

RED FLAG DISCUSSES INNER PARTY STRUGGLE

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[Text of article by Chih Heng: "Inner Party Struggle and the Development of the Party"--published in RED FLAG No 7 and frontpaged in the 3 July PEOPLE'S DAILY]

[Text] Full of proletarian revolutionary pride, we are greeting the 55th anniversary of the founding of the CCP in the excellent situation in which great victories have been scored in the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

The series of important instructions given by Chairman Mao in the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is a great development of the Marxist-Leninist thesis on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It also is a great development of the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the party. Deepening our study of Chairman Mao's important instructions, conscientiously summing up experiences in the two-line struggle within the party and persisting in the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the party will greatly strengthen party building ideologically and organizationally and further spur the great cause of continuing the revolution, led by the party, under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Engles said: "The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles." Chairman Mao pointed out: "If there were no contradictions in the party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the party's life would come to an end" and "without struggle, there is no progress." The teachings of the revolutionary teachers of the proletariat incisively embody the historical experiences of the international communist movement and our party, and set forth a universal law for the advance and development of the proletariat and its party. To strengthen party building and develop our party it is imperative to understand and grasp this law and to deepen our criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line.

A proletarian party grows out of the proletariat's class struggle against the bourgeoisie and is a tool of the proletariat in this struggle. Class struggle gives rise to parties; inner-party struggles reflect class struggle. The CCP is the vanguard of the proletariat in China. During the period of democratic revolution, our party led the people throughout the country to wage a long revolutionary struggle and revolutionary war in order to overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. On the question of united front and armed struggle, our party repeatedly experienced two-line struggles during this period.

With the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie becoming the principal social contradiction in the period of socialist revolution, our party has never ceased its two-line struggle on the question of what road, socialist or capitalist, should be followed. This struggle will continue throughout the entire historical period of socialism. Only by observing our inner-party life from the viewpoint of class struggle can we really understand the necessity of inner-party struggle, be ideologically prepared to meet it, and be able to build and develop our party in the course of this struggle.

Under the conditions of socialism, the inner-party struggle is, for the most part, a struggle between the Marxists in the party and the party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the bourgeoisie within the party. It is a struggle between two antagonistic classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The salient feature of the capitalist roaders is that they use the power in their hands to push a revisionist line. Therefore, the class struggle within the party concentratedly expressed itself as the struggle between the Marxist line and the revisionist line.

In 1964, Chairman Mao pointed out in a directive concerning the socialist education movement: "The bureaucrat class on the one hand and the working class together with the poor and lower-middle peasants on the other are two classes sharply antagonistic to each other." Chairman Mao also pointed out in the directive: "Those leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road have turned, or are turning, into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers; how can they possibly fully realize the imperative need for socialist revolution? These people are the target of the struggle, the target of the revolution, and we must never rely on them in the socialist education movement. We can rely on those cadres who are not hostile to the workers and are imbued with revolutionary spirit."

After studying this important directive given by Chairman Mao, we have further understood the wise assertion that "The bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party." Chairman Mao drew a crystal-clear class concept when he mentioned "The bureaucrat class" and "those leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road." Referring to the capitalist roaders and the bourgeoisie within the party during the period of socialism.

Such bourgeois elements in the party as Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and Teng Hsiao-ping politically oppress and economically exploit the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants, and are themselves engaged in sharp class struggle with the latter. They are the main target of the socialist revolution, holding a large portion of party and state power. They formulated a revisionist line and pushed it hard at the upper and grassroots levels trying to restore capitalism in the superstructure and right through to the economic base in an attempt to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. They are more malicious and dangerous than the bourgeoisie outside the party.

We must, therefore, clearly understand the reactionary bourgeois nature of the capitalist roaders. We must understand that the inner-party struggle is a grave class struggle and we must be resolute in using Chairman Mao's revolutionary line to defeat the revisionist line which represents the bourgeoisie.

Some persons have said that since the Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat, there should be no contradiction or struggle within the party and the party itself should be very pure. This is a naive way of thinking which runs counter to materialist dialectics. The law of contradiction--that is, the law of the unit of opposites--is the basic law of materialist dialectics. Everything in the world can be viewed in the light of "one divides into two." Purity exists relatively, and impurity is absolute. Between the opposites in a contradiction there is at once unity and struggle, and it is this that impels things to move and change. This is the fundamental law governing the development of all things as well as the development of the party.

Our party exists not in a vacuum but in a complicated class struggle. During the period of democratic revolution, especially in the upsurge of the revolution with rapid waves one after another, it was inevitable that our party absorbed the good as well as the bad, and a small number of special agents, renegades and individuals from all classes and other impure elements wormed their way into our party. Some persons accepted the party's minimum program to various degrees and joined the party ranks while their ideas were still characteristic of the democratic revolution of the bourgeoisie. This is not so odd as to be unusual.

After liberation, in the light of the in-depth development of the socialist revolution the party ranks were repeatedly disintegrated and those in the party who were stubbornly persisting in the bourgeois stand refused to remold their thinking. They were not eager for progress, opposed the socialist revolution and eventually became party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. New bourgeois elements have emerged in the party in the light of the existence of classes, class struggle, bourgeois rights, the influence of the international bourgeoisie and revisionism. The contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie within the party have eventually been reflected in the class struggle and two-line struggle within the party. Only through such struggles can the party develop and march forward.

It is essential to use dialectical methods to guide the life of the party and look for progress and development in the course of struggle. This is Chairman Mao's consistent thinking about party building. In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao has pointed out while talking about party consolidation: "A human being has arteries and veins through which the heart makes the blood circulate, and he breathes with his lungs, exhaling carbon dioxide and inhaling fresh oxygen, that is, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh. A proletarian party must also get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, for only thus can it be full of vitality. Without eliminating waste matter and absorbing fresh blood the party has no vigor."

The example used by Chairman Mao, which is vivid and easily understood, fully illustrates the dialectical methods for dealing with the contradictions within the party. It also shows the objective law that only by persisting in waging struggle within the party can the party be full of vitality.

Historically, the slave-owning class, feudal landlords and bourgeoisie were full of vigor, were revolutionary and progressive, and were real tigers during the period before and after their seizure of power. Later, they gradually degenerated and became reactionary, backward, paper tigers and stumbling blocks to social development and historical progress.

The proletariat is a most far-sighted, selfless and thoroughly revolutionary class. It is also a vanguard class that strives vigorously for communism. The seizure of political power is only the start of the long march of the revolution of the proletariat. Its historic mission is to carry the socialist revolution through to the end and to eliminate reactionary classes. A proletarian party should bring into full play such class characteristics of the proletariat, and educate the proletariat and the masses of people to know their historical mission well and to resolutely strive for its realization. However, the party's proletarian characteristics and its thoroughly revolutionary spirit can only be maintained and developed in the course of struggle. If the inner-party struggle is not resolutely carried out and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is not used to defeat the revisionist line of the capitalist roaders, the party's nature will degenerate once the revisionist line is in a dominating position within the party.

The Soviet Communist Party founded and led by Lenin was full of vigor. Later, its leadership was seized by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and it has become a revisionist bourgeois and fascist party, and an extremely reactionary, decadent, political force. In view of the historical experiences of both positive and negative examples at home and abroad, is it not quite clear that persisting in the inner-party struggle is of great significance for combating and preventing revisionism and strengthening party building?

Whether the inner-party struggle should be resolutely carried out is a principled distinction between Chairman Mao's line on party building and the revisionist line on party building. Because of their counterrevolutionary political needs, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping, the chieftains of the revisionist line, all advocated the "theory of the dying out of class struggle" concerning the question of party building. They either have obliterated the class essence of the inner-party struggle, distorting it as the struggle between individuals, or criticized the inner-party struggle as creating contradictions, negating the objective fact that struggle exists in the party. These fallacies fundamentally run counter to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine about the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as the theory of party building.

The chieftains of the revisionist line advocated the "theory of the dying out of class struggle" concerning the question of party building. This was a hypocritical and double-dealing trick aimed at covering their frenzied attacks against the party and the proletariat. While creating a big fuss about "making so-called concessions trying to achieve unity," Liu Shao-chi was wantonly protecting his group of renegades and die-hard elements and establishing a bourgeois headquarters. While alleging, "When the two sides live in harmony, they become friends," Lin Piao was plotting a counterrevolutionary armed coup d'etat to overthrow the proletariat. While negating the existence of class struggle within the party, Teng Hsiao-ping dished out the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and stepped up the organization of home-going contingents to reverse the verdicts of the Great Cultural Revolution. It is obvious that the chieftains of the revisionist line in the party obliterated and distorted the inner-party struggle in a vain attempt to ideologically disarm the masses of party members in the course of the serious class struggle and two-line struggle, to frantically carry out the activities of capitalist restoration and to change the proletarian nature of the party and the state. This reminds us by negative example that it is necessary to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line in depth and eliminate the remaining pernicious influence of the "theory of the dying out of class struggle."

Chairman Mao has noted: "To guide revolution to victory it is essential for a political party to rely on the correctness of its political line and the consolidation of its organization." We should uninterruptedly consolidate and develop the unity of the whole party and score still greater victories in the revolutionary cause, in the struggle to persist in Chairman Mao's correct line and criticize the revisionist line. To oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping, chieftains of the revisionist line, always carried out counterrevolutionary activities organizationally to undermine the unity of the party and disintegrate the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao.

To safeguard the unity of the party it is essential to wage a resolute struggle against the undermining activities of the chieftains of the revisionist line within the party. At present, it is necessary for us to deepen criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping, eliminate the pernicious influence of the revisionist line and do a good job in the struggle to beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts in an effort to strengthen the unity of the whole party on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In the course of struggle it is essential to implement Chairman Mao's consistent policies, pay attention to distinguishing between the two kinds of contradictions and take proper measures. It is essential to resolutely criticize Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line and, in dealing with the cadres who have erred, to apply the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient."

It is essential to carry out the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and beat back the right deviationist wind under the unified leadership of the party committees at various levels, and neither establish mountain strongholds nor organize fighting groups. Party organizations should persist in grasping revolution and promoting production, other work and preparedness against war; cordially support new socialist things; be vigilant against class enemies' sabotaging and trouble-making activities; and continue all tasks in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

In his talks given during an inspection tour of various places in the country in August and September 1971, Chairman Mao said: "We have been singing the 'Internationale' for 50 years and there have been 10 occasions on which someone in our party worked for a split. As I see it, another 10, 20 or 30 such occasions may arise. Don't you believe this? Well, if you don't, I do anyway. There will be no more struggles after the realization of communism? That's not what I believe. There will be struggles even then, although they will be struggles between the new and the old, between what is correct and what is wrong. Even tens of thousands of years from now, what is wrong won't pass, it won't stand up." In the current struggle against the right deviationist attempt, Chairman Mao again pointed out: "Will there be need for revolution a hundred years from now? Will there still be need for revolution a thousand years from now? There is always need for revolution." Chairman Mao's shining theses have elucidated the protracted nature of the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines in the party and are full of the revolutionary optimistic spirit which is characteristic of the proletariat.

Throughout history, the revolutionary class has always had to continue the test of strength with the counterrevolutionary class, repeatedly and on a long-term basis, in order to defeat it. It is unthinkable that the proletariat can completely overthrow the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, triumph over capitalism with socialism, and ultimately realize communism without undergoing many soul-stirring serious struggles and an arduous, tortuous fighting course. All genuine Marxists will always confidently plunge into the heat of the revolutionary struggle and create brilliant prospects through struggle. Running away from contradiction and tiring of struggle are not the mentality of Marxists.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Our party has undergone many major struggles between the two lines. A number of chieftains practicing the opportunist line emerged. However, none of them could stop the overwhelming advance of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Because Chairman Mao's correct line defeated all opportunist lines, our party has led the people of the whole country in winning the great victories of the new democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. Thanks to the Cultural Revolution, our party has become more united and vigorous and developed. Those who usher in the orientation of history are the proletariat and the masses that want continued revolution instead of any social clique or force that vainly attempt to restore capitalism and go backward, including the bourgeoisie in the party.

Chairman Mao's revolutionary line conforms to the objective law of historical development, represents the fundamental interests of the proletariat and the masses, and is therefore invincible. The chieftain practicing the revisionist line in the party represents the bourgeoisie, acts pervertedly, has no truth in his hands, goes against the will of the people and is extremely isolated.

Therefore, he is bound to fall. So long as we always adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, persist in the philosophy of struggle and closely rally around the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the bourgeoisie's scheme to restore capitalism will eventually be smashed in disgrace and the proletariat's revolutionary cause will surely triumph completely, no matter how many more struggles have to be waged and no matter what changes there will be in the nature of the struggle.

LIANG HSIAO VIEWS DEVELOPMENT OF STRUGGLE

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[Article by Liang Hsiao: "Our Party Advances in the Course of Struggle"]

[Text] The Chinese Communist Party, founded and nurtured by our great leader Chairman Mao himself, has victoriously traversed a brilliant fighting course over the past 55 years. Our party's history is one of heroic struggles against class enemies at home and abroad and against opportunism and revisionism within the party. Especially in the 10 outstanding years since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we have struggled against Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping, fought our way through fire and water, and accumulated new experiences. Our party has become purer, stauncher and more vigorous.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "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." This scientific thesis of Chairman Mao has further indicated the main target of the revolutionary struggle throughout the historical period of socialism. It is of extremely great significance to the building of the party. Only if we bear in mind the party's basic program, uphold its basic line, persevere in the struggle against the bourgeoisie within the party and in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat can we correctly solve the question of what kind of party we should build and how to build it.

"The party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the enemy." Chairman Mao's party-building program clearly stipulates that our party's basic task is to wage class struggle. In the historical period of socialism, the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party. Therefore, the main target of our struggle is against the bourgeoisie in the party.

Whether to wage class struggle and whether to exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie has always been the watershed separating a Marxist-Leninist party from a revisionist party. The Chinese Communist Party's basic program 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 party's ultimate goal is the realization of communism.

Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping tried their utmost to preach the theory of the dying out of class struggle and energetically opposed taking class struggle as the key link. They attempted to write off our party's basic task of fighting against class enemies, abandon the party's basic program and tamper with the party's basic line.