

Carry Revolutionary Mass Criticism Through to the End

IN the course of the mighty struggle in the great proletarian cultural revolution over the last year and more, we have exposed and overthrown the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road who are rotten to the core, and dragged out a number of bourgeois representatives who sneaked into the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our successes are world-shaking.

But, can we conclude from this that the great proletarian cultural revolution has already been successfully completed, or that the handful of big and small Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road altogether finished?

No!

The counter-revolutionary revisionists who have been dragged out are fierce dogs in the water; they are wounded tigers; they are poisonous snakes not yet frozen by the cold, although they already sense the threat of winter.

As Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out in criticizing and repudiating the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique: **"This reactionary clique who frantically hate the Communist Party, the people and the revolution have by no means really laid down their arms but are attempting to preserve their 'strength' by double-faced tactics and are waiting for an opportunity to stage a comeback."**

Have we not actually seen that this is so?

Some of these scoundrels have been overthrown, but they still stubbornly refuse to admit their heinous crimes against the Party and socialism. They seize every opportunity to hit out wildly in a vengeful counter-attack. One of them has venomously churned out what purports to be a confession but which is in reality a counter-revolutionary manifesto for a counter-attack.

Some harbour an inveterate hatred for the proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary masses. In order to save themselves from imminent destruction they invariably manipulate and make use of a number of conservative or reactionary organizations, mislead a section of the people and wage desperate last-minute struggles against the revolutionary forces. They come out into the open, bare their fangs and do not even scruple to lay their murderous hands on proletarian revolutionaries.

Others are doing their best to appear harmless and even pitiable in a vain attempt to wangle sympathy so

that they might slip through. They have used all their cunning to sneak into our revolutionary ranks in order to corrupt and disintegrate us from within and to bring about a capitalist restoration.

Therefore, we will never take pity on these evil persons; we will never lower our vigilance; we will never abandon the revolution half-way.

**"With power and to spare we must pursue the tottering foe
And not ape Hsiang Yu the conqueror seeking idle fame."**

We must rouse the people in their hundreds of millions and, in the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of beating the dog in the water, carry out the revolutionary mass campaign of exposure, criticism and struggle against the reactionary forces who hate the Party, the people and the revolution.

Comrade Lin Piao has said: "It is possible to overthrow the political power of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes within a comparatively short period of time. It is also possible to overthrow their systems of ownership within a short time. But, it is in no way a simple and easy matter to sweep them out of their positions on the ideological front. That will take a very long time. And if victory is not won on this front, then the victories gained in political power and in the economic sphere might all be lost. . . ."

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is the chief representative of the bourgeoisie within our Party, the chief boss behind the scenes of the counter-revolutionary revisionists, big and small, who sneaked into the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He represents a concentrated expression of the reactionary ideology of the bourgeoisie and of old and new revisionism, and he is the biggest defender of all old ideas, culture, customs and habits.

It is precisely he who has obstinately pursued the bourgeois reactionary line and opposed the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao for a long period and in a systematic way. Before our nationwide victory, he went all out to preach the "parliamentary road" and advocate the handing over of the people's army led by the Communist Party. He opposed the seizure of power by armed force and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. After liberation of the whole country, he did his best to spread the fallacy "exploitation is a contribution," to press for the development of capitalism in the cities and in the countryside and to oppose the socialist transformation. After the

socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was completed in the main, he was active in putting around "the theory of the dying out of class struggle," and worked hard to restore capitalism in an attempt to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into that of the bourgeoisie.

Internationally, he energetically pushed the line of capitulating to the imperialists, the revisionists and the reactionaries of different countries and stamping out the flames of revolution in the world. Thus, he did his utmost to cater to the needs of imperialism and modern revisionism and to smother the revolutionary struggle of the people in different parts of the world. He usurped important posts and power in our Party and state and, by making use of the political influence that he had got through cheating, and waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag, he peddled his revisionist trash over a long period.

The proletarian revolutionaries and the broad revolutionary masses have rebelled against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, unhorsed them, and ordered them to stand aside. This is a tremendous victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution. However, overthrowing them organizationally is not tantamount to overthrowing them politically and ideologically. It is imperative to repudiate and discredit completely their counter-revolutionary revisionist line, politically, ideologically and theoretically, to eliminate their evil influence in all fields and on all fronts, to expose their ugly bourgeois soul and their reactionary ideology thoroughly, to expose them as something filthy and contemptible, like dog's dirt. Only then can we regard them as being completely overthrown.

If power is seized only administratively and organizationally from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, but not politically and ideologically, our struggle to seize power is not thoroughgoing, the power we have seized is not consolidated and we are in danger of losing it again. The restoration of capitalism is an ever-present possibility if class struggle on the political and ideological front is not thoroughly carried out.

Lenin said, "When the old society perishes, its corpse cannot be nailed up in a coffin and lowered

into the grave. It disintegrates in our midst, the corpse rots and infects us." If we do not rouse the masses in their hundreds of millions to take part in the revolutionary criticism and repudiation, to uproot the poisonous ideology of the exploiting classes and to clean up the rubbish left over by the exploiting classes from every corner, it will continue to stink, spread its poisonous germs and harm the people. Did not the old-line revisionists such as Bernstein, Kautsky, Trotsky and Bukharin die long ago? However, their revisionist rubbish was not buried with them. The trash peddled by China's Khrushchov was simply picked up from these old ancestors of his.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a mighty political and ideological revolution. Its purpose is to eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology in a big way, to get rid of revisionist ideas and put Mao Tse-tung's thought in command. The masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals must raise aloft the great banner of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, and throw themselves into the mass campaign of revolutionary criticism and repudiation against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. It is an extraordinary phenomenon of world significance for 700 million people to participate in this campaign. We should do our utmost to fulfil this most pressing and important fighting task.

Every big political polemic and every great ideological revolution in the history of proletarian revolution must surely lead to a vigorous development of the revolution and a big leap in history. At a time when the whole world is entering a new era in which Mao Tse-tung's thought is the great banner, the campaign of revolutionary criticism and repudiation being carried out by the Chinese people on an unprecedented scale will surely bring about a big leap in the great proletarian cultural revolution, greatly consolidate China's dictatorship of the proletariat, give rise to a dynamic new situation in China's socialist construction and will surely have a very far-reaching impact on the proletarian revolutionary cause of the world.

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