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SELECTED TRANSLATIONS ON RIGHTIST
OPPORTUNISM IN COMMUNIST CHINA

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THE THOUGHT OF MAO TSE-TUNG
IS OUR BANNER OF VICTORY

[The following is a full translation of an article written by Liu Tzu-chiu appearing in Cheng-chih Hsueh-hsi (Political Study), Peiping, No 19, 12 October 1959, pages 2-7.]

The publication of the Communique of the Eighth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party and its "Resolution on the Development of the Production Increase and Economy Campaign" is like the spring breeze which rapidly blows over all the country.

Like the clarion call to battle, it has immediately roused the sky-rocketing zeal of the people of the whole country. It has been followed by victory reports from all fronts. The red spearheads on the charts showing the implementation of production plans are daily rising.

All these irrefutable facts convincingly prove the complete correctness of the call raised by the Eighth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party for opposition to rightist trends, for the exertion of effort and the further development of the movement to achieve production increases and economy. They prove the complete correctness of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, which combines the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution.

At the same time the facts also prove the complete mistake of the thinking and action of the rightist opportunists who doubt and oppose the general line of the Party, the people's communes, the big leap forward and the vigorous development of the mass movement.

The facts have proved and will continue to prove that the Eighth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party has written a brilliant page in the history of the building of socialism in our country. Today a mass movement is being developed on a nation-wide basis for the study, discussion and thorough implementation of the documents of the Eighth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party.

This movement has from its very inception become a colossal force which moves all tasks forward rapidly. The foundation source of energy of this power is the thought of Mao Tse-tung. In our work and our struggle, the thought of Mao Tse-tung is like sunlight and air to human life, indispensable for a single moment. If the thought this is lacking, people will shrink ideologically and politically, be suffocated, and then deteriorate and stiffen.

The great victory achieved by the Eighth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party is the victory of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Hence the study, understanding and thorough implementation of the spirit of the various documents of the Eight Plenum means in effect study, understanding and thorough implementation of the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

It also means utilization of the position, viewpoint and method of Comrade Mao Tse-tung in the observation, analysis and solution of various contradictory problems.

Accordingly, I feel that in the study of the documents of the Eighth Plenum, we must strictly observe the five principles of belief, study, dissemination, action and protection, and also resolutely put them into execution.

Belief means belief in the thought of Mao Tse-tung. This belief must be unshakably firm. In the course of the revolutionary struggle and socialist construction in China, innumerable practices have proved the thought of Mao Tse-tung to be the sole correct system of thought. It is the metamorphosis of Marxism-Leninism in China. It is the symbol of truth.

Accordingly, at any time and at any place and on any question, if a person becomes shaken in his belief in the thought of Mao Tse-tung, even if this vacillation be temporary and slight, he has in effect divorced himself from the truth of Marxism-Leninism.

As a result, he will assuredly lose his sense of direction and commit political mistakes. Therefore, we must firmly and forever follow in the footsteps of Chairman Mao. We must march forward, 100 percent together and without the least discontents along the path pointed out by Chairman Mao.

Study means study of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. This study must be serious, penetrating and

thorough, and we must understand its spirit and actual content. We definitely cannot afford to adopt the attitude of studying without attempting to obtain understanding.

To realize this goal, we must on the one hand seriously study the works of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, which are documents that concretely and movingly reveal his thought. They are also models of penetrating thought presented in simple form.

The text is clear, popular and easily understood, but the truth is very deep and may only be thoroughly digested through long-term assiduous study. For this reason we must undertake an intensive reading and study, and strive to grasp the spirit and actual content of Mao Tse-tung's writings.

However, in order to reach this goal we must, on the other hand, and this is even more important, we must penetrate into the mass movement in order to study in the midst of practice. This is because the thought of Mao Tse-tung is a combination of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution. It is the theory which guides the masses in revolutionary practice. It is the summarization of the experiences of the proletarian revolution.

To get at the essence of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, we must truthfully take up the stand of the working class, and penetrate into the revolutionary mass movement. For example, we must get into the midst of the [situation which existed during the] war of resistance against the Japanese, get into the midst of the movement for the reform of the land system, get into the midst of the three-anti and five-anti movements, get into the midst of the three major socialist reform movements, get into the midst of the movement for people's communes, and get into the midst of the movement for the all-out development of the iron and steel industry if we are to arrive at a comparatively more penetrating understanding and appreciation [of the thought of Mao Tse-tung].

If our study is divorced from the practice of the revolution, we shall not make a success of it. On the subject of study, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "Book reading is study, but making use of our knowledge is also study, and indeed a more important kind of study." This tells us how to study.

Dissemination means the propagation of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. When a man has learned something and knows a little of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, he must carry out propaganda among other people. This is because the thought of Mao Tse-tung is a kind of public wealth of great value in human society, and if this public wealth is retained as one's own possession, it will not be able to fully play its due role.

Only by turning this wealth into the common property of the broad masses, by making it understandable to the broad masses of the working people and placed within their grasp will it become an invincible material force.

It is because the thought of Mao Tse-tung has been understood and grasped by the broad masses of people that the Chinese national democratic revolution and socialist revolution have achieved a thorough and gigantic victory. In 1958, the Chinese people were able to achieve their over-all big leap forward on all fronts because they realized that the general line of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, provides for the "exertion of the utmost effort, striving to press forward consistently, and building socialism with greater, quicker, better and more economical achievements."

They also grasped the comprehensive policy of "walking on two legs." This general line and comprehensive policy were both fully understood and grasped by the broad masses of the people.

Accordingly, when a person has studied and gained some understanding of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, he must utilize every opportunity and adopt all forms and think of all measures to carry out propaganda and explanation among other people, so that the ideas may be understood and grasped by more and more people. People may thus achieve more and greater victories in their class struggle and their struggle against nature.

Action means participation in various social practices in accordance with the lines and policies laid down by the Party which are based on the thought of Mao Tse-tung. These include production activities, the class struggle, political activities and scientific and artistic activities.

The thought of Mao Tse-tung is a system of thought which is derived from the practice of the masses,

has been reworked and elevated to a higher level, and used in turn to guide the practical deeds of the masses.

It is a system of thought "which discovers truth through practice, and through practice proves the truth and further develops the truth.

It is a system of thought which brings about understanding of the objective world through practice, and which "transforms the objective world, and also transforms one's own subjective world - that is, transforms one's own capacity for understanding - and transforms the relationship between the subjective world and the objective world."

And so, in order to really understand and to learn to utilize the thought of Mao Tse-tung, one must actively throw himself into various social activities. At the moment, the most important thing is to actively participate in the vigorous and universal high tide of the movement which is against the rightist tendency, and to exert the utmost effort toward developing the campaign to increase production and extend economics.

The people who pursue a course exactly opposite to that laid down by the thought of Mao Tse-tung are those who adopt the attitude of "watching a fire from the opposite bank" and "stand on the side unconcerned" in dealing with the current revolutionary mass movement (not to mention those who stand aloof making free criticism with various gestures and those who adopt an opposing position).

Only those who personally participate in the revolutionary mass movement which is ablaze with fire will be strengthened, will consolidate their proletarian stand, raise their own political awakening and enrich their experience through struggle.

On the question of courageously participating in a mass movement, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us the following in his article On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation: "We must boldly direct the movement. Do not fear the dragon in front or the tiger behind.

Cadres and peasants will transform themselves in the midst of their own struggles. We must let them act, so that in their action they will learn lessons and enrich their knowledge and talent. In this way a large number of excellent personnel will grow up. The attitude of fearing dragons in front and tigers behind will not build up cadres."

Protection means the safeguarding of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. We must raise our own political sensitiveness, and our own capacity for political evaluation. We definitely cannot adopt an attitude of compromise in dealing with the various thoughts, trends and feelings which are opposed to the thought of Mao Tse-tung, no matter where such reactionary thoughts, trends and feelings come from or who the people are that hold them, or on whatever front they are found - whether it be political, economic, cultural or military - and whatever forms they take - overt or covert. We must carry out a resolute struggle against them.

There should be and can be no compromise between what is correct and what is incorrect. Because the correct thing always struggles against the incorrect, it overcomes it and thus grows and gathers strength.

The history of the growth and development of the Chinese Communist Party is, in effect, the history of the struggle between the thought of Mao Tse-tung, which is truly Marxist-Leninist, and various anti-Marxist-Leninist thoughts. This struggle runs through the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, like a piece of red thread.

On the question of the Party line, the most primary struggles were those resolutely carried out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung against Chen Tu-hsiu's rightist opportunism; and against the "leftist" opportunism of Comrade Li Li-san and Comrade Wang Ming (during the time of the first Wang Ming line).

On the question of the style of study to be followed in the Party, there was a resolute struggle against doctrinalism and empiricism. On the question of strategy during the anti-Japanese war, there was a resolute struggle against "the theory of extermination of the state" and "the theory of quick victory."

On the question of the revolutionary nature of China's new democracy, there was the resolute struggle against "leftist" theory of empty talk and the die-hards. On the question of agricultural cooperation, there was the struggle against the rightist conservative ideology which can be likened to "the walk of a woman with bound feet."

In the series of struggles mentioned above, victory was finally won by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

On the question of socialist construction, there has at this time been developed an uncompromising struggle against the rightist opportunists who oppose the general line, the big leap forward and the people's communes. Like all the previous struggles against all "leftist" and rightist opportunists in the past, this struggle will also end in complete victory. A guarantee will be provided for the high speed development of our great socialist construction cause.

It can thus be seen that if a person does not use the thought of Mao Tse-tung as his weapon to carry out a resolute struggle against all kinds of anti-Marxist thoughts, he will become the kind of person who only in name, but not in fact, believes in, studies, propagates and practices the system of Mao Tse-tung.

The history of the Party has taught us a most penetrating lesson. It is that we shall be invincible at any time, in any place, and on any question, so long as we can firmly and unshakably believe in the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and earnestly study, propagate and implement that thought, and resolutely struggle against all ideas which are opposed to it. Otherwise we will fall. This is a truth which has been proved by innumerable historical facts.

FROM THE THEORETICAL SIDE, WE
MUST DEFEAT THE TIDE OF ANTI-
MARXIST THINKING

[This is a complete translation of an article written by YU Kuang-yuan appearing in Cheng-chih Hsueh-hsi (Political Study), Peiping, No 19, 12 October 1959, pages 15-20.]

Study of the documents of the Eighth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee meeting of the Party and opposition to rightist opportunism constitute a struggle over the Party line. In this struggle the theoretical front is an important aspect.

We must defeat rightist opportunist anti-Marxist thinking not only in the political and economic fields, but also even especially, in the theoretical field.

A characteristic of the opportunist is his evasion of an ambiguous position on the theoretical issues. He dares not systematically and clearly reveal his true thoughts for the opportunists know all that once they do so they will immediately be completely isolated from the Party and the people.

Nevertheless, if we trace the matter to its root, these people do have their "theory". At the appropriate moment, they will also release certain of their "theoretical" viewpoints in order to provide the basis for the rightist opportunist activities they are carrying out.

Looked at philosophically, the stand of rightist opportunism is idealistic, and many among them embrace bourgeois idealist empiricism. Idealist empiricism treats experience as the primary fact of nature, and it does not accept matter as the first element of nature.

The 18th century British idealist philosopher Berkeley stated the theory that "existence is perception". This merely says that matter does not exist objectively, but that matter itself is but a creation of the sensitive reaction of man. This theory is the frank manifestation of such a world conception.

When such idealism is developed to its limit, it becomes egoism. Egoism holds that with the exception of "self," there is nothing else in the world which truly exists. Egoism does not accept objective truth, but advocates "What I perceive is the truth," and "What is useful to me is the truth."

The egoist philosophical viewpoint is very ridiculous, hence even subjective idealist philosophers often do not admit to being egoists. However, unless one contradicts himself, subjective idealist empiricism must lead to egoism.

Egoism is the philosophy of the individualist. Whatever they may say, the ambitious individualists among our revolutionary ranks have as their philosophical viewpoint egoism.

And, this is precisely the case which describes the rightist opportunists. To them, all things which conform to their subjective wishes have their support; and all things which do not conform to their subjective wishes we receive their opposition.

Their subjective wishes are in reality the wishes of the bourgeoisie. They oppose the general line of the Party and attempt to transform the world in accordance with their own patterns. Hence, they are specifically passing judgment on things in accordance with what the subjective wishes of the bourgeois.

What exactly is the world outlook of a person? This cannot be determined solely by what he says it is. Instead, it must be determined by his viewpoints on political, economic and other important questions.

In order to thoroughly expose and criticize rightist opportunism, we must use the weapon of dialectic materialism to oppose idealism, idealist empiricism and egoism.

Rightist opportunism opposes the scientific socialist theory of Marxism. The latter tells us that in order to build a socialist society, we must win victory in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and the other exploiting classes.

Also, that we must carry to the end the struggle against the bourgeoisie, and we must take a free hand in the mobilization of the masses so as to vigorously develop the mass movement. Hence a person who really wants to struggle for the socialist cause

must resolutely stand on the side of the proletariat in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, and participate in the revolutionary mass movement.

The rightist opportunists sometimes also give lip service to supporting socialism and they have a vague understanding of socialism. But when the socialist revolution truly arrives, they are scared to death before the fierce class struggle and the gigantic mass movement.

They always hold that "the thing is carried to excess," and that it will "lead to trouble." They always stand aside and point their fingers and feet at the movement, pour cold water over the heads of the masses, and oppose the revolutionary mass movement.

This exposes them as people who do not really want the socialist revolution. Though they have joined the Party organizationally, they are not true Marxists. They are only fellow travelers of the Party. They are not Communists, but only bourgeois democrats.

The fierce class struggle and the vigorous mass movement provides the test for the revolutionaries. In this test, we will clearly see whether or not a person is a true Marxist, and if so what percentage of Marxism he has taken up.

In their opposition to the general line, to the big leap forward and to the people's communes, the rightist opportunists have done their best in distorting the Marxist political economy. To oppose the people's communes they distort the law of dialectic unity which exists between productive forces and is part of production relationships. To oppose the big leap forward they distort the law of the planned and proportionate development of socialist national economy. To oppose the campaign for the all-out development of iron and steel production through groups and small native undertakings they distort the truth that special attention must be given to the economic effects of production under the socialist system.

To oppose Communist education of the workers they distort the principle of the necessity to practice distribution according to labor during the stage of socialism. To oppose the pursuance of the mass line in work to achieve economies they distort the truth of the need to practice centralized management. And to oppose revolutionary zeal they distort the relationship which exists between subjective capacity and objective laws.

They also disguise themselves as people well versed in Marxist political economy, whereas they really do not have the least bit of knowledge of Marxism.

For example, they freely talk about the need for productive forces to be suited to production relationships. But they do not appreciate that we must have an over-all understanding of the law of the dialectic unity of productive forces and production relationships. This means the following:

(1) There is the situation in which production relationships are determined by productive forces, and the opposite situation in which the production relationships promote the development of productive forces.

A change in production relationships is not a passive reflection of the progress of productive forces. It is true that in the history of the development of society, such as in the history of capitalism and pre-capitalist systems, the following situation was seen: under the old production relationship when productive forces are developed an acute state of contradiction emerges between the new productive forces and the old production relationship, so that the relationship has to be changed to cope with the new productive forces.

However, under the conditions of socialism, how is it possible for us to unselfishly meet the demands created by the development of productive forces and, before the contradiction between the new productive forces and the original production relationship has developed to the stage of conflict, carry out the timely adjustment of production relationships in order to promote the development of the production forces?

(2) At the same time, the productive forces which determine the production relationship include not only the means of labor, but also the most active and most revolutionary factors of the productive forces. Hence, production relationships must not only keep in step with improvement of the means of labor so that the latter may all the better develop its role, but they must also keep pace with the increased activism of the workers and the improvement of labor organization, so that the activism of the workers may be further developed and the organization of labor may be further improved.

In 1958 the Communist spirit of the broad masses of our peasants was greatly developed, and they felt that the original form of higher agricultural cooperatives could not fully develop their activism. As a result, they demanded its substitution by the greater and more impartial form of the people's commune.

(3) Furthermore, the means of labor which determines production relationship is not merely mechanical, but it includes other means. For example, in realizing the establishment of the people's communes in 1958, the major accomplishment was not the mechanization of agriculture, but rather the improvement of other means of labor.

They included such things as the development of water conservancy and the all out development of other construction projects which could not be undertaken by the original higher agricultural cooperatives.

These improvements in the means of labor called for a new production relationship to keep pace with them, and the emergence of the people's commune proved perfectly that it was the best form of organization.

The theory of the rightist opportunists that "the development of the people's communes has exceeded the level of the development of productive forces" is an attempt to use "the theory of productivity" (which has long been refuted by Marxist classical writers) to pose as the important Marxist theory on the dialectic unity which exists between production relationships and productive forces.

Other theories of the rightist opportunists on political economy also distort Marxism. For example, the rightist opportunists raise the theory of "the disharmonization of the proportionate development of the national economy." This is a basic distortion of the Marxist theory of re-production.

They extensively exaggerate the disharmony in the proportionate relationships that are of a temporary nature appearing in certain individual links. But they avoid reference to and distortion of the basic proportionate relationships in the national economy - that is, the proportionate relationship which exists between production materials and consumption materials, between agriculture and industry and between heavy industry and light industry, and between accumulation and consumption.

The theory of the rightist opportunists that "in the all-out development of iron and steel production, the gains do not compensate for what is lost, and their basic distortion of the truth that economic results cannot be viewed from the production cost of a single industry or a single item of production, but must rather be viewed from the interests of the national economy as a whole and over a long period of time.

We have so far only listed and explained certain reactionary theoretical viewpoints of the rightist opportunists in the fields of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism.

In addition to these, the rightist opportunists hold certain other extreme and erroneous theoretical viewpoints. They include views on the uninterrupted revolution and the theory of the stages of the development of the revolution. These must also be refuted.

The development of the struggle against rightist opportunism on the theoretical front is an important task. This struggle will not only fully uproot rightist opportunism and thoroughly smash it, but will also greatly raise our own theoretical level. Therefore, let us study properly in the midst of this struggle.

SEEKING THE SOURCE OF RIGHTIST- OPPORTUNIST IDEOLOGY

[This is a full translation of an article written by Yu Sui-an appearing in Cheng-chih Hsueh-hsi (Political Study), Peiping, No 20, 27 October 1959, pages 8-12.]

While the labor class and working people in our country are continuously making victorious advances under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and under the mass line of socialist construction, the great leap forward and the illustrious banner of the people's communes, a handful of rightist opportunist elements have relentlessly attacked our mass line, the great leap forward and the people's communes.

This is no surprise because the rightist opportunist elements are representative of the interests of the capitalist class, whose fate has already been doomed. Their ideological stand has to be exposed ultimately, but in order to thoroughly criticize and overcome their mistakes, it is also necessary for us to seek the original source of rightist opportunism.

In regard to this question, Lenin and Stalin made many significant speeches. In an article entitled "The Abolition of Abolitionism," (Ch'u-hsiao Ch'u-hsiao Ghu-i) Lenin writes: "At the stage of the capitalist revolution, some bourgeois fellow-travellers necessarily join the proletarian party. But, it is difficult for them to understand the theory and strategy of the proletariat and they are unable to stay remain with them at the moment of collapse. Consequently, they are most inclined to opportunism."

In "Foundations of Leninism," Stalin also says: "The opportunist elements in the Party are the source of Party factionalism. The proletariat is not an isolated class. A steady stream of peasants, small tradesmen and intellectuals, who have become "proletarianized" by the development of capitalism, flows into the ranks of the proletariat.

At the same time the upper strata of the proletariat --principally the trade union leaders and labor

members of parliament--who have been bribed by the bourgeoisie with money derived from the super-profits extracted from the colonies, are undergoing a process of decay."

Now let us take a look at the rightist opportunist elements. Their situation, it seems to us, is akin to what Lenin and Stalin described. Since their participation in the revolution, our rightist opportunist elements have been acting as fellow-travellers. They have not truly accepted the revolutionary theory of the proletariat, and from beginning to end they have stood for the capitalist and bourgeois classes, and never undergone a really thorough reform.

Because the capitalist class is fundamentally opposed to the stand of the proletariat, the rightist opportunist elements are necessarily anti-Marxist in ideology. Despite the fact that some of them have repeatedly claimed they are Marxist they have in reality, merely cloaked themselves as Marxists and attempted to be recognized as such. But we will not let them achieve their pretense of being Marxist which they use to deceive the masses. We certainly will lift up their masks and expose their real faces. We will seek the source of their reactionary ideology.

By what method can we do this? Some people say the mistake of the rightist opportunists is its ignorance of dialectics, or that their position is the result of separating themselves from dialectics. What is the meaning of these words? They mean that those who have blundered on account of their rightist opportunist ideology are still materialists, and that their mistake simply lies with their method of thought, which is contrary to the principles of dialectics. Is this explanation correct? Certainly not. To separate dialectics from materialism is their primary mistake [in so reasoning].

If those who have blundered on account of rightist opportunism still are considered materialists, then we may ask what kind of materialists they are. Are they mechanical materialists or dialectical materialists? We Marxists recognize as truth only the theory of dialectical materialism. The mistake committed by the rightist opportunist elements cannot be thought of as merely a question of thought method. As a matter of fact, their mistake is due to their opposition to the basic theory of Marxism.

The basic theory of Marxism is the foundation of Marxism. It is a world view based on dialectical materialism, and is linked with all phases. If this world view becomes problematical, then it will be expressed in many ways. On the contrary, from the ways in which one's ideology is expressed, we will know whether or not one's world view becomes a problem.

The rightist opportunist elements are opposed to our Party's mass lines of socialist construction, the great leap forward and the movement of the people's communes. Do these facts prove that their world view becomes a problem?

The answer is in the affirmative. In the article a "Resolution on Some Questions in the History of Our Party" in Mao Tse-tung's Collected Works, it is written as follows:

"The correctness and incorrectness of a political, military or organizational line fundamentally depends on whether or not it starts ideologically from the Marxist-Leninist theory of dialectical materialism and historical materialism and from the objective realities of the Chinese revolution and the objective needs of the Chinese people."

Now the rightist opportunist elements have attacked the mass lines of our socialist construction. They are opposed to our policies of exerting the utmost effort and pressing ahead consistently to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results. Doubtless, it is because they have abandoned dialectical materialism and historical materialism, as embodied in Marxism-Leninism, and they have not started from the realities of Chinese society and the people's objective needs.

In other words, the rightist opportunist elements' opposition to our mass lines is due to the abandoning of the world view of dialectical materialism. As they have deviated from Marxism in their world view, they have committed a string of mistakes in thought, speech and action. This is understandable.

We have often heard of discussions on the question of the purpose of human life, society, history and arts. In fact, our viewpoints on all these and other things are merely a crystalization of our world view.

Therefore, in his report entitled "The Correct Handling of the Contradictions among the People," Chairman Mao has emphatically pointed out that, "The proletariat will reconstruct the world according to its own world view. So will the capitalist class."

Thus it is clear that one's thought, speech and action in regard to all problems will be influenced by the kind of world view one possesses. In defense of their own mistake, the rightist opportunist elements have said, "I have always believed in Marxism, and the only mistake I have made is due to my wrong view regarding certain problems. This statement is, of course, aimed at deceiving others as well as themselves. It is irrational and unbelievable."

As has already been pointed out, the mistake of the rightist opportunist elements is due to their abandonment of the Marxist world view. What is their world view then? It is certain that their world view is idealist in nature. Whether they admit it or not, the real nature of their thought belongs to the school of idealism. For instance, basically they have not come to understand the actual conditions of the mass lines of socialist construction, which is being put into practice.

They have never known the appalling degree to which the masses of laborers and peasants have exerted their utmost efforts in the great leap forward. And, they have not studied or investigated the real situation of the people's communes. Instead, they have based their decisions on hearsay, and they have called the mass lines, the great leap forward and the movement of the people's communes as "mess."

Their thought, undoubtedly, belongs to the school of subjective idealism because only subjective idealists can totally ignore objective existence and not believe in the objective existence of the materialistic world. They rather believe in the realities of their own spiritual activity and ideological domain.

These subjective idealists are extreme individualists and men of fantastic political ambition. Since they consider their own existence first and pay no attention to the existence of the people and masses and the revolutionary and other groups, the ultimate development of their reactionary ideology would certainly be on the road to opposing the people and masses.

At the same time some rightist opportunist elements frequently claim that they have already conducted studies and investigations and, as a result, they consider the mass lines, the great leap forward and the people's communes as "utter failures".

In fact, they have not made any systematic and over-all study or investigation and have only gathered some fragmentary, disconnected, temporary, partial and incomplete data. Then, they have painstakingly pieced such data together into a speech or article, and elaborated on certain already-overcome defects in our tasks, thus severely assailing the mass lines, the great leap forward and the people's communes.

Evidently, these people are pre-occupied with prejudice and then, basing their thought on previously arrived at conclusions, prove them with the data they have gathered. They should be classified as belonging to the school of idealists. Since they are objective idealists, they substitute the whole objective world with their own subjective ideology and spiritual domain, abstracting the objective world into some absolute ideals only to be identified by their own concepts.

But, we must ascertain the similarity in nature of the subjective and objective idealist. In reality, both groups refute the existence of objective matters. They all are individualists of the capitalist class, separating themselves from reality and the masses. The rightist opportunist elements stand opposite to the movement of the revolutionary masses, gesticulating and even cursing, and they attempt to control the movement. This we have expected.

But the history of our people has entered the great age of socialism, and the capitalist class has been a dying class. Since the rightist opportunist elements, who represent this class, fear the victories of the socialist revolution and construction, the mass movement, the mass lines of the Party, the great leap forward, the people's communes and other new endeavors, their reactionary faces would necessarily be exposed ultimately. It is impossible for them to avoid being seen.

It is now the responsibility of each of us to help such an opportunist to know and correct [his position] when we discover that someone has committed a rightist opportunist mistake. But what is the correct

manner in which we can extend help to him? The best way is, of course, to help him seek the source of his wrong ideology and to undertake ideological criticism.

In ideological criticism, we must adopt a sedate attitude toward liberalism and compromise. Only by doing so can the purposes of "preventing similar occurrences in the future and the complete cure of the man's sickness" be achieved.

As regards ideological criticism, we should make good use of the method of systematic analysis so as to distinguish treatment of those committing a mistake according to the degree of the mistake as well as according to the individual attitude toward it. For instance, there are thorough-going rightist opportunist elements as well as people whose rightist thinking has not yet developed into rightist opportunism.

Among the rightist-thinking people some are serious cases, while others are not. Similarly, among those who really commit a rightist opportunist mistake, there are some who know it themselves and are determined to make correction, while others are stubborn and tenacious, and show no repentance. The people of the latter category are what we call thorough-going rightist opportunist elements.

In treating different people, we have to adopt different attitudes and methods of handling them. At any rate, we must first of all seek the source of their rightist opportunist ideology. In addition, we have to systematically analyze the source of their ideology according to different groups of people and conditions.

The more we seek the source of ideology and the more systematically we analyze ideological errors, the better. If we are determined to do so, we will have ways to correct those people who commit the mistakes of rightist opportunism and rightist ideology and to give their capitalist world view a crushing criticism. Only under such new circumstances can they be made to again accept the proletarian world view.