

Comments on Tao Chu's Two Books

by YAO WEN-YUAN

LIKE a succession of gales, the great proletarian cultural revolution is shaking the whole of China and indeed the whole world.

The situation is excellent. After a year of stirring battles, the great proletarian cultural revolution which started with mass criticism and repudiation in the field of culture is now triumphantly entering the phase of a mass movement of criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This campaign of mass criticism is of great political significance. It is a deep-going development of the proletarian revolutionaries' struggle to seize power, an important step in the elimination of revisionist poison, an ideological motive force mobilizing the masses in their tens of millions for active struggle, criticism and transformation, a mammoth mass struggle for the thorough application of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in the fields of politics, economy, culture and military affairs.

The two books before us, *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life* (*Ideals* for short) published in 1962 by the China Youth Publishing House, and *Thinking, Feeling and Literary Talent* (*Thinking* for short) published in 1964 by the Kwangtung People's Publishing House, are both excellent negative study material for the mass criticism campaign. They are sister books of the sinister work "on self-cultivation" and vividly portray the reactionary and ugly soul of Tao Chu the revisionist.

Prior to the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Tao Chu was a faithful executant of the bourgeois reactionary line represented by China's Khrushchov. After that session, when the reactionary features of the two top persons in authority taking the capitalist road were exposed before the whole Party, he became the chief person representing and continuing to carry out the bourgeois reactionary line. In league with such henchmen as Wang Jen-chung, the counter-revolutionary revisionist, he continued to frantically oppose and distort the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and to oppose and boycott the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, recruited deserters and turncoats, colluded with Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and everywhere issued instructions to suppress the revolutionary masses and support and shield counter-revolutionary revisionists and ghosts and monsters, vainly trying by base tricks to blanket or annul the criticism and repudiation of the top capitalist roaders in the Party at the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

In the forward march of history, all who overestimate the strength of reaction and underestimate that of the people—adlepates dressed up as heroes and resisting progress—invariably end up quickly as contemptible clowns. At a 10,000-strong rally on July 30, 1966, this man who styled himself "a proletarian revolutionary in the main" waved his fist and haughtily shouted: "You can have me overthrown, too, if you don't believe me." How arrogant he was then! A virtual man-eater! He was trying to intimidate the masses, implying: Woe to anyone who dares oppose a "veteran revolutionary" like me; I am a hero and will never never fall. But the logic of history is such that anyone who comes out in opposition to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the great proletarian cultural revolution and the revolutionary masses inevitably falls. The more rounded out a reactionary's performance, the heavier his fall. In retrospect, it is clear that the ludicrous performance he put on, glorifying himself and intimidating the people, was just another silly layer of grease paint on this double-dealer's face.

"I have always been a revolutionary." Well, let's use these two books as our chief material and see whom this eternally revolutionary person—"always" followed, what kind of "revolution" he was engaged in, what "ideals" he really cherished, what "integrity" he advocated, what class "thinking and feeling" he publicized and what "spiritual life" he led.

Bourgeois Counter-Revolutionary "Ideals"

Which "side" does Tao Chu belong to? What "ideals," the ideals of which side, does he advocate in his books? It will be enough to refer to the evidence he himself has provided.

In August 1955, when the socialist transformation of agriculture and handicraft industries began surging ahead and the proletariat and the bourgeoisie were locked in a life-and-death struggle, Tao Chu stepped forward histrionically: "All of us belong to the same side, the side of the Chinese people. With the exception of the counter-revolutionaries, all should sincerely unite."¹ This "all of us . . . with the exception of the counter-revolutionaries" is subject to the rule of one dividing into two—the proletariat on the one side and the bourgeoisie on the other. Tao Chu viciously slandered the ideological remoulding of intellectuals as "an insult to one's personality." He asserted that Hu Shih's reactionary ideas were simply "a question

of method of thinking" which "can only be judged clearly . . . after 30 or 40 years."² It is obvious that his "all of us" actually referred to the bourgeoisie and its agents such as Hu Shih. His boastful remark about "the side of the Chinese people" who should "sincerely" embrace each other in reality referred to the bourgeois reactionaries opposed to the people.

In the same report, Tao Chu also used extremely sympathetic language to describe "the counter-revolutionaries now lying low on the mainland" as being "in a miserable plight and a painful frame of mind." Words reflect one's thinking. With the words "miserable" and "painful," Tao Chu at one stroke wrote off the hatefulness and brutality of the counter-revolutionaries and vividly portrayed a "spiritual life" in which he was in perfect harmony with them. When excerpts from this report were included in his book, these colourful and sympathetic expressions were deleted.

Two years later, in May 1957, when the Rightists were launching wild attacks, Tao Chu promptly wrote articles for the press, declaring that "by and large classes have now disappeared," "the contradictions within the country between the enemy and ourselves have been resolved," and "the function of dictatorship should be weakened" in the dictatorship of the proletariat, which should be "geared . . . to guiding production . . . and to organizing the people's economic life."³ The landlords, rich peasants and bourgeoisie all became members of one "big family," the dictatorship of the proletariat could be abolished and "a state of the whole people" with the sole task of "guiding production" could soon come into being. The out-and-out revisionist note he struck, which was directed at overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat, conclusively shows him up as a ringleader of the bourgeois Rightists.

Two years later, in the first half of 1959, when the socialist revolution was developing in greater depth, Tao Chu wrote his article, "The Character of the Pine," in which he advised "never yielding to adverse circumstances,"⁴ and another article, "Revolutionary Firmness," in which he talked of "facing the raging sea" and the ability to withstand the "onslaughts of storms and hurricanes."⁵ Under his pen, the stirring great leap forward, the heroic aspiration of the revolutionary people to transform the world, became "adverse circumstances." As the tempest of socialist revolution struck at the bourgeoisie, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, and at their agents the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique, Tao Chu hysterically called for the ability "to withstand the onslaughts of storms and hurricanes." There is no need to add a single word; his counter-revolutionary stand is crystal clear.

Six years went by. It was 1965. On many occasions following the glorious Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao pointed out that the principal contradiction within China was the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the so-

cialist and the capitalist roads. In the document concerning the socialist education movement, known as "the 23 points," he stated that "**the main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road.**" These important instructions of Chairman Mao's were fiercely opposed and resisted by China's Khrushchov and by Tao Chu and company. Tao Chu showed himself up once again in November 1965, when the criticism and repudiation of the drama *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* was just beginning and the life-and-death struggle against the counter-revolutionary revisionist, China's Khrushchov, was imminent. Writing in *Wenyi Bao* (Literary and Art Gazette), the mouthpiece of the counter-revolutionary black line in literature and art, he said: "I think that at the present stage the task of reflecting the contradictions among the people should be put in the most important position."⁶ To argue that "contradictions among the people" formed the principal contradiction "at the present stage" was a flagrant denial of the fact that the principal contradiction within the country was the struggle between the two classes and between the two roads. It meant that he regarded the questions concerning the handful of counter-revolutionaries, renegades, Rightists and those in authority taking the capitalist road as contradictions "among the people," and thus covered up their crimes in trying to usurp the leadership in the Party, government and army, his purpose being to shield all the fiendish bourgeois counter-revolutionaries who had sneaked into the Party.

Has Tao Chu "always been a revolutionary?" No, he has always been a counter-revolutionary! It can be said that at every turning point in history, he invariably and openly took the bourgeois stand and opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and socialism. His much vaunted "ideals" are bourgeois counter-revolutionary ideals, the reactionary ideals of protecting and developing capitalism, the idle dream of overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism in China.

For example:

(1) Tao Chu says: "The idea of socialism is to use every means to ensure rapid national industrialization."⁷ If this out-and-out reactionary theory of "socialism" were valid, wouldn't it follow that the industrialized United States attained "socialism" long ago? For the achievement of industrialization, there are two roads, two lines and two kinds of means—the socialist and the capitalist. To take the socialist road, it is essential to rely on the working class and the revolutionary masses, on the keeping of politics in the fore and on the revolutionary consciousness and initiative of the hundreds of millions of people awakened by Mao Tse-tung's thought, and to place the leadership of enterprises really in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries. On the other hand, taking the capitalist road means reliance on a few bourgeois "experts," on material incentives and on the conservatives, as is repeatedly advocated in Tao Chu's book, it means the usur-

pation of the leadership of the enterprises by a privileged stratum representing the interests of the bourgeoisie. What Tao Chu calls "every means" is reliance on the bourgeoisie in order to develop the capitalist system of exploitation and oppose the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce.

"The history of China in the last century or so is a history of receiving blows, and the reason is that it had no industry."⁸ Here Tao Chu talks like a bungling teacher of history giving us a lecture on the modern history of China, a lecture which is indeed a reversal of history. The principal explanation of why the Chinese received blows in the 109 years from 1840 to 1949 is not that they had no industry, but that political power was in the hands of the lackeys of imperialism, in the hands of traitors, from the Ching government through the Northern warlords down to Chiang Kai-shek. Ever since the seizure of power throughout China by the proletariat and the working people under the leadership of their great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the imperialists have had to stop and think how strong their snouts are before they try to attack us. The more thoroughgoing the great cultural revolution, the deeper the thought of Mao Tse-tung penetrates the consciousness of the people and the stronger the dictatorship of the proletariat, the more certain it is that no one will be able to match us in a war. This is the proletarian revolutionary ideal. To attribute the receiving of blows in the past entirely to the lack of industry is to cover up all the heinous crimes of the vicious traitors and to prettify the Chinese lackeys of the international bourgeoisie who have tried to restore capitalism in the name of "developing industry." This chimes perfectly with the theory of national betrayal of China's Khrushchov!

(2) Tao Chu says that "the ideal of communism" means "comfortable houses." It is to "provide every room with electricity at night and enable everybody to dress sprucely and ride in motor-cars. . . ." ⁹ In short, it means "good food, good clothing and good housing." It means pleasure-seeking. He is ready to sell his very soul, with a cheap "communist" label thrown in, to whoever gives him "good food and good housing." This is indeed the philosophy of the lowest traitors! Communism in appearance but ultra-individualism or capitalism in essence — that is the definition of Tao Chu's "ideal of communism." Wouldn't it follow from this definition that the life of the U.S. bourgeoisie perfectly fits the "ideal of communism?"

(3) Tao Chu says that it is a "lofty ideal" always to keep in mind that "one will become a navigator, aviator, scientist, writer, engineer, teacher . . ." ¹⁰ He lists one expert profession after another, but makes no mention at all of any worker, peasant or soldier. In the eyes of this renegade from the proletariat, the revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers should rank very low. More than that, they should simply be condemned to bottomless perdition, without any hope of escape. At the other extreme is a long string of bourgeois "experts," who are assigned a very high, or even

the "loftiest" place. "The bourgeoisie took part in the democratic movement. They have industrial know-how and are not as corrupt as the landlords."¹¹ Yes, here you admit that by "experts" you refer not to proletarian specialists but to the bourgeoisie and their representatives in cultural circles. What you call "know-how" is the capitalists' knowledge of how to exploit the workers craftily and ruthlessly, and other similar knowledge. It is Tao Chu's "lofty ideal" to stage a counter-revolutionary come-back through those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have climbed very high. Today, a number of very high bourgeois "authorities" have been pulled down by young revolutionary fighters.

Another of these great ideals is, in Tao Chu's words, "really enabling everybody to have personal ease of mind." In 1962, just at the time when the bourgeoisie launched wanton attacks on the proletariat and when evil spirits of all kinds danced in riotous revelry, to give the bourgeoisie "ease of mind," Tao Chu in his article "Thoughts on How to Make Creative Writing Flourish" wrote such nonsense about the bourgeois intellectuals as "quite a number have become intellectuals of the working people," and "it is necessary to bring the enthusiasm of labouring intellectuals to play."¹² (Note: in a speech he said: "The overwhelming majority of the intellectuals have now become intellectuals of the working people and the label of bourgeois intellectuals should be removed from them.") Fine! The "three family village", such people as Tien Han, Hsia Yen, Wu Han and Chien Po-tsan as well as Hai Jui, Wei Cheng, Li Hui-niang and the like, have all "become intellectuals of the working people." Can't they now prepare public opinion for a capitalist restoration with still greater vigour, for their label is removed and they have been provided with a fresh halo? Can't they now work to restore capitalism in comfort, with everybody happily "in harmony and enjoying ease of mind"?

Either the proletariat or the bourgeoisie is bound to lack "ease of mind" — this is the inevitable consequence of class struggle. When the proletariat has "ease of mind," the bourgeoisie is bound to be uneasy. When the bourgeoisie has "ease of mind," the proletariat is bound to suffer. Either one or the other. Whoever calls for redressing the bourgeoisie's grievance that it does not have "ease of mind" only proves that he himself shares the very feelings of the bourgeoisie.

Tao Chu says that this "socialist ideal" of his is "beneficial to everybody," including the bourgeoisie. Socialism must eradicate the bourgeoisie through the dictatorship of the proletariat. How can it be beneficial to the bourgeoisie? The "socialism" which is "beneficial to everybody" is phoney socialism, or Khrushchov-type revisionism, the counter-revolutionary theory of Bukharin that capitalism can "grow" into socialism. It is the reactionary theory of the "party of the entire people," "the state of the whole people" and the "socialism of the whole people" which abandons class struggle and

abolishes the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the slogan for restoring capitalism in China after the triumph of socialism.

Enough! The material cited is sufficient to let us see this agent of the bourgeoisie in his true colours. He has obdurately followed a capitalist road which opposes socialism. What he thinks, praises and loves is capitalism; what he fears, curses and hates is socialism. In a word, the "ideals" in his writings are remoulding the state, society and the Party in the ugly image of the bourgeoisie.

This person has a "famous saying": "To establish socialist ideas or ideals. . . it is at least necessary to make socialist ideas cover over fifty per cent of the whole realm of one's ideology."¹³ How is it possible to measure man's world outlook in percentages? It is utterly ridiculous. Stripped of its pretences, it is just a clumsy and colossal swindle. Its purpose is to tell the bourgeoisie to appear in disguise, to cloak "fifty per cent" of their language with "socialist ideas" and thus try to cover up their evil capitalist nature. This is the most typical of revisionism. Both books were written in this way. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road said in heart-to-heart talks with the bourgeoisie: So long as the bourgeoisie master Marxist phrases, they can "grow happily and peacefully into socialism" and gain both fame and wealth. This is the best footnote to "over fifty per cent" of "socialist ideas." "Ideals!" "Ideals!" At the sight of this faithful agent, the bourgeoisie are truly moved to tears of gratitude.

The "Spiritual Life" of a Renegade And Flunkey

Would you like to know what kind of "spiritual life" is extolled in these two books? No need to read too far, just to get the essence is enough. It is the reactionary Kuomintang philosophy plus the flunkey's mentality.

Tao Chu has engraved on his memory and learnt by rote the reactionary and decadent idealism of the Kuomintang and the gangster talk of hangman Chiang Kai-shek. This counter-revolutionary stuff occupies pride of place in his "spiritual life." Only a renegade can spit out such reactionary rubbish.

The following is to be found among Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary utterances: "As to the meaning of politics, Dr. Sun Yat-sen has told us clearly: politics is the management of public affairs . . . therefore the meaning of politics is finding the scientific method for the general mobilization of the whole nation to manage public affairs in order to seek the greatest welfare for the whole nation and people."¹⁴

Tao Chu rehashes all this with no change. He writes: "First of all, it is necessary to understand what politics is. Probably you all know Dr. Sun Yat-sen. He said: 'Politics is the management of public affairs.' Our 'management of public affairs' has the purpose of

making our country prosperous and strong, making the people happy . . . that is, working for the people's interests, explaining reasons clearly and making people understand these reasons so that they join gladly and willingly in the work of building a socialist society."¹⁵

Tao Chu shamelessly proclaims that he was a student of Chiang Kai-shek. Or, more accurately, a flunkey — for doesn't he sound like a flunkey?

Calling politics "the management of public affairs" is the reactionary standpoint of the bourgeois exploiters. There is no such thing as "the public" in the abstract. In a class society the public is divided into classes. Nor is there such a thing as "management" in the abstract. In a class society management is invariably the handling of relations between classes, a question of which class controls and exercises political power. **Chairman Mao penetratingly points out in his Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art: "Politics, whether revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, is the struggle of class against class."**¹⁶ Analysed from this standpoint of Chairman Mao's, politics is the struggle to consolidate or overthrow the political power of this or that class, the struggle to safeguard or destroy this or that system of ownership, the struggle to seize or preserve the interests of this or that class (or group). The proletariat can finally emancipate itself only by emancipating all mankind. Therefore, in its political struggle to overthrow the oppressive rule of the bourgeoisie and establish and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletariat stands not only for its own class interests but also for those of the broad masses of the labouring people. It is in order to cover up the class content of its political activities and its oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and the working people that the bourgeoisie describes its counter-revolutionary politics in such abstract terms as "the management of public affairs." This same old trick has been played throughout, starting with the bourgeoisie in the 18th century and coming right down to the Soviet modern revisionists with their "state of the whole people." Chiang Kai-shek's "management of the public" consists of the sanguinary suppression and slaughter of the toiling masses by the counter-revolutionary state apparatus, while describing the counter-revolutionary rule of the landlords and the bourgeoisie as "seeking happiness for the whole nation and people" and even deceiving them by "general mobilization." This is the zenith of shamelessness. By rehashing all this, flunkey Tao Chu tries to bring about counter-revolutionary capitalist restoration and abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, while describing servile acts in the interests of the bourgeoisie and all other reactionaries as "working for the interests of the people"; he also tries to cheat the people by "explaining the reasons clearly." This, too, is the zenith of shamelessness.

In his counter-revolutionary utterances, Chiang Kai-shek was an advocate of the "spirit of sincere devotion" and lauded "the man with a foreknowledge and

keen perception of things." Tao Chu dishes all this up unchanged:

"We do not in toto negate Dr. Sun Yat-sen's expressions 'the man with a foreknowledge and keen perception of things' and 'the man with a backward knowledge and blunt perception of things.' These are to be found in society: some people make progress faster and some more slowly. If only a man has the desire to advance, in the end he will make progress. . . ."17

"Marxists should be magnanimous to other people and strict with themselves. . . . They should not demand too much of non-Party people, but should seek 'sincere unity' with them as Sun Yat-sen said. . . ."18

The phrases "the man with a foreknowledge and keen perception of things" and "the man with a backward knowledge and blunt perception of things" express the reactionary viewpoint of historical idealism which empties things of their class content and is divorced from social practice. **Chairman Mao points out: "It is man's social being that determines his thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world".**¹⁹ Those counter-revolutionary revisionists who will never repent and those diehard capitalist roaders who refuse to correct their errors after repeated education are that way not because they are "men with a backward knowledge and blunt perception of things," but because of their social being, i.e., their bourgeois class status, which determines their obstinately taking the capitalist road. Similarly, the U.S. imperialist butchers and the renegade clique of the C.P.S.U. are that way not because they lack "the desire to advance," but because they represent the reactionary bourgeoisie, and whatever tricks they play in the line they adopt, it can only be a counter-revolutionary line serving the U.S. monopoly capitalists and the Soviet bourgeois privileged stratum. As for the proletarian revolutionaries, the reason why they can smash all obstacles, break through every kind of onerous and cruel suppression by the handful of top Party capitalist roaders and win victory is not that they are "men with a foreknowledge and keen perception of things," but that they have grasped the thought of Mao Tse-tung, this theoretical weapon which is the quintessence of the highest wisdom of the proletariat of China and the world, and that they represent the interests of the proletariat and the working masses. Therefore, the more they fight, the stronger they become, and they are indomitable in all difficulties and always maintain dynamic revolutionary optimism. Today, in advocating reactionary idealism such as that we have described, Tao Chu tries to make people believe that the bourgeoisie "will make progress in the end," to lull the people's revolutionary vigilance and to help the bourgeoisie sneak into the ranks of the proletariat to carry out sabotage.

The expression "sincere unity" as used by Tao Chu is through and through the language of the Kuomintang

reactionaries! Different classes give different interpretations of the identical term. We, too, occasionally use this term. Then it means unity for the definite aim of revolution, for the struggle to carry out the revolutionary tasks of the proletariat. We always say, unity subject to a socialist orientation, and unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. In contrast, Tao Chu's "sincere unity" discards all principle, betrays the socialist orientation and caters to the needs of the bourgeoisie. Unity and struggle are two contradictory aspects of a single entity. Without struggle, there is no unity. Unity is relative and transitional whereas struggle is absolute. Everything in this world divides into two in the course of its development. Men's knowledge always develops in struggle. As **Chairman Mao points out: "Marxism can develop only through struggle, and not only is this true of the past and the present, it is necessarily true of the future as well."**²⁰ Where is there such an immutable "sincere unity" as Tao Chu's? The fortune-teller hangs up a signboard reading, "Effective if sincere." It's a trick. Chiang Kai-shek used the term "sincere unity" to cover up internal dog-fights and as a tool for instilling fascist ideas, whereas Tao Chu does something original—he puts up the signboard of Marxism to disintegrate the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

The book also says: "The reason why victory could be won in the earlier period of the great revolution of 1925-27 was that Dr. Sun Yat-sen reorganized the Kuomintang and adopted the three great policies 'in conformity with the objective law of the revolution at that time.'²¹ It is a plain distortion of history and a reversal of the truth when Tao Chu attributes victory in the early period of the First Revolutionary Civil War of 1925-27 not to the correct leadership and policies of the Communist Party of China represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, not to the struggles of the revolutionary people, but solely to the Kuomintang. He simply speaks for the Kuomintang reactionaries. Isn't he speaking with a traitor's voice when he gives the fruits of victory won with the blood of countless revolutionary martyrs to the Kuomintang in order to please it?

Enough! Enough! Does not all this vile talk reveal that behind Tao Chu's "spiritual life" lies the realm of reactionary Kuomintang philosophy?

Besides the reactionary Kuomintang philosophy, his ideas are all rubbish from the sinister book on "self-cultivation."

Doesn't the book *Ideals* cheat our young people when it prates that "personal and collective interests cannot be separated," that if a person makes a show of "doing a good job," he will be "taken into account," "be appreciated," "be praised" and even "have his name spread to the whole country and the whole world"? This is a complete reproduction of the philistine speculator's philosophy of the Khrushchov of China, the philosophy of "lose a little to gain much." In February 1960, when he received members of the Standing Committees of

the China Democratic National Construction Association and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road handed the representatives of the bourgeoisie an idea. He said: "Personal benefits will accrue if you serve the people wholeheartedly."²² These words are an accurate summary of this bourgeois careerist's experience in "getting on in the world" over several decades of his life and generalize the quintessence of the philosophy of life of this traitor to the proletariat. When used by him and the handful of people like him, such terms as "serve the people" and "collective interests" are falsehood and deception, they are employed for show, they are the means, whereas personal interests, personal power and personal enjoyment are real, they are the ends they pursue, representing the essence of their dirty souls. This is the trick used by the bourgeois counter-revolutionary double-dealers to sneak into the ranks of the revolutionaries and to seize power. Can we tolerate the criminal use of this trick to poison the younger generation and to destroy people with "soft" weapons?

Doesn't the book *Ideals* cheat the young people when it says: "Our common world outlook together with our common method of thinking . . . consists in proceeding from objective reality, in admitting that right is right and wrong is wrong"²³ This, too, is merchandise bought from China's Khrushchov. In class society, there are distinct class criteria for right and wrong. Reality means, first of all, the reality of class struggle: do you stand on the side of the proletariat or on the side of the bourgeoisie? On the side of imperialism or on the side of the revolutionary people? On the side of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, or on the side of revisionism? On the side of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao or on the side of the counter-revolutionary bourgeois headquarters? Using the abstractions of "right and wrong" to cover up their class approach to problems is the common characteristic of opportunists who have sold their souls. In May 1949, reporting on his infamous visit to Tientsin where he genuflected to the bourgeoisie, China's Khrushchov said shamelessly: "The capitalists said that our newspapers were not well run. I said that indeed they were not altogether well run. I admitted this mistake too. . . . In the future we should adopt the attitude: right is right, wrong is wrong, good is good, bad is bad. . . . If there is anything good about the capitalists, we should say it's good; if there is anything bad about the workers, we should say it's bad."²⁴ Look how he "proceeded from reality"! "Where there is anything good about the capitalists, we should say it's good; if there is anything bad about the workers, we should say it's bad." What a fair judge he is! What a clear approach to "right and wrong" this scab takes! See how this infamous flunkey of the bourgeoisie never forgets his masters' "goodness"! How obvious is his ferocity when he condemns the workers for being "bad"! And how well the author of the

book *Ideals* has memorized the soul-selling philosophy of that certain person!

The book *Ideals* misrepresents dialectical materialism when it states that "existence is primary while thinking is only secondary, the objective is primary while the subjective is only secondary,"²⁵ totally denying man's dynamic role, the leap from matter to consciousness and from consciousness to matter, and the dialectical process of practice, knowledge, again practice, again knowledge . . . in the development of man's knowledge. This is certainly not dialectical materialism but reactionary metaphysics. The proletariat's sole aim in understanding the objective world is to transform it in accordance with the laws inherent in the development of things. If one negates the transformation of the objective world, negates the revolution and the struggle to push history forward, doesn't the statement that "the objective is primary" become empty words on a sheet of paper? But this criticism alone is far from sufficient. It must be understood that the reason why he advocates this mechanical or vulgar materialism is to spread opportunism of a certain kind, under which one drifts with the current and is ready to sell out the interests of the proletariat at any time in order to serve the bourgeoisie. Isn't that true? The bourgeoisie can be said to have an objective existence. One may proceed from the stand of the bourgeoisie, follow its words and take its interests as the criterion, "right is right and wrong is wrong." In this way the restoration of capitalism can be brought about under the cloak of "seeking the truth from facts" and dialectical materialism. These tricks can be seen through once their true nature is exposed.

Did not Tao Chu say to some young people gloatingly, "There are males and females in the world and they will naturally have love affairs"²⁶ This immediately makes one think of the absurd "famous saying" of China's Khrushchov: "One head of cattle plus another head of cattle is still cattle . . . but a bull plus a cow makes a new relationship; a man plus a woman forms the husband-and-wife relationship. Everything is a unity of opposites."²⁷ In the eyes of this bunch, the relations between one person and another are the same as those between a bull and a cow. In class society, people are differentiated according to their class and are linked according to their class relations. The relations between man and woman are no exception. Lu Hsun wrote in his "Hard Translation" and the 'Class Character of Literature': "Victims of famine will hardly grow orchids like rich old gentlemen, nor will Chiao Ta of the Chia family fall in love with Miss Lin." [Chiao Ta is a gatekeeper in the feudal Chia family in the classical novel *Dream of the Red Chamber — Tr.*] This basic fact is denied by members of this gang, they trample it underfoot. But their vulgar language cannot in the least hurt Marxist class analysis. It only goes to show that their views on people's interrelations and their "self-cultivation are vulgar bourgeois nonsense such as "a bull plus a cow" and "a man plus a woman." Isn't it clear that these persons

with their voluble talk about "self-cultivation" are hypocrites rotten to the core?

Tao Chu's book says that the "success or failure" of a person in "his decades of life" is determined by "whether his subjective ideas conform with the objective situation."²⁸ How did he himself obsequiously make his "subjective ideas" conform with the "objective situation" under Kuomintang rule, and in his "decades" of "success" how did he conform with U.S. imperialism, the Kuomintang reactionaries and the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie? Should not all this be brought out into the light of day?

Feelings of Bitter Hatred Towards The Proletariat

In May 1959, just before the revisionist Peng Teh-huai dished up his sinister programme in a desperate effort to restore capitalism, Tao Chu, assuming the manner of Hai Jui in his article "The Sun's Radiance," blatantly and viciously abused our great socialist cause, our great Party and our great leader. On the one hand, he said that people used the words "the east is red, the sun rises" to "describe the vigour and vitality of our great cause" and that they "eulogize our Party and leader by likening them to the sun." On the other hand, he attacked the "faults" of the sun openly and railed obliquely: "In the depth of summer when the glaring sun is scorching the earth and making people sweat, they grumble and say that the sun's light and heat are excessive. And as everyone knows, and has pointed out too, the sun itself has black spots on it."²⁹

"The sun itself has black spots on it." Is this not downright invective against our Party and great leader? In Tao Chu's eyes not only are there "black spots," but socialism is altogether pitch black. For those who see with bourgeois eyes, brightness and darkness are reversed. They are blinder than the blind. In the view of this revisionist, the radiance of socialism shed by the sun is intolerable to those in authority taking the capitalist road, it reveals their true features, makes them "sweat" and is "excessive." This is where the "faults" of the sun lie. In fact, this is precisely why the sun is great. Monsters and demons, bed bugs and lice, germs and viruses which hide in dark corners in the house can only be killed when they are exposed to the light and heat of the sun. True working people are tempered and get stronger in the sunshine. How can one get strong without sweating in the sun? To condemn the sun for its "light and heat" is in fact to condemn the proletariat for "exceeding the limit," to condemn socialism and the people's communes for their "excesses." This naked bourgeois double-talk only shows him up as a ghost that dares not face the light of the sun.

In "The Character of the Pine," does not Tao Chu praise the pine for "shutting out the sun's glare by its foliage in summer?"³⁰ The brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's

thought cannot be shut out. He who is bent on challenging brightness can only sink from darkness into deeper darkness.

It is noteworthy that the phrase "eulogize our Party and leader by likening them to the sun" was suddenly changed into "eulogize our great, glorious and correct Party by likening it to the sun" in the second edition of *Ideals* which came out in 1965. This dodge which was meant to cover up his vicious purpose actually helps to expose it more flagrantly and it perfectly reveals his guilty conscience. He cut out the word "leader." Does not this precisely indicate that, between 1959 and 1962, when he wrote this article and published this book, he directed his spearhead at our great leader? Otherwise, why should he hastily cut it out? He added the words "great, glorious and correct" before "Party." Does not this precisely indicate that he did not consider the Chinese Communist Party great, glorious and correct when he wrote his article and published his book? Otherwise, why should he hastily add them? He had a guilty conscience, and feared his looks would betray him. That is why he was in such a pother. Is it not true that in a report made in May 1959, in Swatow, Kwangtung Province, Tao Chu clamoured about the need to "learn from the style of Hai Jui" in co-ordination with Peng Teh-huai's attack? Apparently, the style of this Hai Jui was not so lofty and he did not show much ability. Nevertheless, the rephrasing mentioned above inadvertently revealed his crimes in opposing the Party, socialism and Chairman Mao in co-ordination with Peng Teh-huai and company — an iron-clad fact which he can never succeed in denying.

By late September 1959, the Lushan Meeting of the Party Central Committee had ended, the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique had been exposed and the unbridled attack launched by the revisionists had been smashed. Then in his article "A Hard-Won Victory," this revisionist Tao Chu was compelled to go through the motions of expressing dissatisfaction with "a few persons" who "took a keen interest in the shortcomings in our work."³¹ However, who were the few persons he referred to? Did they not include Tao Chu himself? In one of his articles, did he not order the press to "cover the shortcomings and errors in our work and to do this, notwithstanding the fact that they were but a single finger as compared with nine?"³² Wasn't he the person who was keen on exposing what he called the "dark side" and "black spots" of socialism? This cannot be denied. It is precisely because he had a hand in the dirty business that he expressed profound sympathy in this article for those whom he referred to as a few persons. He said that "in mentioning these people we hope that they will change their stand and, first of all, join the ranks of the builders of socialism heart and soul."³³ This amounted to advising the bankrupt Right opportunists to pretend to "change their stand" so as to sneak their way into the revolutionary ranks and to continue their anti-socialist activities.

Burning hatred for the proletariat, deep affection and solicitude for the bourgeoisie — such are Tao Chu's

feelings. Here this malignant monster stands revealed, now stripped of his mask.

"Literary Talent" Which Is Rotten To the Core

How shameful it is for a man to preen himself on his "literary talent" on the strength of a pretentious literary style and incomprehensible language! It is very much like those ignorant landlords who hung on the lips of men of letters and, while obviously possessing not a tittle of literary knowledge, rocked back and forth, chanting mumbo jumbo like classical scholars.

Though displaying no literary talent whatsoever, the book actively propagates the revisionist line in literature and art in its entirety. The author, Tao Chu, has faithfully applied the reactionary programme for literature and art laid down by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and is a jackal from the same lair as Lu Ting-yi and Chou Yang. In the spring of 1960, at the "National Conference of Newsreel and Documentary Scenarists" which was convened by the counter-revolutionary revisionists Hsia Yen and Chen Huang-mei of the old Ministry of Culture, they distributed the big poisonous weed *Thinking, Feeling and Literary Talent* as a conference document for all participants to study. This shows to what extent they worked in collusion. To counter Chairman Mao's line on literature and art, Tao Chu had netted into his black ragbag almost every kind of reactionary idea then prevalent in literary and art circles, i.e., the theory of "human nature," of "truthful writing," of "freedom of creation," of "the middle character," the theory that "there is no harm in ghost plays," etc. Let us give one or two examples and briefly refute them.

"Communist Party members are warm-hearted. . . they must feel for everybody except counter-revolutionaries."³⁴ In class society there are only class feelings; there are no feelings above class. "Feelings" here means "love." "To feel for everybody" is identical with the "love for everybody" propagated by modern revisionism. It means to "love" the exploiting classes, "love" renegades, "love" their flunkies and "love" those in authority taking the capitalist road. This is the most shameless genuflection and homage to reactionaries.

"We must fully develop the writers' freedom of creation. The writer's pen is his own and the writer's ideas are his own. We must allow the writers independence of creation."³⁵ This is a naked counter-revolutionary slogan straight out of the Petofi Club. There is only freedom in the concrete, no freedom in the abstract. In class society there is only class freedom; there is no freedom above class. All works of literature and art serve the politics of definite classes. There is no such thing as "free" literature and art detached from class politics nor can there be any. Whatever their particular form of expression, the ideas of any person, including those of any writer, are not isolated "ideas of his own." They are a manifestation of the ideas, interests and aspirations of definite classes and the reflection of class

relations in a given society. Do the 700 million Chinese people have 700 million kinds of "ideas of their own"? Certainly not. Fundamentally they fall into only two kinds — one is the world outlook of the proletariat, or Mao Tse-tung's thought; the other is the world outlook of the bourgeoisie, or bourgeois individualism of every kind. To advocate "freedom of creation" or "independence of creation" which depart from Mao Tse-tung's thought is to instigate demons and freaks "freely" to attack socialism and propagate capitalism, and to deprive the proletarian revolutionaries of all freedom of counter-attack, thus serving the criminal intrigue of restoring capitalism. The term "freedom of creation" is nothing but a fig-leaf for the diehard servants of the bourgeoisie.

"Life is many-sided. It does not conform to one pattern. So don't confine it within a fixed framework."³⁶ This is nothing but the "theory of opposition to subject matter as the decisive factor." Using the pretext of opposing "a fixed framework," its purpose is actually to oppose revolutionary writers doing their best to reflect the class struggle in the socialist era, sing the praise of the workers, peasants and soldiers and portray proletarian heroes. "Life is many-sided." Actually, it has two main sides. One is the revolutionary struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries and the broad working masses who, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, push history forward. The other is the rotten reactionary life of the bourgeois reactionaries, who resist the progress of history. We must take the militant life of the proletarian revolutionaries who are really conscious of their historical task as the principal aspect, as our orientation and as the central theme for praise and portrayal, and through the portrayal of typical heroes, reflect our unprecedentedly heroic age and the tremendous power and triumph of Mao Tse-tung's thought. As for the reactionary rotten life of the bourgeoisie, it can serve only as the target for criticism, assault and exposure and must never serve as the main side of creative works. "It does not conform to one pattern"; but there must be one pattern and in Tao Chu's mind life consists of the vulgar sentiments and demoralizing tunes of the bourgeoisie in the *Three-Family Lane* which have won his unceasing praise and which in fact are decaying rubbish in the garbage of history. Isn't this clear enough?

So long as literature and art "truthfully reflect reality, . . . to me, their role at times is no less important than that of editorials and reports."³⁷ This again is an exact reproduction of Hu Feng's theory of "truthful writing." All images created in works of literature and art show the political tendencies of the writers and artists, their class love and class hatred. There is no such thing as an abstract or disinterested "truthful reflection of reality." Proletarian revolutionaries are thoroughgoing materialists. Thoroughgoing materialists are dauntless. Only from the proletarian standpoint can one truthfully reflect the essence of historical progress. The reactionary literature and art of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists present the workers, peasants

and soldiers in a distorted form, and they distort reality. This is the inevitable result of the reactionary world outlook of historical idealism on which such literature and art rest. To promote "truthful writing" in the abstract means to oppose the propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the education of the people in the communist spirit through literature and art. It means negating and covering up the class character of literature and art, and seeking a "theoretical" basis for noxious weeds which glamorize the exploiting classes and defame the proletariat. It is the rottenest muck in the bourgeois armoury of literature and art.

"One may look at both the good and the bad aspect . . . it is permissible for literary and artistic works to describe shortcomings . . . we must not give the impression that when we want to praise the people's communes we have to laud them to the skies."³⁸ This is the theory of "exposure of the dark side," a reproduction of the reactionary theory of laying "equal stress on the bright and the dark, half and half," which Chairman Mao condemned long ago. We should distinguish between the main current and the minor currents of life. Only when we focus on the main current can we give a typical presentation of the essence of social advance. Minor currents merely offer a contrast to the main current and can be used as means to present the essence, forming a subordinate aspect of the whole, partial and temporary twists in the course of advance, never to be regarded as the main content of life. We should centre our efforts mainly on writing about the bright, on praising our great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction, that is, praising the triumph of Mao Tse-tung's thought, on presenting the world-shaking heroism and wisdom of proletarian revolutionary fighters in the struggle, on portraying the heroic workers, peasants and soldiers of our era and not on presenting the "good side" and the "bad side," half and half. Naturally works on the people's communes should praise their superiority to the full. Why should it be necessary to list all the shortcomings and mistakes occurring along the path of progress? There is a song called *The People's Communes Are Fine*. Is it necessary to modify this title with another sentence "the people's communes have shortcomings?" To exaggerate, play up and build vicious fabrication upon partial, isolated phenomena is the old tune the imperialists, the revisionists and the bourgeoisie harp on in their rumour-mongering and slanders, and this veteran Rightist apes them. Is it necessary to avoid contradiction in devoting our main effort to praising the bright? Is it necessary to avoid talking of the enemy's struggles and counter-attacks? Is it necessary to tone down sharp conflicts? No, it is not. Society advances through class struggle. The revolutionary forces of the proletariat invariably blaze their way forward in fierce struggle with the counter-revolutionary forces of the bourgeoisie. Only by making typical historical generalizations about class contradictions and class struggles can the bright, the victorious and the heroic be portrayed in all their depth and splendour, and not superficially and

trivially. The revolutionary people will sweep Tao Chu's theory of the "exposure of the dark side" into the dustbin of history, along with his black soul.

See Through the Khrushchov-Type Careerists

From the several aspects mentioned above, people can easily see that Tao Chu is nothing but a big Rightist who managed to slip out of the net, a revisionist, a loyal executant and propagandist of the reactionary bourgeois line represented by China's Khrushchov, a counter-revolutionary double-dealer who sneaked into the Party. The reactionary system of Kuomintang philosophy and the other germs spread by his books must be thoroughly wiped out.

Tao Chu is a careerist of the Khrushchov type. He sticks stubbornly to the capitalist political orientation. He bitterly hates socialism and hankers after capitalism day and night. His "ideals" in politics, culture and life are nothing but a capitalist restoration in China. His head is stuffed with the reactionary world outlook of the exploiting classes, such as the philosophy of traitors and the idea of "the scholar dies for his bosom friend." However, in his efforts not to be exposed under the dictatorship of the proletariat, he cannot but disguise himself in a revolutionary cloak. This fellow is extremely crooked. He is a double-dealer who talks big, now eloquent and seemingly straightforward and now insinuating: such are his familiar practices. But on the fundamental question of which road to take, the socialist or the capitalist road, he can be promptly stripped of his disguise and his true features can be laid bare when he is brought before the magic mirror of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Aren't these two books iron-clad proof of his taking the capitalist road?

All careerists of the Khrushchov type are conspiratorial usurpers of Party leadership. In order to oppose the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought and oppose the proletarian revolutionaries, they resort to all kinds of tricks and intrigues to expand the power held by a handful of revisionists and they shamelessly boost themselves. Tao Chu came out with these two books not only to prepare public opinion for a capitalist restoration, but also as a means of expanding the power held by a handful of revisionists like himself. There is an article in his book entitled, "Introduction to *Notes of Talks Made During the Journey to the West*." *Notes of Talks Made During the Journey to the West* was originally entitled *Notes of Talks Taken by Members of My Entourage*. When he was rambling round, Tao Chu took along several malevolent scholars as members of his retinue. He talked at random, and these scholars took notes on his talk as though it consisted of imperial decrees. The notes were then embellished and released to the press. The "notes of talks" are notes on Tao Chu's talks. From these, "a total of 27 articles were produced!" He had the audacity to have them published

in book form. He even chose the title for the collection, wrote an introduction and added an inscription! Does not this show his ambition to become the "despotic ruler of the south"? In the propagation of his reactionary views, Tao Chu's books, *Ideals* and *Thinking*, teem with such displays of personal power and self-glorification. He intended to use these books to prepare public opinion for the seizure of power from the proletarian headquarters. When Tao Chu came from his regional post to the central organ of leadership, he extended his reach so far and wide and within a few months exposed his maniac desire to seize power from the proletariat so strikingly, stopping at nothing in recruiting deserters and turncoats, buying over bad elements who had already been exposed by the revolutionary people, opposing the Central Committee of the Party headed by Chairman Mao and attacking the revolutionaries, that none of his double-dealing tricks could cover up his counter-revolutionary ambition any longer. Can we not draw an important lesson from this negative example and learn how to see through persons of the Khrushchov type?

Tao Chu is a despicable pragmatist. He has the speculator's glib talk. In order to peddle revisionism and to oppose and attack what he called dogmatism — actually Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought — he appeared as an ultra-Rightist one minute and on the extreme "Left" the next. In this way, he corrupted, confused and hoodwinked those who waver in the middle of the road, so as to protect himself from being exposed. After he took charge of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee, Tao Chu became the faithful agent of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in suppressing the revolutionary masses. He did his utmost to oppose Chairman Mao's great big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters." He tried his best to protect the monsters. But when the masses rose to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, with a twist of the body he made a sudden change and appeared in the guise of an ultra "Left" anarchist. He shouted himself hoarse that "in the great cultural revolution, it is correct to doubt everyone." "I am all for bombardment in general . . . nobody knows what the headquarters really represent, and that goes for every headquarters." "You can oppose anybody." He "creatively" developed the bourgeois reactionary line of "hitting hard at the many in order to protect a handful." He appeared to be surprisingly "Left," but in fact he was "Left" in form and Right in essence. His purpose was to blur the distinction between the proletarian headquarters and the bourgeois headquarters, and direct the spearhead of attack at the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao so that the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road could sneak away in the confusion. "To doubt everyone" and such like are designed to deal with the proletarian headquarters. "To doubt everyone" except himself, "to overthrow everyone" except himself — isn't there something fishy here? Comrades, please note that there are now a handful of counter-revolutionaries who are adopting

the same method. Using slogans that sound extremely "Left" but in essence are extremely Right, they have stirred up evil gusts of "doubting everyone," while bombarding the proletarian headquarters, creating dissension and exploiting confusion. To achieve their sinister ulterior aim, they have vainly attempted to shake and split the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. The organizers and manipulators of the so-called "May 16" group are just such a scheming counter-revolutionary gang. It must be thoroughly exposed. Young people who have been misled and have not understood the true situation should pull themselves up sharply and turn back to hit those who have misled them. They should avoid the traps set for them. This counter-revolutionary organization has two aims: one is to undermine and split the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by our great leader Chairman Mao and the other is to undermine and split the main pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the great Chinese People's Liberation Army. This counter-revolutionary organization dare not come out into the open. It has hidden itself underground in Peking for the last few months. We have as yet not fully identified most of its members and leaders. For they send their people out to paste up broadsheets and paint slogans only in the silence of the night. The broad masses are making investigations in relation to these people, and things will shortly be made clear. With regard to these persons, so long as we use the method of class analysis which Chairman Mao teaches and study their attitude to the bourgeoisie and to the proletariat, study their political tendencies by analysing whom they support and whom they oppose, and study their past history, we can detect a sinister counter-revolutionary hand even in the midst of the constantly changing phenomenon. The more they try to cover up those things which have already been exposed by pretending to be extraordinarily "excessive" or "fair," the more fully they reveal their true features as careerists. Take the revisionist Tao Chu for example. This obvious thief consciously adopted the guise of a sage; this obvious man of the extreme Right, who openly declared that his heart "beat in unison with" that of the bourgeoisie, suddenly and deliberately jumped to the extremely "Left" position of "doubting everyone." Yet all the time the spearhead of his attack was directed at the proletarian revolutionaries. This clearly exposes him as a careerist.

The deepening of the class struggle and the victories of the proletarian revolutionaries compel the enemies constantly to change their tactics of struggle. When one counter-revolutionary scheme of theirs is seen through, they resort to another and they use these devices alternately. But these degenerates can never escape detection by Mao Tse-tung's thought which discovers the minutest detail in everything. In the present victorious situation, we must give full attention to the general orientation of the struggle, to safeguarding the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, to carrying through the unified plan for battle decided upon by Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party.

to mastering policies and tactics, to uniting the great majority and to preventing such characters as Tao Chu from creating confusion in our ranks, from either the Right, or the "Left," or both sides simultaneously. When the forces of the Left make mistakes, the forces of the Right exploit them. This has always been so. In the current movement of mass criticism and repudiation, we should arrive at a still deeper understanding of this fact by summing up the historical experience of class struggle.

In chapter five of the novel *The Dream of the Red Chamber* there is a song titled *The Trouble With Being Too Clever*. Its first two lines read: "With all your calculations and intrigues, you are too clever; they bring you no good but will cost you your life!" All the Khrushchov-like careerists who oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought and think themselves clever have "calculated and intrigued" in the dark. This game can be said to have reached its climax with Tao Chu's invention of the famous "art of transplanting people's heads" (the head of the No. 2 top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was cut from another picture and transplanted on to someone else's shoulders in a photograph in order to give prominence to the No. 2 Party capitalist roader in opposition to the decision of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party). But in the end the rock these people lift to hurl at others drops on their own feet, and they themselves create the conditions for their own downfall. The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in the Wuhan area have turned out to be fools of the same kind, simple-minded and reactionary in their thinking. Those who play intrigues will come to no good end. When the broad masses rise to action, nothing evil can be hidden any more. The downfall of the revisionist bad elements who oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is inevitable. Such is the verdict of history. No matter how they struggle and quibble, the handful of the Khrushchov-like careerists will never be able to escape this verdict of history.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is surging forward like a mighty torrent. The brilliant rays of Mao Tse-tung's thought are lighting up all China and the entire world. China's proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary people are courageous. We are determined to carry this great revolution through to the end. The counter-offensives, attacks, rumours and sowing of discord by the handful of capitalist roaders in authority, and all the different kinds of slander, distortion, vilification and clamour coming from the imperialists, the reactionaries of all countries and the modern revisionists, definitely cannot prevent our advance but will only prove these same persons to be thoroughly stupid and at the end of their tether. Comrades, let us raise our hands and hail this great storm which is cleansing the vast land of China! Mao Tse-tung's thought is invincible. The people's strength is inexhaustible. What is new-born and revolutionary is irresistible. People will see that, after traversing the magnificent

and tortuous path of the great cultural revolution, a great socialist China under the dictatorship of the proletariat, unprecedentedly strong, consolidated and unified, will tower in the East like a giant and deal still heavier blows at the cannibals of the 20th century.

NOTES

¹ *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life* (in Chinese), China Youth Publishing House, Peking, 1962, p. 77.

² *ibid.*, p. 61-63.

³ "Problems Concerning Contradictions Among the People and Letting a Hundred Flowers Blossom and a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend," "How to Handle Correctly the Contradictions Among the Kwangtung People," in *Nanfang Ribao* (South China Daily), May 4 and 5, 1957.

⁴ *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, p. 5.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 20.

⁶ *Wenyi Bao* (Literary and Art Gazette), No. 11, 1965, p. 3.

⁷ *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, p. 51.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 45.

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 112.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 95.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 50.

¹² *Thinking, Feeling and Literary Talent* (in Chinese), Kwangtung People's Publishing House, Kwangchow, 1964, pp. 37-38.

¹³ *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, p. 49.

¹⁴ Chiang Kai-shek, *Essentials of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Teachings*, second lecture.

¹⁵ *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, pp. 42-43.

¹⁶ "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, p. 86.

¹⁷ *Thinking, Feeling and Literary Talent*, p. 21.

¹⁸ Tao Chu's talk to Kwangtung democrats, September 27, 1961.

¹⁹ Mao Tse-tung, "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?," Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1966, p. 1.

²⁰ Mao Tse-tung, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1966, p. 52.

²¹ *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, p. 67.

²² Khrushchov of China, "Summary of Talk to the Central Committee of the China Democratic National Construction Association and Leading Members of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce," (February 12, 1960).

²³ *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, pp. 68-69.

²⁴ Khrushchov of China, "Talk at the Peking Cadres Conference," (May 19, 1949).

²⁵ *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, p. 69.

²⁶ *Wenyi Bao* (Literary and Art Gazette), No. 11, 1965, p. 6.

²⁷ Khrushchov of China, "On Organizational and Disciplinary Training of Communists," (1941).

²⁸ *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, p. 67.

²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 4.

³¹ *ibid.*, p. 26.

³² *ibid.*, p. 11.

³³ *ibid.*, p. 27.

³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 75.

³⁵ *Thinking, Feeling and Literary Talent*, p. 33.

³⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 3.

³⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

("Renmin Ribao," September 8.)