

RED FLAG COMMENTATOR ON CLASS, FACTIONALISM

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[Text] Peking--Today's PEOPLE'S DAILY prominently frontpages an article entitled "Make Class Analysis of Factionalism" written by the Commentator of RED FLAG, the theoretical journal of the CCP Central Committee. The full text follows:

Different classes exist in class society. Within each class there are different strata. In political struggle, each class and stratum will invariably differentiate into left, middle, and right factions. This is a universal law independent of man's will.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has engulfed every class and every stratum in the torrent of class struggle. The different political forces have been more active than ever, strongly expressing their own political tendencies and expressing their own factionalism. How to make a class analysis of factionalism by using Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought is a highly important question.

Lenin said: "The class division is, of course, the ultimate basis of the political grouping; in the final analysis, of course, it always determines that grouping."

In class society, all class struggle is political struggle which is most fully developed in the form of struggle between parties and factions. Political parties and political factions are all instruments of class struggle.

Chairman Mao says: "Outside a party there exist other parties and inside a party there exist factions; this has always been the case." The capitalist class has different parties and factions. The Democratic Party and the Republican Party in the United States, for instance, are two factions representing the interests of the monopoly capitalist class. Likewise, there are different parties and factions within the workers movement.

Within the First International, there was the struggle by the Marxists who represented the proletariat against the Proudhon, Bakunin, La Salle and other factions who represented the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois trends. Before World War I there existed within the Second International the struggle by the left represented by Lenin against Bernstein and other revisionist factions. Kautsky was a middle-of-the-roader for a period and became a rightist during the war. During the struggle in the Third International, Lenin and Stalin were the genuine left, Bukharin was a rightist, and Trotsky was "left" in form but rightist in essence and later an outright counterrevolutionary.

The opportunist, revisionist factions are the rightists within the workers movement, the special detachment of the bourgeoisie within the workers movement. Their foundation is in the "aristocrats of labor" and their ideology is in effect bourgeois ideology, which finds expression within the working class and attempts to corrupt the working class.

Chairman Mao points out: "Apart from uninhabited deserts, wherever there are groups of people, they are invariably composed of the left, middle, and the right. This will still be the case after 10,000 years." This is the truth.

The party spirit is the concentrated expression of class character. Only the most conscious and advanced force of the proletariat, namely the vanguard of the proletariat, can represent completely and genuinely the class interests of the proletariat and the interests of the broad laboring masses, can possess the most intense proletarian party spirit. Under these conditions, the proletarian revolutionaries represent precisely the proletarian party spirit. What we generally call the struggle between the proletarian party spirit and bourgeois factionalism is none other than the struggle between the proletarian party spirit and the bourgeois party spirit.

Chairman Mao points out: "In every branch of learning there may be many schools and trends; in the matter of world outlook, however, today there are basically only two schools, the proletarian and the bourgeois. It is one or the other, either the proletarian or the bourgeois world outlook."

There are basically two schools in respect to the world outlook of the many factions that have emerged during the great proletarian cultural revolution. They are the partisanship of the two big classes.

Every faction and every manifestation of factionalism represents the interests, views, and demands of different classes and different strata. In the complicated class struggle, it is necessary to make class analysis on the basis of their actions in order to judge who is a genuine revolutionary in the full sense, who is a "revolutionary" in speech only, and who is a counterrevolutionary. That is, we judge not only by their slogans and speeches, but more important, by the fact of which class they actually stand for, which class line they follow, and which class benefits from their actions.

To be loyal to the great leader Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought, and to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, firmly to take the proletarian stand to unite the broad masses, fight against the bourgeois reactionary line, and fight against the handful of renegades, enemy special agents, and diehard capitalist-roaders with China's Khrushchev as their representative and against the counterrevolutionaries in society, and to be determined to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end--these are characteristic of a proletarian revolutionary, and are the party spirit of the proletariat.

The vanguard of the proletariat has consistently opposed unprincipled factional disputes, mountain stronghold mentality, and sectarianism. Just as Chairman Mao says: "There is no conflict of fundamental interests within the working class. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is no reason whatsoever for the working class to split into two big irreconcilable groupings." All proletarian revolutionaries must adhere to this teaching of Chairman Mao and make the great proletarian cultural revolution of our country continue to go forward triumphantly.

To obstinately stick to the bourgeois reactionary stand, to oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line by using right opportunism, right capitulationism, and right splittism from the right, or to undermine Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line from the side of "left" in form but right in essence, that is, from the side of the extreme "left"--these are obstinate expressions of the party spirit of factionalism of the bourgeoisie.

The petty-bourgeoisie is an ally of the proletariat and an important force in the revolution, but because it lacks revolutionary firmness, it is easily influenced by bourgeois factionalism. Therefore, it is imperative to be good at using Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line to overcome vacillation of the petty-bourgeoisie. It is imperative to be good at using Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line to strengthen the unity between the proletariat and the broad masses of other working people, to strengthen unity in the revolutionary ranks, to consolidate and develop the revolutionary great alliance, and to follow closely Chairman Mao's great strategic plan.

Factionalism of the bourgeoisie must be resolutely exposed. It will be very dangerous for those people who are influenced by bourgeois factionalism and who obstinately refuse to correct their error; they are likely to take the wrong side and even to be made use of by bad elements. Greater efforts should be made to educate the petty-bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must be good at guiding those people in our ranks with petty-bourgeois ideas onto the path of the proletarian revolution. This is crucial to the success of the great proletarian cultural revolution."

In the world there is neither party spirit transcending classes nor factionalism transcending classes. The viewpoint which negates party spirit is a hypocritical bourgeois viewpoint which claims to be transcending classes. Factional struggle is a manifestation of class struggle. If the class content of factionalism is taken away, it will be impossible to distinguish between right and wrong, and will lead to erasing the distinction between the proletarian revolutionaries and the bourgeois reactionaries. This is precisely what the right opportunists want in their opposition to the proletarian revolutionaries and in their negation of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

We oppose bourgeois factionalism precisely in order to safeguard and strengthen the factionalism of the proletarian revolutionaries, namely, the party spirit of the proletarian vanguards. Lenin said: "The interests of the open and widespread class struggle demand the development of the strict party principle."

We must further develop the strict proletarian party spirit, and be staunch proletarian revolutionaries of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must resolutely oppose the bourgeois rightists, oppose the extreme "left" that is "left" in form but right in essence, carry the struggle between the two lines through to the end, and win all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.