

Hold Fast to the Main Orientation In the Struggle

THE great proletarian cultural revolution, like a mighty red torrent, is sweeping away the old things, old ideas and old forces of habit of the exploiting classes in all their manifestations, educating hundreds of millions of people and propelling our history forward.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution."**

This is also a question of the first importance for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Comrade Lin Piao said: **"We must, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, distinguish who are our enemies and who are our friends. Attention must be paid to uniting with the great majority, and concentrating forces to strike at the handful of bourgeois Rightists. The main target of the attack is those persons in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. It is essential to hold fast to this main orientation in the struggle."**

Our Party organizations at various levels, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, and the broad masses of revolutionary youth must hold most tightly to this main orientation in the struggle. They will go astray if they act counter to this main direction.

In this great campaign, the present stage of the proletarian cultural revolution, it is essential to concentrate forces to strike at the handful of bourgeois Rightists, that is, to concentrate forces to strike at the most reactionary and most stubborn political representatives of the bourgeoisie. By pulling down the bourgeois Rightists, it will be possible to forcefully crush the schemes of the bourgeoisie for a counter-revolutionary come-back.

Ours is a great country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Ours is a great Party which is armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. In order to seize state power under such conditions, the bourgeoisie invariably rely on the extremely small number of people in power within the Party who are taking the capitalist road, that is, the counter-revolutionary revisionists. This handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists is the chief and the most dangerous enemy. Where they have usurped leadership, they

pursue bourgeois policies and exercise bourgeois dictatorship. They make use of the power they have seized to shelter the bourgeois Rightists and suppress the proletarian Left. If they are not struck down, they will, like Khrushchov, rise up to usurp the leadership of our Party and state whenever they see the chance, and make our whole country change colour.

The main orientation in the struggle is to concentrate forces to strike at the handful of bourgeois Rightists, at those persons in power within the Party who are taking the capitalist road. To hold most firmly to this main direction in the struggle can guard against bad people fishing in troubled waters and can avoid the mistake of missing the main objective while laying hold of problems of secondary importance in the struggle.

If those in power are not proletarians, then they must be bourgeois. There is no such thing as persons in power who are above classes and who are abstract. Support should be given to those in power who are proletarian and to support them is precisely for the purpose of striking down those in power who are taking the capitalist road. Those in power who are taking the capitalist road should be struck down, and striking them down is precisely to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat further.

Our country is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Fundamentally, those in power are the proletariat. Most of the cadres who are responsible for leadership at various levels in the various departments of the Party, government and armed forces and in industrial, agricultural, trade, educational and military circles, in general, support the Party and Chairman Mao and resolutely take the socialist road. They include cadres of the first and second categories as stated in Point 8 of the 16-point decision of the Party's Central Committee concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution. Only a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists who are against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Tse-tung's thought have wormed their way into leading posts in the Party and the state. This refers to the fourth category of cadres as stated in the 16-point decision.

These are the basic, objective facts of China's political life. Exactly because of this, our state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat is consolidated. Exactly because of this, it is possible in our country to hold

high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and score extremely brilliant successes on various fronts in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Comrade Lin Piao pointed out that a handful of reactionary bourgeois elements, and landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who had not really turned over a new leaf, **"oppose the dictatorship exercised over them by the broad masses of revolutionary people headed by the proletariat, and they are trying to bombard our headquarters of the proletarian revolution. Can we tolerate these actions? No, we must smash the plots of these ghosts and monsters, we must see through them, we must not let their schemes succeed."**

Those ghosts and monsters who attempt to bombard our headquarters of the proletarian revolution are only a handful of people, but they can sometimes deceive some good people who do not know the true facts. As soon as we use the monster detector of Mao Tse-tung's thought on them, their true features will be exposed and they will be encircled by the broad masses who ardently love the Party and Chairman Mao.

The aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely not to struggle against all leading cadres, nor struggle against the masses. It is certainly impermissible to use any pretext, in any form, to attack revolutionary activists or incite the masses to struggle against the masses.

In the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution, there will be different views among the masses and sometimes even sharp contention. The different views and contention among the masses, including wrong opinions, should be appropriately handled in accordance with Chairman Mao's principle of the correct handling of contradictions among the people.

The "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" says:

"A strict distinction must be made between the two different types of contradictions: those among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. Contradictions among the people must not be made into contradictions between ourselves and the enemy; nor must contradictions between ourselves and the enemy be regarded as those among the people.

"It is normal for the masses to hold different views. Contention between different views is unavoidable, necessary and beneficial. In the course of normal and full debate, the masses will affirm what is right, correct what is wrong and gradually reach unanimity.

"The method to be used in debates is to present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning. Any method of forcing a minority holding dif-

ferent views to submit is impermissible. The minority should be protected, because sometimes the truth is with the minority. Even if the minority is wrong, they should still be allowed to argue their case and reserve their views."

Every one of our revolutionary comrades should seriously and thoroughly carry out the above-mentioned decision which was formulated under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls. This great revolutionary movement of a mass character inevitably concerns all kinds of questions existing in the innermost souls of the people. This movement is a great socialist education to the broad masses of our cadres and masses. It is an extremely good thing, a thing of profound and far-reaching significance to destroy the old ideas, culture, customs and habits and to establish new ideas, culture, customs and habits and to have the revolutionary spirit prevail quickly throughout the country. All the revolutionary comrades should enthusiastically welcome and resolutely support it; they should consciously temper themselves in the flames of the revolution, and following the teachings of Chairman Mao, persevere in the truth and correct mistakes, and their attitude towards the criticism of the masses should be one of "correcting mistakes if you have committed them, and guarding against them if you have not."

As to the movement as a whole, we must grasp the principal contradictions and main targets, and correctly handle the relations between the principal and the ordinary contradictions. People who have ordinary shortcomings and mistakes in their style of work should consciously correct them in the course of this great cultural revolutionary movement and they should not be taken as the main targets of the movement. Questions of this type should be solved by using the method of correctly handling contradictions among the people. It is necessary to persuade and educate and to guard against over-simplification and being crude, not to use the method of handling contradictions between us and the enemy where questions of ordinary shortcomings and mistakes in style of work are concerned, and not to treat this kind of question as the main target of struggle in the movement, in order to avoid interfering with the main orientation of our struggle.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great, torrential class struggle. This struggle is sharp, complicated, and there will be twists and turns and reversals. We must be fully aware of this. As long as we hold fast to the main orientation of the movement, use the viewpoint of class struggle and the method of class analysis to treat all the kinds of problems and contradictions that crop up in the movement, and sum up our experience from time to time we will certainly make this great revolutionary struggle advance triumphantly step by step.

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