

POLITICALLY AND IDEOLOGICALLY, OVERTHROW
COMPLETELY THE HANDFUL OF CAPITALIST
ROADERS WITHIN THE PARTY

Following is a translation of an article by the "Red
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Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it. The desperate struggles waged by counterrevolutionaries against revolutionary forces are likewise solely for the sake of maintaining their political power."

The fundamental objective of the great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by Chairman Mao, is to mobilize the hundreds of millions of the people to seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

This handful are the main and most dangerous enemy. They have sneaked into the apparatus of the proletarian political power and in certain localities and spheres set up a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This has resulted in a fierce struggle between two political powers and two headquarters. On the whole, of course, proletarian political power has held the dominant position in our country.

If we should allow this handful to exist and develop, then, as Chairman Mao says, "it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counterrevolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour."

Therefore, through this great cultural revolution we must crush this handful, of which China's Khrushchev is the general representative, and also

destroy their bourgeois headquarters. This is an extremely complex, profound and fierce struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines.

Chairman Mao says: "Basically, the socialist system has been established in our country. We have won the basic victory in transforming the ownership of the means of production, but we have not yet won complete victory on the political and ideological fronts. In the ideological field, the question of who will win in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has not been really settled yet. We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology."

Our struggle with this handful over the conquest of political power is bound to find strong expression in the political and ideological fields.

The exposure of this handful within the apparatus of the proletarian political power, their removal and dismissal from office, represent only the beginning, and not the end, of the struggle for the seizure of power. It calls for continuous, arduous struggle to expand the organizational victory so as to win a complete political and ideological victory.

Chairman Mao warns: "Just because we have won victory, we must never relax our vigilance against the frenzied plots for revenge by the imperialists and their running dogs. Whoever relaxes vigilance will disarm himself politically and land himself in a passive position."

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao has pointed out that the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road still exist and will not take their defeat lying down. Though they account for only a small fraction of the total population, they have great political influence and the impact of their resistance is proportionally much greater than their numbers.

Numerous facts have demonstrated that the overthrow of this handful organizationally does not mean their overthrow politically and ideologically. Their dismissal from office does not mean complete seizure of power from them. Since position and power are interrelated, those who hold positions have power, but those who no longer hold positions may also still have power.

Power not only means authority to issue organizational and administrative commands, but also authority to issue political and ideological commands. When one has political influence among the masses, his commands will be heeded by some people and at the opportune moment this influence will turn into organizational and administrative authority to give commands.

The power of the handful of capitalist roaders in the political and ideological spheres has been mainly manifested by their influence among the masses. This is the result of the fraud they practised among the people, by taking advantage of their positions and waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag. It also results from their use of their propaganda machine, the pen and the positions they have usurped in the field of ideological education to

create over the years counterrevolutionary public opinion among the people.

Their political-ideological power cannot be seized simply by organizational measures from above to remove and dismiss them from office. It can be seized only by unfolding from below a mass campaign to expose, criticize and repudiate them, with China's Khrushchev as their general representative. It can be done only by completely refuting and discrediting the crimes of this handful against the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought and by eliminating their pernicious influence among the people. In this way nobody will be fooled by them again.

The overthrow of this handful and the seizure of power from them organizationally as well as politically and ideologically are two inseparable aspects of the struggle to seize power from them. Relatively speaking, the latter is more complicated and important than the former.

Without the guarantee of complete victory politically and ideologically, the organizational victory will not be consolidated. For an organization is formed by people and it is subject to the domination of their thinking and will.

Thoroughgoing criticism and repudiation of this handful of capitalist roaders within the Party politically and ideologically is the key to preventing our country from changing its political colour. Only in this way will they be prevented from rising up again. This will also sharpen the vigilance of the revolutionary masses and help them to detect and overthrow new capitalist roaders whenever they appear. We must root out the ideological and social foundation of counterrevolutionary revisionism and win complete victory in the cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao teaches us that "the representatives of the exploiting classes, when finding themselves at a disadvantage, usually resort to the tactics of attack as a means of defense, to ensure their survival today and facilitate their growth tomorrow.... In short, they are always considering what tactics to use against us and 'spying out the land' in order to achieve their end. Sometimes they 'play possum,' waiting for the chance to 'counter-attack.'"

We must, therefore, always direct the spearhead of our attack at the handful of capitalist roaders both before and after they are fully exposed. Some people say that doing this after the capitalist roaders are fully exposed is tantamount to hitting at "dead tigers" and "wasting ammunition." They argue that only by aiming at "live tigers" is it possible to contribute to the revolution and keep to the main direction of the struggle. This is wrong.

As Chairman Mao teaches: "The serpents infesting most of China, big or small, black or white, baring their poisonous fangs or assuming the guise

of beautiful girls, are not yet frozen by the cold, although they already sense the threat of winter."

Though some of the counterrevolutionary revisionists are "dead" organizationally, they are not "dead" politically and ideologically. They are "wounded tigers" or are "playing possum." Some are not even "dead" organizationally and are still biting people.

Those counterrevolutionary revisionists who have been exposed but not completely overthrown, are filled with an even more intense hatred for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the revolutionary masses. They not only plan to take revenge in the future but are at this very moment seizing every opportunity to counter-attack by using their political and ideological influence. They are using direct or indirect trickery to sabotage the great cultural revolution. Their desperate struggles are even more frenzied and vicious than before they were exposed.

Should we fail to "kill" these "tigers," we may be devoured by them and the fruits so far gained in the great cultural revolution would be lost entirely.

In order to overthrow this handful completely, we must forge and consolidate the revolutionary great alliance and wage a vigorous people's war, using varied means of struggle and flexibly employing strategy and tactics to fight and defeat them. We must despise them strategically while taking them seriously tactically.

The fundamental guarantee for our victory in the overthrow of the handful of capitalist roaders within the Party and army, headed by China's Khrushchev, and the crushing of their bourgeois headquarters is the great, invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the revolutionary masses armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and the proletarian political power established under Chairman Mao's leadership.

In the course of struggle, we must constantly stress the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, establish the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought, steel and temper our revolutionary class forces and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the fundamental guarantee for the complete victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution.