

Fight for the Thorough Criticism and Repudiation of the Top Party Person in Authority Taking the Capitalist Road

OUR great supreme commander Chairman Mao has taught us that we "must especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchov and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level."

The great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao is a struggle to carry the socialist revolution through to the end, a great political movement to uproot revisionism, prevent capitalist restoration, and ensure that our Party will not degenerate and our country will never change political colour. In this movement, a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road have been exposed, as well as the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, their chief boss behind-the-scenes. This is a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought, a great victory of the proletarian revolutionary line Chairman Mao represents.

The bugle call for the thorough criticism and repudiation of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was sounded by the three articles published in *Hongqi*: "Patriotism or National Betrayal?", "The Bourgeois Reactionary Line on the Question of Cadres Must Be Criticized and Repudiated" and "Hit Hard at Many in Order to Protect a Handful' Is a Component Part of the Bourgeois Reactionary Line." A mass movement to thoroughly criticize and repudiate the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is now developing both in breadth and in depth throughout the country and the army.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, obstinately taking a reactionary stand, opposes the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the period of the democratic revolution, time and again he pursued the line of capitulation to the bourgeoisie. As early as on the eve of the War of Resistance Against Japan, he vociferously propagated the philosophy of survival above all, and of the turncoat, ordering some "Communists" in jail to surrender to the class enemy. Later, he shielded them, recruiting deserters and accepting traitors and forming cliques for the pursuit of his own selfish interests. He allowed them to steal their way into important positions. After victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, he loudly advertised the "new stage of peace and democracy," preparing to go down on his knees and capitulate to U.S. imperialism and the Kuomintang. Following the liberation

of the whole country and the seizure of state power by the proletariat, he did his utmost to oppose the socialist revolution and advocated putting capitalism into operation. In 1949, he put forward the idea of welcoming capitalist exploitation and developing capitalism. In 1950, he called the traitorous reactionary film *Inside Story of the Ching Court* "patriotic"; he advocated vigorous efforts to foster the type of rich peasant "who owns three horses, a plough and a cart" and opposed labour-exchange teams, mutual-aid teams and the development of the collective economy, raising a cry for "the consolidation of the New Democratic order." In 1951 and 1952, he advocated the development of a rich-peasant economy and capitalism and the "four freedoms" (freedom of usury, of hiring labour, land sale, and private enterprise). Later, he also opposed the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, opposed agricultural co-operation and slashed the number of agricultural co-operatives. In 1956, accommodating himself to the international revisionist trend of thought, he wildly talked about the dying out of class struggle. In 1962, he energetically publicized the idea of individual peasant farms, advocated the "extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, the fixing of output quotas based on the household" and "the liquidation of struggle in our relations with imperialism, the reactionaries and modern revisionism, and reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggle of other peoples," and opposed the general line for building socialism, the great leap forward and the people's communes, while publishing and putting on sale large numbers of his book on self-cultivation. In 1964, pursuing an opportunist line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence, he sabotaged the socialist education movement. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, he advanced and pursued the bourgeois reactionary line in collusion with another top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. All this fully shows that over a long period of time he has opposed Mao Tse-tung's thought and the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and that he is not a Marxist at all. He is the most important representative of the bourgeoisie within our Party, a Khrushchov lying right beside us.

The sharp struggle between the two lines during the past 17 years has been a struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between Marxism-Leninism,

Mao Tse-tung's thought and revisionist ideology, and between capitalist restoration and the proletarian counter-restoration. In the last analysis, it is a struggle as to what road China should take, the socialist road or the capitalist road.

Chairman Mao has taught us that socialist society is a fairly long historical stage. In this historical stage there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, and the danger of a capitalist restoration. Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, members of this class are still living and they are not reconciled to defeat. We have confiscated their property, but we have not confiscated, nor can we confiscate, their reactionary ideas. Every hour and every minute they are trying to stage a come-back. Using the means of "sneaking into our ranks" and "luring people out" they do their utmost to get representatives in our Party. There are some within the proletariat and its vanguard who are liable to be hit by the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie and degenerate into new bourgeois elements. In short, since there are classes and class struggle in socialist society, there exists the possibility for a capitalist restoration. As long as the bourgeoisie exists in society, its members will infiltrate into the superstructure, into our Party and the state power and form a handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. This is the objective law of class struggle. It is not strange at all, and is independent of man's will.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is the chief backer of a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists inside the Party and is actually the commander-in-chief who directs the attacks of the bourgeoisie against us. If he is not exposed and his schemes are allowed to succeed, our Party and country will change colour, a nationwide counter-revolutionary restoration will occur, and our socialist system will evolve into a capitalist system as happened in the Soviet Union; then tens of millions of people will lose their lives and we will suffer for the second time and return to the old path, thereby greatly prolonging the course of both the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. We have now brought to light the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road; this is a victory of great historic significance which affects the destiny and future of our Party and state. However, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the overthrown classes he represents will never reconcile themselves to their doom. To recapture all positions where they have long entrenched themselves and eliminate all the counter-revolutionary revisionist poisonous effects exerted by this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road remains a serious struggle. **"With power and to spare we must pursue the tottering foe and not ape Hsiang Yu the conqueror seeking idle fame."** We must deeply and thoroughly criticize and repudiate in the political, ideological, and theoretical fields the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

Our People's Liberation Army is a revolutionary army of the proletariat, founded and fostered by our great supreme commander Chairman Mao himself, and under the direct leadership of his close comrade-in-arms, deputy supreme commander Lin Piao, and is the principal instrument for the dictatorship of the proletariat. We are infinitely loyal to the great leader Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought and to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road wildly opposes Chairman Mao, the very red sun which shines most brightly in our hearts, opposes the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and opposes the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. We revolutionary fighters will absolutely not allow him to do so! We must stand at the forefront of the struggle and, together with the broad revolutionary masses of workers and peasants, young revolutionary fighters and revolutionary cadres, aim telling blows at, vehemently denounce and resolutely overthrow the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

We must raise high the revolutionary banner of criticism and repudiation, the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and, with Mao Tse-tung's thought as the weapon, thoroughly expose the heinous crimes of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, remove his mask of a so-called "veteran revolutionary" and of "being always in the right," thoroughly criticize and repudiate his bourgeois reactionary line and his revisionist "masterpiece" on self-cultivation, and expose his reactionary features to the bright light of day.

Chairman Mao teaches us that there is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no motion without rest; destruction means criticism and revolution; destruction comes first and construction comes in the course of destruction. To thoroughly criticize and repudiate the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is a process of vigorously destroying bourgeois ideas and establishing the supremacy of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Through criticism and repudiation of this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and by carrying out the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must let the great thought of Mao Tse-tung occupy all ideological positions, cause it to take deeper root among the whole Party, the whole army and the whole nation and make it the guiding principle for action by the whole Party, all commanders and fighters and the revolutionary people all over the country. This is the most fundamental guarantee that our Party and country will never change colour.

Let us raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and forge ahead victoriously under the guidance of the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao!

(Abridged translation of the editorial in "Jiefang-jun Bao" [Liberation Army Daily], April 11.)