

## TENG ACCUSED OF OPPOSING ARMY SUBJUGATION

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[By Georges Binanic ]

[Text] Peking, February 17 (AFP)--Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping has been accused of opposing Chairman Mao Tse-tung's line which advocates preponderance of the party over the army. Foreign travellers arriving here from Shanghai have reported seeing in universities there big character posters (tatzepao) bearing this new accusation against Mr Teng.

The poster writers, who did not name Mr Teng but identified him through clear reference, accused him of wanting the army to be independent of the authority of the party. The same accusation was levelled against President Liu Shao-chi during the Cultural Revolution before he was dismissed.

Last week, posters in Shanghai referred to Mr Teng as the "second Chinese Khrushchev"--the first had been President Liu. Other posters seen in Shanghai compared the vice-premier to Brezhnev, Trotskiy and Bukharin, but they still did not refer to Mr Teng by name.

Mr Teng, against whom a poster campaign is also underway in Peking's universities, is also being accused of wanting to give priority to "specialists" over "political" figures in top posts in a bid to improve efficiency and production. This is illustrated on a Shanghai tatzepao through a colorful image attributed to Mr Teng: "He who occupies the toilet without success must leave to make room for someone else." Other poster writers regard Mr Teng as the man who "pulls the strings behind the scenes."

The vice-premier is never mentioned by name in any of these posters. One poster which named him was reportedly very quickly torn down in Shanghai last week.

## RED FLAG LOOKS AT MASSES' ROLE IN HISTORY

Peking Domestic Service in Mandarin 0730 GMT 14 Feb 76 CW

[Excerpts of RED FLAG No 2 article by Chiang Hung (3068 5725): "History Is Made by the Masses"]

[Text] "The masses are the real heroes;" "the people, and the people alone are the motive force in making world history." This is a basic Marxist tenet. It has been Chairman Mao's consistent instruction. The mass line being implemented by our party is based precisely on this view of historical materialism. Restudying Chairman Mao's instruction today, we must have faith in and rely on the masses and more firmly respect their pioneering spirit. We must strive to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Marxist position is that since mankind is divided into classes, the history of social development becomes a history of class struggle. All social change is the result of class struggle waged by the masses. If we are divorced from the masses' class and production struggles, there will be no social progress or historical development. The motive force in promoting historical development under the dictatorship of the proletariat is, likewise, the masses.

There are still classes and class struggle in socialist society. There is the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the struggle against capitalism waged by the broad masses of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and the masses of other social strata who persistently take the socialist road and desire to continue the revolution. These struggles are advancing history.

Chairman Mao's revolutionary line represents the interests of the revolutionary class and people, whereas the revisionist line represents the interests of the landlord and capitalist classes. Our historical task throughout the period of socialism is to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to use socialism to defeat capitalism and thereby realize communism. To fulfill this great historical task, we can only rely on the great practice of involving hundreds of millions of people. The history of the past 20 years since the founding of our country is precisely a history in which the broad masses of the people under the leadership of Chairman Mao engaged in socialist revolution and construction in order to continually promote social progress. Victories were won in socialist transformation in regard to the ownership of the means of production, and in socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts by mobilizing and relying on the broad masses. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, initiated and led in particular by Chairman Mao and with the participation of millions of people has given a great impetus to social development in our country. Historical development will never cease as long as the masses continue to advance. We must establish the ideology of having faith in and firmly relying on the masses with the viewpoint of historical materialism.

How do we recognize the masses' role in making history? Should we have faith in and rely on the masses? There has always been a serious struggle between Marxism and revisionism in regard to these questions. Like all representatives of the exploiting classes throughout history, chieftains of the revisionist line Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao vigorously negated the masses' great role in advancing history. They did this by proceeding from their reactionary class nature and from the idealist concept of history. They were afraid of the masses, hated and even suppressed them. Such behavior is not at all strange because they were revisionists who wanted to turn back the wheel of history. Like all diehards, they merely followed behind the wheel of history when the masses turned it forward through revolutionary action, and then they claimed the wheel was rolling too fast. They attempted to reverse the wheel and thus retrogress. Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao met shameful defeat because they vainly attempted to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. They ran counter to the law of the development of history and completely betrayed the basic interests of the proletariat and the laboring people.

The viewpoint and style of work of vast numbers of our cadres have undergone noticeable changes. By summarizing their positive and negative experiences in dealing with the masses and implementing the mass line, many leading cadres have assumed the viewpoint that "the masses are the real heroes." They have raised their consciousness of implementing the party's mass line and have fostered ties with the broad masses. This is an important achievement of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. However, we must also see that some comrades have not properly solved this question either ideologically or in practice. They have always believed themselves to be much wiser than the masses and consider the masses inferior. This kind of thinking is theoretically erroneous and harmful in actual work. Efforts should be made to analyze and criticize it.

According to the dialectical materialist viewpoint, correct ideas can only come from social practice. They come from three kinds of social practice: the struggle for production, class struggle and scientific experiment. The vast numbers of workers, peasants and soldiers struggling on the forefront of the three great revolutionary movements are the primary force engaged in social practice. They are engaged daily in class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment. They persist in the struggle against nature, class enemies and the revisionist line. They cherish class sentiment which draws a clear-cut line between love and hatred. They have rich, practical experience. They continue to make daily progress in their vigorous struggle in socialist revolution and socialist construction, thus enhancing their wisdom and increasing their ability.

In a certain sense, the wisest and most capable are the fighters with the most practical experience. For leading cadres to achieve a better understanding more compatible with objective reality, they should become pupils of the masses and learn from them. They should be good at summarizing the experience of the masses. Many of our leading cadres are able to exercise correct leadership not because they were born wise but because they seriously studied Marxist theory and modestly learned from the masses in compliance with Chairman Mao's instructions in order to enrich themselves with the wisdom and experience of the masses. Chairman Mao criticized many cadres who "do not see the importance of or are not good at summarizing the experience of mass struggles, but fancying themselves clever are fond of voicing their subjective ideas. Therefore, their ideas become empty and impractical."

Chairman Mao also emphasized: "Take the masses' ideas and concentrate them; then go to the masses, persevere in the ideas and implement them in order to form correct ideas of leadership--such is the basic method of leadership." We must always bear Chairman Mao's instruction in mind. This does not mean that we will do whatever the masses wish, but that leading comrades should be skilled in discovering and essentially supporting the mass enthusiasm for building socialism. In regard to all correct opinions expressed by the masses, the party must lead the masses in transforming these ideas into reality in keeping with prevailing conditions. As to incorrect opinions which crop up among the masses, steps must be taken to educate the masses in order to correct them. However, if we fancy ourselves wiser than the masses and thus are unwilling to learn from them, and if we pose as heroes among the masses, put on airs and thus divorce ourselves from the masses and from practice, we will invariably look upon the correct opinions of the masses as incorrect ones. Such being the case, we will not be able to exercise correct leadership and will accomplish nothing.

While emphasizing that leading members should learn from the masses, we also advocate that comrades at higher levels learn from those at the lower levels. This is an important aspect of having faith in and relying on the masses. At lower echelons, comrades who struggle at the grassroot level with the masses as well as in labor understand the masses' aspirations and needs. They have rich experience in leading the masses in class struggle and the struggle for production in their own localities and units. As far as this point is concerned, many comrades at lower echelons are at times wiser than those at the higher levels. The strong points and experience of lower-level comrades are very important for high-level leading comrades in understanding the prevailing situation, making policy decisions and exercising correct leadership.

In his article "Party Committees' Methods of Work," Chairman Mao pointed out: "The reason why the leadership of the Central Committee is correct is primarily because it synthesizes the material, reports and correct views of different localities. It would be difficult for the Central Committee to issue correct orders if the localities did not provide material and express opinions." To exercise correct leadership over work, high-level organs should synthesize the material, reports and views of lower-level units, and revise and refine them through the process of "discarding the crude and selecting the refined," of "eliminating the sham and retaining the genuine," of proceeding from one point to another and of "going through the outside into the inside" in order to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the essence of things and truly grasp the objective law of the development of things. If we do not heed the views of the lower-level units and voice our opinions, formulate policies and make decisions subjectively, we will inevitably encounter setbacks in practical work. Chairman Mao has taught us: "Ask your subordinates about matters you don't understand or don't know;" "be a pupil before you become a teacher; learn from the cadres at the lower levels before you give orders."

As to views of the lower level, we should heed them carefully and analyze them from the viewpoint of "one divides into two." If we find the views logical, we should act accordingly. We should not, because we are high-level leading cadres, turn a deaf ear to the views of lower-level cadres. Having faith in and firmly relying on masses, we should consciously accept supervision of the masses and heed mass criticism and views with humility. In work, each and every one of our cadres should persevere in doing good deeds and correcting mistakes in the interests of the people. With this kind of attitude, cadres will not fear criticism whenever they have shortcomings or mistakes. He who is afraid of the masses' supervision and criticism is not a good communist. A handful of comrades felt uncomfortable as soon as they were criticized by the masses. They worried as soon as they read the revolutionary big-character posters. Is this a correct attitude? No.

The line consciousness of the broad masses regarding the line has been greatly raised through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The masses will oppose anyone who attempts to practice revisionism. This is a good and great thing. Each and every Communist Party member and revolutionary comrade who seeks to practice Marxism and is willing to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is very happy about this.

In order to have complete faith in the masses and to show respect for their pioneering spirit it is necessary to have a correct attitude toward the socialist new things. Socialist new things are the products of the revolutionary mass movements. They are the magnificent achievements made by the broad masses in socialist revolution. They symbolize a new course of historical advance in which the masses are advancing history through revolutionary action and in which the proletariat triumphs over the bourgeoisie and socialism triumphs over capitalism. Without the masses' great revolutionary actions there will be no socialist new things. An attitude toward the new things is in fact an attitude toward the masses' revolutionary actions. The mass debate between the two lines now underway in education circles and other fields is also a socialist new thing. Each and every leader should continue to take the proletarian position, stand in the van of the mass movement and enthusiastically support the socialist new thing. He should cherish the mass enthusiasm for building socialism and lead the masses forward.

With the masses advancing, if our own way of thinking remains stagnant at the old level, if we view problems from the old viewpoint, if we have misgivings about the socialist new things, if our thinking and feelings are alien to the broad masses, we will easily become captives of revisionism in the complicated struggle between the two lines.

Having faith in and relying on the masses do not mean that there is no need for party leadership or that we should abandon political and ideological education of the masses. In one important respect correct party leadership finds expression in arousing the masses on a broader scale and in giving full play to mass revolutionary enthusiasm and creativity. The mass revolutionary movements have always been launched under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and under the correct leadership of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee.

At present, criticism is being made under the party committees at all levels against the right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts now blowing on the education front. Only by having faith in and fully relying on the masses and by arousing them boldly to develop the mass debate can the right and wrong relating to the question of line be distinguished. At the same time, we should strengthen party leadership so that it will gradually develop in a planned manner. During the debate, we should seriously implement the various party policies.

The key to whether or not we can have faith in and rely on the masses firmly rests on our efforts to remold our world outlook. A change in world outlook is a basic transformation. Why is it that while talking daily about the mass line some comrades often forget about it in work? Why is it that they can always see certain superficial phenomena among the masses but cannot discover the essence of mass enthusiasm and creativity? In the final analysis, these comrades have not genuinely remolded their world outlook, nor have they let the viewpoint of historical materialism--"the masses are the real heroes"--take root in their minds.

We should continue to study seriously the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, take class struggle as the key link and continue to criticize the counterrevolutionary revisionist lines of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao, in order to remold ourselves in the vigorous mass struggle. As long as we grasp the science of Marxism-Leninism, have faith in the masses, keep close ties with them and lead them forward, we can completely overcome any obstacle or difficulty. Our force is invincible!

#### 'WATER MARGIN' SHOWS DANGER OF CAPITULATIONISM

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[Article by (Yen Tien): "Absorb Historic Experience, Counterattack the Right Deviationist Wind to Reverse Previous Verdicts--Some Understanding in Criticizing 'Water Margin'"]

[Text] Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Historical experience merits attention. Line and viewpoint must be constantly and repeatedly discussed. It won't do to discuss them with only a few people; they must be made known to all the revolutionary masses."