

RED FLAG HAILS STRUGGLE AGAINST BOURGEOISIE

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[Text of article by Pi Sheng: "The Proletariat is the Revolutionary Optimist"—carried in issue No. 8 of the 1976 RED FLAG journal and reprinted on the frontpage of the 6 August PEOPLE'S DAILY]

[Text] Initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao, the struggle to beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts has smashed the criminal plot of Teng Hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the party, in making a vain attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. This is another great victory over the bourgeoisie within the party after the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao were shattered during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Although our struggle against the bourgeoisie within the party will still follow a protracted and tortuous course and the danger of capitalist restoration exists during the entire historical period of socialism, the bourgeoisie is bound to fail and the proletariat will surely triumph—there is certainly no doubt about this general trend of historical development.

It is a matter of objective reality that the bourgeoisie appears in the party and that there are inner-party contradictions and struggles. Everything develops through its internal contradictions and struggles, and the party is no exception. As Engels noted long ago, "No matter where, the development of the proletariat takes place in the course of its internal struggles." "Whoever struggles more against phoney socialists than against any others during his life, just as Marx and I (we have almost never struggled against bourgeois individuals because we view the bourgeoisie as a class) will not be annoyed with the occurrence of the inevitable struggles." Referring to the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the party, Chairman Mao has emphatically pointed out: "Without struggle, there is no progress," "Can 800 million people manage without struggle!" Those in power in the party taking the capitalist road like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping, who represent in a concentrated way the interests of both the new and old bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes, are the main force endangering the party and subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our struggle against them is a concentrated reflection of the struggles between the two classes and roads during the socialist period and decides the destiny and future of our country. If we do not promptly expose and shatter the capitalist roaders' conspiracy to usurp party leadership and seize power, the bourgeoisie will exercise dictatorship over the proletariat. If we do not criticize the revisionist line they push, the revolutionary fruit of the proletariat with respect to the superstructure and economic base will be lost. It is crystal clear that struggle is necessary. Only when we fully understand the danger of the bourgeoisie in the party restoring capitalism and consciously wage a tit-for-tat struggle against them is it possible to successfully consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent the restoration of capitalism and continuously advance our socialist cause. Marxists cannot refuse to recognize or evade the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and to be tired or afraid of waging struggle against the bourgeoisie within the party.

Proletarians are revolutionary optimists who are fully confident of victory in the struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the party. "The supersession of the old by the new is a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe."

The new things are bound to win victory over the decadent, and the revolutionaries are bound to triumph over the reactionaries. Like the bourgeoisie as a whole, the bourgeoisie in the party represents the decadent production elements and is also a declining reactionary force in itself. Moving its headquarters inside the Communist Party does not show the power of the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, it has clearly indicated that as a result of our repeated struggle, the reputation of the bourgeoisie in society has become very notorious and the bourgeoisie has been placed in a difficult situation in which it is rather difficult for it to fly its own colors and unite publicly to conduct an all-round test of strength with the proletariat. Although the bourgeoisie inside the party still possesses a certain amount of reactionary energy and counterrevolutionary destructive power, this is merely a reflection of a last-ditch effort by the overthrown reactionary class. Like all other reactionaries in history, the bourgeoisie inside the party is also a paper tiger not to be feared. Moving against the historical current, they have upheld the ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie and the capitalist social system. This has determined that they will inevitably be smashed to pieces by the wheel of history. The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system--this is an objective law independent of man's will. Despite the fact that Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-ping and other ringleaders of the revisionist line made plaintive cries in total hopelessness, frenziedly attacked and slandered the excellent situation in revolution and uttered nonsense about approaching of the "brink of collapse," "threatened by growing crises," and "old habits are difficult to get rid of," they can never shake the iron-like determination of the Chinese people to persevere in taking the socialist road and in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat or their confidence in victory.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "we must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the party. These are two cardinal principles. If we doubt these principles we shall accomplish nothing." We must have faith in the party and we must have faith in the masses--this is the very source through which we will obtain inexhaustible strength to defeat the bourgeoisie within the party.

Our party is a proletarian party personally created and nurtured by our great leader Chairman Mao. The appearance of the bourgeoisie inside the party will neither change the nature of our party as a vanguard of the proletariat nor will it cause any damage to the glory of our party. On the contrary, our party dares to openly admit and expose the bourgeoisie within it. This clearly indicates that our party is firm and powerful. "Correctness and incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, which occupies a principal leading position within our party, takes deeper root in the hearts of the people with each passing day, this is a fundamental guarantee through which our party is able to defeat the bourgeoisie inside it. Through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we have laid bare and criticized the bourgeois representatives Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping and their ilk as well as the renegades and agents who were under their protection. This has made our party purer, firmer and more vigorous.

Our party has summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat at home and abroad. In particular, it has drawn a historical lesson from the fact that the Soviet Union has turned revisionist.

It has also accumulated much experience during its protracted struggle against opportunism and revisionism. This has brought about an important situation in which our party can defeat the bourgeoisie within it.

In the past 55 years, our party has been advancing amid the storms of the struggle between the two classes and lines. The opportunist and revisionist ringleaders in the party have repeatedly jumped out to attempt to split our party. They all failed. We have eliminated those "moths" in the revolutionary ranks and the whole party has united in a still firmer way around the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao while advancing triumphantly along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The historical experience makes us firmly believe that our party has a bright future.

The workers and poor and lower-middle peasants are our main force in defeating the bourgeoisie in the party. Chairman Mao has said: "After the democratic revolution, the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still. They want revolution." He also said: "Will there be a need for revolution 100 years from now? Will there still be a need for revolution 1000 years from now? There is always need for revolution. There are always sections of the people who feel themselves oppressed. Junior officials, students, workers, peasants and soldiers don't like big shots oppressing them. That's why they want revolution."

The bourgeois "big shots" in the party such as Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and Teng Hsiao-ping took advantage of the power in their hands to carry out restoration and retrogression and to oppose the revolution. They offended the great majority of the people and inevitably drew opposition and repudiation from the people. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has fully shown the mighty strength of the people in struggling against the bourgeoisie in the party. Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and Teng Hsiao-ping once knew no bounds, but they were toppled one after another as soon as the people rose up against them.

Hundreds of millions of people have read and studied seriously, obtained a good grasp of Marxism and taken part in the great struggle to combat and prevent revisionism. They have raised their consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle and enhanced their ability to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism.

We firmly believe that the bourgeoisie in the party will inevitably be exposed, resisted and criticized by those revolutionary people with a high degree of political consciousness no matter how the bourgeoisie may change its tactics and whatever schemes and intrigues it may carry out. During the current great struggle to repulse the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, isn't it true that a great number of ordinary workers, peasants, PLA fighters, young students and grassroots cadres have risen up to resist and criticize the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and become the pathbreakers who struggle courageously against Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line?

Such a situation inspires us. History has proved and will continue to prove that in the great struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a great number of outstanding backbone members who adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line will emerge from among the people and millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause will be brought up. They will carry on the great cause started by the revolutionaries of an earlier generation and carry it through to the end.

"While the prospects are bright, the road has twists and turns." Proletarian revolutionary optimism differs from blind optimism in our understanding of this dialectic of historical development. Blind optimists fail to see or cannot see clearly the laws governing class struggle in socialist society. They are apt to slacken their vigilance and relax, discouraged by the theory of the dying out of class struggle, or become pessimistic and dependant when the revolution encounters twists and turns. We must not only see the bright prospects of the revolution and be confident of our eventual victory, but must also see the twists and turns on the revolutionary road, strengthen our revolutionary fighting will and be prepared to fight for the bright future consciously and with firm determination.

The decadent classes, although rotten to the core like a dying tree, will not step down from the historical stage of their own accord, but will try to protect their existence by all means and wage a death-bed struggle. It always takes a rather long period encompassing historical turns and reversals before an old system can be buried. Historically, the replacement of an old system by any new system and the defeat of the decadent and moribund classes by any rising new class must go through a long and tortuous course of struggle. The revolution in China through which the slave system was replaced by the feudal system took more than 370 years, from 594 B.C. when the State of Lu imposed the first land tax, to 221 B.C. when Ching Shih Huang unified China, a period of repeated struggles between progress and retrogression and between revolution and restoration. The struggles continued for many years after the newly risen landlord class seized nationwide political power. The bourgeois revolutions of England, France and the United States came through tortuous struggles that lasted 48 years, 86 years and nearly 100 years respectively. Even early revolutions in history, in which one exploiting system was replaced by another, were like this. Naturally, the proletarian revolution, which is aimed at the thorough elimination of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and all exploiting systems, will need a longer period of time and go through more twists and turns.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Great disorder across the land leads to great order. And so once again every 7 or 8 years monsters and demons will jump out. It is determined by their own class nature; they are bound to jump out."

As long as classes, class struggle and bourgeois rights still exist at home and as long as imperialism and social-imperialism still exist internationally, it is inevitable that the capitalist roaders will continue to take the capitalist road. The collapse of one or two ringleaders of the revisionist line does not mean the complete extinction of the bourgeoisie in the party, much less the bourgeoisie as a whole. They certainly are not reconciled to their defeat. They inevitably will regroup the counterrevolutionary forces, change their counterrevolutionary tactics, and continue to test their strength with the proletariat.

Class struggle and the struggle between the two lines are independent of man's will. How can we imagine that the class enemies will change their reactionary class nature, that the monsters and demons will not jump out, and that the bourgeoisie, new and old, will not engage in conspiracies and sabotage? How can we imagine that we can thoroughly defeat the bourgeoisie inside and outside the party as a whole and sweep out all the rubbish of the old society after one or two or even three or four struggles? That class struggle and the struggle between the two lines will develop repeatedly is entirely according to the law and nothing to be alarmed about, much less to worry about.

"Swimming in rivers with adverse currents we can temper our will and courage." For the cadres and the masses who persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the twists and reversals of revolutionary struggles can steel their will, arouse their enthusiasm, increase their skills and enhance their ability to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism.

In the final analysis, whether one takes a revolutionary optimistic attitude toward the current struggle and the future of the revolution is a question of world outlook. Dialectical materialism and historical materialism are the ideological basis of revolutionary optimism. Idealism and metaphysics are the epistemological source of all pessimistic views. Some of our good-natured comrades always imagine that the revolutionary ranks are very pure and that the revolutionary road is very straight. Therefore, when they encounter setbacks, they become worried and fail to see the bright future. When they analyze the situation of the revolutionary struggle they often overestimate the enemy's strength, underestimate the people's strength and arrive at unrealistic class appraisals. The reason is that the method of thinking with which they look at things is very subjective, superficial and one-sided, making it impossible for them to distinguish between the essence and appearance of things and between the main aspects and the minor ones. Thus, when analyzing the prospects of class struggle and social development, they are very apt to be influenced ideologically by pessimistic view spread by the bourgeoisie.

In dealing with natural disasters, we must also take a revolutionary optimistic attitude and carry forward the revolutionary heroic spirit. Natural disasters are not to be feared. Nor are earthquakes. "Man will triumph over nature." This is a great truth. "Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless." To be proletarian revolutionary optimists, we must be thoroughgoing materialists. For this, we must diligently study Marxism. Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, actively plunge into the raging flames of mass struggle, take in rich political nourishment, conscientiously remold our world outlook, and constantly rid ourselves of the ideological influence of idealism and metaphysics. Only in this way can we heighten our revolutionary spirit, enhance our confidence of certain victory in our struggle against the bourgeoisie in the party, and become vanguard fighters in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

RED FLAG DISCUSSES NEW SOCIALIST THINGS

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[Text] Peking, August 9, 1976 (HSINHUA)--"Make Further Efforts To Foster New Socialist Things" is the title of an article by Cheng Yueh carried in the No. 8, 1976, issue of the journal RED FLAG. It reviews the excellent situation marked by the vigorous growth of the new socialist things since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and discusses the great significance of these new-born things. The article reads in part as follows:

The mass movement to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is developing in depth: a number of party organizations and outstanding individuals have made themselves known by their sharp perception of Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line and their courage in fighting against it; the ranks of worker-peasant-soldier activists in theoretical study have grown steadily and theoretical discussions have been held in a very lively way; and new advances have been made in applying Marxism to the study of politics, economics, military affairs, philosophy, history, literature, arts, science and technology and of international problems.

The revolution in literature and art exemplified by the model revolutionary theatrical productions has resulted in a hundred flowers blossoming in the garden of socialist literature and art, with a crop of excellent and fairly good works emerging in every branch of literature and art and the mass revolutionary literary and art activities making further progress in popularization and elevation. The revolution in education has continued to advance in the struggle against revisionism; Chairman Mao's concepts on education have found its way deeper into people's minds; management of schools by the working class and poor and lower-middle peasants has improved steadily; the experience of Tsinghua and Peking universities in the revolution in education and the experience of the Chaoyang Agricultural College in enrolling students from among commune members who will go back to the communes on graduation has been spread far and wide; college graduates working as peasants has become a prevailing trend; "July 21" workers colleges and spare-time colleges for peasants are mushrooming everywhere; and new experience has been accumulated in the settling of city school graduates in the countryside. Chairman Mao's line in medical and health work has yielded rich results: rural cooperative medical services and barefoot doctors are growing sturdily in the course of struggle, 85 percent of the production brigades across the country now have their own cooperative medical services, a total of 1.5 to 1.6 million barefoot doctors have been trained, and professional medical personnel and barefoot doctors have begun to rotate their duties in addition to the sending of city medical teams to the rural areas.

Many new things have also emerged in the scientific and technological, sports, journalistic, publishing and other departments. The mass movements to learn from Tachai in agriculture and from Taching in industry are continuing to forge ahead. Cadre participation in productive labour and worker participation in management have become still more widespread and regular and been practised in a variety of ways. The May 7 cadre schools have consolidated and improved themselves through struggle. Three-in-one leading bodies made up of the old, middle-aged and young in many places have gone through the tests of struggle and gained in vigour and vitality.

A host of stirring exploits shining with communist spirit have emerged in the current struggle to offset the effects of the earthquake and in post-quake relief work. These are all victories won by the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and important signs marking the deepening of the socialist revolution.

The birth and growth of the new socialist things has served to fortify the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in all spheres of the superstructure and the economic base. "There is no construction without destruction." It is impossible to develop the new socialist things unless the old capitalist things are criticized. The greater the number of party organizations and outstanding individuals determined to fight the revisionist line and the greater the number of people consciously safeguarding and fostering new socialist things, the more difficult it will be to restore capitalism. The new socialist things have all come into being through struggle, and it is through the struggle to criticize the old and support the new that the proletariat has advanced the revolution, steadily strengthened its dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, reduced the breeding grounds of capitalism, and step by step created conditions in which it would be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise.

The new socialist things that have emerged since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution are all great creations by the masses of the people in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the course of struggle. Crystallizing the new socialist and communist ideas and spirit, they have served to criticize and restrict bourgeois right in all spheres to varying extents, showing the direction in which the socialist revolution advances. Bourgeois right which still exists in socialist society constitutes the soil and conditions which give rise to a new bourgeoisie, particularly the bourgeoisie in the party. A very important reason why the unrepentant capitalist-roader Teng Hsiao-ping slashed at the new socialist things recklessly is that these new-born things had touched bourgeois right to the quick. Teng Hsiao-ping's perverse acts have taught us by negative example how important it is to support the new socialist things in order to restrict bourgeois right and persevere in the socialist revolution.

In 1964, in an instruction on socialist education, Chairman Mao said: "If the managerial staff do not join the workers on the shop floor, eat, live and work with them and modestly learn one or more skills from them, then they will find themselves locked in acute class struggle with the working class all their lives and in the end are bound to be overthrown as bourgeois by the working class." Facts in various places show that eating, living and working with the masses and learning and receiving revolutionary supervision from them helps the cadres to do away with bureaucratic airs, remould their old ideology, truly identify themselves with the worker-peasant masses, be one with the workers, peasants and soldiers in thinking and feeling and prevent themselves from becoming capitalist-roaders and bureaucrats lording it over the people. It enables the worker-peasant-soldier masses to act as masters of the country, take a direct part in leadership and management, attend to major issues, judge everything by the criterion of political lines and see to it that things proceed in a correct orientation so as to persevere in Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, consolidate proletarian leadership and develop the system of socialist ownership. It also contributes to a certain degree to the freeing of the cadres and masses from their narrow division of labour. Through participation in management, the workers, peasants and soldiers will learn to run the state and direct production; through participation in labour, the cadres will learn one or more production skills. Both will be of far-reaching significance for narrowing the gap between mental and manual labour.

The cadres and people have made many innovations in restricting bourgeois right in the field of distribution according to work and exchange of equal values. For example, some rural cadres who have been promoted to leading posts still get their day in work-points and college graduates have returned to work as peasants. These new emerging things, though still taking the form of distribution according to work within the framework of socialist collective ownership, are a beginning of minimizing the inequality caused by the differences between town and country, worker and peasant and mental and manual labour. In rural trade, there are such innovations as socialist fairs and commissioned supply and marketing shops. Though still taking the form of monetary exchange within the framework of the socialist commodity system, they help expand the business of socialist trade and weaken the soil in rural commodity circulation that might engender capitalism, and restrict bourgeois right to a certain extent in the sphere of exchange.

Through their practice, people have refuted Teng Hsiao-ping's absurdity that there is no material foundation for restricting bourgeois right. Experience can be gradually accumulated as long as the leaders abide by a correct ideological-political line, persist in continuing the revolution, take the lead in carrying forward the style of arduous struggle displayed in the years of the revolutionary war, maintain close contact with the masses, support their initiative, pay attention to the correct implementation of various policies of the party and unite with the majority.

It will require the efforts of several generations throughout the historical period of socialism to complete the process from the restriction of bourgeois right to its ultimate elimination. The restrictions imposed by the new socialist things upon bourgeois right are, in many fields, only a beginning. However, this beginning is very important. With this beginning, we can sum up experience so as to enrich, develop, popularize new socialist things, raise them to higher levels and gradually promote and strengthen restrictions on bourgeois right.

Whether new socialist things can be discovered in good time and win warm support depends on the correctness of the ideological-political line of the leading cadres. Leading comrades at various levels should become promoters of these new things.