

RED FLAG: CADRES MUST RESTRICT BOURGEOIS RIGHTS

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[Article by Li Hsin Published in Issue No. 7 of RED FLAG: "Leading Cadres Must Consciously Restrict Bourgeois Rights"]

[Text] It is of special importance for leading cadres to make conscious efforts to restrict bourgeois rights. Our party is the one in power. Our leading cadres are in charge of the revolutionary cause in specific departments, areas and units on behalf of the masses, and have specific functions and powers to lead the masses in carrying out socialist revolution and construction. These positions and powers are given by the revolutionary people. They should and can only be used to serve the people and work for the interests of the vast majority of the people. The fact that leading cadres hold leading positions and have leading functions and powers, which is essentially different from the bureaucratic overlords of the landlord and capitalist classes, is a necessary division of labor in revolutionary work. Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught us: "The cadres of our party and state are ordinary workers and not overlords sitting on the backs of the people," and that a cadre should "remain one of the common people while serving as an 'official.'" All our leading cadres, whatever their position and however great their power may be, are servants of the people and common workers. But, because the existence of bourgeois rights and class differences is unavoidable in the socialist period, it is possible for our leading cadres to turn the powers given them by the party and the people into personal privileges, and there is the danger of their degenerating from the people's servants into bourgeois overlords. The bourgeoisie often take advantage of this and try their best to corrupt and woo our leading cadres with ideas of the exploiting classes such as seeking promotion and getting rich, leading a comfortable life and so forth. Also, the force of old habits often causes some people to regard our leading cadres as similar to the bureaucrats of the old society and to take every opportunity to flatter and "take care of" them.

Under the circumstances, leading cadres must make conscious efforts to restrict bourgeois rights, for only by so doing can they maintain the political quality of common workers, resist attacks by sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie, and control power and use it well for proletariat. If they lack a correct understanding of bourgeois rights, see only the inevitability of the existence of bourgeois rights but not the danger of their engendering the bourgeoisie and, instead of consciously restricting bourgeois rights, use their power to expand and develop such rights, they will turn the comradely relations between themselves and the masses into antagonistic relations between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, turn themselves into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the working people, become targets of the revolution and, in the end, be overthrown by the revolutionary masses.

Chairman Mao pointed out in the struggle to beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts: "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture, there were people in the party who opposed it; and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois rights, they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." Chairman Mao also noted: "After the democratic revolution, the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still. They want revolution. On the other hand, a number of party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of the high officials."

These important instructions of Chairman Mao incisively show an important reason why capitalist readers in the party oppose the socialist revolution: They oppose criticizing and restricting bourgeois rights and want to protect the interests of the high officials who practice revisionism. This was the case with Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao. This was also the case with Teng Hsiao-ping. They were all "devotees of rights," all took the all-round expansion of bourgeois rights as a bridge leading to capitalist restoration, and all used expansion of bourgeois rights as the bait to instigate some people to take the capitalist road. If the leading cadres fail to consciously restrict bourgeois rights, they are apt to follow a revisionist line in the fierce struggle between the two lines, slip onto the evil road of opposing the socialist revolution and become bourgeois elements in the party. On this question, the capitalist readers in the party are very good teachers by negative example and they should serve as a grave warning to us.

During the socialist period, whether our socialist revolution and construction and our various fronts and work in all fields are moving forward or backward, are victorious or suffer defeats is closely linked with the struggle between the restriction and proliferation of bourgeois rights. Of course, we are still in the historical stage of socialism, have only built a bourgeois state without capitalists, and cannot as yet completely abolish bourgeois rights. But, we insist on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the development of the revolution has already set the task for us to restrict such things under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The most fundamental task of the leading cadres is to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and an important part of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is to restrict bourgeois rights. To do a good job, the leading cadres must warmly support the socialist new things and lead the masses to actively develop them. One important characteristic of the new socialist things is that they restrict all aspects of bourgeois rights. If we are not conscious of the need to restrict bourgeois rights and even pursue them and expand them, can we implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line well? Can we warmly support the socialist new things and lead the masses to develop them? "These in the dark are in no position to light the way for others."

Leading cadres consciously restricting bourgeois rights is a glorious tradition of the proletarian revolution, a revolutionary principle consistently upheld by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. After the establishment of the Paris Commune, some of the important internal revolutionary measures were to eliminate high wages, to forbid getting paid for more than one job, to abolish special privileges and to narrow wage differences. A resolution was also adopted abolishing the title of general. These measures for preventing the transformation of the state and the organs of the state from servants of society into masters of society were a restriction of bourgeois rights. These measures embodied the proletarian spirit of thorough revolution, were highly praised by Marx and Engels, and continue to be important examples even today. After the October revolution, Lenin placed great stress on upholding the revolutionary principles of the Paris Commune. Under Lenin's leadership, the Communist Party and Government of the Soviet Union adopted a series of measures to restrict bourgeois rights politically, ideologically and in the distribution system, and to prevent leading cadres at all levels from using their positions and power to seek special privileges and to shield them from corruption and degeneration.

Under Chairman Mao's leadership, our party practiced military communism during the long revolutionary war years. There were not many ranks or grades; there were no salaries; officers and men were equal, and the army and the people were united as one.

This was a very good restriction of bourgeois rights. On the eve of liberation, Chairman Mao reminded the comrades of the whole party to guard against attacks by sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie and to pay attention to preventing and overcoming love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living. After the beginning of the socialist period, Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught us to criticize the ideology of bourgeois rights and adopted a series of important measures--including reducing the leading cadres' salaries, abolishing military ranks, implementing a system of cadre participation in collective productive labor, implementing in enterprises the principle "of cadre participation in productive labor and worker participation in management, of reform of irrational and outdated rules and regulations, and of close cooperation among cadres, workers and technicians," the managerial staff joining the workers on the shop floor, working, studying and living with them and modestly learning skills from them, and so forth--to restrict bourgeois rights in all fields and to prevent the transformation of cadres, leading cadres in particular, from servants of the people into bourgeois overlords. Arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the party Teng Hsiao-ping used all kinds of pretexts to oppose criticism and restriction of bourgeois rights. This was a shameless betrayal of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and a shameless betrayal of the revolutionary tradition of the proletariat. We must criticize Teng Hsiao-ping's counterrevolutionary revisionist line in depth, do a still better job of upholding Marxist revolutionary principles and the glorious tradition of the proletarian revolution, persist in implementing Chairman Mao's series of important instructions, warmly support all socialist new things that are conducive to restricting bourgeois rights and narrowing the three major differences, and wage resolute struggles against all erroneous thoughts and tendencies that resist and oppose restricting bourgeois rights.

Some people give the following as a "reason" for protecting and expanding bourgeois rights: "If contributions are not to be counted, I can still say I have worked hard. Even if hard work is not to be mentioned, you still cannot deny that I did not spare my strength and that I worked myself to the point of exhaustion for the revolution." What kind of "logic" is this? It is nothing but the capitalist "logic" of buying and selling commodities and exchanging equal values. These people are in fact making revolutionary work "an investment for a share in the profits" and political capital with which to grab personal fame and gain status. Obviously, like fire and water, this is diametrically contrary to the proletarian character of our party and to our party's purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly. We communists never give any thought to the magnitude of our contributions. Our slogan can only be: "Fear neither hardship nor death." Many revolutionary martyrs upheld this slogan and gave their precious lives for the people. Do we still have any reason to calculate our contributions, rest on our so-called "contributions," "hard work" and "exhaustion," and try to strengthen and expand bourgeois rights, a vestige of the old society?

Some people use "work requirements" as a pretext to protect and expand bourgeois rights. This is also wrong. Due to differences in their work, leading cadres may have certain different requirements. Our party has always opposed absolute egalitarianism. But, we must not expand bourgeois rights and the differences between ranks and grades under the pretext of "work requirements." This will not only corrupt leading cadres and alienate them from the masses, but will poison society and the revolutionary ranks as a whole.

To do revolutionary work well, it is first of all necessary for us to uphold the concept of serving the people wholeheartedly, the fine style of forging close ties with the masses and the revolutionary spirit of hard struggle. In other words, revolutionary work requires leading cadres to set an example by their own conduct in restricting bourgeois rights, and not in expanding them.

We must realize that the bourgeoisie, by its old force of habit, often uses "requirements" as a pretext, panders to the taste of the leading cadres and makes a breach in their thinking. Haven't some people been hit by this sugar-coated bullet of "requirements"; people who have gone from disliking to accepting and obsessively pursuing the vulgar styles of the bourgeoisie and who finally become captives of the bourgeoisie? We should make a class analysis of the so-called "requirements." To be divorced from practice, sit high above the masses, lead a comfortable life, seek special privileges and be ostentatious certainly are not "work requirements" of proletarian revolutionaries but the vulgar style and decadent habits of the bourgeoisie which can only corrupt and debase our thinking and work.

Engels pointed out concerning the influence of the rotten bourgeois social practices on the working class: "The most evil thing is the bourgeois kind of 'honor' that has been deeply instilled in the minds of the workers. Society is divided into many publicly recognized classes. Each of these classes has its own self-respect, but at the same time they also respect classes that are inherently 'better' and 'higher' than themselves. This has existed for so long and is so deep-rooted that it is quite easy for the bourgeoisie to fool people with it." Trying to show one's own honor and prestige with higher class status is a common characteristic of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes. Bourgeois elements in the party like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and Teng Hsiao-ping also have this characteristic. If this kind of rotten bourgeois practice is allowed to contaminate our revolutionary ranks, it can only make people develop the concept of classes, strive for fame and wealth, and feel no shame, only pride. This can only help the bourgeoisie corrupt us and make a comeback. Today, in restricting bourgeois rights and criticizing the ideology of bourgeois rights, we should criticize this kind of rotten practice and resolutely struggle against it.

The key to raising our consciousness of the need to restrict bourgeois rights lies in conscientiously remolding our world outlook. We must solve the problem of equating ourselves with common laborers on the level of world outlook. Only when this problem is solved can we thoroughly eliminate bourgeois behavior, the belief that leaders are higher than the masses and the style of putting on airs as officials and overlords and so forth, and basically raise our consciousness of the need to restrict bourgeois rights. It is precisely because they have conscientiously remolded their world outlook that many comrades have raised their consciousness of the need to combat and prevent revisionism and continue the revolution and have become able to advance continuously on the road of socialist revolution together with the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants. Many veteran revolutionary comrades have worked hard for several decades, never bothered about positions or remuneration, can work both at higher and lower levels, are "officials" as well as common people, and maintain close ties with the masses. Some new cadres who have been promoted to leading posts during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have consciously insisted on taking part in collective productive labor, maintain the quality of common laborers, and made up their minds never to regard themselves as belonging to a different class from the masses of workers and peasants. This kind of revolutionary spirit and these advanced deeds are inspiring and worth learning from.

The current struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and beat back the right deviationist wind is a profound lesson in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. It is also a profound lesson in restricting bourgeois rights. Leading cadres at all levels must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's series of important instructions, criticize Teng Hsiao-ping's counterrevolutionary revisionist line in depth, be educated by both positive and negative examples, and further raise their awareness of the need to restrict bourgeois rights. This is an important link in persevering in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as an important condition for doing a good job in leadership work.

FUTAN GROUP CRITICIZES TENG-DIRECTED REPORT

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[Excerpts of an article frontpaged in the 19 July PEOPLE'S DAILY by the mass criticism group of Futan University's department of science: "A Counterrevolutionary Revisionist Outline-- on the Outline of a Working Report by the Academy of Sciences"]

[Text] In July, August and September of last year, when Teng Hsiao-ping was vigorously whipping up the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, an outline of a working report by the Academy of Sciences was concocted under Teng's personal direction. The outline is not only evidence of Teng Hsiao-ping's crimes in reversing verdicts and restoring capitalism, but also a very rare lesson by negative example. Teng Hsiao-ping was extraordinarily interested in the outline and, as soon as he saw its original draft, repeatedly shouted "bravo!" He claimed the document was very important and that it could not only govern the Academy of Sciences but also be applied to the entire field of science and technology, education and other departments. He suggested that further work and polishing be done on the draft. The draft was then corrected five or six times with some Marxist-Leninist words and phrases added and many unnecessary and sharp odds and ends deleted. In its final version, the outline spoke for itself and would make a great breach in the field of science and technology as soon the opportunity arose for the launching of an all-out offensive. His intention was indeed pernicious.

In order to reverse verdicts and restore capitalism Teng Hsiao-ping had to direct his spearhead at the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in a concentrated way. It was precisely at the Great Cultural Revolution that the outline fired its first shot. The title of the first paragraph of the outline originally read: "The Question of Fully Confirming the Achievements on the Scientific and Technological Front." When were the achievements scored? It was precisely over the past 26 years that tremendous achievements have been scored.

With one stroke it cancelled the crimes of Liu Shao-chi and company in peddling the counterrevolutionary revisionist line in the realm of science and technology before the Great Cultural Revolution, negated the tremendous victory of the Great Cultural Revolution in criticizing the party persons in power taking the capitalist road and the revisionist line in science and technology they peddled and negated the profound changes taking place in the field of science and technology after the Great Cultural Revolution.

Chairman Mao said: "What is the Great Cultural Revolution for? To wage class struggle." Before the Great Cultural Revolution and under the protection of the bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-chi as its chief, the hereditary domain of the bourgeoisie in science and technology could not be touched.