

CPR KHRUSHCHEV'S PARTY-BUILDING LINE ASSAILED

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[Text] Peking---China's Khrushchev's revisionist line on party-building is criticized in an article in the PEOPLE'S DAILY. Entitled "The great thought of Mao Tse-tung is the foundation for unity in the political party of the proletariat," this recent article concentrates on the reactionary concept of "absolute unity," held by China's Khrushchev. The article reads in part as follows:

China's Khrushchev, a big careerist who conspired to usurp party leadership, always opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian line on party-building. What he advocated was a counterrevolutionary, revisionist line. In his book "On Organizational and Disciplinary Self-Cultivation by Communists," he wrote: "The maintenance of party unity is absolute" even when there are "differences on matters of principle," and "obedience is necessary even when it means to obey what is erroneous." He also said: "Whether the line of the party is right or wrong, it must maintain its unity."

This advocacy of "absolute unity" based on blind obedience was an attempt to mislead, indeed to coerce, party members into serving as docile tools in his antiparty scheming to usurp party leadership. Such absurdities must be strongly repudiated.

Organizational principle must comply with the political line:

The unity and solidarity of the proletarian revolutionary political party are a basic guarantee of victory in the proletarian revolutionary cause. Our great leader Chairman Mao always teaches: "We must build a centralized, unified party" and "We shall solidly unite all the forces of our party on democratic centralist principles of organization and discipline."

Marxists have always held that unity is strength, that unity and solidarity are the very lifeblood of the party, the safeguard on which the proletariat relies in seizing and consolidating political power. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and our great leader Chairman Mao have all made great contributions and set brilliant examples in uniting and unifying the revolutionary party of the proletariat, both theoretically and practically.

Lenin said: "The unity of the party is most dear to us. But the purity of the principles of revolutionary social-democracy is dearer still." The only possible unity of the proletarian party is unity for the purpose of revolution, of struggle to the very end for the communist cause; there cannot be unity for the purpose of surrendering to the enemy and restoring capitalism. This is what Lenin meant by "the purity of the principles." In other words, organizational principle must comply with the political line. The political party of the proletariat must establish solid unity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and the correct Marxist-Leninist line.

The invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung--Marxism-Leninism at its highest in our time--is the foundation of the unity and solidarity of the political party of the proletariat. The history of the Chinese revolution proves without a shadow of doubt that only when our party unity is based on Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is there genuine unity and solidarity.

China's Khrushchev said "The maintenance of party unity is absolute," while the party's guiding principle and line, whether right or wrong, can be disregarded. Obviously, the unity desired by China's Khrushchev was unity at the expense of revolutionary principle, unity for the purpose of betraying the revolution and turning a proletarian party into a bourgeois party. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, on the one hand and opportunism and revisionism on the other, is a life and death class struggle, and there is no room for conciliation between them.

"Absolute unity" and "absolute obedience" under an opportunist and revisionist political line mean surrender by the proletariat to the bourgeoisie and the abandonment of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, resulting in absolute obedience to opportunism and revisionism.

For several decades, China's Khrushchev pushed a capitulationist and revisionist line. During the war of resistance against Japan, he proclaimed Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang to be the "revolutionary banner," called for "unity under the leadership of the central government," and wanted the armed forces of resistance which were led by the Communist Party to be placed under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek's "national government."

Then, after victory in the war of resistance against Japan, he proclaimed a "new stage of peace and democracy" and wanted to sell out the Communist Party and the party-led people's armed forces en bloc. Would not the "absolute unity" of our party under this line have made our party an appendage of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang?

In the period of socialist revolution, he wanted to develop the rich peasant economy and proclaimed that capitalist "exploitation has its merits." He even encouraged the capitalists to "struggle against the workers."

After socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production was completed in the main, he proclaimed the theory of "the dying out of class struggle," asserting that, in dealing with the bourgeoisie, emphasis should be on "our identical aspects" and that capitalists should be admitted into the party. Had "absolute unity" been achieved under this line, would not our party have become a revisionist and bourgeois party?

Genuine unity can be achieved only through correct inner-party struggle:

Inevitably, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie finds expression within the party. It is not at all surprising that differences and contradictions of one kind or another, and even differences concerning the line, arise within the party. Chairman Mao teaches: "The law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe" and "The unity of opposites is conditional, temporary and transitory, and hence relative, whereas the struggle of opposites is absolute." The unity and solidarity of the political party of the proletariat is achieved and consolidated in the course of continuous struggle. There is no unity without struggle.

In pressing his absurdities about "absolute unity," China's Khrushchev was completely denying the contradiction of things and negating the struggle of opposites; this was out and out betrayal of revolutionary dialectics and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. China's Khrushchev advocated unity while denying struggle. The reactionary bourgeois stand he took showed itself over several decades in his defense of such decadent philosophical positions as "finding common ground with everybody" and "returning good for evil," and his emphasis on so-called "national character" of "magnanimity," and his efforts to peddle his nonsense of "inner-party peace." In all this, his purpose was, under the hypocritical slogan of "unity," to negate the inner-party struggle, and especially the struggle between the two lines, and to smother party life.

Chairman Mao teaches: "If there were no contradictions in the party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the party's life would come to an end." The philosophy of our Communist Party is one of struggle, of revolution. The political party of the proletariat can purify, extend, and strengthen its ranks and maintain its revolutionary vigor and vitality only when it holds high the banner of revolutionary struggle and uses Mao Tse-tung's thought to defeat bourgeois ideas, uses Chairman Mao's revolution line to defeat the line of opportunism. And a militant Communist Party will stagnate and degenerate if it does not do so.

By "absolute unity" and "inner-party peace," China's Khrushchev meant allowing full currency for erroneous ideas and a wrong line, while clamping down on efforts to criticize and repudiate them. In practice, this meant he was willing to allow the bourgeoisie to attack the proletariat but forbid the proletariat to counterattack.

Only when we uphold revolutionary principle, when we uphold Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, can we achieve real unity in the revolutionary party of the proletariat. If we abandon principle and unite with opportunism and revisionism, then, as Lenin said: "Such 'unity' means, in practice, unity of the proletariat with the national bourgeoisie and a split in the international proletariat, the unity of lackeys and a split among the revolutionaries." Unity with the bourgeoisie and revisionists will surely disrupt unity with Marxist-Leninists. More than 40 years' history of the Chinese Communist Party has clearly proved China's Khrushchev to be the concentrated expression of all opportunism, the biggest revisionist and splitter who lay hidden deeper and longer than any other inside the Chinese Communist Party.

Serious attention must be paid to the fact that after Khrushchev subverted proletarian power in the Soviet Union, China's Khrushchev made his notorious declaration that every communist "must be a pliant and docile tool" and even blustered: "If a Khrushchev coup d'etat occurs in the Chinese Communist Party," "the minority must still remain subordinate to the majority even though the opinion of the majority is wrong." In these words China's Khrushchev revealed his grim visage. And if his scheme were allowed to bear fruit, there would be a restoration of capitalism in China, all mankind would take a step back, and the heads of untold thousands of revolutionaries would roll!

Unity under the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung:

In peddling his theory of "absolute unity," China's Khrushchev deliberately distorted party history. At a time when the Khrushchev revisionist clique had already usurped party and state leadership in the Soviet Union, and when the adverse current of modern revisionism had already emerged in the international communist movement, China's Khrushchev once said to a communist delegation from a certain country: "Even during the period of Chen Tu-hsiu's erroneous line, our party was unified under his line, and later it was unified under the line of 'left' deviation . . . this is the experience of the Chinese party which you can use for your reference. In other words, whether the line of the party is right or wrong, it must maintain its unity." This is a lie, a most vicious slander and attack on our great leader Chairman Mao and our great party.

Chairman Mao pointed out clearly in 1938: "Broadly speaking, in the last 17 years our party has learned to use the Marxist-Leninist weapon of ideological struggle against incorrect ideas within the party on two fronts--against right opportunism and against 'left' opportunism."

The history of the Chinese Communist Party is full of struggle between the two lines. Indeed, the history of the Chinese Communist Party is a history of the struggle between the two classes, the two lines. Even during those periods when Chen Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming, and others usurped the leading positions in the party, the correct line, represented by Chairman Mao, was always locked in acute struggle with Chen Tu-hsiu's right opportunist line and the "left" opportunist line of Li Li-san, Wang Ming, and others. The historic Tsun-i meeting proclaimed the great victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The whole party was unified under Chairman Mao's brilliant leadership and on the basis of his revolutionary line. And it is precisely because our party is unified under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought that ours is a great, glorious, and correct party. In advocating "party unity" to a party in which a revisionist line had already emerged, wasn't China's Khrushchev nakedly demanding "absolute unity" under the revisionist line? And what was that if not to attack Marxism-Leninism and protect revisionism?

China's Khrushchev distorted not only the history of the Chinese Communist Party but also the history of the international communist movement. Marx and Engels waged a principled struggle against the opportunists--the Bakuninists, the Proudhonists, the Elanquists and the Lassalleans--and unified the world proletarian revolutionaries on the basis of Marxism. Lenin and Stalin waged a principled struggle against the Bernstein's and the Kautsky's, against the Mensheviks, the Trotsky's, and the Bukharin's, and unified the world proletarian revolutionaries on the basis of Leninism.

Today the world is at a great turning point. At the crucial moment of decisive battle between the international proletariat and the bourgeoisie, modern revisionism represented by the Soviet revisionist leading clique ignominiously betrayed Marxism-Leninism and created the most serious split in the international communist movement. History has presented all revolutionaries in the world with the task, unprecedented in its magnitude, of thoroughly smashing modern revisionism and establishing a new unity and solidarity of the international communist movement. The invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung is Marxism-Leninism at its highest in our time, it is the great banner of our era. Proletarian revolutionaries throughout the world must be united on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Only so can they shoulder the great historic task that confronts them.

Today, all over the world, the movement for studying Mao Tse-tung's thought is unfolding on a tremendous scale. As it becomes integrated with revolutionary practice and is mastered by hundreds of millions of revolutionaries all over the world, it will give rise to immense revolutionary strength. Irresistibly, a fighting unity is coming into being in the international communist movement under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought in the course of great struggles.