

## APPENDIX 7

### **A COMPLETE REVERSAL OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN OURSELVES AND THE ENEMY**

**—Criticizing the “gang of four” for distorting Chairman Mao’s directive on the bourgeoisie being “right in the Communist Party”**

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This year marks the 20th anniversary of the publication of *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* by our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao. He pointed out in this work that in the socialist revolution it is imperative to correctly distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from the contradictions among the people and handle them correctly, that it is impermissible to confound these two types of contradictions which are different in nature, still less to turn the relations between ourselves and the enemy upside down.

#### **How to Understand That the Bourgeoisie Is Right in the Communist Party?**

Who are the targets of the socialist revolution? And where should the spearhead of the struggle be directed? This is a fundamental question for the socialist revolution and Chairman Mao put forward a series of scientific theses concerning it. With the in-depth development of the socialist revolution, he issued another important directive in 1976: **“You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don’t know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party—those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road.”** Opposing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique, for ulterior motives, distorted this directive by twisting Chairman Mao’s statement about the existence of capitalist-roaders in the Party to mean the presence of a bourgeois class in the Party. They further alleged that this bourgeois class was composed of what they called democrats who made up 70 or 80 per cent of the veteran cadres and that the democrats becoming

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capitalist-readers was an inevitable rule. Using the mass media in its hands, the “gang of four” churned out numerous articles and statements to publicize this nonsense. The motive was to overthrow, as a reactionary class, a large number of responsible Party, government and army comrades of the central authorities and various localities who uphold Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, thereby clearing the way for them to usurp Party and state power, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and establish a fascist dictatorship.

The “gang of four” frequently clamoured: “The capitalist-readers who are still on the capitalist road are a whole layer of people” and “this whole layer of people is a problem that needs to be solved.” Just what did they mean by “a whole layer of people”? An explanation of this, nebulous and yet full of import, was given by the counter-revolutionary hack-writer Yao Wen-yuan who remarked: “It is all right to speak of a whole layer of people; but, in writing it is still necessary to refer to it as a class.” The mass media then under the gang’s control put it even more bluntly: “Chairman Mao says the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party. It is our view that the bourgeoisie he is talking about here refers to a class as a whole.”

This absurd view presented by the “gang of four” through the mass media under its control maliciously distorted the meaning of Chairman Mao’s directive that the bourgeoisie is **“right in the Communist Party.”** Having pointed that **“the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party,”** Chairman Mao immediately added these words: **“those in power taking the capitalist road.”** If one reads the whole sentence, it is quite clear that the bourgeoisie referred to by Chairman Mao here means those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. Chairman Mao had expounded this idea on many occasions. **“Those in power taking the capitalist road”**—this scientific concept was put forward by Chairman Mao in two previous documents: *Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas* in 1965, and the *Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* in 1966. In the May 16, 1966 *Circular* of the Party Central Committee, he again put forward the scientific concept on **“those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture.”** Those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road and the representatives of the bourgeoisie in the Party, as referred to by Chairman Mao, are one and the same concept. Unless someone intentionally wants to distort the meaning, it is quite obvious that when Chairman Mao said that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party, he meant those in power taking the capitalist road or the representatives of the bourgeoisie in the

Party.

Why is it that representatives of the bourgeoisie can emerge in the Communist Party? This is because inner-Party struggle is not isolated but is always a reflection of the class struggle in society. The proletariat and the bourgeoisie are two antagonistic classes coexisting in a single social entity. They struggle against each other and at the same time are interconnected and interpenetrate politically, ideologically and organizationally. Bourgeois representatives inevitably emerge in the Party as a result of bourgeois penetration of the proletariat. Indeed, there have always been representatives of the bourgeoisie in our Party from the day of its founding in 1921. The main political representatives of the bourgeoisie at that time, however, were not in the Party but outside the Party. In the period of the new-democratic revolution, our Party's struggle against imperialism, big landlords and the big bourgeoisie found expression, in a concentrated form, in our struggle against their political representative, namely, Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang.

After the Kuomintang reactionaries were toppled, other political representatives of the bourgeoisie outside the Party began emerging, such as the Chang-Lo alliance\* which appeared in 1957. After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was in the main completed in 1956 and the socialist revolution won a decisive victory on the political and ideological fronts, the political representatives of the bourgeoisie outside the Party fell into disrepute. Thus, it became increasingly difficult for them to take command and openly engage the proletariat in a trial of strength in their bid to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under these historical conditions, as the socialist revolution deepens, a question of great importance, both in theory and practice, arises: Is the bourgeoisie still around? Does class struggle still exist? Where after all are the main political representatives of the bourgeoisie? In view of this situation, Chairman Mao advanced the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and brought up the issue of **“those in power taking the capitalist road.”** This points to the fact that the emphasis of our Party's struggle against the bourgeoisie has shifted to within the Party and those Party persons taking the capitalist road have become the chief representatives of the bourgeoisie.

When members of the “gang of four” and the mass media under their control spread the idea that there was a bourgeois class inside the Party, they completely ignored the fundamentals of Marxism. It is

\*This refers to Chang Po-chun and Lo Lung-chi, ringleaders of the bourgeois Rightists who attacked the Party in 1957. The aim of this reactionary alliance was to overthrow the Chinese Communist Party, and replace the dictatorship of the proletariat in China with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

common knowledge that a society is divided into classes and political parties are political groupings representing certain classes. It is true that political parties emanate from classes, but never the other way around. Inside the party of the proletariat, representatives of the bourgeoisie or bourgeois factions do and will inevitably emerge, but certainly not a bourgeois class. When the “gang of four” insisted on saying there was a bourgeois class inside the Communist Party of China, they were trying to negate our Party’s proletarian nature.

### **Do Veteran Cadres Inevitably Become Capitalist-Roaders?**

The “gang of four” propagated through the mass media the view that the “bourgeoisie inside the Party” evolved from the veteran cadres who had joined the Party in the period of the democratic revolution. They claimed this was “an irrevocable law” and the “dialectics of history” and so on and so forth. Chiang Ching said: “Over 75 per cent of the veteran cadres inevitably change from being democrats to capitalist-roaders.” What were the democrats like according to the gang and its mass media? They used the strategem of borrowing words from Marx, Engels and Lenin describing the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats of their times to smear our cadres who had joined the Party during the period of China’s new-democratic revolution. Marx and Engels were talking about the old democrats of 19th-century Western Europe and Lenin was speaking of the old democrats of Russia at the beginning of the 20th century. These old democrats of Western Europe and Russia certainly cannot be equated with our Party cadres who joined the Party in the new-democratic revolution before the founding of New China and the revolutionary and historical conditions they lived under were entirely different.

The majority of our veteran Party cadres who joined the revolution during that period took part in the democratic revolution not as old bourgeois democrats but as Communists fighting for the cause of communism. They took part in the democratic revolution not merely to carry out the historical mission of overthrowing imperialism and feudalism in a thoroughgoing way but also to build socialism and finally realize the ideal of communism in China. In *On Democracy* (sic) published in 1940 and his other works, Chairman Mao dealt in an all-round way with the theory, line and policies of the new-democratic revolution. These writings also showed the distinction and the inter-relationship between the democratic and socialist revolutions in China. They further armed the Chinese Communists and revolutionary people ideologically and enabled most Party members to see clearly that their taking part in the democratic revolution was to prepare conditions for the socialist

revolution.

Though varying in degree with one another, most cadres who joined the Party in the period of the new-democratic revolution were ideologically prepared for the socialist revolution that would follow. In that period our Party always attached great importance to educating Party members in communism. Whether in the revolutionary army units, the revolutionary base areas or regions under the rule of the reactionaries, Party cadres and most Party members maintained close ties with the labouring people wherever they worked. They had a strong sense of proletarian organization and discipline and led an extremely hard life in the long revolutionary struggles. All this shows that they had a high-level proletarian consciousness. As the backbone force in the revolutionary struggles in the new-democratic revolution, they united and led the masses in waging most arduous struggles against the class enemies, stood severe tests and tempered themselves.

The revolutionary task of our Party in this period was to overthrow the big bourgeoisie, which was an important component part of the entire bourgeoisie, and abolish bureaucrat capital which accounted for a large proportion of the capitalist economy. We had established the socialist publicly owned economy and the semi-socialist co-operative economy in every revolutionary base area and upheld the leadership of the proletariat represented by the Communist Party. All these were factors of socialism in the new-democratic revolution. It was precisely because the Party members had, to some extent, ideologically prepared themselves for socialism that, in the more than 25 years of socialist revolution since the founding of New China, the majority of the veteran cadres have been able, under the leadership of the Party and working together with new cadres, to lead the people of the whole country in accomplishing the socialist transformation of the means of production and winning victories in many major struggles in the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. Particularly, they have tempered themselves in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Thanks to all this, their level of consciousness in socialist revolution has been greatly enhanced. Therefore, they have nothing in common with that type of bourgeois democrats of Western Europe and Russia or the old democrats outside the Party in our country.

Does this mean that every cadre who joined the Party in the period of the new-democratic revolution was fully prepared ideologically for the socialist revolution at the time? No. They knew then that a socialist revolution would follow, and as far as this is concerned, they were mentally prepared. But how should the socialist revolution be carried out, what problems might arise in the course of the revolution, how should these problems be solved and other questions can only be raised and

grasped by people through revolutionary practice and in the course of its development. Moreover, owing to the difference in class origin, in background and experience, and in education, tempering and level of political consciousness, their ideological preparation and understanding of various problems arising during the socialist revolution inevitably vary in degree. As far as this goes, they were at that time inadequately prepared ideologically for the socialist revolution. As Chairman Mao pointed out, among the veteran cadres there are some comrades who still remain at the stage of the bourgeois democratic revolution ideologically and who fail to understand the socialist revolution, are at loggerheads with it and even oppose it.

The "gang of four" and the mass media it controlled asserted that cadres who had joined the Party in the period of the new-democratic revolution "have only the experience of taking the capitalist road." The gang could not understand that it is just because our Party has a great number of such veteran cadres who participated in the new-democratic revolution and accumulated a wealth of experience that our country's socialist revolution and construction can have developed rather smoothly. Lenin made the following appraisal of Marx and Engels who took part in the struggle of the democratic revolution: **"They both became socialists after being democrats, and the democratic feeling of hatred for political despotism was exceedingly strong in them. This direct political feeling, combined with a profound theoretical understanding of the connection between political despotism and economic oppression, and also their rich experience of life, made Marx and Engels uncommonly responsive politically."** (*Frederick Engels.*) Lenin's remark reveals the truth—how very important and valuable it is for people taking part in socialist revolution to have rich experience in democratic revolution.

Chairman Mao said that the prolonged struggles in our country's democratic revolution **"have trained not only a large core of cadres capable of running the Party and the state, but also a large core of cadres capable of running the army. These achievements are the flower of the revolution, watered by the blood of countless martyrs, a glory that belongs not only to the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, but also to the Communist Parties and the peoples of the whole world."** (*Problems of War and Strategy.*) A greater part of this large force later becomes the important core of the leadership of the Party, government and army at various levels in the period of socialist revolution. Under Chairman Mao's leadership, they have played a still greater role for the great cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Moreover, our Party's revolutionary line and fine traditions and working methods are not without their source; they originate from the

practice of the great revolutionary struggle and are the scientific summary of the experience gained in the long and complex revolutionary struggles of the masses led by our Party cadres and Party members.

Veteran cadres are our Party's valuable assets not only because they have taken part in this practice themselves, but also because they have been able to apply this experience to various complicated situations. The "gang of four's" slander that veteran cadres "have only the experience of taking the capitalist road" actually amounts to a total negation of the great practice of China's new-democratic revolution and socialist revolution, and hence a complete denial of Mao Tsetung Thought which integrates the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. This fully reveals that the gang is completely ignorant of the Chinese revolution led by Chairman Mao and harbours inveterate hatred for it.

It is an inevitable historic phenomenon that some people of petty-bourgeois origin who joined the political party of the proletariat during the democratic revolution brought with them various non-proletarian ideas and political demands. As Lenin pointed out: **"And there is nothing bad about that. The historic task of the proletariat is to assimilate, re-school, re-educate all the elements of the old society that the latter bequeaths it in the shape of offshoots of the petty bourgeoisie."** (*The Faction of Supporters of Otzovism and God-Building.*) Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of the Chinese revolution show that the proletariat is the greatest class in human history and, ideologically, politically and in strength, it is the most powerful revolutionary class and can assimilate elements of petty-bourgeois origin and re-educate them into proletarian revolutionary fighters to augment its own strength. At the same time, it can preserve the purity of its ranks by purging those persons who, in the test of revolutionary struggle, have shown themselves to be retaining their original class stand and have refused to be re-educated. The building up of our Party over more than 50 years under the guidance of Chairman Mao's thinking on Party building has been a process in which the Party has continually replenished and expanded its ranks.

This process of assimilating and culling is particularly marked in our Party building. This is because China is a country with an extremely large petty bourgeoisie and our Party has a very large membership from this class which virtually surrounds it. This unusual social condition makes the struggle to resist encroachment by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology and the task of re-educating and remoulding Party members extremely arduous for our Party. At the same time, however, the fact that the main form of China's revolution was armed struggle involving long years of bitter fighting under extremely harsh cir-

cumstances provided favourable conditions for re-educating and remoulding these Party members.

Under Chairman Mao's leadership, the great majority of our Party members have stood the severe test of the protracted revolutionary struggle and unswervingly followed the Party in continuing the revolution. Some failed to do so. They stagnated and fell by the wayside, and even became renegades. This inevitably occurs in the course of a revolution. It has happened before and will happen again, but always only an extremely small minority is involved. When Chairman Mao made his basic appraisal of Party cadres during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, he said: **"We must be confident that over 90 per cent of the cadres are good or comparatively good. Most of the cadres who have made mistakes can correct them."** This is a Marxist appraisal and completely accords with the actual situation regarding our cadres in the present period of China's socialist revolution.

Representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the Party may be very few in number but the harm they do to the revolution is very great. Under certain circumstances, they can cause the revolution enormous setbacks, even bringing about defeat. This has happened many times in the history of our Party. As all power is in the hands of our Party in the period of socialist revolution, representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, particularly those in power taking the capitalist road like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and members of the "gang of four" who usurped important Party and government posts, the harm they do to the revolution is even more serious. They present the main danger of a capitalist restoration. This fully explains why Chairman Mao's directive about bourgeoisie being **"right in the Communist Party"** is of extreme importance and great significance.

The "gang of four" wantonly trampled upon the Marxist-Leninist theory on Party building and distorted the history and prevailing situation of our Party. In their view, the majority of our veteran Party cadres were not only all democrats of the old school when they joined the democratic revolution, but during the long struggle of the new-democratic revolution and socialist revolution these comrades stopped where they were politically and ideologically, or even had gone to the extent of being enamoured of developing capitalism. According to the gang's logic, not only were they not remoulded, assimilated or rejected by the political party of the proletariat, their numbers in the Party continually increased and expanded to such an extent that today they have all turned into people in power taking the capitalist road and have emerged in the Party as a whole bourgeois class. If this "theory" of theirs holds water, then doesn't it mean that the constant education the cadres received from Chairman Mao, the ideological struggles within



the Party and the long years of revolutionary practice have had no effect at all in heightening the political-ideological level of Party members and in purifying the ranks of the Party? If this were the case, the victories of the new-democratic revolution and socialist revolution in China would have been inconceivable.

### **The Gang's Motive in Reversing the Relations Between Ourselves and the Enemy**

The “gang of four’s” distortion of Chairman Mao’s directive about bourgeoisie being **“right in the Communist Party”** has turned upside down the relations between ourselves and the enemy in the socialist revolution. The “bourgeoisie inside the Party” they spoke of certainly does not mean the handful of Party persons in power really taking the capitalist road; they were in fact trying to unjustifiably pin this label on the majority of veteran cadres who joined the Party in the period of the democratic revolution. They made it very clear: “The targets of the revolution today are the democrats who lived on chaff in the old society, were wounded in the war against Japanese aggression, fought in the War of Liberation and crossed the Yalu River during the war of resistance to U.S. aggression and aiding Korea.” They wanted to “ferret out a whole layer of people” which included such outstanding senior proletarian revolutionaries as our respected and beloved Premier Chou. Of course, members of the “gang of four” were not limiting themselves to overthrowing veteran cadres. New cadres who did not follow them were labelled capitulationists and indiscriminately overthrown also. In doing this, the gang was not overthrowing just a number of people. In cruelly suppressing Chinese Communist Party members, it was also out to denigrate the history of our great, glorious and correct Party and thoroughly wreck it.

Why was the gang so hostile to the old comrades who had followed Chairman Mao for decades in making revolution? Why were they so hellbent on hounding such comrades to death? It has now become startlingly clear. They were a bunch of ruthless counter-revolutionaries who had secreted themselves inside our Party. As Chairman Hua pointed out: “The ‘gang of four’ is in fact a sinister gang of these new and old-time counter-revolutionaries.” They were typical representatives of the bourgeoisie within the Communist Party, typical representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang hidden in the Communist Party, and unrepentant capitalist-roaders still on the capitalist road. For a long time, they decked themselves out inside the Party as revolutionaries while practising revisionism, creating splits and engaging in intrigues and conspiracies in a vain attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the

proletariat and set up a fascist dictatorship and restore capitalism. To realize this counter-revolutionary aim, they cooked up this counter-revolutionary “theory” which made genuine proletarian revolutionaries the targets of “revolution” while prettifying themselves, a bunch of ultra-Rightists, as “revolutionary” leaders.

In collusion with Lin Piao, the “gang of four” long used the counter-revolutionary tactic of “waving Chairman Mao’s banner to attack Chairman Mao’s forces.” They always seized the opportunity to take over Chairman Mao’s directives and wantonly distorted and falsified them so that they came to mean something totally different. At one time or another over the years, they spewed forth counter-revolutionary nonsense such as “the contradiction between the new cultural revolution group and the old government,” opposing “the big Confucianist inside the Party” and “making opposition to empiricism the key link.” Last year, the gang carefully concocted the plot to distort Chairman Mao’s directive concerning bourgeoisie being “**right in the Communist Party**” to mean there was a bourgeois class in the Communist Party. This vastly advanced the counter-revolutionary fallacies the gang had been disseminating for a long time and made their counter-revolutionary “theory” even more deceptive. This “theory” of theirs became central to all their counter-revolutionary utterances. Their 1976 hue and cry about “ferreting out layer after layer of capitalist-roaders,” “ferreting out the bourgeoisie in the army,” their clamour that literary and art works must have as their theme “models of democrats turning into capitalist-roaders” and their maligning the criticism of capitalism as “big capitalism out to fix little capitalism,” and so on were all centred on this “theory.” Their counter-revolutionary propaganda made people very confused. Politically and organizationally, it caused immense damage.

Carrying out Chairman Mao’s behests, our brilliant leader Chairman Hua smashed at one stroke the “gang of four” and exposed their counter-revolutionary features. The whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country today are holding high the revolutionary banner of Chairman Mao, studying Chairman Mao’s thesis on the two types of social contradictions which are different in nature, thoroughly criticizing the “gang of four’s” distortions of Chairman Mao’s directives, thereby wiping out the gang’s counter-revolutionary influence politically, ideologically and theoretically.