

## THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE BOURGEOIS REACTIONARY LINE

[Following is a translation of an article by the Red Wind Combat Team, Red Flag Combat Brigade, Peiping Aviation College, originally entitled "Whither, the Revolutionary Minority?" in the Chinese-language newspaper, Hung-ch'i, Peiping, No. 3, 26 December 1966, pages 3-4.]

In his speech at the National Anniversary Celebration, Comrade Lin Piao declared: As announced in the editorial of No. 13 of Hung Ch'i, "the holding of the mass meeting in Peiping on 6 October of all the revolutionary faculty and students in the country to open fire on the reactionary bourgeois line" signified that the struggle against the reactionary bourgeois line has become a nation-wide high tide. Under the control of the reactionary bourgeois line, the little revolutionary warriors who suffered from suppression and persecution have already effected a reversal, or are in the process of doing so. Through an arduous struggle, the slogan of "the leadership power to the leftists" has already been realized in some units. The reactionary bourgeois line has already declared bankruptcy! The situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution is excellent!

### The Main and Branch Currents

For the past month or more, the Aviation College and the little revolutionary warriors of Peiping liberated from the persecution of the reactionary bourgeois line have not interrupted their advance.

Planting their feet in the school, they are concerned over the nation and envision the world. While gradually prosecuting the power struggle of the unit, they spread the sparks of revolutionary rebellion inside and outside the Great Wall and north and south of the Great River. Together with the local little revolutionary warriors,

they light the flames of criticism against the reactionary bourgeois line on a national scale. After winning the first round of the struggle, and following the clues unearthed by them, they attack fiercely "the dogs which have fallen into the water," engage in a vigorous pursuit, rebel against the authoritarians following the capitalist road in the superior leadership organs, and expose the alarming class struggle in such organs. They remain concerned over national affairs, pay close attention to the current condition of the struggle between the two lines in the party, and study its history. Through such vigorous exposure and criticism, the bourgeois representatives have lost all their prestige and become notorious. Meanwhile, they wage a firm struggle against the rightist and extreme "leftist" powers. In the acute and complex class struggle, they courageously defend the commanding headquarters of the proletarian revolution. They penetrate the plants, join the worker comrades, learn from them, propagandize Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the 16 articles, and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and promote the struggle between the two lines in the plants and mines. They act instantaneously, actively answer Chairman Mao's great call, and follow the path walked by him and the tracks of the Red Army, in order to understand society, the people, and the class struggle, undergo the storms, gain experience, and spread the seed of Mao Tse-tung's thinking along the way...

Such has been the healthy main current of the past month or more. The great proletarian cultural revolution is continuing to advance along this great direction.

However, the road of revolution is not even. The rapid changes of the revolutionary situation since the beginning of October have brought new tests to each and every little revolutionary warrior. Such tests make it even harder to adhere to the truth under the encircling attack of the counter-revolutionary.

While they have never been subjugated by the counter-revolutionary attack, some combat friends unconsciously encounter setbacks or take the wrong path under the new tests.

Some are only good at attacking, but fear the arduous ideological work of fighting for the masses.

Others call themselves "veteran warriors," consider those class brothers who have admitted their errors and determined to reform and who hope to join the combat as "dangerous figures" and "opportunists," declare that they will "not tolerate the renegades," and boot them out of the gate.

Still others expand the area of attack, turning against those who once supported the reactionary line, instead of concentrating fire on the handful of principals and their henchmen who provoke the people to fight the people.

What is the outcome? The matter develops contrary to their desire. Some "veteran minorities" fail to develop or expand, while those regarded "intermediates" "mixing thin mud" win the people; other "minorities," after seizing power and effecting a reversal, lose both the power and the people; in other areas, the power cannot be seized, because the "monarchists" of such areas are unusually "stubborn."

The foregoing is a description of the "leftist" close-door-ism in handling the people. In contrast thereto, others, when rallying the great majority, especially when struggling against the conservative faction and its backstage planners, demonstrate a serious rightist tendency.

Instead of rallying the deceived and erroneous comrades on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking, they drag every one into their combat team, including those who have not admitted their own errors or who insist on their incorrect standpoint, thus greatly disrupting the organizational quality of the revolutionary ranks and seriously undermining the combat strength.

Then, there are those who erroneously interpret the meaning of "mastering the policy and strategy." When a small handful of conservatives with an ultimate motive force their way into our proletarian commanding headquarters, they become intimidated by such clamors as "you are carrying out the reactionary bourgeois line in its new form;" "you are provoking the people to fight the people;" etc. They are worried and do not dare to counter-attack. Still others even line up with the conservatives to attack the revolutionaries, who are waging a firm struggle against the conservatives, and unconsciously turn into the allies of the conservatives.

Still others, after grasping hold of one or two authoritarians in the party following the capitalist road and making a preliminary success in criticizing the reactionary bourgeois line, lack the determination to prosecute the revolution to the final end. Wishing to safeguard the honor won by them thus far, they gradually lose their revolutionary spirit. In their eyes, every organization looks like a proletarian revolutionary commanding headquarters which must not be attacked. They discard their former proletarian slogan of "suspecting all" and "withhold your approval first" and shift toward the "conservative" direction.

What is the outcome? The more you try to rally the masses without benefit of principle, the greater will be your failure. On the contrary, you will become rallied by others; the more you fear to struggle against the conservative faction, the more reckless it will become, and you run a greater risk of losing the people; the more you wish to preserve, the less chance you have to preserve anything at all, and you will become a stumbling block of the revolution and be finally discarded by the people.

In addition to the above two types of manifestations, there are also the bureaucraticism and sectarianism of some individual leaders of the revolutionary minority.

The leadership backbone of the revolutionary minority contains the firmest and most courageous superior elements in the great struggle against the reactionary bourgeois line. However, after gaining some victories, some individuals have begun to change and reveal the inherent defects of the petit bourgeois intellectuals.

They begin to build up their individual prestige, set their heart on becoming "commanders," sit in the office, and sever themselves from the warriors who once fought alongside them.

In regard to others, though they once led the vast revolutionary masses and gained victories in criticizing the reactionary bourgeois line by applying the great democracy of the proletariat, they are afraid to practice such great democracy in their own ranks, because they are used to issuing orders and activating the people upon the decision of a few.

Then, there are those leaders who feel that they, themselves, are more accurate than others, cannot tolerate dissenting opinions, and fail to carry out self-criticism conscientiously. They remain high above the people. Instead of penetrating the masses or serving as their orderlies, they consider themselves "parental officials."

What is the outcome? The matter still develops contrary to their desire. As they are severed from the masses and remain above the people, their direction may become ineffective; they may miss the strategic opportunity; the spearhead of their struggle may be pointed at the wrong end; they may fail in the fight; they are unable to bring out the revolutionary positivity and creativity of the rank and file; it may even result in internal splits and sectarian activities.

The close-door-ism toward those who once committed errors, the rightist opportunism toward the new class struggle situation, and the bureaucraticism and sectarianism of the leadership cadres constitute the extremely unsound and dangerous branch currents at present.

The main and branch currents represent two outcomes and two futures.

Now, we wish to ask whether there is an inevitability in the appearance of the branch currents, and what is the essential difference between the main and the branch currents.

Some people say that this is only a trivial matter in the work method and strategy, and that we should not unduly criticize it! We definitely disagree with this view.

The Watershed between the Proletarian and the Bourgeois Revolutionaries

To examine this issue, we must resort to history.

From the ancient to the modern, from the Chinese to the foreign, except our great leader, Chairman Mao, who arms the great Chinese people's revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party with his thinking, no class or political party has ever prosecuted the revolution to the final end. This is true with the socialist revolution of the Soviet Russia and Eastern Europe as well as the revolutions led by the exploiting classes in history. Their class limitations make it impossible for them to free themselves from this deplorable historical outcome.

In the great cultural revolution, the old cadres, who now commit the errors of direction and line, once fought bloody battles for the liberation of the people. Some of them even underwent a long period of persecution and suppression in the hands of the dark gang elements. Then, why do they turn around today to suppress the people? Is there also a certain historical inevitability herein?

More recently, let us look at the revolutionary leftists who brought forth their fearless revolutionary rebellion spirit in the first stage of the cultural revolution, courageously fought the authoritarians in the party following the capitalist road, and made relatively early successes with the support of the proletarian commanding headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. Have not some of them since turned into the henchmen to defend the reactionary bourgeois line? Have not the little warriors of the middle school affiliated to the Tsinghua University, who wrote "Long Live the Revolutionary Rebellion Spirit," turned into the active promoters of the "liaison line," extinguishing the fire and supporting the "monarchy" everywhere, and declaring that they would "wipe out the red guard of Ching-kang Shan in three months?" Is there also a certain historical inevitability?

Then, in regard to the branch currents appearing under the new situation discussed above, is there also a certain historical inevitability?

Do not ever feel that they are incidental! Dear comrades, conscientiously ponder over the many lessons in the great cultural revolution; conscientiously ponder over the fundamental tasks to fight and prevent revisionism in the great cultural revolution. We cannot but exercise a high vigilance against the phenomena described above! The problems as reflected in the branch currents, similar to the failures of the revolutionaries in history, are, at the very bottom, the issue of the standpoint and attitude toward the masses! It is the issue between the "public" and the "private."

This is the struggle between world philosophies!

What is the proletarian revolutionary line? It is Chairman Mao's mass line, and the word "public" is its soul.

What is the reactionary bourgeois line? It is the fear and suppression of the people, and the word "private" is its soul.

The presence or absence of the thorough mass viewpoint, of full confidence in the people, of reliance on them, of devotion to their service, and of the willingness to be their element pupils constitutes the watershed between the proletarian and the bourgeois revolutionaries and the key to the final victory in the struggle between the two lines and the prosecution of the revolution to the final end after seizing the political power!

In history, no revolutionary other than the proletarian revolutionaries could solve this issue. For their own liberation, other revolutionaries might utilize the power of the people for a time. But, after acquiring political power, they would inevitably turn around to suppress the people. Now, in regard to the authoritarians in the party, so long as they have not successfully reformed their world philosophy, they are, at best, "confused" individuals, and it is impossible for them to solve this issue!

In regard to our revolutionary young people, it is still a long way yet before they can fully solve this issue. Hence, the appearance of the branch currents is inevitable, rather than incidental.

#### New Problems in the Ideological Construction of the Revolutionary Minorities

Now, under the bright illumination of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, and with the vigorous support of the proletarian revolutionary commanding headquarters, the revolutionary minorities have begun to effect a reversal. Such revisionist organizations calling themselves Preparatory Committees and Red Guards, and down to the authoritarians stubbornly promoting the reactionary line, have been blown up in the powerful revolutionary mass movement; the words of those like T'an Li-fu have been made infamous, and the direct pressure on the minorities has begun to lift.

As they once firmly defended the proletarian revolutionary line and meritoriously represented the party's correct line and the leftist strength in the movement, the revolutionary minorities, upon the downfall of the authoritarians executing the reactionary bourgeois line, occupy an extremely favorable position in the struggle for power. Some relatively powerful revolutionary ranks have, in fact, become new authoritarians. The criticism of the reactionary bourgeois line is in the process of shifting to the stage of extracting its social foundation, hauling out those counter-revolutionary revisionists not yet exposed, smashing its retaliation, wiping out its influence, and seizing new victories.

The fighting organization of the revolutionary minorities came into being for the purpose of resisting the persecution of the reactionary bourgeois line. It is an inevitable product in the struggle between the two lines. Quite naturally, upon the bankruptcy

of the reactionary bourgeois line, the great mission of establishing the absolute control of the proletarian revolutionary line and rallying the vast masses to follow the correct line and seize new victories primarily and historically falls on the shoulders of the revolutionary minorities. The revolutionary minorities should make relatively greater contributions. This is their supreme honor.

It is a long and arduous mission. Compared with it, the struggle during a previous period against the reactionary bourgeois line was merely a minor prologue. It was not a high tide. The true high tide is yet to come. Only the first step has been taken in the ten-thousand-mile trek.

Relatively speaking, it was fairly easy to expel the organizations and individuals executing the reactionary bourgeois line. But when it comes to extracting its social foundation and struggling against it in its many hidden forms, it is much more complex and profound. Only by standing on the high level of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and truly mastering his mass line will it be possible to complete the task.

Generally, criticizing the reactionary bourgeois line can also be said to be relatively easy. But when it comes to establishing firmly the absolute control of the proletarian revolutionary line, it is much more arduous and difficult. Only the thorough proletarian revolutionaries, the extremely proletarianized and fighting revolutionary leftist ranks, can complete the task.

If we say that, prior to the victory of the rebellion, it was possible for such ideas as "overthrowing the local rascals and dividing up the farmland," for some extreme "leftists," and for some unclean petit bourgeois matters to exist among the revolutionary leftist ranks, then, today, all such non-proletarian matters will reveal the mutual aversion between them and the proletarian revolutionary line!

The idea of "overthrowing the local rascals and dividing up the farmland" is contrary to the proletarian revolutionary line, because it implies the goal of private gain. When those with this idea stand alongside the revolutionary minorities, once they, as individuals, obtain some slight liberation, they will feel satisfied with "thirty mou of land and one ox" and lose the impetus to continue the revolution.

The proletarian revolutionary line cannot tolerate the extreme "leftists." The extreme "leftists" are conceited and arrogant. They have no respect for the party and the people. They have no proletarian sentiment toward the party and Chairman Mao, toward the people. They turn the proletarian "doubting everything" into the bourgeois "rejecting everything." Though they may also be persecuted by the reactionary bourgeois line, once they attain power, they will reveal their distrust of the party and the people. They continue to consider themselves the "minority." Every one else is an "idiot," an

"opportunist," and a "rightist," and only they, themselves, are "the most thorough revolutionaries." As a result, they will inevitably reach the stage of hiding in a dark corner to attack the proletarian commanding headquarters. They "criticize" the reactionary bourgeois line from the extreme "left" (actually right). It is impossible to discuss establishing the proletarian revolutionary line.

Narrow revenge-ism is contrary to the proletarian revolutionary line. It advocates "an eye for an eye." It is not for the purpose of deterring, curing the ill, or extracting the root of evil; it does not point its spearhead at the small handful of authoritarians following the capitalist road. Instead, it stresses the personal responsibilities of the individual comrades. It is the thinking of the small private owners, the source of close-door-ism. It is, in fact, opposed to the proletarian revolutionary line.

Individual heroism and pride and conceit are contrary to the proletarian revolutionary line. Individualism and pride and conceit result from scorning the people. The least bit of scorn for the power of the people will lead to pride and conceit. After the revolutionary minorities gain some victory, there will always be those who let success go to their head, feeling conceited, and considering themselves the most revolutionary while all intermediate people as opportunists. They gesture with their hands and feet, indulge in chauvinism, and become untouchable. Once they become an "official," they will also acquire bureaucraticism. Meanwhile, the proletarian revolutionary line requires humility, as repeatedly stressed by Chairman Mao, in order to rally the vast masses and build a united front.

Liberalism, extreme democracy, non-organizational viewpoint, clique-ism, sectarianism, and recklessness are all contrary to the proletarian revolutionary line. The requirement of the proletarian revolutionary line is to rally closely and organize effectively the vast masses under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, in order to complete the great task of struggle, criticism, and reform, while the ideas enumerated above advocate attacking haphazardly, without unity, and turning the great democracy of the proletarian dictatorship into the great freedom of the bourgeoisie. Instead of the interest of the revolution, they place the interest of their own unit first. They cannot even rally the leftist ranks, let alone the intermediate masses.

The foot of all such ideas contrary to the proletarian revolutionary line is the word "private." Once the word "private" is present, it becomes impossible to adjust properly the relations between the individual and the people, and between the individual and the collective. It is, in fact, the social foundation of the reactionary bourgeois line. That the former "majority faction" committed errors was also due to the word "private." If one does not open fire against



the word "private," then, no matter how correct one was in the past and how great one's merits, one could not even think of implementing the proletarian revolutionary line or criticizing the reactionary bourgeois line. One could only repeat the errors of the "majority" and lose the masses and power again. The branch current would turn into the main current, and the revolution would suffer another setback.

In sum, under the new situation, while continuing with the violent attack of the "dogs which have fallen into the water," it becomes even more urgent for us to raise higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, deploy the world philosophy struggle within the revolutionary ranks, prosecute a soul searching self-revitalization, destroy the personal and establish the public, and conscientiously study and implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Any one who does not have the determination to engage in a profound and diligent reform, and strive to become a thorough proletarian revolutionary, and any revolutionary minority combat unit which does not conscientiously tackle the rehabilitation and political work of the ranks, and strive to become an extremely proletarianized and fighting team possessing the three great work styles pointed out by Chairman Mao, and to build an extensive united revolutionary front, in order to rally the vast masses, then, such individual or unit will not be able to withstand the new tests, and he or it will lose the qualification as a revolutionary.

This is the new struggle situation, which proposes to us a more arduous revolutionary rebellion task! This is also a fundamental task in the cultivation of millions of proletarian revolutionary successors in the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Achievements only represent the past, and everything starts from zero. Whither, the revolutionary minorities? Is it to raise even higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and firmly implement the proletarian revolutionary line, or is it to permit the many types of non-proletarian ideas to develop freely and retrogress? Now, each and every revolutionary minority is confronted with these two kinds of future!

#### Building the Extremely Proletarianized and Fighting Revolutionary Leftist Ranks

All types of non-proletarian ideas exist within the rebel ranks of the revolutionary students. Some do not have a deep understanding of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. It is inevitable, and the "majority faction" is not an exception.

Chairman Mao once said: "All types of non-proletarian ideas exist within the communist party of the Fourth Army of the Red Army."

This seriously hampers the implementation of the party's accurate line. If not thoroughly corrected, the Fourth Army of the Red Army will not be able to undertake the tasks conferred on it by China's great revolutionary struggle. The reason for the existence of the many incorrect ideas in the party of the Fourth Army is naturally due to the fact that the foundation of the party organization is mainly constituted of peasants and other petit bourgeois elements. However, the failure of the party leadership organ to wage a unanimous firm struggle against such incorrect ideas and to educate the party members on the correct line is also an important reason for the existence and development of such incorrect ideas."

These words are pinpointed at us. Even though the revolutionary rebels among the young students, personally suffering the cruel persecution of the reactionary bourgeois line, have a clear realization and deep hatred of its many manifestations, as they have little contact with society and the masses, it is difficult for them to possess a profound understanding of Chairman Mao's mass line or to know how to prosecute the struggle between the two lines according to his instructions. Apparently, it is inadequate to interpret the struggle between the two lines from their own experience of suppression alone. Shut up in school for more than a decade, the young students are more or less contaminated by the unclean matters of the intellectuals. Some of them are already feeling conceited after some book learning, and, raising their tails, have begun to sever themselves from the vast masses. Those with an unfavorable background show a greater number of characteristics of the exploiting class, and cannot adjust themselves to the mass viewpoint of Chairman Mao. Such social and class causes, which produce the ideas contrary to the proletarian revolutionary line, inevitably exist among the ranks of the revolutionary students. Short of a unanimous firm struggle, such ideas will naturally spread.

No one is born a proletarian revolutionary. There is no such thing as "naturally red." Whether to prosecute the revolution to the final end, or to abandon it half way? The basic issue is to arm our mind with Mao Tse-tung's thinking and build the revolutionary rebellion organization into extremely proletarianized and fighting ranks!

We must consider the "three old articles" as our maxims in the struggle, study them repeatedly, deploy a profound self-revitalization, and break down the "personal" and establish the "public." Only when one is free of personal concerns will one become fearless. Only the truly selfless communist warrior can possess the most thorough proletarian revolutionary rebel spirit, be free from fear, and remain forever revolutionary. Only the truly selfless communist warrior can possess the most thorough mass viewpoint, master the revolutionary line as represented by Chairman Mao, adhere to the revolutionary principle, rally the vast masses, organize a powerful revolutionary

rebellion army, and isolate and attack the small handful of class enemies.

We must vigorously learn from the Liberation Army. "On Correcting the Erroneous Thinking in the Party," "in Opposition to Liberalism," and "the Directive of the General Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army concerning the Re-issue of the Three Great Disciplines and Eight Points to be Noted" are our basic study materials. We must bring out politics, adhere to the four firsts, vigorously tackle the ideological and organizational construction work of the basic level combat organizations (the companies and combat teams), establish a sound political work system, and reinforce the strength of the leadership nucleus. By so doing, under any circumstance, and regardless of the expansion of our ranks, we will always remain a firm and strong group, able to handle both the "hard" and the "soft" tactics of the enemy. Then, no enemy will be able to overcome us.

The millions of revolutionary young people must learn Chairman Mao's great thinking and great practice, master the proletarian revolutionary line as represented by him, and grasp his thorough mass viewpoint. This is not only the need of the current cultural revolution, but also the basic measure in the long range plan of our country to prosecute the proletarian revolution, consolidate the proletarian dictatorship, and wipe out all vestiges of the reactionary bourgeois line forever. This is a momentous matter in the history of the international communist movement. The millions of little revolutionary warriors who, today, firmly adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and thoroughly criticize the reactionary bourgeois line, will become dedicated proletarian revolutionaries following the bright path once walked by Chairman Mao, motivating powerful revolutionary mass movements together with millions of revolutionary people, burying completely the capitalist system, and welcoming the final victory of communism in the whole world!

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Editor: Though this article was written on 30 November and does not touch upon the many new problems in the struggle between the two lines which have appeared with the development of the movement, as it has some referential value toward the construction of the revolutionary "minorities," it is published here after some slight revisions.

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