

The PEOPLE'S DAILY devotes its third page to articles by workers, peasants and soldiers of the capital criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping.

NCNA INSTRUCTION ON CAPITALIST ROADER REFERENCES

[Editorial Report CW] Peking NCNA Domestic Service in Chinese at 1605 GMT on 7 April transmitted the following service message:

"In all items transmitted before item 19 today by this agency [Text of the CCP Central Committee resolution naming Hua Kuo-feng first vice chairman of the Central Committee and premier of the State Council], please change all references to 'that unrepentant capitalist roader within the party' to read 'unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping,' with the exception of item 8 [Yueh Hai article in RED FLAG which is published below].

RED FLAG: TRUE COMMUNISTS WORK FOR MAJORITY

Peking Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 6 Apr 76 OW

[Text of article by Yueh Hai published in RED FLAG No 4 and reprinted in the 7 April PEOPLE'S DAILY: "Communists Should Work for the Interests of Vast Majority of People"

[Text] Working for the interests of the vast majority of the people of China and the world is the purpose of our party as well as the code of conduct for every communist who is really devoted to the cause of communism. In dealing with the requirements for successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, Chairman Mao regarded the question of whether one works for the interests of the vast majority of the people or for those of the minority as an important criterion for distinguishing between a Marxist and a revisionist. He has taught us that we "must work for the interests of the vast majority of the people--for the interests of the vast majority of the people of China and of the world--and not for the few, not for the exploiting classes, not for the bourgeoisie or the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and rightists." Whether one works for the interests of the vast majority of the people or for those of the minority is essentially a question of what class stand one takes. We communists must firmly take a proletarian stand, always persist in working for the interests of the vast majority, never cease our advance and always remain revolutionaries along the revolutionary road and in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist line.

In the present great struggle against the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, we should restudy Chairman Mao's teaching that communists must work for the interests of the vast majority of the people; analyze for whose interests the party persons in power taking the capitalist road have worked, and thoroughly expose the class essence of those who represent the bourgeoisie. From this, we can draw many useful lessons, both positive and negative. What is the greatest interest of the workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and other working people--the vast majority of the people--in the historical period of socialism? It is to persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat until all classes and class distinctions are abolished and to eventually realize Communism under the leadership of the Communist Party, the vanguard of the proletariat.

On the eve of the founding of the PRC, Chairman Mao pointed out to the whole party: "To win the victory of the democratic revolution is only the first step in a long march of 10,000 li.

The road ahead will be longer, and the work greater and more arduous." After the establishment of socialist system, Chairman Mao once again taught us: "We should use the law of the unity of opposites to observe socialist society. We should note that in the period of socialism, there always are classes, class contradictions and class struggle and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We should continue the revolution." It is precisely on this question that that unrepentant capitalist roader in the party has betrayed the vital interests of the proletariat and of the broad masses of working people. To protect the interests of the bourgeoisie, he has done his utmost to consolidate and expand bourgeois rights and to push a revisionist line. In so doing, he has vainly attempted to restore capitalism and to turn the wheel of history back.

In his important instruction on the question of theory, Chairman Mao pointed out: "In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation it was much the same as capitalism. Even now it practices an eight-grade wage system wage system, distribution according to one's work and exchange by means of money, which are scarcely different from those in the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has changed." He also pointed out: "Our country at present 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 push the capitalist system if they come to power. Therefore, we should read some more Marxist-Leninist works."

The country we have built is still a bourgeois country without capitalists; bourgeois rights still exist. These are important economic bases for engendering new bourgeois elements. These "are scarcely different from those in the old society." Only by waging a protracted struggle and persistently restricting bourgeois rights under the dictatorship of the proletariat will we be able to gradually create conditions in which it is impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. Only thus will we be able to realize the great objectives of communism. Always taking a critical attitude toward the bourgeois rights, Marxists hold that, although the bourgeois rights are inevitable in the historical period of socialism, they are an evil which must be restricted and gradually eliminated. However, revisionists regard the bourgeois rights as something sacred and inviolate and go all out to consolidate and expand them.

Why? It is because bourgeois rights constitute the soil and conditions for engendering capitalism and the bourgeoisie and a place for revisionists to enjoy peace and stability both physically and spiritually. It is also because bourgeois rights are tools for the revisionists to turn things back and restore the old order. Bourgeois rights use equality in form to cover up inequality in fact. Thus, expanding bourgeois rights means precisely expanding inequality. It is precisely by taking advantage of the commodity system and the principle of exchange by means of money and by using legal or illegal means that those who are anxious to take the capitalist road have misappropriated state and collective property. It is precisely by using bourgeois rights in distribution and in relations among men that they have energetically resorted to "material incentives" and widened the gaps between grades. New bourgeois elements arise precisely from this soil, which is scarcely different from that in the old society.

Not only are bourgeois rights the soil for engendering the bourgeoisie in society at large, but, more importantly, they at the same time enable some party persons who want to protect and expand the interests of bourgeois rights to gradually become the soil for engendering the bourgeoisie in party. The party persons in power taking the capitalist road are new poisonous weeds which have grown on this old soil. After the victory of the October revolution, Lenin pointed out: "As for those who look at the victory over the capitalists in the way the petty proprietors look at it--'They grabbed, let me have a go too'--indeed, everyone of them is the source of a new generation of bourgeois." The capitalist roaders are precisely such "a new generation of bourgeois." When they become high-ranking officials, draw high salaries and lead a comfortable life, they forget about revolution. They try in every way not only to keep what they already have, but to grab some more. Thus they cannot help but protect the interests of the new and old bourgeoisie, including themselves, and carry out activities with a view to restoring capitalism. Once they push a revisionist line and lead the proletariat in catering to the self-interest of bourgeois groups or factions, they betray the proletariat and their class stand changes into a bourgeois one.

The course of that unrepentant capitalist roader in the party who has changed from a fellow-traveler of the party in the democratic revolution into a bourgeois representative in the party in the period of socialist revolution fully explains this point. He joined the Communist Party with such serious ideas of bourgeois rights as "seeking a high position and a handsome salary" and "becoming a shareholder to get some dividends." He regarded the revolutionary cause as a ladder to advancement. When the victory of the democratic revolution was won, he benefited both politically and materially. With this, he had achieved his ultimate aim.

As the socialist revolution has gradually deepened and bourgeois rights have gradually been restricted, he has acted as an apologist and defender of bourgeois rights and gone all out to maintain them. He has energetically attacked the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and new socialist things that have struck at bourgeois rights. He has vainly attempted to settle accounts with the Cultural Revolution and reverse verdicts on it. He has used bourgeois rights to recruit a gang of capitalist roaders and to rig up a "home-going legion" in order to restore capitalism. He has used bourgeois rights in the relations among men to sow discord between new and old cadres and to strike at new revolutionary forces. He has used bourgeois rights as bait to lead intellectuals onto "the road to becoming specialists without a socialist consciousness who are famous writers, famous directors and famous actors and who get high salaries, high loyalties and high awards," and so on and so forth. Thus, he has acted as the representative of bourgeois interests in the party and fundamentally betrayed the revolutionary interests of the proletariat.

Since the capitalist roaders represent the interests of the bourgeoisie in the party and are the bourgeoisie in it, there inevitably exist sharp contradictions between the capitalist roaders on the one hand and the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals on the other. Such contradiction is a concentrated manifestation of the struggle between the two classes, roads and lines in the period of socialism as well as a reflection within the party of class contradictions in society. The workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals want to continue the revolution, to restrict bourgeois rights, to build socialism and to realize communism.

However, the party capitalist roaders--these revisionist overlords--want to defend and expand bourgeois rights and to restore capitalism. The struggle between the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals on the one hand and the party capitalist roaders on the other is a struggle between two antagonistic classes, which will go on for a long time to come in socialist society.

Since the capitalist roaders want to carry out revisionism, they have to suppress the revolutionary demands on revolutionary people. Since the workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals do not want to be suppressed by revisionist bigshots, they cannot but make revolution against the capitalist roaders within the party. It is precisely under such circumstances that the current struggle to beat back the right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts has emerged.

When that unrepentant capitalist roader within the party, for the sake of maintaining the interests of the bourgeoisie, hoists the sinister flag of "taking the three directives as the key link," unfurls the banner of "readjustment" and urges people from all sides to smash the fruits of victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, shouldn't revolutionary people resolutely rise up and struggle against them? Chairman Mao recently 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 instruction by Chairman Mao profoundly exposes the class nature of the bourgeoisie represented by the capitalist roaders and clearly tells us that the capitalist roaders are bourgeois elements within the party during the period of socialist revolution.

That unrepentant capitalist roader within the party who stirred up the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is also the general agent of the bourgeoisie within the party. Lenin taught us: "In dealing with all social problems, we must firmly grasp the facts of class division and the change in the form of class ruling and take these facts as the basic guideline." If we use the basic guideline put forward by Lenin to analyze the capitalist roaders within the party, we can clearly see that they represent the interests of both the new and old bourgeoisie in a concentrated way and that they are representatives of the bourgeoisie within the party. We can also find their marked class characteristics in politics, economy and ideology. Politically, why do they always take the reactionary bourgeois stand, oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, oppose the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, oppose the socialist system under which the dictatorship of the proletariat is exercised, and stubbornly carry out the revisionist line of restoration and retrogression? Economically, why do they always exert their utmost to strengthen and expand bourgeois rights, practice material incentives, put profits in command, undermine the socialist economic base and vainly attempt to turn the socialist system of ownership into a capitalist system of ownership? Ideologically, why do they always stubbornly cling to the bourgeois world outlook, maintain the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism, use the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to corrode and poison people and shape public opinion for a capitalist restoration? This can be explained only in terms of the class nature of the bourgeoisie they represent.

With the socialist revolution developing continuously in depth, a new and higher level form of struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has appeared. The main contradiction is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The main contradiction in the political life of the country at all levels is firmly in the hands of genuine Marxist-Leninists and not usurped by the bourgeoisie.

After the proletarian cultural political revolution, the Communist Party became a ruling party. Whether or not our party members, especially cadres in leading posts, can correctly deal with the posts, power and work assigned them by the party and the people concerns the great principle of whether or not they can continue the revolution and serve the majority of people. Chairman Mao said: "Who is it that gives us power? It is the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the laboring masses comprising over 90 percent of the population," and "We communists need no official posts, but revolution. Each of us must have a thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit. We should not be divorced from the masses even for a moment." The seizure and wielding of political power by the proletariat is meant to use this powerful tool of dictatorship to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in order to finally eliminate all classes and class differences and to realize communism. On no account should we use the power given us by the people to serve the private interests of a few people, expand bourgeois rights or add to the soil and conditions that breed new bourgeois elements.

We have many outstanding party members and cadres who, following Chairman Mao's instruction, strive to restrict bourgeois rights, are divorced from neither productive labor nor from the masses, serve as officials but without bureaucratic airs, wield power for the public rather than any individual, never seek special privileges despite their high posts, and wholeheartedly serve the majority of the people. However, some people who take the bourgeois stand have different ideas. They regard participation in revolution as a kind of investment and think that they must reap profits from this investment. They also regard the discharge of administrative duties as "acting as officials" and think that they must enjoy special privileges because they are officials. They regard the material rewards given by the people as something to which they are entitled. They even seek private interests by all means and turn their power into capital.

The higher their position and greater their power, the more greedy and vicious they become. They will invariably become capitalist roaders in authority upholding revisionism. This merits our utmost vigilance. If a cadre tries to gain something by exploiting his status as the member of the ruling party and hesitates to shoulder the heavy burden of working selflessly for the cause of communism, he is no longer a communist. If this kind of person remains unrepentant persistently, he eventually takes the side opposite to the masses and writes himself a chapter of history.

In order to look for the interests of the vast majority of people, communists must in the final analysis strengthen the class nature of their world outlook. Chairman Mao has attached great importance to the class nature of the class world outlook. He emphasized: "Not only those who have engaged in the class struggle, but also those who have not engaged in it should study and learn this class struggle." If one's world outlook is bourgeois, one will easily fall under the influence of revisionism, follow the revisionist line, take the bourgeois road, and even go as far as to betray the revolution. One must have a proletarian world outlook. This is the only way to ensure that one's interests are firmly in line with the party.

That unrepentant capitalist roader within the party taught us a good lesson on this question. We must put upon Chairman Mao's teaching conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the course of revolutionary struggle, thoroughly remold our world outlook, and eradicate the influence of bourgeois rights. We must make a complete rupture with all traditional ideas and become communists who work for the interests of the vast majority of the people and strive as long as we live to emancipate all mankind.

HSIN FENG: CAPITALIST ROADER: DISTRUSTS MASSES

Peking Domestic Service in Mandarin 0200 GMT 5 Apr 76 OW

[Article by Hsin Feng: "The Masses Are the Real Heroes"]

[Text] Last year that unrepentant capitalist roader in the party relapsed into his old sickness and stirred up a right deviationist wind to negate the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the new revolutionary things. In the final analysis, this meant negating taking class struggle as the key link, the party's basic line and the party's class and mass lines. He totally denied that the masses are the real heroes. He went so far as to say that "reliance on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative." This once again fully exposes his bourgeois-idealist concept of history.

Who are the makers of history--the heroes or the slaves? On this historical question of endless debate, Marxism issued a scientific conclusion long ago: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." With indisputable facts, the history of human society, especially the history of the revolutionary movements of the proletariat, convincingly proves this great truth. Because the truth that history is made by the masses is not in line with the interests of the bourgeoisie, however, that unrepentant capitalist roader in the party vigorously opposed it and attempted to replace the proletarian-materialist concept of history with the bourgeois concept that history is made by heroes.

What is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution for? To wage class struggle, to carry out a revolutionary mass movement, and to mobilize the broad masses openly, in an all-round way and from below to struggle against the party persons in power taking the capitalist road and to criticize their revisionist line. The great victory of the Great Cultural Revolution is a brilliant manifestation of the masses making history. The 9th and 10th national congresses of our party both summed up the Great Cultural Revolution and affirmed its great achievements.

However, shortly after he took up work again, with his promise to repent and start anew and never to reverse verdicts still ringing in people's ears, that unrepentant capitalist roader in the party hastily came out into the open and stirred up a right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. He described the excellent situation since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution as a "complete mess" and leveled his charges at everything, alleging "this won't do," "that is no good," "this must be readjusted" and "that must be readjusted too," as if he were the savior who had to straighten out the situation.

Our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: "Reversing verdicts goes against the will of the people."