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PRC
NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RED FLAG VIEWS DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT

Peking Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 1 Feb 76 OW

[Text of the RED FLAG No 2 article by Chen Yieh: "Study the Theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the Course of Struggle"--reprinted in PEOPLE'S DAILY on 2 February]

[Text] In his important instruction on theory, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." Chairman Mao noted emphatically: "Our country now has a commodity system. The wage system is unequal, too, as seen in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Biao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to implement the capitalist system. That is why we should read more Marxist-Leninist works."

Looking back on the course of the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius and the course of the struggle between the two classes, roads and lines in the past year, and linking the current great debate in science and technological circles with the criticism of the right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts, we can further understand the immediate important and far-reaching historical significance of Chairman Mao's instructions. We can understand more profoundly the vital importance of studying well the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of persisting in combating and preventing revisionism.

The great debate on the education front involves many questions in education. In the final analysis, the questions hinge on whether we should take class struggle as the key link, or whether we should adhere to the party's basic line, and on whether we should continue to pursue the question of all-round dictatorship of the proletariat. There are people in science and technological circles who allege that there is no need to mention dictatorship of the proletariat and that mention of the dictatorship of the proletariat easily tends to oversimplify things and so forth. Such a mentality, in reality, does not want to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. The revisionist views which oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat and spread the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces appeared when the whole party and all of the people in the country were seriously studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat; this clearly shows that the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie remains acute and fierce. The struggle between the two lines--practice Marxism or revisionism--is the reflection of the struggle between the two classes and the two roads in a concentrated manner within the party.

It is necessary to struggle in order to take class struggle as the key link, follow the party's basic line and continue to exercise the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place in certain fields. This reminds us once again that it is imperative first of all to continue the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and combat and prevent revisionism. We should never slacken our efforts thinking that we have studied enough. When studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat it is necessary to firmly grasp the main contradiction in socialist society and deepen understanding in regard to the nature, objectives, tasks and future of the socialist revolution. There are differences in principle between socialist revolution and the democratic revolution of the past. The new democratic revolution was a revolution led by the proletariat with the participation of the masses to oppose imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. During the period of the new democratic revolution, the main tasks of the revolution were to oppose imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and to overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism and its running dogs, so that the final goal of the Chinese bourgeois democratic revolution was to deny a future for capitalism and to bring

This gust of right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts has its international as well as its domestic origins. Because of the existence of bourgeois rights, the old traditional concepts and classes--the virus of the old society--are still corroding our bodies and exerting influence among the cadres and the masses. The current mass debate is meant to temper the masses in struggle and help them further understand the social source that generates revisionism and do their utmost to limit its influence. In this mass debate, the teachers, students and working staff of Tsinghua University have raised their consciousness of class struggle, the struggle between the two lines and the need to continue the revolution and have improved their ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism. Their communist thinking has risen rapidly. They say that in this mass debate they have smashed the old society's spiritual bondage and achieved a brilliant victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

To the handful of capitalists who are very isolated and are increasingly being ostracized, Tsinghua University's revolutionary masses have told them that if they are willing to repent, sincerely and not ostensibly, they will still be welcomed: but if they still want to resort to tricks, they are reminded to recall how Liu Shao-chi, who wildly attempted to suppress the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and his bourgeois headquarters were all crushed by the torrents of the revolutionary masses.

It is with this revolutionary spirit and under the guidance of the party that the cadres and the masses of Tsinghua University are advancing victoriously while chanting the lyrics of Chairman Mao's two poems: "Wind and Thunder Are Stirring, Flags and Banners Are Flying Wherever Men Live" and "Look You, the World is Being Turned Upside Down."

RED FLAG CONDEMNS PROPONENTS OF ECLECTICISM

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[Article by Chi Ping (14764 1627): "Eclecticism Represents Revisionism"--originally published in RED FLAG No 2 of 1976]

[Text] Waging a struggle against revisionism in the party, Chairman Mao has vigorously criticized eclecticism which puts politics on a par with economics and with professional proficiency. He points out: "We must all guard against those who do not abide by the principle of giving prominence to politics, are outwardly compliant with and inwardly unsubmitive to this principle and spread eclecticism and opportunism."

The right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts raised in educational circles some time ago also represents eclecticism putting politics on a par with economics and with professional proficiency. It is intended to negate the Marxist theory on class struggle and oppose taking class struggle as the key link and putting proletarian politics in command. It is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. It is revisionist trash.

Chairman Mao recently taught us: "Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle: class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." This instruction by Chairman Mao upholds the materialist dialectical theory of two points, clearly elucidating the dialectic relationship between class struggle and all other work during the period of socialism and forcefully repudiating eclecticism which negates or revises the principle of taking class struggle as the key link.

Materialist dialecticism holds that everything possesses two contradictory aspects and that it is necessary to look at all aspects of problems from the viewpoint of "one divides into two." However, this theory of two points is by no means the theory of equilibrium, giving equal treatment to two contradictory aspects of a single whole. It is necessary to strictly distinguish between the principal and the secondary, that is, between the dominating and the dominated aspects.

Apologists for the right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts put politics on a par with economics and with professional and technical proficiency. This amounts to virtually replacing dialecticism with eclecticism. They equate the principal and secondary contradictions and also the principal and secondary aspects of the contradiction, thereby stealthily casting aside the key link, class struggle. They negate the party's basic line and vainly attempt to lead others astray. They sport eclecticism with a view to negating the principal contradiction--the one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. They advertise the termination of class struggle and the theory of productive forces and oppose the party's basic line.

Viewing the socialist society in terms of the law of the unity of opposites, Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Class contradiction, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road exist throughout the transitional period. We shall go astray if we forget our party's fundamental theory and practice over the last dozen years."

Chairman Mao's teaching shows us that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the principal contradiction during the period of socialism. It constrains and influences other contradictions in society. Only when we understand this principal contradiction, take class struggle as the key link and uphold the party's basic line can we work successfully in all fields. If we depart from the key link, class struggle, we cannot possibly achieve stability and unity or develop our national economy along the socialist path.

From the materialist dialectic position, the relationship of the unity of opposites between the key link and everything else that hinges on it is one of interconnection and mutual restriction. It also reflects the role of the key link as commanding everything else. Only when the key link is understood will everything fall into place.

Of the two contradictions between politics and economics and between politics and vocational and technical knowledge, the principal contradiction is politics, "not to have a correct political point of view is like having no soul." Similarly, deleting proletarian politics is like deleting the soul. Loss of soul will lead to a loss of direction and to a dead end at every turn.

Practical struggle shows that although the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has won a great victory, class struggle in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fields remains protracted, complicated and at times even very acute. At present, the main threat lies in revisionism. Only by putting proletarian politics in command and constantly striving to criticize revisionism and capitalism can we advance and develop the cause of socialist construction and various other projects. Whether we can take class struggle as the key link is a question of whether it is necessary to practice Marxism or revisionism.

Those in the education, scientific and technical circles who instigated the right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts have again and again discussed every aspect of the contradictions. Fundamentally, however, they have discussed neither the principal contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie nor class struggle as the key link and revisionism as the main danger today. For example, concerning the question of the relationship between politics and vocational knowledge and between politics and technique, they allege that it is wrong not to criticize the tendency to disregard politics. On the other hand, they also consider it wrong not to study culture and not to devote oneself to science and technology.

Regarding the question of integrating education and scientific and technological activities with productive labor, they allege that it is wrong to divorce oneself from practice. On the other hand, they also consider it wrong to ignore basic theoretical study and research.

Concerning the question of integrating scientific and technical personnel with the masses of workers and peasants, they allege that it is wrong not to integrate them with the workers and peasants, nor is it right not to let them bring their expertise into full play.

Regarding the question of the relationship between Marxism and natural science, they allege that it is wrong to consider philosophy insignificant in guiding natural science. On the other hand, they also consider it wrong to assume that every specific scientific problem can be solved by a simple application of general philosophic principles. On a series of questions, they have drawn neither a distinction between the first and the second nor between the primary and the secondary and between the mainstream and its tributaries. The tactic they resort to makes them appear to be a moderator firmly mediating between two extremes in a debate. In appearance, they have done the people justice without bias; in fact, their bias is very apparent.

Judging from the operation of this school of philosophy, it is an effort to use eclecticism and sophistry to replace dialectics. Judging from their political practice, it is a disgraceful act of bowing and crawling on their knees before the opportunists and, in the final analysis, before the bourgeoisie. Practically, those who have done so have sided with the bourgeoisie in launching attacks against the proletariat. Confusing right with wrong and calling black white, they have denied proletarian politics its role in commanding everything while slandering the excellent situation resulting from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, they also oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

They hide their real position. They intend to practice the revisionist line in education and in scientific research and yearn for the past when bourgeois intellectuals were in a predominant position. But they dare not say their intention explicitly. They want to oppose and strangle the socialist new thing of open-to-society education and scientific research and pretend merely to criticize its shortcomings. They are enthusiastic about burying themselves in study behind closed doors but have to hide this by talking about linking study with reality and integrating themselves with workers and peasants.

Discontent with the Great Cultural Revolution, they have a score to settle with it and want to reverse the previous verdict on it, but they stumble over their words and dare not speak openly. This fact shows that what they say about it is nothing but an expression of their eclectic sophistry. Lu Hsun said: "If a man still has conscience, he had better speak openly."

Otherwise, no matter how he stumbles over his words, an astute observer will see who he sides with. All that he expresses is his insidiousness and ignominy." These words are an incisive exposure of eclecticism.

The appearance of eclecticism is not accidental but has its profound class origin. In the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, eclecticism reflects and represents the will and interests of the bourgeoisie. It has long been a means which the revisionists use to fight against the proletarian revolution and Marxism.

Our proletarian revolutionary teachers invariably spare no effort in criticizing eclecticism. When Proudhon attempted to reconcile contradictions, Marx criticized him saying that he was twisting, struggling and bouncing between the two extremes. When Lenin struggled against Trotsky's revisionism, Sukharin paralleled Lenin's political view in dealing with problems with Trotsky's economic view, saying that both principles were right and that it was right to combine them. Criticizing this concept, Lenin pointed out: "Bukharin's position on theory was one between this and that, between this side and the other side. This is eclecticism."

In the course of struggle between the two lines in our party, Chairman Mao has also attached great importance to criticism of eclecticism, when eclecticism had just made its appearance, Chairman Mao warned the whole party to be vigilant and to expose and criticize its reactionary nature. In the present struggle to repulse the right-deviationist wind of reversing previous verdicts, it is imperative to criticize eclecticism in accordance with the tenets of our revolutionary teachers.

When one wants to change Marxism into opportunism, it is very easy to deceive the masses by passing off eclecticism as dialectics. The history and reality of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism make us aware that with the developments and changes in the struggle there are constant and repeated instances where eclecticism is claimed to be dialectics.

Through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, and the movement to study the theory of dictatorship of the proletariat, the vast numbers of cadres and masses have raised their awareness of continuing the revolution. The victorious fruits of the Great Cultural Revolution have been further consolidated and developed. Socialist new things have emerged successively. In this excellent situation, advocates of the right-deviationist wind of reversing previous verdicts find it difficult to openly oppose class struggle as the key link. It is also hard for them to flagrantly restore the revisionist system. That being the case, they have to use ambiguous, specious and uncertain things to deceive the masses from time to time in order to reverse the wheel of history.

Some comrades are also in our ranks who do not study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works seriously and fail to arm themselves with the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the sharp and complicated class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, they often show the vacillating nature of the petty bourgeoisie. They pay lipservice to class struggle but are afraid that if they spend too much time on this matter their routine work will be affected. They recognize the necessity of making revolution in education and of transforming scientific research work but always feel that the change made is too great and the pace too quick. It is these flabby and facillating people who are most easily deceived by eclecticism, who present absurd eclectic arguments in ideology or who even follow the arguments in action.

Therefore, it is extremely necessary to expose and criticize the reactionary and deceptive nature of eclecticism so that people can distinguish clearly between materialist dialectics and eclecticism and between Marxism and revisionism, and thus become ideologically and politically indomitable.

Chairman Mao's teaches: "One of the current important tasks on the ideological front is to develop criticism of revisionism." The main threat on the ideological front is revisionism while eclecticism is one expression of revisionism. Criticism of revisionism which includes criticism of eclecticism and repulsion of the right deviationist wind of reversing previous verdicts, is class struggle to defend the party's basic line, to consolidate and develop the fruits of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Every Communist Party member and every revolutionary comrade should plunge into this struggle with an explicit position.

In close connection with the current struggle between the two classes, roads and lines, we should conscientiously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Marxist philosophy so that we raise our political and ideological level. In whatever work we do, we should firmly take class struggle as they key link, resolutely implement the party's basic and insure that new levels are reached in all our projects.

AIR FORCE UNITS HELP SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

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[Text] Peking, February 5, 1976 (HSINHUA)--The air transportation units of the Air Force of the Chinese People's Liberation Army last year assigned well over 4,000 plane flights to help in the nation's socialist construction, four hundred more than in 1974.

The commanders and fighters of these units have studied the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, deepened their criticism of Lin Piao's counterrevolutionary revisionist line and enhanced their awareness of the need to cherish, learn from and serve the people, one of the army's glorious traditions.

A flying squadron, while going through a rigorous training programme to strengthen its combat capability, received an order to fly and air-drop goods and equipment to an area. The squadron quickly organised more than 100 flights to air-freight 7.8 tons of essential goods in nine days. An air crew made three two-way flights over a long route and trying weather conditions to transport industrial equipment to Tibet in three days.

A regiment was early last summer assigned the job of carrying out artificial precipitation over a drought-stricken pasture area in China's northern frontier regions. Embued with profound proletarian feelings for the herdsmen, the regiment worked steadily to produce a dozen rainfalls. A couple of air crews of another regiment were last spring required to air-drop equipment to a logging camp. The dropping ground was hard to pinpoint and the assignment involved a number of hazards. However, the airmen were determined to fulfill the task despite the difficulties. Regarding the task as part of their wholehearted service to the people, they circled over the forest a dozen times in severe weather conditions until they located the drop target in a mountain gully. The urgently-needed equipment was delivered to the workers in time and thus helped spur completion of the timber felling.