

RED FLAG NOTES LESSONS OF TIENANMEN INCIDENT

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[Text of article by Chih Heng: Published in RED FLAG No 5, 1976, and reprinted in the 25 April PEOPLE'S DAILY "A Great Victory for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat"]

[Text] The two wise decisions of the CCP Central Committee made at the proposal of the great leader Chairman Mao and the swift smashing of the counterrevolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square by the capital's worker-militia in close coordination with the people's police and army guards are a great victory for the struggle personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao to beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and a great victory for the dictatorship of the proletariat. People of all nationalities throughout the country warmly cheer this great victory.

In the past few days, the party, government and military departments and people in various localities have held grand rallies and parades and sent messages to Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee to voice their resolute support for the CCP Central Committee's resolutions on the appointment of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as first vice chairman of the Central Committee and on dismissing Teng Hsiao-ping from all posts both inside and outside the party. They indignantly denounce the reactionary crimes of Teng Hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the party, and angrily condemn the crimes of a handful of class enemies who engineered the counterrevolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square. A new upsurge to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping, beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and track down the counterrevolutionaries is being rapidly whipped up.

The counterrevolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square was neither accidental nor isolated. It was a sharp expression of the fierce struggle between the two classes, roads and lines. It was a deathbed struggle to save the hopeless situation of those soundly-beaten bourgeoisie both inside and outside the party, with Teng Hsiao-ping as the general wire-puller, amid the general struggle to beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. Assembling under Teng Hsiao-ping's sinister ensign, a handful of class enemies openly participated in a counterrevolutionary riot. Their criminal aim was to overthrow the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to let Teng Hsiao-ping usurp party and state power to restore capitalism. This counterrevolutionary riot, however, was quickly smashed by the staggering blows of the iron fists of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Just as Chairman Mao noted when he discussed the dictatorship of the proletariat, "If the revolutionary people do not master this method of ruling the counterrevolutionary class, they will not be able to maintain their state power, domestic and foreign reaction will overthrow that power and restore its own rule over China, and disaster will befall the revolutionary people."

The struggle to smash the counterrevolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square has enlightened us in many ways. The most fundamental is that it enabled us to realize more clearly that consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat is of extreme importance. It also enabled us to enhance our fresh experience in exercising this dictatorship.

Do classes, class contradiction and class struggle still exist in the socialist society and is it still necessary to exercise the dictatorship? These questions remain a struggle within our party and between the two lines--Marxism and revisionism.

Chairman Mao has provided a scientific analysis of class relations in socialist society and formulated the party's basic line for the entire historic period of socialism. He pointed out that it is necessary to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. He also reminded us never to forget classes and class struggle. He repeatedly criticized the theory of the "dying out class struggle" propagated by the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping. Recently, Chairman Mao again noted: "In 1949 it was pointed out that the principal contradiction within the country was the one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Thirteen years later, the question of class struggle was reiterated and mention was also made of the fact that the situation began to improve. What is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution for? To wage class struggle. Liu Shao-chi advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle, but he himself never ceased to wage class struggle. He wanted to protect his bunch of renegades and sworn followers. Lin Piao wanted to overthrow the proletariat and attempted a coup. Did class struggle die out?"

After the counterrevolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square, we see more clearly that the chieftan of the revisionist line in the party advocated the theory of the "dying out of class struggle" to numb the people's revolutionary will so that they would lower their revolutionary vigilance, thus making it easier for them to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Teng Hsiao-ping dished out "taking the three directives as the key link" and opposed taking class struggle as the key link. While opposing class struggle being talked about daily, a handful of class enemies who supported him were engaged in a counterrevolutionary riot similar to the incident in Hungary. Does it not show precisely that the theory of the "dying out of class struggle" he propagated was to protect the bourgeoisie's frenzied attack against the proletariat and to restore the counterrevolutionary dictatorship of the landlord and capitalist classes?

The intense, soul-stirring class struggle that took place in Tienanmen Square thoroughly exposed the reactionary and hypocritical nature of the theory of the "dying out of class struggle." It enabled us to achieve a profound understanding of the dictatorship of the proletariat and capitalist restoration. Revolutionary people must bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching that classes, class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat should never be forgotten. The dictatorship of the proletariat means all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. The capitalist roaders are the bourgeoisie within the party during the period of socialist revolution. Chairman Mao has 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." We can comprehend Chairman Mao's wise statement profoundly in the wake of the counterrevolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square.

Why was it that a handful of class enemies jumped out so hurriedly showing "no fear of shedding our blood and laying down our lives" at a time we were beating back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping, and frenziedly directed the spearhead at the great leader Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao? Why was it that this handful of class enemies openly hoisted the ensign in support of Teng Hsiao-ping and went out of their way to praise Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line as "genuinely Marxist-Leninist," clamoring frantically that Teng Hsiao-ping should oversee central work? Why was it that those counterrevolutionary political rumors fabricated when the right deviationist wind stirred up by Teng Hsiao-ping to reverse verdicts were spread with ever increasing intensity shortly before the counterrevolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square?

The facts are clear: In vigorously stirring up the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and peddling the revisionist line, Teng Hsiao-ping had the bourgeoisie inside and outside the party and landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and rightists as his class foundation. The bourgeoisie both inside and outside the party and the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and rightists wanted to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, with Teng Hsiao-ping as the protector who pursued revisionism. Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line represented, instigated and protected this handful of counterrevolutionaries. Consequently, they hoisted this sinister ensign to extol Teng Hsiao-ping. The incident took place at Tienanmen Square, but the root cause was the unrepentant capitalist roader in the party. Teng Hsiao-pin was the general backstage manager of the incident.

Teng Hsiao-ping was thus linked politically with the handful of class enemies who created the counterrevolutionary incident at Tienanmen Square. Through class analysis, it is not hard to understand why Teng Hsiao-ping was nominated by the handful of class enemies to play the role of Nagy, the chieftain of the counterrevolutionary incident in Hungary. In making socialist revolution and practising the dictatorship of the proletariat, we should fully perceive the bourgeoisie within the party and, particularly, the danger of such bourgeois representatives as Teng Hsiao-ping. We should be clearly aware that the main task of our revolution is to deal with those in power within the party taking the capitalist road. If one fails to understand this, one does not really understand the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Through the struggle to crush the counterrevolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square, the worker-militiamen of the capital provided us with the valuable experience of relying on the masses, Chairman Mao has noted: "Who is to exercise dictatorship? Of Course, it is the working class and the people under its leadership."

The handful of class enemies unscrupulously engaged in counterrevolutionary propaganda and rabidly beat people and set fires at Tienanmen Square--a place on which people throughout the country focus their attention--in the capital of our great socialist motherland. What unbridled reactionary arrogance! However, when the worker-militiamen of the capital filed into Tienanmen Square to take resolute measures in coordination with the people's police and army guards, the handful of class enemies instantly collapsed. Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and under the direct leadership and command of the party, the worker-militiamen of the capital personified the mighty power of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marxists attach great importance to the role of revolutionary brute force. They have always held that revolutionary brute force should be used to destroy counterrevolutionary brute force. Lenin said: "In exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat it is imperative to use harsh, merciless, prompt and resolute means of brute force to suppress the resistance of the exploiters; namely, capitalists, landlords, and their lackeys." He also pointed out that whoever fails to understand this is not a revolutionary.

In crushing the counterrevolutionary riot at Tienanmen Square, the worker-militiamen of the capital were using the means of revolutionary brute force to deal with counterrevolutionary brute force. Their brilliant example and experience are of vital and far-reaching significance to us in relying upon the working class and revolutionary masses to smash the class enemies' sabotage, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration under the condition of socialism.

We should use their experience and fully rely upon the power of the mass dictatorship to deal resolute blows to the class enemies" sabotage and to suppress the counter-revolutionaries and those who engage in beating, smashing and looting.

Revolutionary public opinion is an important component of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Its mighty power was illustrated in the struggle to crush the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square, Chairman Mao pointed out: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counterrevolutionary class." This is well understood by the bourgeoisie within the party and the handful of class enemies.

Teng Hsiao-ping made all-out efforts to stir up the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and fabricated a great many absurd arguments to go along with it. Counter-revolutionary political rumors of one kind or another were widely circulated. At Tienanmen Square, the handful of class enemies delivered reactionary speeches, put up reactionary poems and slogans, and distributed reactionary leaflets to create counterrevolutionary public opinion. In the high tide of the counterrevolutionary adverse current of the Tienanmen Square incident whipped up by Teng Hsiao-ping's right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, counterrevolutionary public opinion, including political rumors, played an immense role. However, those elements used to living in the dark cannot stand sunlight. They panic before revolutionary public opinion.

The Lin Piao antiparty clique launched vigorous attacks on the Chinese Communists who persisted in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and on revolutionary public opinion. Likewise, the class enemies who created the counterrevolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square also viciously attacked and slandered the proletariat's tools of public opinion. They even overturned our loudspeaker car and smashed the car and its loudspeakers. Wasn't this an indictment of their panic before revolutionary public opinion and in the face of the propaganda of truth?

Our enemies are decadent and dwindling reactionaries who are doomed to extinction. Since they want to deceive both others and themselves, they have to eke out a living by fabricating rumors and resorting to sophistry. When he created revolutionary public opinion, their tricks no longer worked and they could not carry on as before. Through this struggle, we have been made further aware of the significance of revolutionary public opinion in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and have learned how to use revolutionary public opinion to triumph over counterrevolutionary public opinion.

Chairman Mao has said: "In the era when classes and class struggle still exist at home and abroad, the working class and the people who have seized state power must suppress resistance by all counterrevolutionary classes, cliques and individuals against the revolution, restrict their activities to restore the old order, and prohibit all counterrevolutionaries from using freedom of speech to achieve their counterrevolutionary aim." To consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, we should bear Chairman Mao's teaching in mind. At no time and in no place would we allow the freedom of counterrevolutionary propaganda. As for political rumors and grapevine news, we should not only refuse to believe and disseminate them, but we should refute them and determine their origin.

Freedom of speech is applicable only among the people; different opinions can be voiced among the people. But when a mistake is found, ideological work, criticism and education are necessary.

We should resolutely block all channels through which counterrevolutionary propaganda and rumors may circulate. We should strengthen the dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the ideological sphere.

Chairman Mao once pointed out that bad things can become good ones and that disorder has a dual character. The counterrevolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square was a bad thing but also a good thing. This struggle exposed the handful of class enemies, tempered the worker-militiamen, people's police, and army guards in class struggle, and gave the broad masses and cadres a profound education in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. As a result, the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping, to beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, and to investigate the counterrevolutionaries is developing rapidly and vigorously under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and under the inspiration of the two resolutions of the party Central Committee. An atmosphere of fighting in unity prevails everywhere in the country. New achievements are being made one after another in grasping revolution and in promoting production, other work and preparedness against war. Facts have proved and will continue to prove that whenever we smash an obstacle on the road ahead of us and overcome interference and sabotage by reactionary forces, we will be making a fairly big advance in our revolutionary cause.

We have won a great victory but class enemies still exist. The defeated class will resort to every means to continue its deathbed struggle. The task before the whole party, whole army, and people throughout the country is to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's important instructions, persistently take class struggle as the key link, and firmly grasp the general orientation of criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and advance from victory to victory along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line so as to carry through to the end the struggle to beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

#### ARTICLE EXPOSES 'TRUE MARXISM-LLENINISM'

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[Article by (Hung Cheng): "An Anatomy of the So-Called 'True Marxism-Leninism'"]

[Text] During the counterrevolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square, a handful of class enemies, hoping to mask their counterrevolutionary character and deceive the people, defamed those comrades who firmly adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as "having castrated Marxism-Leninism" and passed themselves off as those wanting "true Marxism-Leninism." This shows more clearly that this pack of counterrevolutionary mobsters and Teng Hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader within the party, are puppets on the same string: When Teng Hsiao-ping jumps they jump too. Didn't the article "On the General Line for All Work of the Entire Party and Entire Nation," published at the instigation of Teng Hsiao-ping, vehemently call for routing all class enemies opposed to Marxism? From their reactionary bourgeois standpoint, they label as class enemies opposed to Marxism all revolutionaries who adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, who take class struggle as the key link, and who exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. They praise revisionists represented by Teng Hsiao-ping as being knowledgeable in Marxism. This is the background of the "true Marxism-Leninism" mouthed by the counterrevolutionary mob who perpetrated the incident at Tienanmen Square.