert profession after another, but not the rank and file worker, peasant or soldier. In the eyes of this renegade from the proletariat, the revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers should rank very low. More than that, they should simply be condemned to eternal and bottomless perdition, without any hope of escape. At the other extreme is a long string of bourgeois "experts," the "high" ones, or even the "loftiest" place. "The bourgeoisie has taken part in the democratic movement. They have industrial know-how and are not as corrupt as the landlords and gentry," but by "experts," you refer not to proletarian specialists but to the bourgeoisie and their representatives in cultural circles. It is the consciousness of how to exploit the workers craftily and ruthlessly, and other similar knowledge. It is Tao Chu's "loyal" ideal to stage a counter-revolutionary come-back through those representatives of
the bourgeoisie who have climbed very high. Today, a number of very high bourgeois "authorities" have been pulled down by young revolutionary fighters.

Another of these great ideals is, in Tao Chu's words, "revolution—everybody to have personal ease of mind." In 1962, there is no indication that when the bourgeoisie launched wanton attacks on the proletariat and when evil spirits of all kinds danced in riotous and hideous fashion. But today, disappointed, Tao Chu, in order to give the bourgeoisie "ease of mind," included in his article "Thoughts on How to Make Creative Revolution and the Question about the bourgeois intellectuals as "Quite a number have become intellectuals of the working people," and "it is necessary to bring the enthusiasm of labouring intellectuals and the three family villages" people as Tien Han, Hsia Yen, Wu Han and Chien Po-tsan as well as Hai Jui, Wei Cheng, Li Hui-niang and the like, had all "become intellectuals of the working people." Wouldn't they now be able to prepare public opinion for a capitalist reconstruction with still greater vigour, after their label was removed by the people but with a fresh halo? Wouldn't they now be able to work to restore capitalism in comfort, with everybody happily leading a "bourgeois" life?

Either the proletariat or the bourgeoisie is bound to lack "ease of mind" — this is the inevitable consequence of class struggle. When the proletariat has "ease of mind," the bourgeoisie is bound to feel miserable. When the bourgeoisie has "ease of mind," the proletariat is bound to suffer. Either one or the other. Whoever calls for redressing the bourgeoisie's grievance that it does not have "ease of mind" only proves that he himself shares the very feelings of the bourgeoisie.

Tao Chu says that this "socialist ideal" of his is "beneficial to everybody," including the bourgeoisie. Socialism means the eradication of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. How can it be beneficial to the bourgeoisie? The "socialism" which is "beneficial to everybody" is phony socialism, 

The following is to be found among Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary utterances: "As to the meaning of politics, Dr. Sun Yat-sen has told us clearly: politics is the management of public affairs. Our 'management of public affairs' has the purpose of making our country prosperous and strong, making the people happy . . . that is, working for the people's interests, explaining reasons clearly and making people understand these reasons so that they join gladly and willingly in the work of building a socialist society.

Tao Chu shamelessly proclaimed that he was a student of Chiang Kai-shek. Or, more accurately, a flunky — for doesn't he sound like a flunky?

Calling politics "the management of public affairs" is the reactionary standpoint of the bourgeoisie exploiters. There is no such thing as "the public" in the abstract. In a class society the public is divided into classes. Nor is there such a thing as "management" in the abstract. In a class society management is invariably the handling of relations between the classes. Whether "fifty per cent of their language with socialist ideas" and thus try to cover up their evil capitalist nature is the most typical of revisionism. Both books were written by the same person, that is, in order to "grow happily and peacefully into socialism" and gain both fame and wealth. This is the best footnote to "over fifty per cent of "socialist ideas."

The "Spiritual Life of a Renegade and Flunky"

Would you like to know what kind of "spiritual life" is extolled in these two books? It is the reactionaries' capitulating philosophy plus the flunky mentality.

Tao Chu has engraved on his memory and learnt by rote the reactionary and decadent idealism of the Kuomintang of the time of Chiang Kai-shek. This "counter-revolutionary" stuff occupies pride of place in his "spiritual life." Only a renegade can emit such reactionary rubbish.

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Tao Chu takes all this over without any change. He writes; "First of all, it is necessary to understand what politics is. Probably you all know Dr. Sun Yat-sen. He said: 'Politics is the managing of public affairs.' Our 'management of public affairs' has the purpose of making our country prosperous and strong, making the people happy . . . that is, working for the people's interests, explaining reasons clearly and making people understand these reasons so that they join gladly and willingly in the work of building a socialist society."

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The phrases "the man with a foreknowledge and keen perception of things" and "the man with a backward knowledge and blunt perception of things" exclusively belong to the bourgeoisie, which empties things of their class content and is divorced from social practice. Chairman Mao points out that "the man with foreknowledge and keen perception of things" is a manifestation of "conscious thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society. The wrong ideas of the counter-revolutionary revisionists who will never repent and that diehard capitalist roaders who refuse to correct their errors after repeated education are that way not because they are "men with a backward knowledge and blunt perception of things," but because of their own class nature, which determines their obstinately taking the capitalist road. Similarly, the U.S. imperialist butchers and the renegade clique of the C.P.S.U. are that way not because they are "men with foreknowledge and keen perception of things," but because they are "men with a backward knowledge and blunt perception of things," and whatever tricks they play in the line they adopt, it is only the counter-revolutionaries of the U.S. monopoly capitalists and the Soviet bourgeois privileged stratum. As for the proletarian revolutionaries, the reason why they can smash all obstacles through and through is the cruel suppression by the handful of top Party capitalist roaders and win victory is not that they are "men with a foreknowledge and keen perception of things," but that they have grasped the thought of Mao Tse-tung, this theoretical weapon which is the quintessence of the highest wisdom of the proletariat of China and the world, and that they represent the interests of the proletariat and the working masses. Therefore, the more they fight, the stronger they become, and they are indomitable in all difficulties and are firmly maintained by the masses. Today, in advocating reactionary idealism such as that we have described, Tao Chu tries to make people believe that the bourgeoisie "will make great progress." In other words, he is trying to maintain capitalist social 

The expression "sincere unity" as used by Tao Chu is that word and language of the Kuomintang revolutionaries! Different classes give different interpretations of the identical term. We, too, occasionally use this term. Then it means unity with the "bourgeois" and strengthening the strength of the bourgeoisie in carrying out the revolutionary tasks of the proletariat. We always say, unity subject to a socialist orientation, and always maintain the principles of Marxism—Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. In contrast,
Tao Chu’s “sincere unity” discards all principle, betrays the socialist orientation and caters to the needs of the bourgeoisie. This is a combination of two contradictory aspects of a single entity. Without struggle, there is no unity. Unity is relative and transitional whereas struggle is absolute. Everything in this world is the core and driver of its development. Men’s knowledge always develops in struggle. As Chairman Mao points out: “Marxism can never drop only through struggle, and not only is this true of the past and the present, it is necessarily true of the future as well.” Where there is such an immutable “sincere unity” as Tao Chu’s? Chiang Kai-shek used the term “sincere unity” to cover up internal dog-fights and as a tool for instilling fascist ideas, whereas Tao Chu does something original—he puts up the signature of Marxism to disintegrate the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

The book also says: “The reason why victory could be won in the earlier period of the great revolution of 1923-27 was that Dr. Sun Yat-sen reorganized the Kuomintang in 1923 under the great policies ‘in conformity with’ the objective law of the revolution at that time.” It is a plain distortion of history and a reversal of the truth to attribute victory to the Kuomintang during the First Revolution—Civil War of 1925-27 not to the correct leadership and policies of the Communist Party of China represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, not to the struggles of the revolutionary people, but to the Kuomintang. It is not from the stand of the Kuomintang reactionaries. Isn’t he speaking with a traitor’s voice when he gives the fruits of victory won by the blood of countless revolutionary martyrs to the Kuomintang in order to please it?

Enough! Enough! Does not this vile talk reveal that behind Tao Chu’s “spiritual life” lies the realm of reactionary Kuomintang philosophy?

Besides the reactionary Kuomintang philosophy, his ideas are also allish from the sinister book on “self-cultivation.”

Doesn’t the book Iidea cheat our young people when it prates that “personal and collective interests cannot be separated,” “that if a person makes a show of doing well it will be good for ‘our’ account,” “be appreciated,” “be praised” and even “have his name spread to the whole country and the whole world”? This is a complete reproduction of the philistine speculator’s philosophy of the Khrushchov of China, the philosophy of “lose a little to gain a lot.” The top person in authority taking the capitalist road offered the representatives of the bourgeoisie an idea. He said: “Personal benefits will accrue if you serve the people whose words are not a mere summary of this bourgeois careerists’ experience in “getting on in the world” over several decades of his life and generalize the quintessence of the philosophy of life of this traitor to the proletariat. When used, their real objectives and understanding of this objective, such as “serve the people” and “collective interests” are falsehood and deception, they are employed for show, they are the means, whereas personal interests in fact are their real enjoyment are real, they are the ends they pursue, representing the essence of their dirty souls. This is the trick devised by the typical Bourgeoisie double-dealers to sneak into the ranks of the revolutionaries and to seize power.

Don’ts the book Iidea cheat the young people when it says: “Our common world outlook together with our common method of working out the solutions in proceeding from objective reality, in admitting that right is right and wrong is wrong”? This, too, is merchandise bought from China’s Khrushchov. In class society, there are distinct class criteria for right and wrong. Reality means, first of all, the reality of class struggle: do you stand on the side of the proletariat or on the side of the bourgeoisie? On the side of imperialism or on the side of the revolutionary people? On the side of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung’s thought, or on the side of revisionism? On the side of the proletarian headquaters headed by Chairman Mao or on the side of the counter-revolutionary bourgeois headquarters? Using the abstractions of right and wrong to cover up their class enemies or the common characteristic of opportunists who have sold their souls. In May 1949, China’s Khrushchov said at a press conference: “it is ridiculous to say that the newspapers were not well run. I said that indeed they were not altogether well run. I admitted this mistake too.” To conclude, Mao Tse-tung said: “the attitude: right is right, wrong is wrong, good is good, bad is bad. . . . If there is anything good about the capitalists, we should say it’s good; if there is anything bad about them, we should say it’s bad.” Look how he “proceeded from reality!” “Where there is anything good about the capitalists, we should say it’s good; if there is anything bad about them, we should say it’s bad.” What a fair judge he is! What a clearly defined approach to "right and wrong" this scab takes! See how this insolent functionary of the Soviet Union uses this masters’ “goodness”! How obvious is his hypocrisy when he condemns the workers for being “bad”? Judges and the author have themselves memorized the soul-selling philosophy of China’s Khrushchov!

The book Iidea misrepresents dialectical materialism. The view that one principle, while thinking is only secondary, the objective is primary while the subjective is only secondary, total- tally denying man’s dynamic role, the leap from matters of representation to matters of understanding, the dialectical process of practice, knowledge- edge, again practice, again knowledge . . . in the development of man’s knowledge. This is certainly not dialectical materialism but reactionary metaphysics. Tao Chu, by his use of the method to comprehend the objective world is to transform it in accordance with the laws inherent in the development of things. If one negates the transformation of the objective world, the struggle to push history forward, doesn’t the statement that “the objective is primary” become empty words on a sheet of paper? But this criticism alone is far from sufficient. It must be understood that the reason why he advocates this mechanical or vulgar materialism is to spread opportunism of a certain kind, under which one drifts with the current and is ready to sell out the interests of the proletariat in order to serve the bourgeoisie. Isn’t that true? The bourgeoisie can be said to have an objective existence. One may proceed from the stand of the bourgeoisie, follow its words and take its interests as the criterion, “right is right and wrong is wrong,” in this way the restoration of capitalism can be brought about, the truth being reduced to facts” and dialectical materialism. These tricks can be seen through once their true nature is exposed.

Feelings of Bitter Hatred Towards the Proletariat

In May 1959, just before the revisionist Peng Teh-huai dished up his sinister programme in a desperate effort to restore capitalism, Tao Chu, in his article entitled “Peking’s second policy” viciously abused our great socialist cause, our great Party and our great leader. On the one hand, he said that people used the words “the east is red, the sun rises” to “degrade the activity of our great cause” and that they “eulogize our Party and leader by likening them to the sun.” On the other hand, he attacked the “faults” of the sun openly and railed obliquely: “In the depth of summer when the glaring sun is scorching the earth and making people sweat, they grumble and say that the sun’s light and heat are excessive. And as everyone knows, and has pointed out, our sun has black spots on it.”

“The sun itself has black spots on it.” Is this not downright invertive against our Party and great leader? In Tao Chu’s eyes not only are there “black spots,” but socialism is altogether pitch black. For those who see with bourgeois eyes, brightness and darkness are reversed. They are blindly than the blind. In the view of this revisionist, the radiance of socialism shed by the sun is intolerable to those in authority taking the capitalist road, it reveals their true nature, and is “excessive.” This is where the “faults” of the sun lie. In fact, this is precisely why the sun is great. Monsters and demons, bedbugs and lice, germs and viruses which hide in dark corners can only be killed when they are exposed to sunlight. Most of the people are tempered and get stronger in the sunshine. How can one get strong without sweating in the sun? To condemn the sun’s “light and heat” is in fact to condemn the proletariat persona. What is the psychology of those who speak of the people’s complaints for their “excesses.” This naked bourgeois double-talk only shows him up as a ghost that dares not face the light of the sun.

In “The Character of the Pine,” does not Tao Chu praise the pine for her dignity? Must the burning out in summer? “The brilliance of Mao Tse-tung’s thought cannot be shut out. He who is bent on challenging brightness can only sink from darkness into deeper darkness.

It is noteworthy that the phrase “eulogize our Party and leader by likening them to the sun” was suddenly changed into “eulogize our great, glorious and correct Party by likening it to the sun” in the second edition of Iidea which came out in June 1965. This dodge which was meant to cover up his vicious purpose actually exposes it more flagrantly and perfectly reveals his guilty conscience. He cut out the word “leader.” Does not this indicate that the “error” that existed between 1959 and 1962, when he wrote this article and published this book, he directed his spearhead at our great Party and our great leader? This could be only, that he was not content to denounce the “error” definitively, but hastily cut it out? He added the words “great, glorious and correct” before “Party.” Does not this precisely indicate that he did not mean to use this phrase to eulogize our great, glorious and correct when he wrote his article and published his book? Otherwise, why should he hastily add them? He had a guilty conscience. He could be only sezing of to bray him. That is why he was in such a pother. Nevertheless, the rephrasing mentioned above inadvertantly revealed his Party line and Chairman Mao in coordination with Peng Teh-huai and company—a ironclad fact which he can never succeed in denying.

By late September 1959, the Lushan Meeting of the Party Central Committee had ended, the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique had been expelled and the rabid attack launched by the revisionists had been smothered. The so-called “Second World War,” as the “revisionist” this revisionist Tao Chou was compelled to go through the motions of expressing dissatisfaction with “a few persons” who “took a keen interest in the shortcomings in our Party” and then to say he “never have referred to?” Did they not include Tao Chou himself? Was it not he that ordered the press, in one of his articles, to “publish the shortcomings and errors in our work,” and for the first time “they were but a single finger as compared with nine”? Weren’t he the person who was keen on exposing what he called the “dark side” and “black spots” of socialism? This cannot...
We must fully develop the writers' freedom of creation. The writer's pen is his own and the writers themselves are his reporters and the writers' independence of creation. This is a new counter-revolutionary rationale slogan straight out of the bourgeois concept. To deprive the writers' freedom in the concrete, to deprive freedom in the abstract. In class society there is only class freedom; there is no freedom above class. All works of literature and art serve the politics of the ruling class. Literature and art detached from class politics nor can there be any. Whatever their particular form of expression, the ideas of any person, including the writer, are "ideas of the ruling class" or "ideas of the bourgeoisie." They are a manifestation of the ideas, interests and aspirations of definite classes and the reflection of class relations in a given society. Do the 700 million Chinese people have 700 million kinds of "ideas of their own?" Certainly not. Fundamentally they fall into only two kinds—one is the world outlook of the proletariat, or Mao Tse-tung's thought; the other is the world outlook of the bourgeoisie, or bourgeois individualism of every kind. To advocate "freedom of creation" or "independence of creation" which depart from Mao Tse-tung's thought is nothing but a flag-leaf to attack socialism and propagate capitalism, and to deprive the proletarian revolutionsaries of all freedom of counter-attack, thus serving the criminal intrigue and diabolical plot of the bourgeois revolutionaries. We should distinguish between the main current and the minor currents of the bourgeoisie. Only when we focus on the main current can we give a typical presentation of the essence of social advance. Minor currents merely offer a contrast to the main current and can be used as means to present the essence, forming a subordinate aspect of the main current. We should not present the minor currents as the main current. We should not present the main current as the main content of literature and art. We should centre our efforts mainly on the main current and sharply criticize the minor currents.

"Life is many-sided. It does not conform to one pattern. So don't confine it within a fixed framework. This is nothing but the "theory of opposition subject to matter as the decisive factor." Using the pretexts of opposing "a fixed framework," "a linear outlook," "a single theme," "a single character" to twist the story development of a series of literary works, the writers do their best to reflect the class struggle in the socialist era, sing the praises of the workers, peasants and soldiers, praising the exploited classes. "Life is many-sided." Actually, it has two main sides. One is the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat to reconstruct the world-shaking masses who guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, push history forward. The other is the rotten reactionary life of the bourgeois reactionaries, waging peace, order and stability, presenting the "bad side." We take the militant life of the proletarian revolutionaries who are really conscious of their historical task as the principal aspect, as our orientation and as the central theme for praise and portrayal, and through the portrayal of typical heroes, reflect our uncompromising heroism in defending and achieving the triumph of Mao Tse-tung's thought. As for the reactionary rotten life of the bourgeoisie, it can serve as a useful corrective, as a target for criticism, as a distinct aspect and must never serve as the main side of creative works.

So long as literature and art "truthfully reflect reality...to me, their role at times is no less important than the images created in works of literature and art show the political tendencies of the writers and artists, themselves. That is why it is so important..." No, it is not. Society advances through class struggle. The revolutionary forces of the proletariat invariably blaze their way forward in fierce struggle with the counter-revolutionary forces of the bourgeoisie. Only by making typical historical generalization of the contentions and class struggles can one bright, the victorious and the heroic be portrayed in all their depth and grandeur, making people feel in their hearts. The revolutionary people will sweep Mao Tse-tung's thought into the dustbin of history, along with his dark soul.

See Through the Khrushchov-type Careerists

From the several aspects mentioned above, people can easily see that Mao Tse-tung is nothing but a big Rightist who manages the slip of the net, a revisionist, a loyal executioner and propagandist of the reactionary bourgeois line represented by China's Khrushchov, a counter-revolutionary double-dealer who seeks to infiltrate into the socialist revolutionary system of Kuomintang philosophy and the other germs spread by his books must be thoroughly wiped out.

Tao Chu is a careerist of the Khrushchov type. He sticks stubbornly to the capitalist political orientation of his faction and digests the doctrines after capitalism day and night. His "ideals" in politics, culture and life are nothing but a capitalist restor tionalist line and the propagandists of the reactionary world outlook of the exploiting classes, such as the philosophy of traitors and the idea of "the scholar dies for the bosom friend." However, in his efforts not to be exposed under the dictatorship of the proletariat, he cannot but disguise himself in a revolutionary cloak. This fellow is extremely crooked. He is a double-dealer who talks big, now eloquent and now insinuating; such is his familiar performance. But on the fundamental question of which road to take, whether for the capitalist or the socialist road, he can be promptly stripped of his disguise and his true features can be laid bare when he is thrown into the social and political arena. Aren't these two books ironclad proof of his taking the capitalist road?

All careerists of the Khrushchov type are conspiratorial usurpers of Party leadership. In order to gain the support for their submissive policy, they have been putting forwardChairman Mao, oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought and oppose the proletarian revolutionaries, they resort to all kinds of tricks and intrigues to expand the power held by a handful of revolutionaries and they shamelessly boost themselves. Tao Chu came out with these two books not only to advance his revisionist opinion for a capitalist restoration, but also as a means of expanding the power held by a handful of revolutionaries. He openly unloads his poison into these two books to prepare public opinion for the seizure of power from the proletarian headquarters. When
Tao Chu came from his regional post to the central organ of leadership, he extended his reach so far and wide and within a few months exposed his mania desire to seize power from the proletariat so strikingly, stopping at nothing in recruiting deserters and turncoats, buying over bad elements who had already been exposed by the revolutionary people, opposing the Central Committee of the Party headed by Chairman Mao and attacking the revolutionaries, that none of his double-dealing tricks could cover up his counter-revolutionary ambition any longer. Can we not draw an important lesson from this negative example and learn how to see through persons of the Khrushchov type?

Tao Chu is a despicable pragmatist. He has the speculator's glib talk. In order to peddle revisionism and to oppose and attack what he called dogmatism — actually Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung's thought — he appeared as an ultra-Rightist one minute and on the extreme "Left" the next. In this way, he corrupted, confused and hoodwinked those who waver in the middle of the road, so as to protect himself from being exposed. After he took charge of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee, Tao Chu became the faithful agent of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in suppressing the revolutionary masses. He did his utmost to oppose Chairman Mao's great big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters." He tried his best to protect the monsters. But when the masses rose to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, with a twist of the body he made a sudden change and appeared in the guise of an ultra "Left" anarchist. He shouted himself hoarse that "in the great cultural revolution, it is correct to doubt everyone and everything." "I am all for bombardment in general... nobody knows what the headquarters really represent, and that goes for every headquarters." "You can oppose anybody." He "creatively" developed the bourgeois reactionary line of "hitting hard at the many in order to protect a handful." He appeared to be surprisingly "Left," but in fact he was "Left" in form and Right in essence. His purpose was to blur the distinction between the proletarian headquarters and the bourgeois headquarters, and direct the spearhead of attack at the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao so that the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road could sneak away in the confusion. "To doubt everyone and everything" and the like are designed to deal with the proletarian headquarters. "To doubt everyone and everything" except himself, "to overthrow everyone" except himself — isn't there something fishy here? Comrades, please note that there are now a handful of counter-revolutionaries who are adopting the same method. Using slogans that sound extremely "Left" but in essence are extremely Right, they have stirred up evil gusts of "doubting everyone," while bombarding the proletarian headquarters, creating dissension and exploiting confusion. To achieve their sinister ulterior aim, they have vainly attempted to shake and split the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. The organizers and manipulators of the so-called "May 16" group are just such a scheming counter-revolutionary gang. It must be thoroughly exposed.

The deepening of the class struggle and the victories of the proletarian revolutionaries compel the enemies constantly to change their tactics of struggle. When one counter-revolutionary scheme of theirs is seen through, they resort to another and they use these devices alternately. But these degenerates can never escape detection by Mao Tsetung's thought which discovers the minutest detail in everything. In the present victorious situation, we must give full attention to the general orientation of the struggle, to safeguarding the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, to carrying through the unified plan for battle decided upon by Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party, to mastering policies and tactics, to uniting the great majority and to preventing such characters as Tao Chu from creating confusion in our ranks, from either the Right, or the "Left," or both sides simultaneously. When the forces of the Left make mistakes, the forces of the Right exploit them. This has always been so. In the current movement of mass criticism and repudiation, we should arrive at a still deeper understanding of this fact by summing up the historical experience of class struggle.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is surging forward like a mighty torrent. The brilliant rays of Mao Tse-tung's thought are lighting up all China and the entire world. China's proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary people are courageous. We are determined to carry this great revolution through to the end. The counter-offensives, attacks, rumours and sowing of discord by the handful of capitalist robbers in authority, and all the different kinds of slander, distortion, vilification and clamour coming from the imperialists, the reactionaries of all countries and the modern revisionists, definitely cannot prevent our advance but will only prove these same persons to be thoroughly stupid and at the end of their tether. Comrades, let us raise our hands and hail this great storm which is cleansing the vast land of China! Mao Tse-tung's thought is invincible. The people's strength is inexhaustible. What is new-born and revolutionary is irresistible. People will see that, after traversing the magnificent and tortuous path of the great cultural revolution, a great socialist China under the dictatorship of the proletariat, unprecedentedly strong, consolidated and unified, will tower in the East like a giant and deal still heavier blows at the cannibals of the 20th century.

(Slightly abridged)