

Last week, observers noted the official press gave wide coverage to a piece of advice that could be construed as a call for indiscipline toward leaders held to be "capitalist roaders."

The daily CLARITY [KUANG MING DAILY] devoted an article to a military unit whose attitude it put forward as an example: "Its fighters dare to oppose anything that does not conform to Chairman Mao's institutions. Whether it be a speech by a bigwig or the directives issued by higher authorities."

CHENG YUEH ARTICLE ATTACKS TENG, RIGHTISTS

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[Text of article by Cheng Yueh published in issue No 6 of the 1976 RED FLAG and reprinted in the 25 May PEOPLE'S DAILY: "Strengthen Study. Deepen Criticism of Teng Hsiao-Ping".]

[Text] Great victories have been won in the struggle initiated and led by Chairman Mao to beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. But the struggle has not ended. We must advance from victory to victory, conscientiously study Chairman Mao's important instructions and deepen criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping.

It is absolutely necessary to continue to deepen criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line. From the viewpoint of class struggle the emergence of Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line, like all past revisionist lines is not accidental. As Lenin pointed out "Opportunism is a social product of an entire historical era." Teng Hsiao-ping in trying to reverse the verdicts and attempting restoration and retrogression was extremely isolated from the people of the whole country. But his revisionist line had a profound social source and was a concentrated expression of the wild attack by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. Teng Hsiao-ping's collapse is a heavy blow to the bourgeoisie he represented. However, the bourgeoisie will not step down from the stage of history of its own accord because of Teng Hsiao-ping's collapse. Neither will the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie come to an end because of Teng Hsiao-ping's collapse. The influence of Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line will not disappear immediately by itself without being criticized.

Since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, after the collapse of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao's revisionist line emerged; and after Lin Piao brought on his own destruction, Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line emerged. It was a continuation of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line as well as a continuation of the Liu-Lin revisionist line. This is because the bourgeoisie still exist in society at large and in the party; large numbers of intellectuals who have not been thoroughly remolded still exist; class struggle has not died out; the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road has not died out; and class and ideological root causes generating revisionist lines still exist in society today. Therefore, we must not stop or ease our criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping just because he was brought down. On the contrary we must redouble our efforts and continue to deepen criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping.

Although it was not long between the time Teng Hsiao-ping resumed work and the time of his collapse he formulated a program prepared public opinion, and launched an organized and planned wild attack on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line the party and proletariat. He not only put forward a revisionist program but spread many absurd arguments to fan up the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts in all spheres and on all fronts. The revisionist line which gave concentrated expression to the hopes and attempts of the bourgeoisie to restore capitalism is a rare teaching material by negative example for the proletariat and the revolutionary people.

From putting forward the fallacy of "taking the three directives as the key links" to engineering the counterrevolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square, from seizing the ideological positions to "carry[ing] out all-round realists" to "from opposing restriction of bourgeois rights to worship of things foreign and national betrayal, Teng Hsiao-ping provided many useful experiences and lessons by negative example for our cause of socialist revolution and construction.

To bring into full play the role of this teaching material by negative example and deeper criticism in theory and practice of Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line and all kinds of fallacies will greatly enhance our understanding of Chairman Mao's theory, line, principles and policies regarding the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and raise our consciousness against the capitalist roaders in the party. We should say that much work remains to be done to deepen criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping. It is wrong to say that he has been criticized thoroughly and that there is nothing else to be criticized.

To deepen the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line, we must persevere in "read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism." Chairman Mao's series of important instructions on the question of theory and beating back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts are important developments of Marxism-Leninism, penetrating and forceful criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping and a powerful ideological weapon for us to use in criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping. If we conscientiously study Chairman Mao's instructions and really understand them in the light of actual conditions, our criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping will become more and more penetrating in the correct direction.

Based on the historical experience of the international communist movement and the struggle between the two lines within our party Chairman Mao further analyzed the question of classes, class contradictions and class struggle, and pointed out: "You are making the socialist revolution and yet you 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."

Chairman Mao's instructions, particularly his wise thesis that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party, have further clarified for us the orientation for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. By conscientiously studying Chairman Mao's series of instructions and achieving a real theoretical understanding of the important question about the bourgeoisie being right in the Communist Party, we will gain an incisive and comprehensive understanding of Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line, seeing not only why this line is wrong and reactionary but also the class and ideological root causes and the social and economic bases of this line. In this way we will understand how to struggle against the bourgeoisie in the party and how to dig out its roots step by step. Conversely criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping will help enhance our understanding of Chairman Mao's important instructions and raise our ideological and theoretical level and our ability to recognize and oppose revisionism. This is because the reactionary nature and characteristics of the bourgeoisie in the party have found concentrated and sharp expression in the person of Teng Hsiao-ping.

To use Chairman Mao's instructions to analyze and criticize the process of Teng Hsiao-ping's degeneration into an unrepentant capitalist roader and to analyze and criticize Teng Hsiao-ping's relations with the class enemies and capitalist forces in society--will this not help us gain a more concrete understanding of the characteristics of class struggle i.e. that the bourgeoisie is in the party and that the capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road?

To use Chairman Mao's instructions to analyze and criticize how Teng Hsiao-ping strengthened and expanded bourgeois rights and defended the interests of the bigwigs who practiced revisionism--will this not help us gain a more concrete understanding of the relationship between the bourgeoisie in the party and bourgeois rights? To use Chairman Mao's instructions to analyze and criticize how Teng Hsiao-ping, as soon as he came to power, mounted wild, vengeful counterattacks on the proletariat and engineered the counterrevolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square--will this not help us gain a more concrete understanding of the danger of the bourgeoisie in the party?

To combine study and criticism in this manner is an important way for us to gain a more profound understanding of the nature, tasks and targets of the socialist revolution and raise our consciousness of the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. To persistently study Chairman Mao's important instructions, relentlessly criticize Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line and summarize experiences in struggling against the bourgeoisie in the party--this assuredly will give a powerful impetus to our revolutionary cause of combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration.

Because Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line attacked the proletariat in all spheres, because his revisionist line represented in a concentrated way the interests and wishes of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the party, and because the counterrevolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square is a very good teaching material by negative example for us to analyze the character and danger of Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line, when we criticize Teng Hsiao-ping we can and must link our criticism with the realities of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines throughout the whole country and on all fronts. On this question, many advanced units have already accumulated quite a number of good experiences. The leadership should learn from the masses and sum up the experiences. The experiences of these advanced units have shown us that we must not only understand that class struggle is the key link, but must also grasp this key link in our actual work. Combining criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping with grasping actual class struggle will make our criticism more penetrating and our understanding more profound on the one hand, and will help us do better in grasping actual class struggle on the other hand.

Communist Party members, leading cadres in particular, must gain a real understanding of the major issues of right and wrong ideologically between the two lines and foster the idea of carrying the socialist revolution through to the end. Only in this way can they further raise their consciousness in implementing and defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

The current movement is developing under the leadership of party committees at various levels. The spearhead of the struggle has always been directed at arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the party Teng Hsiao-ping. We are confident that the cadres and the masses, who have tempered themselves in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, are entirely able to keep to the general orientation of the struggle. We should take a clear-cut stand to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line; under the general objective of criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping, unite with over 95 percent of the cadres and the masses; continue to do a good job in the revolution in the economic base and the superstructure; grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war; and lead the masses to push forward the socialist revolution and construction in each area and each unit.

To link criticism with actual conditions, it is necessary to combine criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping with promoting development of new socialist things. Since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, new socialist things have been emerging in an endless stream. The basic characteristic of these newborn things is that in the economic base and all spheres of the superstructure they strengthen the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, are conducive to consolidating and developing the socialist economic base, and are conducive to narrowing the differences between workers and peasants, town and countryside, and mental and manual labor. They restrict and reduce the bourgeois rights existing in the relations of distribution and exchange and in the relations between men, and promote the vigorous development of socialist revolution and construction on all fronts.

Teng Hsiao-ping, the general representative of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the party, bitterly hated these new socialist things and tried his utmost to strangle them. However, newborn things have always grown in struggle. They all have been attacked, suppressed and sabotaged by the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao. But it is precisely in the course of opposing and criticizing the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao that they have grown and matured. Today, through penetratingly criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping's fallacies attacking the newborn things, we will be able in theory and practice to see more clearly the great significance of these newborn things in combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. We will constantly help the newborn things grow and gradually dig out the soil and conditions engendering the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "Without struggle, there is no progress." "Can 800 million people manage without struggles?" We have won great victories in our struggle against Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line, but the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line theoretically and in practice remains a long-range fighting task and still requires us to make great efforts.

To beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is a continuation of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. To criticize Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line, too, is a continuation of the criticism of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao. "With power to spare we must pursue the tottering foe, and not ape Hsiang Yu, the conqueror seeking idle fame." We must carry forward the spirit of thoroughgoing revolution, continue to deepen criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping, beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, track down the counterrevolutionaries, and carry this major struggle concerning the destiny and future of our party and country through to the end.

TRADE UNION GROUP DENOUNCES TENG'S POLICIES

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[Excerpts of a 21 May PEOPLE'S DAILY page 1 article by the theoretical group of Ninth Chinese Trade Union Congress preparatory group: "Expose Teng Hsiao-ping's Conspiracy To Reverse the Verdicts and Restore Capitalism on the Workers' Movement Front"]

[Text] The antiright deviationist struggle personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao has won great victories. The working class and revolutionary people throughout the country are marching forward triumphantly and a new upsurge of penetratingly criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping, rebuffing the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and tracking down counterrevolutionaries is rising.