

RED FLAG ON CONTINUING CLASS STRUGGLE IN SOCIETY

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[Text of article published in RED FLAG No 1, 1976 and reprinted in 3 January PEOPLE'S DAILY by Chih Heng: "Firmly Grasp the Class Struggle as the Key Link"]

[Text] Chairman Mao recently taught us once again: "Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." We should **thoroughly comprehend** Chairman Mao's teaching and restudy his consistent **instructions** on this question over the years. We should criticize and repudiate the theory of "the dying out of class struggle" and oppose all erroneous tendencies ignoring class struggle. We should conscientiously implement the party's basic line, **grasp the key link--class struggle--and do all our work better** in order to win still greater victories.

Chairman Mao pointed out in 1965 when criticizing Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line: "Class contradiction, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and **the struggle** between the socialist road and the capitalist road exist throughout the transitional period. We shall go astray if we forget this fundamental theory and practice of our party over the last dozen years or so." The history of our country over the past 20 years and more since entering the period of socialist revolution is a history of Chairman Mao leading us to wage continuous class struggle against the bourgeoisie, a history of class struggle pushing our society forward. The struggle between the two classes and two roads is the fundamental theory and practice of our party. We should continue to sum up the practical experience of class struggle in accordance with Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and firmly grasp the key link, class struggle. We will thus be able to continue to win new victories in undertaking the socialist cause.

Whether one persists in taking class struggle as the key link in the socialist cause, in the final analysis, depends on whether one recognizes the continued existence of classes, class contradictions and class struggle under socialist conditions; it is a question of whether one **recognizes** that it is necessary to persistently exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie throughout the historical period of socialism. This question is always the focus of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism both at home and abroad and also an important criterion for distinguishing between genuine and sham Marxism.

A review of interparty struggles against such revisionist chieftains as Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao will enable us to gain a clearer understanding of this question. At the second plenum of the Seventh CCP Central Committee, which was convened on the eve of the establishment of the PRC, Chairman Mao **explicitly pointed out** that after the victory of the new democratic revolution the principal contradiction at home is the one between the working class and the bourgeoisie. At the same time, he reminded us: "After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly."

Chairman Mao has laid down the **principles and policies** for our struggle against the bourgeoisie. Furthermore, he emphasized that we must guard against the appearance of persons within the party who have been hit by bourgeois sugar-coated bullets. His warning points out the direction for us to carry on the socialist revolution.

However, the renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi vigorously played a discordant tune. Behind the back of the party Central Committee and without considering the resolution of the second plenum of the Seventh CCP Central Committee, he advocated the fallacy that "it is a merit for the bourgeoisie to exploit the working class." He also called for consolidating the order of "new democracy."

The fallacies of negating class struggle and opposing socialist revolution that Liu Shao-chi advocated were criticized and resisted by Chairman Mao at just the right time. The whole party and people throughout the country, under Chairman Mao's leadership, carried out both a large-scale movement to suppress the counterrevolutionaries and the movements of the "three-anti's" [corruption, waste and bureaucracy] and "five-anti's" [bribing government workers, evading taxes stealing state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing economic information for private speculation]. Thus, we stuck at the counterrevolutionary elements, repulsed the frenzied attacks by the bourgeoisie, insured the victory of resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea, and quickly restored the national economy.

Following this, under the guidance of the general line for the transitional period, we smashed the antiparty alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih; struggled against the Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique; victoriously carried out a movement to suppress counterrevolutionaries; and undertook the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, and capitalist industry and commerce. In coordination with the socialist transformation, we carried out a number of struggles against bourgeois ideology in the ideological sphere by exposing the film "The Inside Story of the Ching Court" which advocated the doctrine of selling out the country and which had not been criticized previously because of suppression of such criticism by Liu Shao-chi and company, and also by criticizing the reactionary film "The Life of Wu Hsun." Thus, we criticized bourgeois idealism and dealt blows to revisionist we claimed to have mastered Marxism but who had actually submitted to bourgeois. We won all these victories by firmly grasping the struggle between the two classes and two roads as the key link under Chairman Mao's leadership.

Do classes and class struggle still exist? Is the struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie still the principal domestic contradiction after the great victory won in socialist transformation of the means of production throughout the country? Marxists and revisionists carried out another debate on this question. Liu Shao-chi and company uttered the nonsense: "The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has been basically solved, and the principal contradiction at home has been basically solved, and the principal contradiction at home is the contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the backward social productive forces."

This revisionist fallacy was immediately criticized and pointedly repudiated by Chairman Mao. In criticizing Liu Shao-chi's fallacy, Chairman Mao repeatedly stressed the protracted and complicated nature of class struggle in 1957. He explicitly pointed out: "In China, although socialist transformation has generally been completed with respect to the system of ownership, there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remolding of the petty bourgeoisie has just started. The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute."

The struggle against the bourgeois rightist which took place shortly thereafter proved Chairman Mao's thesis. After victory in this struggle, hundreds of millions of people criticized the doctrines of slavish comprador philosophy and of trailing behind at a snail's pace. They did so under the guidance of Chairman Mao's general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism." The Great Leap Forward and the movement to establish people's communes resulted in 1958. Thus, we took a big step forward in our socialist cause.

The struggle was by no means over, however. At the eighth plenum of the 8th CCP Central Committee, held at Lushan Mountain in August 1959, the Pen Te-huai antiparty clique came forward to attack the general line, the Great Leap Forward and the People's commune. As Chairman Mao pointed out, this struggle was essentially "a class struggle, a continuation of the life-and-death struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the course of socialist revolution over the past decade." In keeping with the experience of this struggle and many others in the past, Chairman Mao taught us once again: "It appears that, in China and our party, this kind of struggle will continue for a least 20 years and possibly half a century. In short, the struggle will not cease until classes die out completely."

Later, taking advantage of temporary economic difficulties resulting from natural disasters for 3 years running and from the Soviet revisionist clique's tearing up contracts and withdrawing experts, Liu Shao-chi and company opposed Chairman Mao's correct line and advocated that "industry should retreat enough [kung yeh yao tui kou 1562 2814 6008 6622 1124], and so should agriculture." Moreover, they openly advocated and implemented the revisionist line advocating "san tzu i pao."

Perceiving the threat of Liu Shao-chi's counterrevolutionary revisionist line, Chairman Mao noted the danger to some comrades and brought up the need to guard against the appearance of revisionism at the January 1962 work conference of the CCP Central Committee. At the August 1962 work conference of the Central Committee at Peithaiho and the 10th plenum of the 8th CCP Central Committee in September 1962, he issued the great call to the whole party: "Never forget classes and class struggle." He pointed out: "Socialist society covers a fairly long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle; there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration." Thus, he set forth more comprehensively the basic line for our party in the entire historical period of socialism and instructed us to "remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day."

In May 1963 Chairman Mao again warned the party: "If classes and class struggle were forgotten and if the dictatorship of the proletariat were forgotten," "then it would not be long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before counterrevolutionary restoration on a national scale would inevitably occur. The Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and all China would change its color." Thus, Chairman Mao pointedly presented us with the question of whether one should grasp class struggle and whether one wants the dictatorship of the proletariat, a matter of utmost importance for the future and destiny of the party and the state.

Things always happen this way: The more firmly the proletariat wants to grasp class struggle, the more hypocritically the representatives of the bourgeoisie attacking the proletariat want to negate class contradictions.

At a time when a large-scale socialist education movement was being conducted throughout the cities and rural areas of the country under the guidance of the party's basic line Liu Shao-chi once again came forward to allege that "the principal contradiction in the countryside is the contradiction between the 'four cleanups' [in the fields of politics, ideology, organization and economy] and the 'four unclean' and between those in the party and those outside it." In saying these things, he was vainly attempting to change the orientation of the socialist education movement.

Chairman Mao immediately criticized Liu Shao-chi's absurd fallacies and upheld the correct thesis that the principal contradiction in the period of socialism is the struggle between the two classes and two lines. Furthermore, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out: "The main target of the present movement is those party persons in power taking the capitalist road." In other words, he pointed out that representatives of the bourgeoisie were within the communist party, and he thereby insured the healthy development of the socialist education movement.

In its decision concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the "16-point resolution," the CCP Central Committee cited this thesis by Chairman Mao and set down various policies with the view to implementing it. As long as we profoundly realize the protracted nature of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in socialist society, we can comprehend the significance of this scientific analysis of Chairman Mao in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and in preventing a capitalist restoration.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao, was a great political revolution of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. When this great revolution has just started, Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters illegally used the name of the party Central Committee to disseminate the "February outline" throughout the party. Using the most hypocritical words, the "outline" obscured the acute class struggle on the then existing ideological and cultural fronts. Moreover, it set forth the bourgeois slogan "Everyone is equal before truth" in a vain attempt to lead the political life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie toward "pure academic discussion." The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao exposed the conspiracy of Liu Shao-chi and company in time and led the whole party and people of the whole country in destroying Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters through repeated and tortuous struggles.

Then, the Lin Piao antiparty clique jumped forward. The political report drafted by Lin Piao in collusion with Chen Po-ta for delivery at the 9th CCP National Congress held that the main postcongress task was to develop production. It was the same kind of stuff that Liu Shao-chi and Chen Po-ta inserted into the resolution of the 8th CCP National Congress behind Chairman Mao's back. This report was vetoed by the party Central Committee, as it should have been. The Ninth CCP National Congress fully confirmed the basic line laid down by Chairman Mao for our party in the entire historical period of socialism.

After the Ninth CCP National Congress, we carried out the movement to criticize revisionism and rectify the style of work and to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, winning a great victory in smashing the Lin Piao anti party clique. The 10th CCP National Congress, summed up our party's struggle against the Lin Piao antiparty clique and once again confirmed the party's basic line.

In the past 2 years or so since the 10th CCP National Congress, Chairman Mao has led us in continuing to take class struggle as the key link; in thoroughly carrying out the movements to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, and to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat; in criticizing "Water Margin" which advocates capitulationism; and in conducting a wide debate on the educational revolution, thus winning great victories on the political, economic, ideological and cultural fronts.

"Historical experience merits attention." The road we have traveled over the past 20 years and more shows that whether one wants to persistently take class struggle as the key link, to vigorously carry out the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie, to carry on the socialist revolution on the political, economic, ideological and cultural fronts, and to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat is a matter of fundamental importance bearing on whether one practices Marxism or revisionism. The revisionist chieftains within the party, such as Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, exerted all efforts to advocate the theory of "the dying out of class struggle" and to obscure the differences between socialism and capitalism and between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In so doing, they did not in the least want class struggle to die out but to denumb the proletariat and other revolutionary people ideologically and to oppose the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie in an attempt to achieve their criminal aim of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism.

We must never forget historical experience in this regard. Under no circumstances can we lower our vigilance and forget classes, class struggle or the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the current excellent situation, there still exists the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines.

Some time ago, erroneous trends appeared in society to negate the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, newly emerging things of socialism and the proletariat's revolution in education. These trends are a strong reflection of the current struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. The outstanding achievements we scored in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution are crushing defeats for the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes. They will certainly not take their defeat lying down. They will always look for a chance to counterattack vengefully in order to reverse the correct verdicts issued during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

When the recent absurd argument on the educational front was concocted, a right-deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts was whipped up, and other revisionist wares were peddled. The proletariat and revolutionary masses naturally waged a tit-for-tat struggle. This was entirely logical. Mistakes must be corrected and poisonous weeds uprooted. We must firmly grasp class struggle as the key link and struggle actively under correct leadership step by step and in line with Chairman Mao's teachings. Under the party's leadership, we must continue to criticize the counterrevolutionary revisionist line peddled by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao and the erroneous views and trends that run counter to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on the educational front. At the same time, in the course of struggle we must clearly distinguish and correctly handle the two different types of contradictions, unite more than 95 percent of masses and cadres, and consolidate and develop the remarkable achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The great debate on the educational front should be conducted under the leadership of party committees; no "fighting groups" should be organized.

In our socialist society, all social phenomena have their class essence. Every kind of thinking is stamped with the brand of a class. All kinds of contradictions in all fields of work subordinate themselves to the main contradiction--that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The class struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie regulates and affects the existence and development of other contradictions. All fields of work are related to class struggle. Therefore, no matter what kind of work we do, we must pay attention to the key link, on which everything else hinges, so that when the key link is grasped, everything will fall into place.

In the realm of culture and education, literature and art, science and public health, the main contradiction remains the struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie. In all fields of work in these realms, there always exists a question of political orientation--the question of whether it is necessary to serve proletarian politics and exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in these realms. At present, a great debate is being carried out on the educational front. Although it involves the educational system, pedagogical policy and teaching methods, it is still a basic issue of whether we should make revolution in education and turn the schools into tools of the dictatorship of the proletariat and positions for workers with both socialist consciousness and culture. This also involves the issue of who will exercise dictatorship in the realm of education, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. This is the essence of the debate. By grasping the essence, we will be able to counter the absurd argument where it is most vulnerable.

To effect a rise in our national economy, we must first of all help the various departments of national economy truly forge ahead along the socialist path. In learning from Tachai and from Taching, the fundamental issue is to do a good job in learning from the main experience of Tachai and Taching, grasp class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, adhere to the socialist orientation, and follow the socialist road. Only by solving the question of orientation and road will it be possible to utilize fully the broad masses' and cadres' enthusiasm for socialism and the revolutionary vigor of the working class and poor and lower-middle peasants and rapidly develop production. If the question of orientation and road is not solved, it will be impossible for proletarian uprightness to prevail over bourgeois wickedness; it will be difficult to criticize the capitalist trash. The enthusiasm of the broad masses and cadres for socialism will be dampened and the development of production impeded. Grasping revolution and promoting production are concrete embodiments of our policy in taking class struggle as the key link and building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results. We must firmly uphold this correct policy.

To take the class struggle as the key link, we must always follow the party's basic line formulated by Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Our party has laid down the general line and general policy of the Chinese revolution as well as various specific lines for work and policies. However, while many comrades remember our party's specific lines for work and specific policies, they often forget its general line and general policy. If we actually forget the party's general line and general policy, then we shall be blind, half-baked, muddleheaded revolutionaries, and when we carry out a specific line for work and a specific policy, we shall lose our bearings and waver first to the left and then to the right, and the work will suffer."

Studying this teaching by Chairman Mao is of current significance. At present, all our work is on specific guidelines and policies. All these guidelines and policies subordinate themselves to a general program; the party's basic line, the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Deviating from this general program, we cannot do a good job in implementing various specific guidelines and policies. We may deviate from the correct path in implementing guidelines and policies. Some comrades have an incorrect attitude toward the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the newly emerging things of socialism and commit a number of mistakes. Their mistakes are closely related to their failure to adhere to the party's basic line and to observe and analyze problems in light of classes and class struggle. We must always make sure that our thinking and actions never deviate from the party's basic line.

To firmly grasp class struggle as the key link it is necessary to conscientiously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must forge ahead on the basis of the results of last year's study. Only by truly comprehending the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, correctly understanding classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the period of socialism as well as the character, target, tasks and prospects of the socialist revolution, and by realizing why we should exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie will it be possible for us to consciously implement the party's basic line and correctly handle the relationship between the key link and all else. Only by doing so will it be possible for us to have a correct attitude toward the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the masses and oneself and support the newly emerging things of socialism that help restrict bourgeois rights.

We want to achieve stability and unity, but this does not mean that we should do away with class struggle. Stability and unity should be achieved by correctly developing class struggle and handling the two different types of contradictions under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. We must strive to effect an improvement in our national economy, but that does not mean that we do not need class struggle. Without taking class struggle as the key link, it is impossible to develop the national economy along the correct path.

Ideas and action that deny class struggle as the key link and ignore or relax study and practice of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat are entirely wrong because they invariably deny the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines as the principal contradiction and draw a parallel between politics and economy and between politics and professional competence. They run counter to the Marxist-Leninist theory that politics is the concentrated expression of economics and that, as compared with economics, politics must occupy the predominant position. They are incompatible with Chairman Mao's teachings.

So long as we firmly grasp class struggle as the key link, conscientiously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and persistently continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat with the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, we are sure to win new and still greater victories for our socialist cause.

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[Text] Today's PEOPLE'S DAILY carries on its third page the table of contents for issue No 1 of the 1976 RED FLAG journal. This issue of the RED FLAG carries the two poems by Chairman Mao, entitled: "Chingkangshan Revisited--To the Tune of Shui Tiao Keh Tou" and "Two Birds: a Dialogue--To the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao."