

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Continues and Deepens

WHAT is the nature of the current revolutionary mass debate in educational circles which is developing successfully throughout the country? Facts brought to light in Tsinghua University in the past few months prove that this struggle against the Right deviationist wind of negating the Great Cultural Revolution is a big struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and a continuation and deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It concerns the future and destiny of our Party and our state.

This struggle was touched off in Tsinghua University. Around last summer, a Right deviationist wind trying to reverse previous correct verdicts was whipped up in society at large. Its aim was to negate the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao ten years ago and the socialist new things that have emerged during the Cultural Revolution, reverse the correct appraisal of the Cultural Revolution and practise revisionism. It was at this time that a few persons in Tsinghua University bent on pushing the revisionist line came out with attacks on Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the Party Central Committee he headed. With penetrating insight into the current trend in class struggle, our great leader Chairman Mao promptly seized hold of this opportunity and personally initiated a revolutionary mass debate. Under the leadership of the Party organizations, the cadres and masses of Tsinghua University began exposing and criticizing revisionism. This was followed by a powerful counterattack on the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts in the educational field as a whole.

This struggle is neither isolated nor accidental. It has a deep-rooted political background. Linking the revisionist absurdities in educational circles with the queer phenomena that appeared in society at large, and comparing the current struggle with the past struggles by Marxism against opportunism, Tsinghua University's teachers, students, staff members and workers have come to realize that this struggle is not merely a controversy on the quality of education or a question of leadership in a few units. Those who whipped up the Right deviationist wind were in fact launching a wild, all-round offensive against the proletariat politically, ideologically and organizationally. They attempted to change the Party's basic line, thereby turning the whole country away from its Marxist-Leninist orientation and socialist road and changing its political colour. The worker-peasant-soldier students hit the nail on the head

when they said: "If this Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts should succeed, capitalism would be restored in China and millions of our class brothers would lose their lives."

Immediately after the revolutionary mass debate started, some Tsinghua students put up a big-character poster "The Capitalist-Roaders Are Still Taking the Capitalist Road." It directed the spearhead of this struggle at a handful of capitalist-roaders in the Party. With the deepening of the mass debate, the class alignment became clearer and clearer. The bourgeois representatives who whipped up the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts were mainly those capitalist-roaders who were exposed and criticized during the Cultural Revolution but refused to mend their ways. Some of them had thrown up the sponge when mass criticism was at its height but tried to reverse the correct verdicts passed on them as soon as it was over, while others actually had never admitted their defeat. Among them, some are alien-class elements who wormed their way into the revolutionary ranks and some took an active part in the democratic revolution but stand in opposition to the proletariat at every turn in the period of socialism. Some of them are former fellow-travellers of the Party, but they have never been Marxists and their world outlook is bourgeois. Today, when the socialist revolution is deepening, they move over to the side of the hostile classes, namely, the landlord and capitalist classes. Once they took up work again, they have stubbornly represented the aspirations of the landlord and capitalist classes and persisted in taking the capitalist road.

Facts show that the capitalist-roaders are still taking the capitalist road, and capitulationists are indeed around. Where is the source of the Right deviationist wind? The source lies exactly in that Party person in power taking the capitalist road who has clung to the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao and has to this day refused to mend his ways.

The cadres and masses have come to understand more profoundly than before that the principal contradiction at present is still the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, that the main danger today is still revisionism and that most dangerous of all are the Party persons in power taking the capitalist road who represent the interests of the landlord and capitalist classes. That the capitalist-roaders are still taking the capitalist road is a social phenomenon that will continue for a long time throughout the period of socialism.

This is determined by the law of class struggle and is independent of man's will. Grasping the trend of development of the movement, the Tsinghua University Party committee quickly worked out a plan to deepen the mass debate. With a firm hold on the essence of the Right deviationist wind of reversing correct verdicts, which aims at negating the taking of class struggle as the key link, changing the Party's basic line and restoring capitalism, the cadres and masses have made a systematic and penetrating criticism of the revisionist fallacies in educational circles as well as in other fields in society.

In the course of the debate, the teachers, students, staff members and workers assiduously studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao in close connection with the current struggle. They studied the experiences of the revolutionary teachers in their struggles and the bitter lessons of the Soviet Union's degeneration into social-imperialism, thus steadily raising the level of their criticism.

A case in point was the way a group of worker-peasant-soldier students of the industrial automation department criticized those who whipped up the Right deviationist wind and alleged that the poor standard of the students was hampering the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology. They wrote a big-character poster entitled "Are Those Persons Who Whipped Up the Right Deviationist Wind for Modernization or for Restoration?" Citing numerous facts to show that it is not the students but these people who are hampering the "four modernizations," they pointed out: The bourgeoisie only pretends not to talk about class struggle, their aim being to lull the masses of the people and oppose the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. If we do not pay attention to grasping class struggle and the political line, we will either fail to achieve modernization, or we will achieve temporary successes for a period of time but will ultimately end up in a fiasco, or we may achieve the kind of modernization characteristic of imperialism and social-imperialism. Those who whipped up the Right deviationist wind used the "four modernizations" as a big club to smash the socialist new things and attack the proletariat. They paid lip service to modernization but worked in real earnest to restore capitalism. Their clamour about sending up the satellites to the skies was but a figleaf to cover up their real intention to sweep the red flag into the dust.

Those who fanned up the Right deviationist wind used the "four modernizations" as a pretext to openly negate taking class struggle as the key link, whereas in fact they wanted to take their revisionist line as the key link. Wherever they went, they incited people to fan up a "hurricane for vocational work" and an "economic hurricane," shouting that "if a hurricane is not strong enough, have a tornado then." Their aim was to blow away proletarian politics, the taking of class struggle as the key link and the Party's basic line altogether.

What is the key link? The revolutionary teachers of the proletariat made it clear long ago in their brilliant expositions. Marx and Engels pointed out: "For almost forty years we have stressed the class struggle as the immediate driving power of history, and in particular the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat as the great lever of the modern social revolution; it is, therefore, impossible for us to co-operate with people who wish to expunge this class struggle from the movement." (*Marx and Engels to A. Bebel, W. Liebknecht, W. Bracke and Others* ["Circular Letter"].)

Lenin pointed out: "Politics cannot but have precedence over economics. To argue differently means forgetting the A B C of Marxism." (*Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin.*) "Opportunism does not extend the recognition of class struggle to what is the cardinal point, to the period of transition from capitalism to Communism, to the period of the overthrow and the complete abolition of the bourgeoisie." (*The State and Revolution.*)

Chairman Mao pointed out: "Never forget classes and class struggle." "Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it."

After studying the teachings of the revolutionary teachers and analysing the Right deviationist absurdities which tried to reverse correct verdicts, the teachers, students, staff members and workers of Tsinghua University came to see clearly that the political programme of those persons fanning up the Right deviationist wind was to try to change the Party's basic line so as to attain their criminal aim of restoring capitalism. Fallacies such as the "quality of education is low," "scientific research has lagged behind" and this has "hampered the four modernizations" all stem from this programme. In a vengeful counterattack on the proletariat, the capitalist-roaders still taking the capitalist road frenziedly opposed Marxism and attacked Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. What they held on like grim death is precisely the discredited revisionist line pursued first by Liu Shao-chi and then by Lin Piao and the sinister revisionist theories of the dying out of class struggle and of productive forces, which Liu Shao-chi advocated in the 17 years before, the Cultural Revolution that started in 1966 and which Lin Piao tried to smuggle into the political report to the Ninth Party Congress in 1969.

In order to change the Party's basic line, they waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, and at the same time resorted to eclectic tricks. Teachers, students, staff members and workers of Tsinghua University found that such tactics are nothing but Bukharin's junk. In the polemics which took place between Lenin on the one hand and Trotsky and Bukharin on the other, Bukharin alleged that Lenin was taking a "political" approach, while Trotsky was taking an "economic" one; and he himself was unifying the two to create a "buffer." Refuting this nonsense, Lenin said: "Bukharin's insistence on combining the political and the economic

approach has landed him in theoretical *eclecticism*." "You forget the A B C of Marxism when you say (or imply) that the political approach is equivalent to the 'economic,' and that you can take 'the one and the other.'" (*Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin.*) Eclecticism is revisionism. The revisionists who are at the end of their rope do not scruple to repeat the stock tricks to oppose the revolution and pull the wool over people's eyes.

Through mass debate, the teachers and students of Tsinghua University have come to see that the Right deviationist wind has its root causes both international-

ly and internally. Owing to the existence of bourgeois right and old traditional ideas, we are constantly exposed to attacks by germs of the old society. This makes some of the cadres and masses liable to fall prey to the Right deviationist wind. The aim of the present mass debate is to temper the people in the course of struggle, deepen their understanding of the social origins of revisionism, and reduce the ground of revisionism to the minimum. The teachers and students of Tsinghua University said: "Through mass debate, we will free ourselves from the mental fetters imposed by the old society and win a splendid victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line."