

RED FLAG RAPS TENG'S 'ULTRARIGHT ESSENCE'

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[Text] Peking, October 7, 1976 (HSINHUA) -- "Ultra-Right Essence of Teng Hsiao-ping's Revisionist Line" is the title of an article by Hung Yuan carried in the No. 10, 1976 issue of the journal RED FLAG. Excerpts follow:

Translating their grief into strength and carrying out the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao's behests in response to the party Central Committee's call, the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country are deepening the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping and the struggle to repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts and advancing the socialist revolution and construction.

Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist theories, programme, line and policies are systematically set out in "On the General Programme for All Work of the Party and the Country" ("On the General Programme" for short), "Some Problems Concerning the Work of Science and Technology" (also known as "Outline Report") and "Some Problems in Accelerating Industrial Development" (sometimes referred to as the "Regulations"). These three big poisonous weeds, produced on his instructions, were an important step to create public opinion and a plan of action to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism.

The three poisonous weeds have a basic characteristic in common: setting out "taking the three directives as the key link" as the general programme for all work and the "four modernizations" as the general task and the objective for the socialist period. Class struggle, proletarian dictatorship, and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat are all thrown overboard. Herein lies the ultra-right essence of Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line in its concentrated form.

In criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping, Chairman Mao pointed out: "What 'taking the three directives as the key link!' Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it"; and "This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link." The reactionary essence of Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" is to substitute the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces for the basic theory and basic practice that our party has many years upheld of class struggle and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road. It directly opposes taking class struggle as the key link, negates the party's basic line and the need for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. From a superficial view, "taking the three directives as the key link" includes the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But on closer examination of the actual contents of the three big poisonous weeds, it becomes clear that this is a fraud. Chairman Mao's important instructions concerning theory emphasize combating and preventing revisionism and restricting bourgeois right and pinpoint the danger of capitalist restoration attempted by the bourgeoisie inside the party, such as Lin Biao and company, thus indicating the direction for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The three big poisonous weeds bypass the major points of Chairman Mao's instructions or distort them, strip them of revolutionary spirit and blunt their revolutionary edge. There is practically no place for the study of theory to oppose and prevent revisionism, for the continuing of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The sole aim of these poisonous weeds is development of production by following the capitalist road or, in other words, the restoration of capitalism.

The basic programme of our party is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism. The ultimate aim of the party is the realization of communism. The "Report on the Work of the Government" made by Premier Chou En-lai to the 4th National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China sets as a general task: adherence to the party's basic line and policies; perseverance in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; consolidation and expansion of the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution; and the winning of new victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology are given as the specific tasks in socialist construction, subordinate to the general task. The realization of the four modernizations is indeed a splendid aim, but is by no means to be taken as the general task of the party or as a substitute for the party's basic programme. The three big poisonous weeds use the so-called four modernizations in an underhand attempt to negate class struggle, proletarian dictatorship and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This reveals outright the reactionary essence of Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line.

Marxists have always held that revolution is the locomotive of history and a powerful motive force for the development of social production. In criticizing Trotsky and Bukharin, Lenin pointed out: "Without a correct political approach to the matter the given class will be unable to stay on top, and, consequently, will be incapable of solving its production problem either. Chairman Mao often taught us: "Politics is the commander, the soul in everything" and "political work is the lifeblood of all economic work." During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution he again set forth the principle "grasp revolution, promote production." The teachings of Lenin and Chairman Mao provide us with sharp ideological weapons to criticize the revisionist theories of the dying out of class struggle and of productive forces. It is quite obvious that by departing from the key link of class struggle and placing the "four modernizations" first, Teng Hsiao-ping replicated the theory of productive forces propagated by Trotsky and Bukharin and repeated the old tactics of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, who played up the theory of productive forces. His programme would never lead to a socialist modernization, but, on the contrary, to a restoration of the capitalist relations of production, to destruction of the productive forces. This is something the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the party would gladly accept and actively seek.

Another characteristic common to the three big poisonous weeds is an implacable hostility to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Great Cultural Revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao has smashed the schemes of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao for capitalist restoration, criticized their counter-revolutionary revisionist line and enabled us to seize back that portion of leading power in the party and state they had usurped. These magnificent contributions to the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship, the prevention of capitalist restoration and the building of socialism have won whole-hearted support from China's hundreds of millions of people and are acclaimed by the revolutionary people all over the world. But the three big poisonous weeds make various charges against the Cultural Revolution and allege that "the present is not as good as the past" in all spheres.

Just as Chairman Mao pointed out in his criticism of the right opportunists in the party: "They are blind and all is dark ahead of them. At times they go so far as to confound right and wrong and turn things upside down." It is precisely this kind of evaluation of the revolutionary situation from the rightist stand that prompted Teng Hsiao-ping to make a hasty "switch" to reverse the correct verdicts of the Cultural Revolution and settle scores with it.

In the early period of the Cultural Revolution Chairman Mao issued the great call, "It is right to rebel against reactionaries." During the Cultural Revolution Chairman Mao again pointed out: "Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle." Chairman Mao called on the people to bring the proletarian revolutionary spirit into full play and resolutely fight against revisionism. In response to Chairman Mao's call, hundreds of millions of workers, peasants, soldiers, young Red Guards and the broad masses of revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, rose up to rebel against the capitalist roaders and against the revisionist line, thereby greatly weightening their consciousness of class struggle and two-line struggle. Large numbers revolutionary fighters have emerged, who are daring in rebellion against the capitalist roaders and daring in criticism of the revisionist line. This is of tremendously far-reaching significance in combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

However, the three big poisonous weeds, instead of summing up this basic experience of the Cultural Revolution, ask the people to remember "a profound lesson", that is, to make an "analysis" of "rebellions" and "goings against the tide". Both the proletarian and the revolutionary masses know that revolutionary rebellion means rebellion against the bourgeoisie, whereas rebellion against proletarian dictatorship means restoration. The "going against the tide" which Chairman Mao advocated means going against the revisionist tide, whereas going against the tide of historical development means retrogression. The three big poisonous weeds deliberately ignore these well-known facts and openly spearhead their attack at Chairman Mao's great call, "It is right to rebel against reactionaries" and his important instruction on "going against the tide". The motive behind all this is to get the people to give up the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and docilely follow Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line.

"On the General Programme" clamours flagrantly for "drafting specific policies for all types of work" in accordance with the programme of "taking the three directives as the key link". The "Regulations" not only propagates a slavish comprador philosophy and clamours for importing a greater amount of advanced foreign techniques, but tables the absurd proposal for the "signing of long-term contracts with foreign countries, which are to supply a few selected production units in China with complete sets of needed modern equipment and paying them with China's coal and petroleum", To borrow from foreign monopoly capital and repay with precious natural resources--such is the "major policy" Teng Hsiao-ping advocated. It is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's policy of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts." This policy of not differentiating between white cat and black cat, between imperialism and Marxism, is a policy of capitulation and national betrayal out and out, whose consequence could only be the turning of China into an appendage to imperialism and social-imperialism.

"On the General Programme" demands "rectification of all work" by "taking the three directives as the key link". Large amounts of facts revealed in the anti-right deviationist struggle in the educational, scientific and technological, literary and art, health and medical fields, have clearly shown that Teng Hsiao-ping's so-called rectification is a synonym for the reversal of verdicts and restoration, aimed at negating Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies, the Cultural Revolution, and the proletarian dictatorship. He wanted to "switch" all work, from the superstructure to the economic base, onto the revisionist track to restore capitalism in an all-round way.

Another characteristic common to the three big poisonous weeds is to take the forces that the socialist revolution should rely on as the target of struggle and vice versa. These poisonous weeds curse and attack the revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres but protect and back the party capitalist roaders. The great leader and teacher Chairman Mao taught us: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution." In the socialist period, the target of the revolution is the bourgeoisie, the main target being the party capitalist roaders. However, the three big poisonous weeds, instead of taking the party capitalist-roaders as the main target of the revolution, go all out to defend them, make bitter complaints on their behalf, back them and bolster up their morale, in an attempt to pave the way for the unrepentant capitalist roaders to recapture power and restore capitalism. The three big poisonous weeds show inveterate hatred for the revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres who uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and fight resolutely against the bourgeoisie inside the party. The motive behind these poisonous weeds is to use every means to suppress the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres who resolutely continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and put the unrepentant capitalist roaders and bourgeois authorities back to power, thereby turning the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

In exposing the origin of the right-opportunist theory of knowledge, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out: "We are opposed to die-hards in the revolutionary ranks whose thinking fails to advance with changing objective circumstances and has manifested itself historically as right opportunism. These people fail to see that the struggle of opposites has already pushed the objective process forward while their knowledge has stopped at the old stage. This is characteristic of the thinking of all die-hards. Their thinking is divorced from social practice, and they cannot march ahead to guide the chariot of society; they simply trail behind, grumbling that it goes too fast and trying to drag it back or turn it in the opposite direction." Teng Hsiao-ping was precisely such a die-hard. The line he pushed is a reactionary line geared to drag history in the opposite direction. Under the leadership of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, the people of all nationalities of China, after more than half a century of arduous and heroic struggles, have advanced Chinese society by an entire historical era; the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius have made a great contribution to the further consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the advance of history. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, China's socialist revolution and construction is surging ahead, bringing about an excellent situation; the broad masses of people have brought forth many new socialist things in the course of implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and criticizing revisionism.

All these Teng Hsiao-ping frantically attacked, vilified and negated. This shows how Teng Hsiao-ping viewed things entirely from the ultra-right stand, which goes against history and progress. This line of his represents only the interests of the decadent, moribund bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and goes diametrically against Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, which represents the vital interests of the proletariat and the other labouring people; it runs counter to the direction of historical advance.

In the course of the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and beat back the right deviationist trend, Chairman Mao pointed out: "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." This instruction of Chairman Mao hit the nail on the head with regard to Teng Hsiao-ping. He had never been a Marxist, and was no more than a fellow-traveller in the revolution. When the revolution advances to a new stage where all-round dictatorship is exercised over the bourgeoisie and bourgeois right is restricted so as to gradually create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or to arise anew, he is bound to stand in opposition to the revolution, to the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants, and to try to turn back the wheel of history. In terms of the theory of knowledge, the origin of Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line lies in his thinking which was divorced from social practice, in his understanding which remained at the old stage, in his opposition to progress and revolution and in his attempts at retrogression and a return to the old order. The class origin of this line lies in its protection of the interests of revisionist high officials, namely the bourgeoisie inside the party, and consequently of the entire bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. But, viewed from either origin, this revisionist line is ultra-right in nature.

MASSES THROUGHOUT NATION STUDY MAO'S THOUGHT

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[Capitalized passages denote boldface as indicated by NCNA]

[Summary] Peking, 5 October--The masses of workers, peasants and soldiers of all nationalities throughout China have firmly responded to the call of the party Central Committee and have pledged to carry out Chairman Mao's behests. While continuing to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping, they have whipped up an upsurge of studying Mao Tsetung Thought.

Fighting in unity, nearly 10,000 workers and staff members of the Lanchow petrochemical machinery plant have been conscientiously studying Chairman Mao's works and criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping. "This plant is China's giant enterprise producing oil rigs and refinery equipment. Since the start of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the workers and staff members, led by the plant's party committee, have repeatedly criticized the slavish comprador philosophy and the concept of crawling at a snail's pace advocated by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping. Persisting in Chairman Mao's great principle of 'MAINTAINING INDEPENDENCE AND KEEPING THE INITIATIVE IN OUR OWN HANDS AND RELYING ON OUR OWN EFFORTS.' They began to produce oil rigs and refinery equipment of their own design. They have overfulfilled the state target each year. Now, oil rigs produced in China, both for land and sea, dot various oilfields throughout the country, and the variety of the workers' products has kept increasing."