

The people might from appearances-know nothing at all about the current campaign. If it were not for the official newspapers which they cannot fail to see or the radio which they are sure to listen to.

RED FLAG CRITICIZES CAPITALIST ROADERS

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[Text of PEOPLE'S DAILY 2 March article by Chih Heng: "From Bourgeois Democrats to Capitalist Roaders"--originally published in RED FLAG No 3 of 1976]

[Text] The great struggle to repel the right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts personally initiated and led by the great leader Chairman Mao is developing healthily in all spheres of the superstructure including education, science and technology, and literature and art. The spearhead of criticism is directed at that unrepentant capitalist roader in authority within the party who has proposed "taking the three directives as the key link." This struggle is a continuation and deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and another great test of strength between the proleteriat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, and between Marxism and revisionism on the political and ideological front.

A primary task for the whole party and the people throughout the country is to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's important instructions, resolutely rebuff the right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts, and thoroughly criticize the revisionist line which is opposed to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link." Only in this way can the struggle result in still greater victories. It is certain that as a result of the struggle the cadres and the masses will receive a profound education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, further raise their awareness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, and the cause of China's socialist revolution and construction will take another giant step forward.

The following highly thought-provoking questions have arisen as a result of the in-depth development of the revolutionary mass debate: Why did some people who revolutionized others during the period of the new democratic revolution loudly chant hymns against the revolution during the socialist revolutionary period and become capitalist roaders in authority? Why have some capitalist roaders who once vowed never to reverse previous verdicts after being criticized in the Great Cultural Revolution vigorously stir the right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts shortly after they were reassigned work? Why have they sought to reverse previous verdicts on the Great Cultural Revolution on the one hand and settle accounts with it and then become unrepentant capitalist roaders on the other? Why did those unrepentant capitalist roaders want to negate classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society, oppose taking class struggle as the key link, and openly peddle the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link in opposition to the basic line set down by Chairman Mao for our party? Answering these questions requires us to apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as a guide and to use the class analysis method to analyze the class stand of the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the party and their world outlook. Only in this way can we discover the class origins and ideological source of the right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts, allow them to play their role as a teacher by negative example more fully and benefit by drawing a lesson from this example.

Chairman Mao profoundly noted at the eighth plenary session of the Eighth CPC Central Committee: "The right opportunist elements within the party never became proletarian revolutionaries but were merely bourgeois and petty bourgeois demagogues who wormed their way into the revolutionary ranks of the proletariat. They never became Marxists since they were merely fellow travelers of the party." The capitalist roaders within the party are such persons. When they joined the revolutionary ranks of the proletariat, they were imbued with the bourgeois democratic ideology. They have joined the party organizationally. They have not now or ever joined it ideologically. When they accepted the party's minimum program--the new democratic revolutionary program--to various degrees, they never combined it with the party's maximum program--the socialist and communist program. They did not know how to implement the party's maximum program. Nor were they prepared to do so. In other words, they do not have a proletarian communist world outlook but see a bourgeois kingdom. This bourgeois stand and world outlook was not transformed during the prolonged revolutionary struggle. Their ideology did not change as the revolution proceeded from the stage of democratic revolution to the stage of socialist revolution. Conversely, although they have physically entered socialist society, they remain ideologically in the stage of democratic revolution. This underscores the inevitability of their conflict with the socialist revolution or even rejection of it. This bourgeois stand and world outlook represent the bourgeoisie and its ideology. The right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts originates with them.

The new democratic revolution and the socialist revolution led by our party are two revolutionary stages which are essentially different in nature, targets and tasks. The former took place in the semicolonial and semifeudal society of old China. Among the principal contradictions it wanted to resolve were the ones among the workers, peasants, and the petty and national bourgeoisie on the one hand, and imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism on the other. So it is called an essentially anti-imperialist and antifeudal bourgeois democratic revolution. Its task was to end the rule of imperialism, the feudal landlord class, and the bureaucrat-comprador class over China and lead the revolution toward socialism under the leadership of the proletariat. With the victory of the new democratic revolution came the changes in the nature and principal contradictions of Chinese society. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie then became the principal internal contradiction. This principal contradiction not only exists in society but expresses itself in the party. The socialist revolution we have undertaken is one carried out by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. The major targets of the revolution are the bourgeoisie and the capitalist roaders in authority within the party. Its task is to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat, to use socialism to defeat capitalism, to gradually create conditions in which the bourgeoisie can neither exist nor be engendered through prolonged class struggle and, ultimately, to eliminate classes and realize communism.

The year 1949, when the PRC was born, marked the beginning of the stage of socialist revolution. Over the past 20 years, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the socialist revolution has won great victories. But it is still far from over and continues to develop in depth. The revolution is changing and surging forward. This requires the people to keep their thoughts in line with the changing and developing revolutionary situation.

If one stops his thoughts in the old stage and views and assesses the socialist revolution from the standpoint of the bourgeois democrats and their world outlook, he will become a representative of the bourgeoisie, a capitalist roader and a target of the socialist revolution.

After China won the new democratic revolution under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, its workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, party members and cadres have never paused for a single moment and have continued to advance along the socialist road. But the thoughts of some people within the party remain in the stage of the democratic revolution. They do not appear to be interested in continuing the march and the revolution along the socialist road. If one does not make progress, he will regress. If one does not revolutionize himself, he will seek capitalist restoration. If one does not take the socialist road, he will inevitably end up taking the capitalist road.

Lenin once explained: "As for those who view the victory over the capitalists the way the petty proprietors view it: 'They grabbed, let me have a chance, too.'" Is it true that the capitalist roaders within the party have acted in the same manner? They are afraid that the socialist revolution will make them a target; will affect the private ownership system, the bourgeois rights they cherish, the traditional ideas they want to defend, their bourgeois stand and world outlook; and turn them into representatives of the bourgeoisie. The deeper the socialist revolution is, the sharper the contradictions between them and the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants. This is because the latter adhere to the continued revolution. With the socialist revolution moving forward, the capitalist roaders have beaten a retreat and become opponents of the revolution.

There is one unrepentant capitalist roader who has been regarded as a source of the right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts. It is precisely this capitalist roader who opposed the agricultural cooperativization and people's commune movements, supported "the fixing of output quotas based on the individual household" and peddled the fallacy that "I do not care whether the cat is white or black as long as she catches mice." Later on, he acted against the Great Cultural Revolution and suppressed the revolutionary mass movement. He is now engaged in reversing previous verdicts and in restoring capitalism. From the bourgeois democrats to the capitalist roaders in authority, from the followers of the party during the period of democratic revolution to members of the faction in opposition and for capitalist restoration during the period of socialist revolution, and from making their thoughts stay in the stage of the bourgeois democratic revolution to practicing revisionism--is this the exact course taken by the unrepentant capitalist roaders? Both historical experience and current struggle show that during the period of socialist revolution anyone who keeps his thoughts in the stage of the bourgeois democratic revolution will end up practicing revisionism and promoting the revisionist line.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Revisionism is one form of bourgeois ideology. The revisionists deny the differences between socialism and capitalism, between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. What they advocate is in fact not the socialist line but the capitalist line." From the viewpoint of ideological system and class origin, the stand and world outlook of the bourgeoisie are identical to those of the revisionists. Opportunism and revisionism are factions and ideologies representing the interests of the bourgeoisie within the workers movement. It is characteristic of them to betray the fundamental interests of the proletariat and capitulate to the bourgeoisie.

Revisionists always side with the bourgeoisie and advocate the "theory of class conciliation," the "theory of the moribund class struggle" and the "theory of productive forces." They always use these revisionist fallacies to oppose the proletariat's class struggle against the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Such was the case from Bernstein and Kautskiy to Trotskiy and Bukharin, and from Khrushchev and Brezhnev to Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. It is also the case with the unrepentant capitalist roader within the party. He has hastily peddled the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," advocated the "theory of the moribund class struggle" and the "theory of productive forces," and used these to negate the party's basic line, oppose the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on the dictatorship of the proletariat, interfere with and undermine the movement of study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the criticism of "Water Margin" personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, and push a revisionist line in all spheres. The absurd arguments appearing last year on the education, scientific and technical, literary and art, and other fronts against Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the Great Cultural Revolution and the socialist new things all derive from the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link."

Those whose ideology remains in the stage of democratic revolution and who deny classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the socialist period will inevitably practice revisionism. This is once again shown by the right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts stirred by the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the party.

Chairman Mao has said: "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." This is a penetrating criticism of the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link."

We have won great victories in the socialist revolution over the past 20 years. But the class struggle has not died out. The defeated classes and those who compose them are still there, and they will still struggle, always dreaming of making a comeback. The bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie are still there; large numbers of intellectuals who have not completely reformed themselves are still there; the force of habit and traditional influence of small production are still there and continue to engender the bourgeoisie and capitalism. Aren't these all facts that everyone can see? Haven't we been shocked by the conspiratorial activities of the agents of the bourgeoisie within the party, the antiparty cliques of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, who vainly attempted to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism? Haven't we received a profound education from the emergence of new bourgeois elements within the party, people like Lin Piao? The comrades at Tsinghua University have put it well: "The capitalist roaders are still taking the same road and the capitulationists do indeed exist." Given this situation, can we say that class struggle has died out?

The unrepentant capitalist roaders within the party do not really want to end class struggle when they peddle the fallacy of "taking the three directives as the key link" and advocate the "theory of the moribund class struggle" and the "theory of productive forces." What they want is to end the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and to represent the bourgeoisie in waging a struggle against the proletariat. They make a sham effort to promote stability and unity and develop production, while their real intention is to do away with the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

Their revisionist line undermines stability and unity and disrupts socialist production. This shows us by negative example that we must persist in taking class struggle as the key link, strengthen the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie politically, economically, ideologically and culturally, and continuously advance the socialist revolution.

After the victory of the democratic revolution, whether to stop the revolution in the old stage and not advance further or to insist on starting the socialist revolution and struggle for the final realization of communism, or, in other words, whether or not to make perserving and unremitting efforts to continue the revolution against the bourgeoisie--this is the fundamental difference distinguishing proletarian revolutionaries from bourgeois democrats, and Marxists from revisionists. The struggle between the two lines within the party in the socialist period develops precisely around this question.

Since they represent the bourgeoisie, the chieftains of the revisionist line are invariably opposed to making revolution against the bourgeoisie, particularly the bourgeois elements within the party. Why do the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the party resent the Great Cultural Revolution so much? Why do they regard the socialist new things emerging from the Great Cultural Revolution as thorns in their flesh and try their utmost to eliminate these socialist new things while they show so much affection for the capitalist and revisionist fallacies criticized in the Great Cultural Revolution and always try to restore them? This is because the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is essentially a great political revolution under the conditions of socialism made by the proletariat against bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. This great revolution has destroyed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, criticized their revisionist line, brought down the capitalist roaders within the party, made revolution against the bourgeois elements within the party, criticized the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and reformed education, literature, art and other parts of the superstructure which did not conform to the socialist economic base. All of this conflicts with the bourgeois interests represented and the bourgeois stand and world outlook stubbornly adhered to by the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the party. It is diametrically opposed to the capitalist road they insist on taking. This insures that they will inevitably oppose the Great Cultural Revolution.

People still clearly remember that it is none other than the person now taking the lead in stirring the right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts who, in the early period of the Great Cultural Revolution, pushed a reactionary burgeois line together with Liu Shao-chi and attempted to suppress the vigorous revolutionary mass movement. However, such perverted actions failed to reverse the wheel of revolution, and the Great Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius have won great victories.

But the unrepentant capitalist roaders have failed to draw lessons from this. They still represent the bourgeoisie and view this great revolution from a revisionist standpoint. In their eyes, the excellent situation since the beginning of the Great Cultural Revolution is completely bad. It does not have a single virtue. They are dissatisfied with everything and cannot wait to reverse previous verdicts and restore capitalism. "If people say that you are a restorationist, you have done a good job." This confession has laid bare the reactionary stand of the unrepentant capitalist roaders in trying to restore capitalism on behalf of the bourgeoisie.

Their performance again attests to Chairman Mao's wise thesis: "The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time. Not a single party member or any person in our country should think that everything will be all right after one or two Great Cultural Revolutions, or even three or four. We must be very much on the alert and always be vigilant."

In order to push the socialist revolution forward, we must restrict the bourgeois rights remaining in the various spheres of socialist society under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is also unacceptable to and opposed by those whose ideology has remained in the stage of democratic revolution. In socialist society, there are still traces of the old society, there are still bourgeois rights and there are still the three major differences. These things are the soil and conditions for engendering the bourgeoisie and capitalism. To restrict bourgeois rights and gradually dig out and eliminate the traces of the old society--this is a long-range task in the socialist period. As the socialist revolution deepens, it becomes more necessary for us to remind ourselves of this task and start to work for it.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Our country now practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, there being the eight-grade wage system, etc. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, it would be quite easy for people like Lin Biao to promote the capitalist system if they come to power. Therefore, we should read more Marxist-Leninist works." Chairman Mao's instruction reflects the desire and demand of the proletariat and the revolutionary people to advance the socialist revolution. It also scares those whose ideology remains in the stage of democratic revolution and causes their resistance.

Bourgeois rights mean everything to those who want to stop the advance of the revolution. Bourgeois rights are exactly what they enjoy and pursue. They always regard bourgeois rights as very reasonable ones which must not be altered. They always try to strengthen and expand these rights. When the revolution touches these people and demands restriction of those bourgeois rights they are trying to defend, they will come into the open to resist.

Why does the unrepentant capitalist reader hate the new things which restrict bourgeois rights in all spheres so much? Why does he raise all kinds of objections to criticism of the ideology of bourgeois rights such as "material incentives," "knowledge is private property," and so forth? Why is he so afraid of the question of restricting bourgeois rights and tries his best to object? Why is he openly playing a tune opposite to Chairman Mao's instructions, babbling that restricting bourgeois rights also requires a material base, without which bourgeois rights cannot be restricted? It is because he represents the bourgeoisie and because he wants to defend and strengthen bourgeois rights and defend and expand the base on which the bourgeoisie depend to breed and survive. This further exposes the bourgeois stand and world outlook of the unrepentant capitalist readers.

Because their ideology remains in the stage of democratic revolution, some people resist or even oppose the socialist revolution. This is a historic phenomenon that has occurred repeatedly within our party in the past 20 years and more. For example, in 1953 our party decided to implement the policy of planned purchasing and marketing by the state. This was an important step in carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

At that time, some people in the party stepped forward to stubbornly oppose the policy. Although they claim to be Communist Party members, they became spokesmen for the capitalist forces in the towns and countryside against the socialist revolution. In the period of agricultural cooperativization, Liu Shao-chi and company slashed a large number of cooperatives. Then they became figure-conscious and stirred a small typhoon, alleging that there was nothing superior about the cooperatives. Why did they move against the great tide of socialist revolution? Why were they so different from, even opposed to, the several hundred million peasants in words and deeds? It is basically because their ideology had remained in the stage of democratic revolution. They always side with the bourgeoisie and serve only a small number of people.

As Chairman Mao pointed out: "Instead of taking the stand of the working class and doing some hard thinking for the nation and people as a whole, they always side with the bourgeoisie, rich peasants or well-to-do middle peasants with their spontaneous tendency toward capitalism." In 1957, for instance, when the bourgeois rightists took advantage of a rectification movement then going on in the party to launch a frenzied attack against the proletariat, some people within the party also advocated a bourgeois program. Chiming in with the bourgeois rightists in society, they called for practicing bourgeois democracy, freedom and equality, and opposed party leadership, especially party leadership in education and science. They presented such slogans as "laymen just cannot lead experts" and "schools should be administered by professors." In so doing, they actually advocated taking the capitalist road and opposed the socialist road and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In 1959, the right opportunist Peng Te-huai opposed the party's general line and negated the Great Leap Forward and the people's commune, which once again exposed the true colors of some people as bourgeois democrats. Since they wanted to enforce a bourgeois program and bourgeois slogans in the stage of socialist revolution, they could not help but be washed away by the tide of socialist revolution.

In the period of socialist revolution, there are some people within the Communist Party whose ideology remains in the stage of democratic revolution. They view things from the viewpoint and world outlook of the bourgeoisie. Such a phenomenon is not strange. Ours is a great, glorious and correct party. Guided by our great leader Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the revolutionary cause led by the party has won great victory. However, since the revolutionary movement led by our party had long been bourgeois-capitalist in nature in the past, quite a few bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalists joined our revolutionary ranks and had even been admitted to the vanguard of the proletariat. Receiving Marxist-Leninist education and tempering themselves in revolutionary struggle for a long time, many of them have gradually rid themselves of their bourgeois world outlook and accepted or adopted the proletarian viewpoint and world outlook. But some of them have been deeply influenced by bourgeois ideology and have failed to receive party education and to transform themselves. As a result, no change has taken place in their viewpoint and world outlook.

A bourgeoisie exists in socialist society and its ideology inevitably influences some people in the vanguard of the proletariat, turning them into bourgeois nationalists or revisionists. These people invariably use various means to stubbornly express their world outlook on political and ideological questions. It is impossible for them not to do so. Therefore, a proletarian party must resolutely struggle against any attempt to transform the party and society in the image of the bourgeoisie.

In dealing with comrades who have made mistakes, our party's consistent principle is to "learn from past mistakes in order to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient." In the current struggle, we should continue to implement this principle and patiently help those comrades who have made mistakes to correct them in order to do a good job in unity and work well.

Chairman Mao said: "We oppose the diehards in the revolutionary ranks whose thinking cannot keep pace with the changed objective conditions. Such thinking historically expresses itself in the form of right opportunism. These people fail to see the fact that the struggle of opposites has advanced the objective process, and their understanding still remains in a past stage. The thinking of all diehards has such a characteristic. With their thinking divorced from social practice, they cannot stand ahead of the chariot of society and act as a guide; they simply trail behind, grumbling that it goes too fast and trying to drag the chariot of society back or turn it in the opposite direction." As the chariot of socialist revolution moves forward, there are invariably people trying to hold the chariot back and turn it in the opposite direction. There have been such people in the past, there are such people at present, and there will be such people in the future. Are the unrepentant capitalist roaders not giving us a lesson in this regard? But they are always in the minority, they have no truth in their hands, and the masses are not on their side. The masses demand revolution, and it is unpopular with them to reverse previous verdicts. The proletariat will certainly triumph over the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, socialism will certainly triumph over capitalism, and communism will certainly be realized throughout the world--this is the general trend of historical development which no one can change.

KWANGMING DAILY HITS CAPITALIST ROADERS' DEEDS

Peking KWANGMING DAILY in Chinese 20 Feb 76 p 2 PMU

[Article by Che Chun: "Eclecticism Is the Ideological Weapon of Revisionists for Practicing Restoration and Regression"]

[Text] One salient feature of the capitalist roaders within the party who refuse to repent and reform themselves, who vigorously stir the right-deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and who push the revisionist line is their use of eclectic tactics to tamper with the basic line of the party, thereby negating the taking of class struggle as the key link, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, reversing verdicts, counterattacking in revenge, and practicing restoration and regression. How do they make use of eclectic tactics to practice restoration and regression?

They Confuse the Key Link and Secondary Concerns, Negate Taking Class Struggle as the Key Link, and oppose the Party's Basic Line

Chairman Mao teaches: "There are many contradictions in the process of development of a complex thing, and one of them is necessarily the principal contradiction whose existence and development determines or influences the existence and development of the other contradictions."