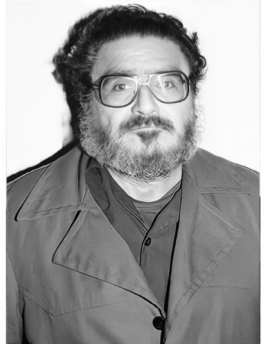


THE CAPITALIST ROADERS ARE STILL ON THE CAPITALIST ROAD

**Documents from the
Great Proletarian
Cultural Revolution (Vol. 3)**

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1973 New Year Message¹

1973 New Year's Day editorial in *Renmin Ribao*,
Hongqi and *Jiefangjun Bao*

With Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line guiding us, we enter 1973 full of revolutionary confidence and determination.

At the beginning of this new year, we extend a revolutionary salute to the workers, peasants, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, who have made contributions to the socialist revolution and socialist construction! Cordial regards to the people of all nationalities in the country! And warm greetings to the revolutionary people of the whole world and to our friends in various countries!

The past year was one in which the people of our country scored great victories on the political-ideological, economic and diplomatic fronts.

The movement to criticize revisionism and rectify the style of work continued throughout the country in a more deep-going and solid way, defending and developing the rich achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The cadres and masses assiduously studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, and developed mass revolutionary criticism of Liu Shaoqi and other political swindlers, further exposing and criticizing their counter-revolutionary crimes and exploding their lies and sophistry. By this, the cadres and masses raised their ability to distinguish genuine Marxism from sham. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line went ever deeper into the hearts of the people. The Party's proletarian policies

1 From *Peking Review*, Vol. 16, #1, January 5, 1973.

were better implemented. New advances were made in struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure. The style of work which Chairman Mao advocates — seeking truth from facts, adhering to the mass line, being modest and prudent and working hard— was more fully applied. The People's Liberation Army made new progress politically and militarily. Tempered through sharp and complicated class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party grew in strength. Under the leadership of the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance, the great revolutionary unity of the people of various nationalities is stronger than ever. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is more consolidated.

Education in ideology and political line was an impetus to all fields of socialist construction in making new achievements. Relying on their collective strength and supported by the working class and the people of the whole country, hundreds of millions of poor and lower-middle peasants and other commune members fought tenaciously in overcoming serious natural disasters and won a good harvest. Industrial output continued to rise with improved quality and increased varieties. State plans for steel, coal, crude oil, chemical fertilizer, electric power, transport and communications, etc. were fulfilled or overfulfilled. The financial and commercial situation is good, prices are stable and the life of the people has improved. The revolution in education is developing. There are new achievements in science, technology and medical and health work. Creative work by the masses in art and literature is increasing and mass sports activities are spreading on a wide scale. New proletarian things are springing up with vigor in different fields and are growing sturdily.

The Chinese Government and people continued to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs and made important achievements on the diplomatic front. China's revolutionary friendship with the fraternal socialist countries continued to grow; her relations of cooperation with friendly countries continued to be strengthened; she established diplomatic relations with more countries. The Chinese people had friendly exchanges with other peoples on a wider scale; we support and assist each other, helping the world situation continue to develop in a direction favorable to the people of the world.

The developments in the domestic and international situation helped us understand more deeply that **“the current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.”** The monsters and freaks who made every attempt to undermine this great revolution and the heroes who even in their dreams want to turn China into their colony have been mercilessly ridiculed by history.

Our great leader Chairman Mao recently taught us that victory should not make us swell-headed. In the days of war, when our army won a battle it would sum up its experience, set forth new tasks and continue to press ahead. Chairman Mao also instructs us to **“dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony.”** The tasks before us are: Do a good job of criticizing revisionism and rectifying the style of work, continue carrying out Chairman Mao's great strategic policy **Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people**, rally the whole Party and the entire people, be modest and prudent, work hard, and continue advancing along the line laid down by the Ninth Party Congress.

In the new year, we must continue to grasp firmly and well the task of prime importance— criticism of revisionism and rectification of the style of work. In doing this, criticism of revisionism comes first and only then rectification of the style of work. Party committees at all levels should make a strict distinction, between the two different types of contradictions, those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves, always direct the spearhead of criticism against Liu Shaoqi and other political swindlers and firmly keep to this general orientation in the struggle. The line of Liu Shaoqi and other political swindlers is a counter-revolutionary revisionist line. They practiced revisionism, not Marxism; they wanted a split, not unity; they intrigued and conspired and refused to be open and aboveboard. They betrayed the Party and the country and became renegades and traitors. Their criminal aim was to change fundamentally the Party's basic line and policies for the historical period of socialism, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. They vainly attempted to help the comeback of the landlord and bourgeois classes overthrown by our Party, army and people under the leadership of Chairman Mao. At home, they wanted to ally with the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists to institute a fascist dictatorship of the landlords and comprador-bourgeoisie. Internationally, they wanted to capitulate to Soviet revisionist social-imperialism to oppose China, communism and the revolution. This is the essence of the revisionist line of Liu Shaoqi and other political swindlers. It is this we must grasp for deep-going criticism. Every Party member should read and study seriously and persistently. Cadres at the higher and intermediate levels, in particular, should study hard and well the works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin assigned by the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao's works. Only when one

makes efforts and grasps the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method and becomes good at linking theory with practice can one see through the camouflage of Liu Shaoqi and other political swindlers, make a penetrating and thorough criticism of the revisionist absurdities politically, ideologically and theoretically, and accurately draw a line of demarcation between the correct and erroneous lines. In the movement to criticize revisionism and rectify the style of work, we must seriously draw experience and lessons from the struggles between the two lines and correct unhealthy tendencies. We must maintain vigilance against sabotage by a handful of class enemies and deal blows at them. When criticism of revisionism and rectification of the style of work are done well and the consciousness of the cadres and masses in the struggle between the two lines is heightened, the unity of the whole Party and the entire people on the basis of Mao Zedong Thought will certainly be stronger and our revolutionary cause will continue to forge ahead with vigour.

We must fully perceive the enthusiasm of the masses for socialism aroused by the criticism of revisionism and the rectification of the style of work and carry out in a better way the general line laid down by Chairman Mao of **going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism**. To go all out and aim high, it is necessary to mobilize the masses to the full. The masses are the real heroes. We must always have faith in the majority of the people, first of all, in the majority of the basic masses, the workers and peasants. This is our fundamental starting point. Provided we truly rely on the masses, maintain independence and the initiative, persist in self-reliance and hard struggle and are diligent and frugal in running everything, we can certainly push our socialist construction forward at a fairly fast pace. In order to give full scope to the wisdom of the masses in

building our socialist motherland, it is essential to implement in an all-round way Chairman Mao's proletarian policies, do deep-going and careful ideological-political work, bring into play all positive factors, unite all those who can be united and turn negative factors into positive factors as far as possible.

In socialist construction, we must make further efforts to carry out the principle of **taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor**, handle the relations among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry well, and do good work in agriculture and strengthen it. On the agricultural front, the mass movement **In agriculture, learn from Dazhai** should be deepened and efforts made to ensure an all-round development in crop production, forestry, animal husbandry, side-line occupations and fisheries, with grain as the key link. On the industrial front, it is necessary to grasp the basic industries firmly, step up the expansion of those industries producing raw and other materials and the fuel and power industries, so as to promote the growth of the iron and steel industry and industry as a whole. It is necessary to carry forward the mass movement **In industry, learn from Daqing**, to do ideological-political work well and rely on the masses of workers in strengthening the management of enterprises, improving the quality of products, lowering production costs and raising labour productivity. Struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure should be unswervingly continued so that socialist culture, education, science and health work flourish and help consolidate the socialist economic base still better. The People's Liberation Army should undertake rigorous training, make strict demands on itself, and strive to raise its political level and improve its military skills. The army and the people of the whole country should heighten vigilance and increase preparedness against war. Comrades in all fields of work should act in line with Chair-

man Mao's teaching "**The line is the key link; once it is grasped, everything falls into place**" and, while carrying out the specific lines and policies for different fields of work, keep firmly in mind the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism as well as Chairman Mao's scientific analysis of classes and class struggle in socialist society. Only by so doing can we grasp the principal contradiction, prevent ourselves from going astray and do our work well.

The strengthening of centralized Party leadership is an important guarantee for new victories on all fronts. It is our Party's tradition that the Party committee at the highest level in a given area, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, exercises centralized leadership over all sectors, including Party, government, army and mass organizations. Party committees at all levels should adhere to democratic centralism. The Party committee itself should practice "rule by the voice of the many" and oppose "rule by the voice of one man alone" and ensure the unity of the committee on the basis of Mao Zedong Thought. Party organizations at the basic level should make inner-Party democracy fuller and have criticism and self-criticism frequently. It is necessary to strive to **create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness** so as to help consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat by relying on the strength of the masses. The Trade Unions, the Communist Youth League, and the Red Guard, Little Red Soldier, poor and lower-middle peasant and women's organizations should be consolidated step by step. In accordance with the principle of the three-in-one combination of old, middle-aged, and young cadres, leading organs at all levels should pay attention to bringing into play the role of veteran cadres, training new cadres, and in particular cultivating cadres from among the workers, women and

minority nationalities. Efforts should be made to help cadres on the job quickly raise their theoretical level and working ability. All cadres, old and new, in the army or in other fields, must modestly learn from the masses, do more investigation and study, persist in the mass line, and wholeheartedly serve the people.

The present international situation is excellent. The whole world is undergoing changes through a process of great turbulence, great division and great realignment. The revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries are developing in depth. The small and medium-sized countries are uniting on a broader scale in opposition to the hegemonism and power politics of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Soviet revisionism has further exposed itself as social-imperialism before the people of the world. No matter how Soviet revisionism and US imperialism scheme and plot, they cannot hold back the dynamic trend of history— that countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution. In this new year we shall continue to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs, further strengthen our solidarity with the other socialist countries, resolutely support the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries, strive for peaceful coexistence with countries of different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles, and work to promote the cause of human progress.

Recently, US imperialism launched massive bombing against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The Chinese people voice their extreme indignation and strong condemnation of this act of aggression by US imperialism. If the US Government does not stop the bombing immediately and sign the "agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Viet Nam" but persists in its war of aggression, the Chinese people, as always, will resolutely fulfill their internationalist duty

and give all-out support and assistance to the Vietnamese people in their war of resistance against US aggression and for national salvation. The Chinese people will continue their firm support and assistance to the Lao and Cambodian people in their struggle against US aggression and for national salvation. We are convinced that victory belongs to the heroic people of the three Indochinese countries.

As we celebrate the new year, we express deep concern for our compatriots in Taiwan Province who are our own flesh and blood. We are determined to liberate Taiwan. Our thoughts turn to our compatriots in Hongkong and Macao. We send our best regards to our compatriots overseas, hoping that they make still greater contributions to the friendship between the people of China and other countries.

Let us, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, **unite to win still greater victories!**

Report to the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China²

Delivered by Zhou Enlai

Comrades!

The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China is convened at a time when the Lin Biao anti-Party clique has been smashed, the line of the Party's Ninth National Congress has won great victories and the situation both at home and abroad is excellent.

On behalf of the Central Committee, I am making this report to the Tenth National Congress. The main subjects are: On the line of the Ninth National Congress, on the victory of smashing the Lin Biao anti-Party clique and on the situation and our tasks.

On The Line Of The Ninth National Congress

The Party's Ninth Congress was held when great victories had been won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao.

In accordance with the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Ninth

2 Delivered by Zhou Enlai on August 24, 1973, and adopted on August 28. Printed in *Peking Review*, Vol. 16, #35-36, September 7, 1973.

Congress summed up the experience of history as well as the new experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution criticized Liu Shaoqi's revisionist line and reaffirmed the basic line and policies of the Party for the entire historical period of socialism. As comrades may recall, when the Ninth Congress opened on April 1, 1969, Chairman Mao issued the great call, **“Unite to win still greater victories.”** At the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee on April 28 of the same year, Chairman Mao once again clearly stated, **“Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.”** **“We must ensure that the people throughout the country are united to win victory under the leadership of the proletariat.”** In addition he predicted, **“Probably another revolution will have to be carried out after several years.”** Chairman Mao's speeches and the political report of the Central Committee adopted at the congress formulated a Marxist-Leninist line for our Party.

As we all know, the political report to the Ninth Congress was drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance. Prior to the congress, Lin Biao had produced a draft political report in collaboration with Chen Boda. They were opposed to continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, contending that the main task after the Ninth Congress was to develop production. This was a refurbished version under new conditions of the same revisionist trash that Liu Shaoqi and Chen Boda had smuggled into the resolution of the Eighth Congress, which alleged that the major contradiction in our country was not the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but that **“between the advanced socialist system and the backward productive forces of society.”** Naturally, this draft by Lin Biao and Chen Boda was rejected by the Central Committee. Lin Biao secretly supported Chen Boda in the latter's open opposition to the political report

drawn up under Chairman Mao's guidance, and it was only after his attempts were frustrated that Lin Biao grudgingly accepted the political line of the Central Committee and read its political report to the congress. However, during and after the Ninth Congress, Lin Biao continued with his conspiracy and sabotage in spite of the admonishments, rebuffs and efforts to save him by Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee. He went further to start a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, which was aborted, at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee in August 1970, then in March 1971 he drew up the plan for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat entitled *Outline of Project "571"*, and on September 8, he launched the coup in a wild attempt to assassinate our great leader Chairman Mao and set up a rival central committee. On September 13, after his conspiracy had collapsed, Lin Biao surreptitiously boarded a plane, fled as a defector to the Soviet revisionists in betrayal of the Party and country and died in a crash at Undur Khan in the People's Republic of Mongolia.

The shattering of the Lin Biao anti-Party clique is our Party's greatest victory since the Ninth Congress and a heavy blow dealt to enemies at home and abroad. After the September 13th incident, the whole Party, the whole Army and the hundreds of millions of people of all nationalities in our country seriously discussed the matter and expressed their intense proletarian indignation at the bourgeois careerist, conspirator, double-dealer, renegade and traitor Lin Biao and his sworn followers, and pledged resolute support for our great leader Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee which he headed. A movement to criticize Lin Biao and rectify style of work has been launched throughout the country. The whole Party, Army and people have been conscientiously studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, conducting revolutionary mass criticism of

Lin Biao and other swindlers like him, and settling accounts with the counter-revolutionary crimes of these swindlers ideologically, politically and organizationally, and have raised their own ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism. As facts showed, the Lin Biao anti-Party clique was only a tiny group which was extremely isolated in the midst of the whole Party, Army and people and could not affect the situation as a whole. The Lin Biao anti-Party clique has not stemmed, nor could it possibly have stemmed the rolling torrent of the Chinese people's revolution. On the contrary, what it did further aroused the whole Party, Army and people to **“unite to win still greater victories.”**

Thanks to the movement to criticize Lin Biao and rectify style of work, the line of the Ninth Congress is more deeply rooted among the people. The line of the Ninth Congress and the proletarian policies of the Party have been implemented better than before. New achievements have been made in struggle-criticism-transformation in all realms of the superstructure. The working style of seeking truth from facts and following the mass line, and the glorious tradition of modesty, prudence and hard work, which were for a time impaired by Lin Biao, have been further developed. The Chinese People's Liberation Army, which won fresh merit in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has made new contributions in strengthening the preparations against war and in taking part in revolution and construction together with the people. The great revolutionary unity of the people of all nationalities led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance is stronger than ever. Having rid itself of the stale and taken in the fresh, our Party, with a membership of 28 million, is now an even more vigorous vanguard of the proletariat.

Spurred by the movement to criticize Lin Biao and rectify style of work, the people of our country overcame the sabotage by the Lin Biao anti-Party clique, surmounted serious natural disasters and scored new victories in socialist construction. Our country's industry, agriculture, transportation, finance and trade are doing well. We have neither external nor internal debts. Prices are stable and the market is flourishing. There are many new achievements in culture, education, public health, science and technology.

In the international sphere, our Party and government have firmly implemented the foreign policy laid down by the Ninth Congress. Our revolutionary friendship with fraternal socialist countries and with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations of various countries and our co-operation with friendly countries have been further strengthened. Our country has established diplomatic relations with an increasing number of countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The legitimate status of our country in the United Nations has been restored. The policy of isolating China has gone bankrupt; Sino-U.S. relations have been improved to some extent. China and Japan have normalized their relations. Friendly contacts between our people and the people of other countries are more extensive than ever; we assist and support each other, impelling the world situation to continue to develop in the direction favorable to the people of all countries.

Revolutionary practice since the Ninth Congress and chiefly the practice of the struggle against the Lin Biao anti-Party clique have proved that the political and organizational lines of the Ninth Congress are both correct and that the leadership given by the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao is correct.

On The Victory Of Smashing The

Lin Biao Anti-Party Clique

The course of the struggle to smash the Lin Biao anti-Party clique and the crimes of the clique are already known to the whole Party, Army and people. So, there is no need to dwell on it here.

Marxism-Leninism holds that inner-Party struggle is the reflection within the Party of class struggle in society. The Liu Shaoqi renegade clique collapsed and the Lin Biao anti-Party clique sprang out to continue the trial of strength with the proletariat. This was an acute expression of the intense domestic and international class struggles.

As early as January 13, 1967, when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was at high tide, Brezhnev, the chief of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, frantically attacked China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in his speech at a mass rally in Gorky Region and openly declared that they stood on the side of the Liu Shaoqi renegade clique, saying that the downfall of this clique was "a big tragedy for all real communists in China, and we express our deep sympathy to them." At the same time, Brezhnev publicly announced continuation of the policy of subverting the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, and ranted about "struggling... for bringing it back to the road of internationalism." (*Pravda*, January 14, 1967) In March 1967 another chief of the Soviet revisionists said even more brazenly at mass rallies in Moscow that "sooner or later the healthy forces expressing the true interests of China will have their decisive say," "and achieve the victory of Marxist-Leninist ideas in their great country." (*Pravda*, March 4, 1967) What they called "healthy forces" are nothing but the decadent forces representing the interests of social-imperialism and all the exploiting classes; what they meant by "their decisive say" is the usurpation of the supreme power of the Party and the state;

what they meant by “victory of ideas” is the reign of sham Marxism-Leninism and real revisionism over China; and what they meant by the “road of internationalism” is the road of reducing China to a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. The Brezhnev renegade clique has impetuously voiced the common wish of the reactionaries and blurted out the ultra-Rightist nature of the Lin Biao anti-Party clique.

Lin Biao and his handful of sworn followers were a counter-revolutionary conspiratorial clique “who never showed up without a copy of Quotations in hand and never opened their mouths without shouting ‘Long Live’ and who spoke nice things to your face but stabbed you in the back.” The essence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line they pursued and the criminal aim of the counterrevolutionary armed coup d’etat they launched were to usurp the supreme power of the Party and the state, thoroughly betray the line of the Ninth Congress, radically change the Party’s basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism, turn the Marxist-Leninist Chinese Communist Party into a revisionist, fascist party, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Inside China, they wanted to reinstate the landlord and bourgeois classes, which our Party, Army and people had overthrown with their own hands under the leadership of Chairman Mao, and to institute a feudal-comprador-fascist dictatorship. Internationally, they wanted to capitulate to Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and ally themselves with imperialism, revisionism and reaction to oppose China, communism and revolution.

Lin Biao, this bourgeois careerist, conspirator and double-dealer, engaged in machinations within our Party not just for one decade but for several decades. On his part there was a process of development and self-exposure, and on our part there was also a process of getting to know him. Marx and Engels said in the

Manifesto of the Communist Party that **“all previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority.”** Chairman Mao has made **“working for the interests of the vast majority of people of China and the world”** one of the principal requirements for successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution, and it has been written into our Party Constitution. To build a party for the interests of the vast majority or for the interests of the minority? This is the watershed between proletarian and bourgeois political parties and the touchstone for distinguishing true Communists from false. Lin Biao joined the Communist Party in the early days of China's new-democratic revolution. Even at that time he was pessimistic about the future of the Chinese revolution. Right after the Gutian Meeting,³ Chairman Mao wrote a long letter, *A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire*, to Lin Biao, trying seriously and patiently to educate him. But, as the facts later proved, Lin Biao's bourgeois idealist world outlook was not at all remolded. At important junctures of the revolution he invariably committed Right opportunist errors and invariably played double-faced tricks, putting up a false front to deceive the Party and the people. However, as the Chinese revolution developed further and especially when it turned socialist in nature and became more and more thoroughgoing, aiming at the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism, Lin Biao and his like, who were capitalist-roaders in power working only for the interests of the minority and whose ambition grew with the rise of their Positions, overestimating their own

3 December 1929. -Ed.

strength and underestimating the strength of the people, could no longer remain under cover and therefore sprang out for a trial of strength with the proletariat. When under the baton of Soviet revisionism he attempted to have his “decisive say” in order to serve the needs of domestic and foreign class enemies, his exposure and bankruptcy became complete.

Engels rightly said, **“The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles... And when, like Marx and myself, one has fought harder all one's life long against the alleged socialists than against anyone else (for we only regarded the bourgeoisie as a class and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflicts with individual bourgeois), one cannot greatly grieve that the inevitable struggle has broken out.”**
(*Letter to August Bebel*, October 28, 1882)

Comrades!

In the last fifty years our Party has gone through ten major struggles between the two lines. The collapse of the Lin Biao anti-Party clique does not mean the end of the two-line struggle within the Party. Enemies at home and abroad all understand that the easiest way to capture a fortress is from within. It is much more convenient to have the capitalist-roaders in power who have sneaked into the Party do the job of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat than for the landlords and capitalists to come to the fore themselves; this is especially true when the landlords and capitalists are already quite odious in society. In the future, even after classes have disappeared, there will still be contradictions between the superstructure and the economic base and between the relations of production and the productive forces. And there will still be two-line struggles reflecting these contradictions, i.e., struggles between the advanced and the backward and between the correct and the erroneous. Moreover, socialist society covers a considerably long historical period.

Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. For a long time to come, there will still be two-line struggles within the Party, reflecting these contradictions, and such struggles will occur ten, twenty or thirty times. Lin Biaos will appear again and so will persons like Wang Ming, Liu Shaoqi, Peng Dehuai and Gao Gang. This is something independent of man's will. Therefore, all comrades in our Party must be fully prepared mentally for the struggles in the long years to come and be able to make the best use of the situation and guide the struggle to victory for the proletariat, no matter how the class enemy may change his tactics.

Chairman Mao teaches us that **“the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything.”** If one's line is incorrect, one's downfall is inevitable, even with the control of the central, local and army leadership. If one's line is correct, even if one has not a single soldier at first, there will be soldiers, and even if there is no political power, political power will be gained. This is borne out by the historical experience of our Party and by that of the international communist movement since the time of Marx. Lin Biao wanted to “have everything under his command and everything at his disposal,” but he ended up in having nothing under his command and nothing at his disposal. The crux of the matter is line. This is an irrefutable truth.

Chairman Mao has laid down for our Party the basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism and also specific lines and policies for specific work. We should attach importance not only to the Party's

lines and policies for specific work but, in particular, to its basic line and policies. This is the fundamental guarantee of greater victories for our Party.

Having summed up the experience gained in the ten struggles between the two lines within the Party and particularly the experience acquired in the struggle to smash the Lin Biao anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao calls on the whole Party, **“Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and above-board, and don't intrigue and conspire.”** He thus puts forward the criterion for distinguishing the correct line from the erroneous line, and gives the three basic principles every Party member must observe. Every one of our comrades must keep these three principles firmly in mind, uphold them and energetically and correctly carry on the two-line struggle within the Party.

Chairman Mao has constantly taught us: It is imperative to note that one tendency covers another. The opposition to Chen Duxiu's Right opportunism which advocated “all alliance, no struggle” covered Wang Ming's “Left” opportunism which advocated “all struggle, no alliance”. The rectification of Wang Ming's “Left” deviation covered Wang Ming's Right deviation. The struggle against Liu Shaoqi's revisionism covered Lin Biao's revisionism. There were many instances in the past where one tendency covered another and when a tide came, the majority went along with it, while only a few withstood it. Today, in both international and domestic struggles, tendencies may still occur similar to those of the past, namely, when there was an alliance with the bourgeoisie, necessary struggles were forgotten and when there was a split with the bourgeoisie, the possibility of an alliance under given conditions was forgotten. It is required of us to do our best to discern and rectify such tendencies in time. And when a wrong tendency surges towards us like a rising tide, we must not fear isolation and must dare to go against the tide and

brave it through. Chairman Mao states, **“Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle.”** In daring to go against the tide and adhere to the correct line in the ten struggles between the two lines within the Party, Chairman Mao is our example and teacher. Every one of our comrades should learn well from Chairman Mao and hold to this principle.

Under the guidance of the correct line represented by Chairman Mao, the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China has had prolonged trials of strength with the class enemies both inside and outside the Party, at home and abroad, armed and unarmed, overt and covert. Our Party has not been divided or crushed. On the contrary, Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line has further developed and our Party grown ever stronger. Historical experience convinces us that **“this Party of ours has a bright future.”** Just as Chairman Mao predicted in 1966, **“If the Right stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived, because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 per cent of the population.”** So long as our whole Party bears in mind historical experience and upholds Chairman Mao's correct line, all the schemes of the bourgeoisie for restoration are bound to fail. No matter how many more major struggles between the two lines may occur, the laws of history will not change, and the revolution in China and the world will eventually triumph.

On The Situation And Our Tasks

Chairman Mao has often taught us: We are still in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. On the basis of fundamental Marxist principle, Lenin made a scientific analysis of imperialism and defined

“imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism.” Lenin pointed out that imperialism is monopolistic capitalism, parasitic or decaying capitalism, moribund capitalism. He also said that imperialism intensifies all the contradictions of capitalism to the extreme. He therefore concluded that **“imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat,”** and put forward the theories and tactics of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism. Stalin said, **“Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution.”** This is entirely correct. Since Lenin's death, the world situation has undergone great changes. But the era has not changed. The fundamental principles of Leninism are not outdated; they remain the theoretical basis guiding our thinking today.

The present international situation is one characterized by great disorder on the earth. “The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains.” This aptly depicts how the basic world contradictions as analyzed by Lenin show themselves today. Relaxation is a temporary and superficial phenomenon, and great disorder will continue. Such great disorder is a good thing for the people, not a bad thing. It throws the enemies into confusion and causes division among them, while it arouses and tempers the people, thus helping the international situation develop further in the direction favorable to the people and unfavorable to imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

The awakening and growth of the Third World is a major event in contemporary international relations. The Third World has strengthened its unity in the struggle against hegemonism and power politics of the superpowers and is playing an ever more significant role in international affairs. The great victories won by the people of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia in their war against US aggression and for national salvation have strongly encouraged the people of the world in their rev-

olutionary struggles against imperialism and colonialism. A new situation has emerged in the Korean people's struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. The struggles of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against aggression by Israeli Zionism, the African peoples' struggles against colonialism and racial discrimination and the Latin American peoples' struggles for maintaining 200-nautical-mile territorial waters or economic zones all continue to forge ahead. The struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to win and defend national independence and safeguard state sovereignty and national resources have further deepened and broadened. The just struggles of the Third World as well as of the people of Europe, North America and Oceania support and encourage each other. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution—this has become an irresistible historical trend.

Lenin said that **“an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several Great Powers in the striving for hegemony.”** Today, it is mainly the two nuclear superpowers—the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.—that are contending for hegemony. While hawking disarmament, they are actually expanding their armaments every day. Their purpose is to contend for world hegemony. They contend as well as collude with each other. Their collusion serves the purpose of more intensified contention. Contention is absolute and protracted, whereas collusion is relative and temporary. The declaration of this year as the “year of Europe” and the convocation of the European Security Conference indicate that strategically the key point of their contention is Europe. The West always wants to urge the Soviet revisionists eastward to divert the peril towards China, and it would be fine so long as all is quiet in the West. China is an attractive piece of meat coveted by all. But this piece of meat

is very tough, and for years no one has been able to bite into it. It is even more difficult now that Lin Biao the “superspy” has fallen. At present, the Soviet revisionists are “making a feint to the east while attacking in the west, and stepping up their contention in Europe and their expansion in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and every place their hands can reach. The US-Soviet contention for hegemony is the cause of world intransquillity. It cannot be covered up by any false appearances they create and is already perceived by an increasing number of people and countries, it has met with strong resistance from the Third World and has caused resentment on the part of Japan and West European countries. Beset with troubles internally and externally, the two hegemonic powers —the US and the USSR— find the going tougher and tougher. As the verse goes, “Flowers fall off, do what one may,” they are in a sorry plight indeed. This has been further proved by the US-Soviet talks last June and the subsequent course of events.

“The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.” The ambitions of the two hegemonic powers —the US and the USSR— are one thing, but whether they can achieve them is quite another. They want to devour China, but find it too tough even to bite. Europe and Japan are also hard to bite, not to speak of the vast Third World. US imperialism started to go downhill after its defeat in the war of aggression against Korea. It has openly admitted that it is increasingly on the decline; it could not but pull out of Viet Nam. Over the last two decades, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, from Khrushchov to Brezhnev, has made a socialist country degenerate into a social-imperialist country. Internally, it has restored capitalism, enforced a fascist dictatorship and enslaved the people of all nationalities, thus deepening the political and economic contradictions as well as contradictions among

nationalities. Externally, it has invaded and occupied Czechoslovakia, massed its troops along the Chinese border, sent troops into the People's Republic of Mongolia, supported the traitorous Lon Nol clique, suppressed the Polish workers' rebellion, intervened in Egypt, causing the expulsion of the Soviet experts, dismembered Pakistan and carried out subversive activities in many Asian and African countries. This series of facts has profoundly exposed its ugly features as the new Czar and its reactionary nature, namely, **“socialism in words, imperialism in deeds.”** The more evil and foul things it does, the sooner the time when Soviet revisionism will be relegated to the historical museum by the people of the Soviet Union and the rest of the world.

Recently, the Brezhnev renegade clique has talked a lot of nonsense on Sino-Soviet relations. It alleges that China is against relaxation of world tension and unwilling to improve Sino-Soviet relations, etc. These words are directed to the Soviet people and the people of other countries in a vain attempt to alienate their friendly feelings for the Chinese people and disguise the true features of the new Czar. These words are above all meant for the monopoly capitalists in the hope of getting more money in reward for services in opposing China and communism. This was an old trick of Hitler's, only Brezhnev is playing it more clumsily. If you are so anxious to relax world tension, why don't you show your good faith by doing a thing or two— for instance, withdraw your armed forces from Czechoslovakia or the People's Republic of Mongolia and return the four northern islands to Japan? China has not occupied any foreign countries' territory. Must China give away all the territory north of the Great Wall to the Soviet revisionists in order to show that we favor relaxation of world tension and are willing to improve Sino-Soviet relations? The Chinese people are not to be deceived or cowed. The Sino-Soviet controversy on matters of prin-

principle should not hinder the normalization of relations between the two states on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Sino-Soviet boundary question should be settled peacefully through negotiations free from any threat. **“We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack”**— this is our consistent principle. And we mean what we say.

We should point out here that necessary compromises between revolutionary countries and imperialist countries must be distinguished from collusion and compromise between Soviet revisionism and US imperialism. Lenin put it well, **“There are compromises and compromises. One must be able to analyze the situation and the concrete conditions of each compromise, or of each variety of compromise. One must learn to distinguish between a man who gave the bandits money and firearms in order to lessen the damage they can do and facilitate their capture and execution, and a man who gives bandits money and firearms in order to share in the loot.”** (*“Left-Wing” Communism, an Infantile Disorder*) The Brest-Litovsk Treaty concluded by Lenin with German imperialism comes under the former category; and the doings of Khrushchov and Brezhnev, both betrayers of Lenin, fall under the latter.

Lenin pointed out repeatedly that imperialism means aggression and war. Chairman Mao pointed out in his statement of May 20, 1970, **“The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today.”** It will be possible to prevent such a war, so long as the peoples, who are becoming more and more awakened, keep the orientation clearly in sight, heighten their vigilance, strengthen unity and persevere in struggle. Should the imperialists be bent on unleashing such a war, it will inevitably give rise to greater revolutions on a world-wide scale and hasten their doom.

In the excellent situation now prevailing at home and abroad, it is most important for us to run China's affairs well. Therefore, on the international front, our Party must uphold proletarian internationalism, uphold the Party's consistent policies, strengthen our unity with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and with all countries subjected to imperialist aggression, subversion interference, control or bullying and form the broadest united front against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and in particular, against the hegemonism of the two superpowers— the US and the USSR. We must unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations the world over, and carry the struggle against modern revisionism through to the end. On the domestic front, we must pursue our Party's basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, unite with all the forces that can be united and work hard to build our country into a powerful socialist state, so as to make a greater contribution to mankind.

We must uphold Chairman Mao's teachings that we should **“be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people”** and should **“dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere. and never seek hegemony,”** maintain high vigilance and be fully prepared against any war of aggression that imperialism may launch and particularly against surprise attack on our country by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Our heroic People's Liberation Army and our vast militia must be prepared at all times to wipe out any enemy that may invade.

Taiwan Province is our motherland's sacred territory, and the people in Taiwan are our kith and kin. We have infinite concern for our compatriots in Taiwan, who love and long for the motherland. Our compatriots

in Taiwan can have a bright future only by returning to the embrace of the motherland. Taiwan must be liberated. Our great motherland must be unified. This is the common aspiration and sacred duty of the people of all nationalities of the country, including our compatriots in Taiwan. Let us strive together to attain this goal.

Comrades!

We must be aware that although we have achieved great successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction, we are always lagging behind the needs of the objective situation. We still face very heavy tasks in our socialist revolution. The tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution need to be carried on in a thoroughgoing way on all fronts. More efforts are required to overcome the shortcomings, mistakes and certain unhealthy tendencies in our work. Our whole Party must make good use of the present opportune time to consolidate and carry forward the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and work well in all fields.

First of all, we should continue to do a good job of criticizing Lin Biao and rectifying style of work. We should make full use of that teacher by negative example, the Lin Biao anti-Party clique, to educate the whole Party, Army and the people of all nationalities of our country in class struggle and two-line struggle, and criticize revisionism and the bourgeois world outlook so that the masses will be able to draw on the historical experience of the ten struggles between the two lines in our Party, acquire a deeper understanding of the characteristics and laws of class struggle and two-line struggle in the period of socialist revolution in our country and raise their ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism.

All Party members should conscientiously study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, adhere to dialectical materialism and histori-

cal materialism, combat idealism and metaphysics and remold their world outlook. Senior cadres, in particular, should make greater efforts to **“read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism,”** try their best to master the basic theories of Marxism, learn the history of the struggles of Marxism against old and new revisionism and opportunism of all descriptions, and understand how Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the course of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution. We hope that through sustained efforts **“the vast numbers of our cadres and the people will be able to arm themselves with the basic theories of Marxism.”**

We should attach importance to the class struggle in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture, transform all parts of the superstructure which do not conform to the economic base. We should handle correctly the two types of contradictions of different nature. We should continue to carry out in earnest all of Chairman Mao's proletarian policies. We should continue to carry out well the revolution in literature and art, the revolution in education and the revolution in public health, and the work with regard to the educated youth who go to mountainous and other rural areas, run the May 7th cadres schools well and support all the newly emerging things of socialism.

Economically ours is still a poor and developing country. We should thoroughly carry out the general line of **going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism,** and grasp revolution and promote production. We should continue to implement the principle of **“taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor”** and the series of policies of walking on two legs, and build our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-

reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift. Marx pointed out that **“the greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself.”** One basic experience from our socialist construction over more than two decades is to rely on the masses. In order to learn from Daqing in industry and to learn from Dazhai in agriculture, we must persist in putting proletarian politics in command, vigorously launch mass movements and give full scope to the enthusiasm, wisdom and creativeness of the masses. On this basis, planning and coordination must be strengthened, rational rules and regulations improved and both central and local initiative further brought into full play. Party organizations should pay close attention to questions of economic policy, concern themselves with the well-being of the masses, do a good job of investigation and study, and strive effectively to fulfill or over-fulfill the state plans for developing the national economy so that our socialist economy will make still greater progress.

We should further strengthen the centralized leadership of the Party. **Of the seven sectors —industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the Army, the government and the Party— it is the Party that exercises overall leadership.** Party committees at all levels should study “On Strengthening the Party Committee System,” “Methods of Work of Party Committees” and other writings by Chairman Mao, sum up their experience and further strengthen the centralized leadership of the Party ideologically, organizationally as well as through rules and regulations. At the same time the role of revolutionary committees and mass organizations should be brought into full play. We should strengthen the leadership given to primary organizations in order to ensure that leadership there is truly in the hands of Marxists and in the hands of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and other working people, and that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of

the proletariat is fulfilled in every primary organization. Party committees at all levels should apply democratic centralism better and improve their art of leadership. It should be emphatically pointed out that quite a few Party committees are engrossed in daily routines and minor matters, paying no attention to major issues. This is very dangerous. If they do not change, they will inevitably step on to the road of revisionism. It is hoped that comrades throughout the Party, leading comrades in particular, will guard against such a tendency and earnestly change such a style of work.

The experience with regard to combining the old, the middle-aged and the young in the leadership, which the masses created during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has provided us with favorable conditions for training millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat in accordance with the five requirements put forward by Chairman Mao. Party organizations at all levels should keep on the agenda this fundamental task which is crucial for generations to come. Chairman Mao says, **“Revolutionary successors of the proletariat are invariably brought up in great storms.”** They must be tempered in class struggle and two-line struggle and educated by both positive and negative experience. Therefore, a genuine Communist must be ready to accept a higher or lower post and be able to stand the test of going up or stepping down many times. All cadres, veteran and new alike, must maintain close ties with the masses, be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and impetuosity, go to any post as required by the Party and the people and firmly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies under every circumstance.

Comrades! The Tenth National Congress of the Party will have a far-reaching influence on the course of our Party's development. We will soon convene the Fourth National People's Congress. Our people and the

revolutionary people of all countries place great hopes on our Party and our country. We are confident that our Party, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, will uphold his proletarian revolutionary line, do our work well and live up to the expectations of our people and the people throughout the world!

The future is bright; the road is tortuous. Let our whole Party unite, let our people of all nationalities unite, **be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!**

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!

Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

Constitution of the Communist Party of China⁴

CHAPTER I GENERAL PROGRAMME

The Communist Party of China is the political party of the proletariat, the vanguard of the proletariat.

The Communist Party of China takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the theoretical basis guiding its thinking.

The basic programme of the Communist Party of China is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism. The ultimate aim of the Party is the realization of communism.

Through more than fifty years of arduous struggle, the Communist Party of China has led the Chinese people in winning complete victory in the new-democratic revolution, great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction and great victories in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and

4 Adopted on August 28, 1973, by the 10th National Congress of the Communist Party of China on August 28, 1973. Printed in *Peking Review* Vol. 16, #35-36, September 7, 1973.

there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. These contradictions can be resolved only by depending on the theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and on practice under its guidance.

Such is China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration. Revolutions like this will have to be carried out many times in the future.

The Party must rely on the working class, strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and lead the people of all the nationalities of our country in carrying on the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment; lead the people in building socialism independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift and by going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results; and lead them in preparing against war and natural disasters and doing everything for the people.

The Communist Party of China upholds proletarian internationalism and opposes great-power chauvinism; it firmly unites with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations the world over, unites with the proletariat, the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and fights together with them to oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers— the United States and the Soviet Union, to overthrow imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction, and to abolish the system of exploitation of man by man over the globe, so that all mankind will be emancipated.

The Communist Party of China has strengthened itself and grown in the course of the struggle against both Right and “Left” opportunist lines. Comrades throughout the Party must have the revolutionary spirit of daring to go against the tide, must adhere to the principles of practicing Marxism and not revisionism, working for unity and not for splits, and being open and aboveboard and not engaging in intrigues and conspiracy, must be good at correctly distinguishing contradictions among the people from those between ourselves and the enemy and correctly handling them, must develop the style of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and practicing criticism and self-criticism, and must train millions of successors for the cause of proletarian revolution, so as to ensure that the Party's cause will advance forever along the Marxist line.

The future is bright; the road is tortuous. Members of the Communist Party of China, who dedicate their lives to the struggle for communism, must be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!

CHAPTER II MEMBERSHIP

Article 1. Any Chinese worker, poor peasant, lower-middle peasant, revolutionary armyman or any other revolutionary element who has reached the age of eighteen and who accepts the Constitution of the Party, joins a Party organization and works actively in it, carries out the Party's decisions, observes Party discipline and pays membership dues may become a member of the Communist Party of China.

Article 2. Applicants for Party membership must go through the procedure individually. An applicant must be recommended by two Party members, fill out an

application form for Party membership and be examined by a Party branch, which must seek the opinions of the broad masses inside and outside the Party. Application is subject to acceptance by the general membership meeting of the Party branch and approval by the next higher Party committee.

Article 3. Members of the Communist Party of China must:

(1) Conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and criticize revisionism;

(2) Work for the interests of the vast majority of people of China and the world;

(3) Be able at uniting with the great majority, including those who have wrongly opposed them but are sincerely correcting their mistakes; however, special vigilance must be maintained against careerists, conspirators and double-dealers so as to prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level and guarantee that the leadership of the Party and the state always remains in the hands of Marxist revolutionaries;

(4) Consult with the masses when matters arise;

(5) Be bold in making criticism and self-criticism.

Article 4. When Party members violate Party discipline, the Party organizations at the levels concerned shall, within their functions and powers and on the merits of each case, take appropriate disciplinary measures — warning, serious warning, removal from posts in the Party, placing on probation within the Party, or expulsion from the Party.

The period for which a Party member is placed on probation shall not exceed two years. During this period, he has no right to vote or elect or be elected.

A Party member whose revolutionary will has degenerated and who does not change despite repeated education may be persuaded to withdraw from the Party.

When a Party member asks to withdraw from the Party, the Party branch concerned shall, with the approval of its general membership meeting, remove his name from the Party rolls and report the matter to the next higher Party committee for the record.

Proven renegades, enemy agents, absolutely unrepentant persons in power taking the capitalist road, degenerates and alien-class elements must be cleared out of the Party and not be re-admitted.

CHAPTER III

ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLE OF THE PARTY

Article 5. The organizational principle of the Party is democratic centralism.

The leading bodies of the Party at all levels shall be elected through democratic consultation in accordance with the requirements for successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution and the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young.

The whole Party must observe unified discipline: The individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the entire Party is Subordinate to the Central Committee.

Leading bodies of the Party at All levels shall regularly report on their work to congresses or general membership meetings, constantly listen to the opinions of the masses both inside and outside the Party and accept their supervision. Party members have the right to criticize organizations and leading members of the Party at all levels and proposals to them. If a Party member holds different views with regard to the decisions or directives of the Party organizations, he is allowed to reserve his views and has the right to bypass the immediate leadership and report directly to higher levels, up to and including the Central Committee and

the Chairman of the Central Committee. It is absolutely impermissible to suppress criticism and to retaliate. It is essential to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness.

Article 6. The highest leading body of the Party is the National Party Congress, and, when it is not in session, the Central Committee elected by it. The leading bodies of Party organizations in the localities, in army units and in various departments are the Party congresses or general membership meetings at their respective levels and the Party committees elected by them. Party congresses at all levels are convened by Party committees at their respective levels. The convening of Party congresses in the localities, in army units and in various departments and their elected Party committee members are subject to approval by the higher Party organizations.

Party committees at all levels shall set up their working bodies or dispatch their representative organs in accordance with the principles of close ties with the masses and simple and efficient structure.

Article 7. State organs, the People's Liberation Army and the militia, labour unions, poor and lower-middle peasant associations, women's federations, the Communist Youth League, the Red Guards, the Little Red Guards and other revolutionary mass organizations must all accept the centralized leadership of the Party.

Party committees or leading Party groups may be set up in state organs and popular organizations.

CHAPTER IV CENTRAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY

Article 8. The National Party Congress shall be convened every five years. Under special circumstances, it may be convened before its due date or postponed.

Article 9. The plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party elects the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Central Committee.

The plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party is convened by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee.

When the Central Committee is not in plenary session, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and its Standing Committee exercise the functions and powers of the Central Committee.

Under the leadership of the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen and the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, a number of necessary organs, which are compact and efficient, shall be set up to attend to the day to-day work of the Party, the government and the Army in a centralized way.

CHAPTER V PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE LOCALITIES AND THE ARMY UNITS

Article 10. Local Party congresses at the county level and upwards and Party congresses in the People's Liberation Army at the regimental level and upwards shall be convened every three years. Under special circumstances, they may be convened before their due date or postponed.

Party committees at all levels in the localities and the army units elect their standing committees, secretaries and deputy secretaries.

CHAPTER VI PRIMARY ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY

Article 11. Party branches, general Party branches or primary Party committees shall be set up in factories, mines and other enterprises, people's communes, offices, schools, shops, neighborhoods, companies of the People's Liberation Army and other primary units in accordance with the requirements of the revolutionary struggle and the size of the Party membership.

Party branches and general Party branches shall hold elections once a year and primary Party committees shall hold elections every two years. Under special circumstances, the election may take place before its due date or be postponed.

Article 12. The main tasks of the primary organizations of the Party are:

(1) To lead the Party members and non-Party members in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought conscientiously and criticizing revisionism;

(2) To give constant education to the Party members and non-Party members concerning the ideological and political line and lead them in fighting resolutely against the class enemy;

(3) To propagate and carry out the policies of the Party, implement its decisions and fulfill every task assigned by the Party and the state;

(4) To maintain close ties with the masses, constantly listen to their opinions and demands and wage an active ideological struggle so as to keep Party life vigorous;

(5) To take in new Party members, enforce Party discipline and constantly consolidate the Party organizations, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh, so as to maintain the purity of the Party ranks.

Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution⁵

by Wang Hongwen

Comrades!

As entrusted by the Central Committee of the Party, I will now give a brief explanation of the revision of our Party's Constitution.

In accordance with the instructions of Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee concerning the revision of the Party Constitution, a working conference of the Central Committee which was convened last May discussed the question of revising the Party Constitution adopted at the Ninth National Congress. After that conference, the Party committees of the provinces, the municipalities directly under the central authority, and the autonomous regions, the Party committees of the greater military commands and the Party organizations directly under the Central Committee all set up groups for the revision of the Party Constitution, extensively consulted the masses inside and outside the Party and formally submitted forty-one drafts to the Central Committee. At the same time, the masses inside and outside the Party in various places directly mailed in many suggestions for revision. The draft of the revised Constitution now submitted to the congress for discussion was drawn up according to Chairman Mao's specific proposals for the revision and on the basis of serious study of all the drafts and suggestions sent in.

5 Delivered at the 10th National Congress of the Communist Party of China on August 24, and adopted on August 28, 1973. Printed in *Peking Review* Vol. 16, #35-36, September 7, 1973.

In the discussion on the revision, all Party comrades were of the view that since the Party's Ninth National Congress, the whole Party, Army and people, guided by the line of that congress, which was formulated under the personal direction of Chairman Mao, have done the work of struggle-criticism-transformation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in a deep-going way, smashed the Lin Biao anti-Party clique and won great victories in all aspects of the domestic and international struggles. Practice over the past four years and more has fully proved that both the political line and organizational line of the Ninth Congress are correct. The Party Constitution adopted by the Ninth Congress upholds our Party's consistent and fundamental principles, reflects the new experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and has played a positive part in the political life of our whole Party, Army and people. The stipulations in the Party Constitution adopted by the Ninth Congress regarding the nature, guiding ideology, basic programme and basic line of our Party have been retained in the general programme of the present draft. Some adjustments have been made in the structure and content. There are not many changes in the articles. The number of words has been slightly reduced. The paragraph concerning Lin Biao in the general programme of the Party Constitution adopted by the Ninth Congress was completely deleted. This was the unanimous demand of the whole Party, Army and people. It was also the inevitable result of Lin Biao's betrayal of the Party and the country and his own final rejection of the Party and people.

Compared with the Party Constitution adopted by the Ninth Congress, the present draft is mainly characterized by its richer content with regard to the experience of the struggle between the two lines. This was a common feature of all the drafts sent in. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, our Party has been victorious

in the ten major struggles between the two lines and accumulated rich experience of defeating Right and “Left” opportunist lines, which is most valuable to the whole Party. Chairman Mao says, **“To lead the revolution to victory, a political party must depend on the correctness of its own political line and the solidity of its own organization.”** All the comrades of our Party must pay close attention to the question of line, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, strengthen our Party building and ensure that the Party's basic line for the historical period of socialism is carried through.

What has been added in the draft in this respect?

One. Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and it is also a deep-going Party consolidation movement. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the whole Party, Army and people, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, have smashed the two bourgeois headquarters, the one headed by Liu Shaoqi and the other by Lin Biao, thus striking a hard blow at all domestic and international reactionary forces. The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism. The draft fully affirms the great victories and the tremendous significance of this revolution and has the following statement explicitly written into it: **“Revolutions like this will have to be carried out many times in the future.”** Historical experience tells us that not only will the struggle between the two classes and the two roads in society at home inevitably find expression in our Party, but imperialism and social-imperialism abroad will inevitably recruit agents from within our

Party in order to carry out aggression and subversion against us. In 1966 when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was just rising, Chairman Mao already pointed out, **“Great disorder across the land leads to great order. And so once again every seven or eight years. Monsters and demons will jump out themselves. Determined by their own class nature, they are bound to jump out.”** The living reality of class struggle has confirmed and will continue to confirm this objective law as revealed by Chairman Mao. We must heighten our vigilance and understand the protractedness and complexity of this struggle. In order to constantly consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and seize new victories for the socialist cause, it is necessary to deepen the socialist revolution in the ideological, political and economic spheres, to transform all those parts of the superstructure that do not conform to the socialist economic base and carry out many great political revolutions such as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Two. Adherence to the principles: **“Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire.”** Of these three principles —“the three dos and three don'ts”— put forward by Chairman Mao, the most fundamental is to practice Marxism and not revisionism. If one practices Marxism and wholeheartedly serves the interests of the vast majority of the people of China and the world, one is obliged to work for unity and be open and aboveboard; if one practices revisionism and exclusively serves the small number of exploiting class elements, one will inevitably go in for splits, intrigues and conspiracy. Revisionism is an international bourgeois ideological trend. Revisionists are agents whom the bourgeoisie, and imperialism, revisionism and reaction plant in our Party by means of sending them in or recruiting them from our ranks. Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and similar careerists, conspirators, double-dealers and

absolutely unrepentant capitalist-roaders, though they manifested themselves in somewhat different ways, were all essentially the same; they were all chieftains in practicing revisionism and thoroughly turned bourgeois ideologically, politically and in their way of life. They were rotten to the core! Chairman Mao says, **“The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie.”** This is absolutely true. The principles of “the three dos and three don’ts” have been entered into the general programme of the draft in accordance with suggestions sent in. In Point (1) under Article 3 concerning the requirements for Party members and in Point (1) under Article 12 concerning the tasks of the primary Party organizations, the words “criticize revisionism” have been added in accordance with the views expressed by the worker, peasant and soldier comrades at the forum held by the Beijing Municipal Party Committee on the revision of the Party Constitution as well as suggestions from some provinces and municipalities. Revisionism remains the main danger today. To study Marxism and criticize revisionism is our long-term task for strengthening the building of our Party ideologically.

Three. We must have the revolutionary spirit of daring to go against the tide. Chairman Mao pointed out: **Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle.** During the discussions on the revision of the Party Constitution, many comrades, reviewing the Party’s history and their own experiences, held that this was most important in the two-line struggle within the Party. In the early period of the democratic revolution, there were several occasions when wrong lines held sway in our Party. In the later period of the democratic revolution and in the period of socialist revolution, when the correct line represented by Chairman Mao has been predominant, there have also been lessons in that certain wrong lines or wrong views were taken as correct for a time by many people and supported as such. The

correct line represented by Chairman Mao has waged resolute struggles against those errors and won out. When confronted with issues that concern the line and the overall situation, a true Communist must act without any selfish considerations and dare to go against the tide, fearing neither removal from his post, expulsion from the Party, imprisonment, divorce nor guillotine.

Of course, in the face of an erroneous trend there is not only the question of whether one dares go against it but also that of whether one is able to distinguish it. Class struggle and the two-line struggle in the historical period of socialism are extremely complex. When one tendency is covered by another, many comrades often fail to note it. Moreover, those who intrigue and conspire deliberately put up false fronts, which makes it all the more difficult to discern. Through discussion, many comrades have come to realize that according to the dialectic materialist point of view, all objective things are knowable. **“The naked eye is not enough, we must have the aid of the telescope and the microscope. The Marxist method is our telescope and microscope in political and military matters.”** So long as one diligently studies the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and those of Chairman Mao, takes an active part in the actual struggle and works hard to remold one's world outlook, one can constantly raise the ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism and differentiate between correct and wrong lines and views.

In waging struggle, we must study Chairman Mao's theory concerning the struggle between the two lines and learn from his practice; we must not only be firm in principle, but also carry out correct policies, draw a clear distinction between the two types of contradictions of different nature, make sure to unite with the vast majority and observe Party discipline.

Four. We must train millions of successors for the cause of the proletarian revolution in the course of mass struggles. Chairman Mao said, **“In order to guarantee that our Party and country do not change their color, we must not only have a correct line and correct policies but must train and bring up millions of successors who will carry on the cause of proletarian revolution.”** As stated above, those to be trained are not just one or two persons, but millions. Such a task cannot be fulfilled unless the whole Party attaches importance to it. In discussing the revision of the Party Constitution, many elder comrades expressed the strong desire that we must further improve the work of training successors, so that the cause of our proletarian revolution initiated by the Party under the leadership of Chairman Mao will be carried forward by an endless flow of successors. Many young comrades on their part warmly pledged to learn modestly from the strong points of veteran cadres who have been tempered through long years of revolutionary war and revolutionary struggle and have rich experience, to be strict with themselves and to do their best to carry on the revolution. Both veteran and new cadres expressed their determination to learn each other's strong points and overcome their own shortcomings. In the light of the views expressed, a sentence about the necessity of training successors has been added to the general programme of the draft, and another sentence about the application of the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young in leading bodies at all levels has been added to the articles. We must, in accordance with the five requirements Chairman Mao has laid down for successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution, lay stress on selecting outstanding persons from among the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants and placing them in

leading posts at all levels. Attention must also be paid to training women cadres and minority nationality cadres.

Five. We must strengthen the Party's centralized leadership and promote the Party's traditional style of work. The political party of the proletariat is the highest form of the organization of the proletariat, and the Party must exercise leadership in everything; this is an important Marxist principle. The draft has incorporated suggestions from various units on strengthening the Party's centralized leadership. It is laid down in the articles that state organs, the People's Liberation Army and revolutionary mass organizations "must all accept the Party's centralized leadership." Organizationally, the Party's centralized leadership should be given expression in two respects: First, as regards the relationship between various organizations at the same level, **of the seven sectors —industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the Army, the government and the Party — it is the Party that exercises overall leadership;** the Party is not parallel to the others and still less is it under the leadership of any other. Second, as regards the relationship between higher and lower levels, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the entire Party is subordinate to the Central Committee. This has long been a rule in our Party and it must be adhered to. We must strengthen the Party's centralized leadership, and a Party committee's leadership must not be replaced by a "joint conference" of several sectors. But at the same time, it is necessary to give full play to the role of the revolutionary committees, the other sectors and organizations at all levels. The Party committee must practice democratic centralism and strengthen its collective leadership. It must unite people "from all corners of the country" and not practice mountain-stronghold sectionalism. It must "let all people have their say" and not "let one person alone have

the say.” The most essential thing about the Party’s centralized leadership is leadership through a correct ideological and political line. Party committees at all levels must, on the basis of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, achieve **unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action.**

The style of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and practicing criticism and self-criticism has been written into the general programme of the draft. Communists of the older generations are familiar with this fine tradition of our Party as cultivated by Chairman Mao; however, they still face the question of how to carry it forward under new historical conditions, whereas for the many new Party members, there is the question of learning, inheriting and carrying it forward. Chairman Mao often educates us with accounts of the Party’s activities in its years of bitter struggle, asking us to share the same lot, rough or smooth, with the broad masses. We must beware of the inroads of bourgeois ideology and the attacks by sugar-coated bullets; we must be modest and prudent, work hard and lead a plain life, resolutely oppose privilege and earnestly overcome all such unhealthy tendencies as “going in by the back door.”

Now, I would like to discuss with special emphasis the question of accepting criticism and supervision from the masses. Ours is a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the masses of working people are the masters of our country. They have the right to exercise revolutionary supervision over cadres of all ranks of our Party and state organs. This concept has taken deeper root throughout the Party, thanks to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. However, there are still a small number of cadres, especially some leading cadres, who will not tolerate differing views of the masses inside or outside the Party. They even sup-

press criticism and retaliate, and it is quite serious in some individual cases. In handling problems among the people, Party discipline absolutely forbids such wrong practices as resorting to “suppression if unable to persuade, and arrest if unable to suppress.” In the draft, the sentence that “it is absolutely impermissible to suppress criticism and to retaliate” has been added to the articles. We should approach this question from the high plane of two-line struggle to understand it, and resolutely fight against such violations of Party discipline. We must have faith in the masses, rely on them, constantly use the weapons of arousing the masses to air their views freely, write big-character posters and hold great debates and strive **“to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, so as to facilitate our socialist revolution and socialist construction, make it easier to overcome difficulties, enable our country to build a modern industry and modern agriculture at a fairly rapid pace, consolidate our Party and state and make them better able to weather storm and stress.”**

Six. It is our Party's consistent principle to uphold proletarian internationalism. This time we have further included “Oppose great-power chauvinism” in the draft. We will forever stand together with the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world to oppose imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction, and at present to oppose especially the hegemonism of the two super-powers — the U.S. and the USSR. The danger of a new world war still exists. We must, without fail, prepare well against any war of aggression and guard against surprise attack by imperialism and social-imperialism.

Chairman Mao says, “In our international relations, we Chinese people should get rid of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.”

Our country has a large population, vast territory and abundant resources. We must make our country prosperous and strong and we are fully capable of doing it. However, we must persist in the principle of “**never seek hegemony**” and must never be a superpower under any circumstances. All Party comrades must firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings that we must never be conceited, not even after a hundred years, and never be cocky, not even after the 21st century. At home, too, we must oppose every manifestation of “great-power” chauvinism, and further strengthen the revolutionary unity of the whole Party, the whole Army and the people of all the nationalities of the country to speed up our socialist revolution and socialist construction and strive to fulfill our due internationalist obligations.

Comrades! Ours is a great, glorious and correct Party. We are confident that the whole Party, acting according to the political line defined by the Tenth Congress and the new Party Constitution adopted by it, can surely build our Party into a stronger and more vigorous one. Let us, under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, **unite to win still greater victories!**

Report at the Central Study Class⁶

by Wang Hongwen

I would like to discuss the question of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Some events I have seen recently indicate that some provinces cannot solve many long-standing and thorny problems. The primary reason for this is their failure to take correct lines. In some areas, most of those in leadership positions did not take correct lines chiefly because they did not correctly treat the Great Cultural Revolution, the masses and the campaigns. The initial shocks, such as such as the one produced by the twelve factories in Sichuan, are an important question, universal to the whole country. It is hoped that the discussion today will cause all of us to review Chairman Mao's instructions issued since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Our comrades have touched upon this question in their study of Chairman Mao's recent five instructions and the New Year's Day joint editorial of the two newspapers and one magazine of the Central Committee. It is very necessary to make some time available to study and discuss the question of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

1. Why Should We Correctly Understand the Significance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution?

6 Originally delivered January 14, 1974. Reprinted in *And Mao Makes Five*, ed. Raymond Lotta, Banner Press, 1978, p. 53.

The answer to this question is that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great event concerned with consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and prevention of the capitalist restoration. All comrades know that the Great Cultural Revolution was noted in the Political Reports to the Ninth and Tenth National Congresses of the Party and even in the Constitution of the Party. The resolutions adopted by the national congress of the Party should be observed and accomplished by all members of the Party. The new year has begun with excellent conditions at home and abroad. For the revolution, the situation is favorable and generally excellent. We should develop this excellent situation by having our work at home well done and the base areas well built. In order to solve the problems in some provinces and municipalities, we should first of all be able to solve the problem of lines. And, in turn, to correct the problem of lines we should primarily solve the problem of how to correctly treat the Great Cultural Revolution. From historical and practical points of view, the Great Cultural Revolution was and is necessary. To protect the Great Cultural Revolution is to protect Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. All of us members of the Communist Party, especially the middle-level cadres, should undertake this responsibility.

To fully understand the great significance of the Great Cultural Revolution, it is necessary first to re-study Chairman Mao's series of important directives concerning the Great Cultural Revolution. These are the key to the understanding of the Great Cultural Revolution. However, some people now have forgotten these directives of Chairman Mao's, and a few areas still are practicing bourgeois dictatorship.

As early as the end of 1965 when the Great Cultural Revolution was just unveiled or when *Hai Rui Dismissed From Office* was criticized, Chairman Mao

pointed out: **“The key point of *Hai Rui Dismissed From Office* is dismissal. Emperor Wan Li dismissed Hai Rui from office; in 1959 we dismissed Peng Dehuai so that Peng Dehuai is Hai Rui.”** This clearly indicated that the Great Cultural Revolution is a great political revolution waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, but by no means a pure academic discussion. In the initial stage of the campaign, some people were misled, thinking that it was an academic discussion; and the whole thing was actually manipulated by Liu Shaoqi. Later, Peng Zhen and his entourage jumped up and threw out a revisionist “February Outline,” which was in effect designed to protect the rightists and hit the leftists in an attempt to lead the movement toward the bourgeois orbit of pure academic discussion. Chairman Mao resolutely told Peng Zhen and his entourage to stand aside and pointed out that the old Propaganda Department was the court of Hell and that we must **“overthrow the King of Hell and liberate the little devils.”** Chairman Mao said, **“We always maintain that whenever the central agencies do bad things, I will call on the local organizations to rebel and attack the central.”** The “do bad things” here refers to the practice of revisionism. Once Chairman Mao asked Comrade Xu Shiyu in Hangzhou: **“What would you do if revisionism appeared in the Central Committee?”** Chairman Mao has repeatedly commented on this question. In May 1966, he personally formulated the “May 16” Circular, a program for the Cultural Revolution, containing many important directives. Chairman Mao stated: **“Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the party, the government, the army, and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen thorough, others we have**

not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchev, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter.” This directive has been published; it is very important. But some people present at the Ninth Congress and Tenth Congress forgot it, and some people denied the existence of capitalist roaders.

When the broad revolutionary masses responding to the call of Chairman Mao actively threw themselves into the Great Cultural Revolution, Liu Shaoqi and his cohorts were caught in a fright, hurriedly produced the bourgeois reactionary line, and came out to personally repress the revolution. At this juncture, Chairman Mao personally called the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, formulated the Sixteen Articles, and wrote “Bombard the Headquarters—My First Big-Character Poster” The sensational Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was thus unfolded. Chairman Mao rated highly the Great Cultural Revolution movement, considering that this revolution was large in scale and that it mobilized the masses, which was of paramount importance to the revolutionization of the thinking of all people. Chairman Mao urged that: **“you should pay attention to state affairs and carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end.”** He encouraged the revolutionary youth to experience the storms and face the world in the Great Cultural Revolution and temper themselves to become successors to the proletarian revolutionary undertakings in the struggle. In the meantime, Chairman Mao was also very much concerned about the broad masses of cadres. He cordially advised that **“you must put politics in command, go among the masses and be at one with them, and carry on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution even better.”** Chairman Mao warmly hoped

that we veteran proletarian revolutionaries would keep our revolutionary careers clean in old age and strive for new merits in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Toward the end of 1966, the Great Cultural Revolution emerged in an excellent new situation. As 1967 approached, Chairman Mao delivered the speech on “All-out Development of the Class Struggle in the Whole Country” (Note: There is a sentence here that “The whole country develops it at the same time next year”) which can be considered as an attempt to seize power from the handful of people in authority who are taking the capitalist road. Early in October 1966, Chairman Mao resolutely supported the workers’ movement in Shanghai and supported them to rebel against the bourgeoisie. He was very pleased with the workers’ movement. The 16 Articles said: **“The masses of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals, and revolutionary cadres form the main force in this Great Cultural Revolution. Large numbers of revolutionary young people, previously unknown, have become courageous and daring pathbreakers.”** At that time, [Chairman Mao] sent a leading comrade (Zhang Chunqiao) to support the workers’ movement in Shanghai and to handle the Anting Incident. He agreed that workers could set up their own rebel organizations. Chairman Mao directed that he “may execute before reporting.” This is an instance where fact comes before a concept. At the end of 1966, Chairman Mao commented: **“Shanghai has great prospects: workers have risen, students have risen and government cadres have risen.”** Under the cordial concern of Chairman Mao, the leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and the support by the People’s Liberation Army units stationed in Shanghai, the struggle for seizing power from the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party was unveiled.

It was not a matter confined to Shanghai but a matter of the whole country, a power-seizure struggle led by the Central Committee under Chairman Mao. Otherwise, the power could not have been seized. On January 16, 1967, Chairman Mao presided over a Standing Committee meeting and enthusiastically supported the power-seizure struggle that developed from the lower level to the higher level. He gave a very high appraisal of the power-seizure struggle waged by *Wenhui Bao* and *Liberation Daily*, and pointed out: **“It is a great revolution, in which one class overthrows another class; it will have a great effect on the development of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the whole of East China and various provinces and municipalities in the whole country.”**

On January 26, Chairman Mao sent another great call to all people: **“The People’s Liberation Army should support the broad masses of the Left.”** Personally summarizing the basic experience in the power-seizure struggle, he said: **“proletarian revolutionaries [should] unite to seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.”** He also pointed out, **“where there is a need for seizing power, we must practice a three-in-one revolutionary organization to establish a revolutionary, representative and proletariat-authoritative provisional organization which should be called ‘revolutionary committee’.”**

When the January seizure of power in Shanghai repelled the counter-revolutionary economist evil wind, the Central Committee, the Central Military Affairs Commission, the Central Cultural Revolution Group and the State Council cabled their felicitations, advocating that the fate of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the proletarian dictatorship be placed in the hands of the proletariat.

In August-September 1967, Chairman Mao inspected three large areas and gave important

instructions on how to further develop the Great Cultural Revolution. In high spirit, he reported: **“the situation of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the whole country is excellent, not just good; the entire situation is better than any time before.”**

During the high tide of the Great Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao far-sightedly stated, **“The present Great Cultural Revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future. The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time. It should not be thought by any Party member or any one of the people in our country that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or even three or four. We must be very much on the alert and never lose vigilance.”**

Comrades, I invite you to reflect upon it. How important this instruction of Chairman Mao is! At that time, we were in the ninth line struggle, which was followed shortly by the tenth struggle. Many of us did not quite grasp the meaning of the instructions when we first studied it, but we gradually learned. Therefore, it is necessary for us to study the Chairman's instructions, which are important to heightening our consciousness on class struggle. Recently the Central Committee has prepared to collect in book form Chairman Mao's instructions on the Great Cultural Revolution and have it published and distributed. Only through learning from Chairman Mao's instructions can we distinguish the Marxist struggle from the revisionist struggle. This will facilitate our struggle against revisionism. Why should I deliberate it as such? It is because some comrades in the Party do not understand it, especially the section I have just mentioned.

2. The Great Victory of the Proletariat

From the series of Chairman Mao's instructions, one can see that Chairman Mao took great resolve to ignite and guide the Great Cultural Revolution. Now the revolution has terminated in a very great victory by first smashing the bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shaoqi. It was the greatest victory. Besides this, the revolution has trained broad masses of cadres and people, promoted the revolution in the superstructure and the development of industrial and agricultural production, and greatly liberated productivity. Many comrades have seen [these achievements], but some others have not. Very soon, there will appear a mass movement for popularizing Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought in the whole country. Now this movement is gradually developing. The practice over the past eight years has sufficiently verified this instruction of Chairman Mao: **“This Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is completely necessary and very timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalism from restoration and constructing socialism.”** Had it not been for this revolution, what would our country have been? Recently the Central Committee prepared to distribute to the whole Party material for criticism on *Lin Biao and the Doctrine of Confucius and Mencius*. Lin Biao and his wife Ye Qun plus Chen Boda greatly detested socialism. When I talked about the above-mentioned material to my colleagues in the office, we were all indignant. It is not surprising to see that the class enemies at home and abroad would slander this revolution. Chiang Kai-shek has reproved the Great Cultural Revolution; the Soviet revisionist radios and newspapers have cursed it for seven or eight years. And in his counter-revolutionary program for political coup, *Outline of Project 571*, Lin Biao also cursed us with the

language of the Soviets. Chairman Mao has told us **“What is opposed by the enemy is a good thing, not a bad thing.”** This proves that our Great Cultural Revolution is correct. As our criticism of Lin Biao and Confucius is deeply developed, Chiang Kai-shek, South Korea, South Vietnam and Soviet revisionism all abuse our criticism of Confucius. From the class standpoint it is not strange. The problem is that some comrades in our ranks, including Party and non-Party members, still do not fully understand and do not as seriously and effectively implement the Great Cultural Revolution as they did seven or eight years ago. Some even confound right and wrong and turn things upside down, or even describe the Great Cultural Revolution as a dark night or as a ravaging flood and a savage beast. Still others say that they have their hairs stand on end at hearing of the Great Cultural Revolution. Both the Party Constitution and the resolutions adopted at the Tenth National Congress state that the Great Cultural Revolution will be conducted several times. But some say the Great Cultural Revolution is [was] completely unnecessary and therefore should not be [have been] conducted any more. In particular, the senior and middle-level cadres speak of the revolution varyingly. Some of them say, “The Great Cultural Revolution has achieved a great victory in the whole country, but we cannot see it here.” What they mean is that the victory cannot be seen here and there, and that this being added, it cannot be seen in the whole country. Then why is it necessary? As I mentioned before, the Great Cultural Revolution defeated two bourgeois headquarters, which was the greatest victory. Why cannot they see it? If they said they could not see it, they must have placed themselves outside the Party and all the people. Had Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao come to power, capitalism would have come back, the Chinese society would have returned to a semi-feudal

and semi-colonial society or become the colony of the Soviet social-imperialism, and thousands of people would have been beheaded. At that time, would you still say you cannot see it? When we say that the Great Cultural Revolution is necessary and timely for the whole country, we mean that it is necessary and timely for a factory, a school or a unit. Chairman Mao stated, "Whether the line is correct ideologically and politically decides everything." The line of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao has an impact on every unit to a varying degree. In most of the areas, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is dominant, while in some places the revisionist line is rather rampant. For example, the two important departments, namely, the old Central Propaganda Department and Central Organization Department, were not in our hands. Even on the industrial front, the revisionist line had a deep influence, not to mention the cultural front which had been under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie for many years. The situation has greatly improved since the Great Cultural Revolution. Without casting away the administration of factories by experts, control-restriction-pressure and the philosophy of servility to things foreign, how can the working class become the master of the factories? It was exactly because of the interference of the revisionist line, our steel industry has stagnated for ten years? Some enterprises were in our hands nominally but actually were gripped by the proxies of the bourgeoisie and some were even in the hands of the capitalists (some factories in Shanghai actually had capitalists as their production managers). Without such a revolution, what would these units have become? And how could we have leadership moved into the hands of the proletariat? Chairman Mao far-sightedly launched a Great Cultural Revolution and solved this problem. But this revolution alone is not enough. Currently some provinces and municipalities [still have problems], the

key to which is leadership. We cannot blame the masses or say that the masses are no good. Neither can we say that all those [who created problems] are bad men, for some of them are good people who are revisionist and capitalist only ideologically and who would correct their mistakes once their problems are identified. Since the Cultural Revolution was started seven or eight years ago, the problems in some places should be dealt with. To solve the problems, we should first locate the causes so that we can apply the right course. Some people handle things indiscriminately; some units impute all the bad things to the Great Cultural Revolution or take them as residuals of the Great Cultural Revolution. This is wrong. For they are residuals of revisionism, how can we take them for residuals of the Great Cultural Revolution? These problems squarely indicated that the Great Cultural Revolution was absolutely necessary. Where the line is incorrect, unity will not exist, and the bad men will have to be singled out by the cadres and masses. In some areas the criticism of Lin Biao and Confucius is not carried out. Recently we have faced the problems of the twelve factories in Sichuan province. What are their problems? They did not deepen the criticism of Lin Biao, which should be the key. We believe that only if we handle things in accordance with the spirit of the Great Cultural Revolution, will the problems be solved. The Datong Tank Factory had been inflicted with problems for eight years, but this time those problems were resolved in two months. The primary cause of those problems was a mistaken line. Certainly we will not deny that in some units the bad men stir up the disturbances. Again it is necessary to mobilize the masses for singling out the bad men. To describe these problems as residuals of the Great Cultural Revolution is in effect to restore the situation before the revolution, only to create more disorder. At a cadre conference in Jiangxi province, there was

someone spreading this counter-revolutionary rumor: "Sweep the temple; invite the real god; old marshals must return to their posts; little soldiers must go back to their barracks." He wants to suppress all little soldiers. From a recent telegram, I learn that a group of little soldiers rose up to revel for two hours, causing a great commotion. They did not yield to suppression and believed what they pursued was the truth. I have told some comrades in Jiangxi that what they were doing was to reverse the verdict of the Great Cultural Revolution. I told them before the Tenth Congress; it was of no use. And again I told them at the Tenth Congress; it was of no use either. But do not worry about this, because the Central Committee knows these things well (Note: there is no respectable cadre at the upper level).

Still others commented that the Great Cultural Revolution was good, but we might not have had to do it that way. In other words, we should not have practiced the "great blooming, great contending, big-character posters and great debate." They do not agree to having millions of revolutionary masses and the united proletarians seize power from those Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road. What they oppose is nothing but this, for if this was negated, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution would be negated. In one of his talks in 1967, Chairman Mao pointed out: **"In the past, we engaged in struggles in the countryside, factories and cultural circles, carrying out the socialist education campaign. But we did not succeed in solving the problems. The reason for this was the failure to find a formula or a method to mobilize the masses from the upper level to the lower level, in an open and all-out manner, to expose our dark side. Now we have found the solution: the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."** Honestly, without the Great Cultural Revolution, how could we have dug out

Liu Shaoqi, a traitor who hid himself so deeply? In the past, we could not completely grasp Liu Shaoqi's treacherous characteristics, especially pertaining to his history. It was in the Great Cultural Revolution that the Red Guards found them through a thorough investigation. (Of course, we did grasp all the revisionist stuff that he had published.) Besides, without the formula of the Great Cultural Revolution, how could we have had a series of new-born things such as the revolutionary committees, the May 7th Cadre Schools and rustication of educated youths? It is impossible. Neither would it be possible to have the industrial and agricultural production develop so fast. Without the Great Cultural Revolution, a mass movement so large in scale, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought would not have been popularized. Of course, the Great Cultural Revolution itself, as a new-born thing, has had an ideal process of development. Chairman Mao stated, **“historical experience is worth attention; a line and a viewpoint should be regularly and repeatedly explained to all the broad masses, not only to a few people.”** Now the instructions from Chairman Mao and the Central Committee are stuck at some places or some individuals who do not transmit them to the masses or transmit indiscriminately without indicating which are from Chairman Mao, which are from the Central Committee and which are from themselves.

Some people “praise” the Great Cultural Revolution, saying that the masses in the revolution were not obedient, wrote big-character posters on impulse and were talkative at meetings. What is wrong with this? Actually this was one of the achievements brought forth by the Great Cultural Revolution.

Chairman Mao has stated many times: **“Our work within the Party should be made lively active and vigorous, not spiritless and languid.”** Chairman Mao once told Wang Hairong that **“we should let the**

students read novels and take a nap in class.” Some people do not quite understand what this means. My interpretation of it is that we should not make the students too spiritless and that students should be called upon to rebel against revisionism.

The same problem exists in the armed units. Soldiers are told to obey orders unconditionally and absolutely. We must know that they are required to obey your orders conditionally, not unconditionally. They should obey whatever conforms to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and rebel against whatever does not. We members of the Communist Party execute the instructions of the higher level on the basis of self-consciousness. We should judge the correctness of the line that the orders reflect. We only execute the correct line and correct orders. They will not be implemented if they are not correct. Some people are not used to this style, complaining that enlisted men are difficult to administer and are fond of submitting opinions. This is natural. Many recent political accidents in the military units were caused by rough and cruel administration and failure to do fine political-ideological work, which resulted in stacks of problems and deteriorating contradiction. The key here again is the question of line, such as how to treat the masses. The situation now has developed to a different level. We must study how to do ideological work. The old style, if completely unchanged, cannot do the job.

This situation is a good thing to us but not for some others. In our country which practices socialism, we must not forget that the workers, peasants and soldiers are the masters. The reports of the Tenth Congress pointed out that we should have the revolutionary spirit of going against the tide. Recently, the newspapers printed reports of two little students, one called Huang Shuai and the other from Guangdong province. They wrote a letter to *Renmin Ribao*, asking for support.

Their letter indicated a high level of culture and was full of sentiment. After reading it, we feel that they should be given support.

Chairman Mao recently enquired: **“Why does the buffalo have two horns? It needs them for struggle.”** These remarks were made first in 1955. He also advised us: **“Since we are all members of the Communist Party, why should we hesitate at our speech?”** We should boast less and criticize more; we should rely on the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers who have horns on their heads and have the courage to rebel against the revisionist line. Some units are afraid of the “four greats” [great blooming, great contending, great big-character posters and great debates] advocated in the Tenth Congress. They are so scared of the “four greats” that they have not dared to organize the masses for study up to now. We should approve of the masses’ practicing “four greats” and going against the tide. Why do we fear them? Only those pursuing revisionism will be afraid of the “four greats,” and those pursuing Marxism-Leninism should support the revolutionary rebellious spirit of the revolutionary masses. Chairman Mao teaches us: **“We do not even fear imperialism, why shall we fear the people? Those who fear the people or consider that the masses immune to reasoning can only be repressed but not persuaded are not genuine members of the Communist Party or genuine Communists.”** Some people do not accept this teaching of Chairman Mao. They like repression or resort to arrest if repression does not work.

Someone said: “veteran cadres fought the battles in the north and the south in the past, but struggled in the Great Cultural Revolution randomly.” This statement is not correct; neither does it conform to the wish of the veteran cadres. It should be said that veteran cadres are the precious treasures of our Party. In fighting the battles in the north and the south in the past, some of

them were wounded. But they do not feel that they can divorce themselves from the masses or can put on an air of bureaucracy. Instead they actively participated in the Great Cultural Revolution and criticized themselves once they found in themselves shortcomings or mistakes. Hence, they achieved merit in the Great Cultural Revolution. There are a great number of such veteran cadres, not one or two. They really represent the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. As to the question whether some [veteran] cadres received more attacks during the Great Cultural Revolution, this needs detailed analysis. Chairman Mao stated in his inspection of three large areas: **“Why were some cadres criticized and struggled against by the masses? One reason is their implementation of the reactionary bourgeois line which provoked the masses. The other reason is that they had a conceit of their own importance as they had become high ranking officials with high salaries. As a result, they put on an official air, did not consult with the masses, treated others unequally, ignored democracy, blamed or cursed others and seriously divorced themselves from the masses. These actions invited the criticism of the masses, who did not have the opportunity [to retaliate upon the cadres] at time of peace. After the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution broke out, the cadres were flung into trouble.”** Should these individuals referred to by Chairman Mao be criticized? You can blame others. Why can't the masses criticize you? This instruction from Chairman Mao is familiar to everyone, but some people forgot it. The above-mentioned veteran cadres that were flung into trouble can also be divided into two categories: One is those who accepted the experience and lessons from the active side and have become veteran cadres really trusted by the masses. There are many such good cadres. For instance, Comrade Ma Tianshui of Shanghai who emerged with a new spiritual

face after the Great Cultural Revolution, works in the depth of the masses and has had his line corrected. In the other category are those who summarized the experiences and lessons from the passive side, being superficial and hesitant. Actually they have divorced themselves from the masses in a different form.

Still others totally do not think of the success of the Great Cultural Revolution in overthrowing the two bourgeois headquarters, an event that related to the change of color in our country. However, they are deeply occupied with the attacks by the masses. Once liberated and in power, they seek every opportunity to liquidate the masses. That is what the cadres of Jiangxi are doing. The result is that liquidation will come to them instead. Without correcting the three *chi* [referring to three undesirable attitudes: grudge, despair, disaffection], one is sure to fall. And without solving this problem, he will be overthrown again even though he is liberated now.

Someone said: "The account will have to be settled on being struggled against during the Great Cultural Revolution. To get even with those who struggled against us without taking the interest should be considered lenient. What is wrong to vent the spleen?" We must yell our warning to such a comrade: it is too dangerous; what do the masses owe you? Chairman Mao told us: **"Who gave us the authority? The working class and poor and lower-middle peasants or the broad masses of laboring people who represent over 90 percent of the population. The people will support us if we stand for the proletariat and the masses of the people and overthrow the enemy of the people... The most basic principle of the Communist Party is to place reliance upon the broad masses of the revolutionary people."** If you must settle accounts with the masses, they have the right to retrieve power from you.

There is another speculation that considers Lin Biao's revisionist line as "ultra-left" in essence. In fact his revisionist line is "ultra-right" in essence, not "ultra left," and is as right as the right can be. Only recently someone from a certain university said, "While the ultra-left is not criticized, right and wrong are confounded." The biggest proof he offered is that no one has ever evaluated the merits and demerits of the seventeen years [before the Cultural Revolution]. It has been evaluated. The evaluation was done by many big-character posters in the Great Cultural Revolution and in the summary of the Educational Work Conference for Sent-Down Youths convened by the Central Committee. The conclusion tells that the education front for seventeen years did not basically carry out Chairman Mao's line but was governed by the dictatorship of the revisionists. In his letter to Comrade Jiang Qing, Chairman Mao pointed out: **"Peking University and Tsinghua University are the wrong knots deeply rooted."** Now someone said the "summary" is no longer correct or is a product of the ultra-left. And this remark has been spread everywhere. To some people, the criticism of the ultra-left and Lin Biao is fictitious, while the Great Cultural Revolution is the real target. Our conclusion is: "While the ultra-right is not criticized, right and wrong are confounded." In the current stage, in order to consolidate the results of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it is necessary to criticize the ultra-right essence of Lin Biao's revisionist line. Without doing so, it is absolutely impossible to consolidate and develop the great results of the Great Cultural Revolution. Last year, one unit wrote an article, saying that all the youths in that unit were ultra-rightists and describing them as wrong and bad through and through. If that is the case, what is the hope of the Chinese Revolution? Who can we rely on to succeed us? On the request for convening provincial

Youth League Congresses, the Central Committee instructed: Most of the youths are good, otherwise our revolution will have no future or a gloomy future. Worthy of note is that in some areas counter-revolutionary rumors are spread, such as “Sweep the temple; invite the real god; old marshals must return to their posts; little soldiers must go back to their barracks.” Most vicious are the latter two sentences “old marshals must return to their posts; little soldiers must go back to their barracks.” They mean that all those traitors, enemy agents, capitalist roaders including Liu Shaoqi will return to their posts and that all the new-born things of the Great Cultural Revolution will be abolished. It is a typical restoration of the old, a counterattack, or a liquidation. This rumor was first started by two high ranking cadres in a military unit. The spread of these things is very harmful. Another instance is that [cadres of] Jiangxi province took Liu Shaoqi’s counter-revolutionary rumors for Chairman Mao’s instructions and transmitted them to millions of people at the cadre conferences. However, this was not strange. Some of our cadres have rumor markets in their brains. They sell rumors once they receive the goods. From the class stand point of view, this is not strange.

Some people are not bad but are already disarmed ideologically and deprived of the ability to distinguish sweet flowers from poisonous weeds. Chairman Mao severely criticized this counter-revolutionary rumor and changed it to read: “Sweep the temple; invite the real god; old marshals return to the line; little soldiers are promoted.” Chairman Mao’s instructions sufficiently reflect the revolutionary line, on the question of cadres. It is important that we should exploit the effect of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and, at the same time, make great efforts to train thousands of, not one or two, successors to the proletarian

undertakings. It would be a mistake not to exploit the talents of veteran cadres, and it would also be a mistake to determine their position by experience and age regardless of their performance in the realistic class struggle. Their ability to fight in the north and south in the past is important, but we should also see their consciousness and performance in the realistic class struggle. If their thinking is revisionist, can they fight for the proletariat? We believe that especially at this major turning point, the evaluation of cadres should not be based only on history without consideration of the present facts and that primary emphasis should be placed on their consciousness in the line struggle. This should apply to all cadres whether they are local, military, old or new.

For the mistakes committed by the veteran as well as young cadres, the practice of “watch and help” should be adopted and the cadres should be allowed to correct their mistakes. But in some places, veteran cadres who committed mistakes are allowed to correct their mistakes through “watch and help,” while the young cadres, once making a mistake, are condemned to death. Why can the erring veteran cadres be educated and young cadres can’t? It is not fair! It is harmful to the unity of the Party! Chairman Mao criticizes many people for belittling the Children’s Corps, for they commented that “How can you teenagers and 20-year olds be so smart?” The young cadres must be humble and prudent and should guard against self-conceit and arrogance, and should respect and learn from the veteran cadres. On the other hand, the veteran cadres should teach, help and lead the young cadres. They should bear in mind the question of teaching, helping and leading in dealing with young cadres.

The cultivation of millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary undertakings is a great

strategic measure and a hundred-year, long-range plan. We must grasp this great work and train successors at various levels. The training of successors has encountered few obstacles in local areas but more in the military. I always advocate that we should find several men in their thirties to be the commanders of large military regions.

With respect to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, is it good or bad? This question has been controversial throughout the process of the revolution. Peng Zhen's February Outline and Liu Shaoqi's bourgeois reactionary line were all designed to choke the Great Cultural Revolution to death. In essence Lin Biao also engineered a set of revisionist lines identical to those of Liu Shaoqi. Before the Ninth Congress, he collaborated with Chen Boda in making a political report based on the theory of putting productivity first, saying that the primary task after the Ninth Congress should be the development of production in an attempt to counterattack and liquidate the Great Cultural Revolution through a legal approach. Chairman Mao negated this political report and personally formulated a line for the Ninth Congress, which persisted in the continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. After the Ninth Congress, a great victory was achieved in smashing the Lin Biao anti-Party clique under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and the struggle-criticism-transformation campaign was gradually more deeply developed. However, whether the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is very good or very bad is still controversial. Following the Second Plenary Session, there was a rightist tide emerging intermittently here and there. Those associated with this tide were, for example, Long Shujin of Xinjiang, Liang [Liang Xingchu] and Chen [Chen Renqi] of Sichuan and cadres from Henan. They tried to shift the general orientation of the struggle for

criticizing Lin Biao into an attempt to counterattack and liquidate the Great Cultural Revolution. What they were doing was actually the struggle between two classes and two lines, a continuation of the struggle. This struggle will come up again in the future. Chairman Mao said recently, **“On the question of the Great Cultural Revolution, we have to wait and see for another ten years.”** This was to remind us that we should be ideologically prepared for long-term struggle. Comrades, you must have read the articles on criticism of Lin Biao and Confucius recently and must have learned that Qin Shi Huang was cursed for 2,000 years for replacing an exploiting system with another exploiting system. Will our Great Cultural Revolution be cursed? Certainly some people will curse it. And even ten years or several decades later, there will be some people who curse it and come out to reverse the verdict on Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao. Confucius died several thousand years ago; yet some people still worship him. But Qin Shi Huang, who was a revolutionary then, was cursed for 2,000 years.

To oppose the Great Cultural Revolution is to oppose the Ninth and Tenth Congresses but this is not an ordinary question. It is an attempt to restore capitalism and practice revisionism. My understanding is this: those who oppose the Great Cultural Revolution must advocate a capitalist dictatorship. Comrades, we should not think that there are no longer capitalist roaders, or even that there is no need to mention capitalist roaders. Some areas, in discussing revision of the constitutions of the state and Party, did not wish to include the phrase “capitalist roaders.” What queer talk! As long as class struggle exists, the bourgeoisie will plant a proxy in our Party and there will be capitalist roaders. If there had been no capitalist roaders, all the campaigns in the past should have been negated; the three-anti and five-anti campaigns, the

anti-right campaigns in 1957 and the four-clean-up movement should all be negated. That was the reason for writing them into the Party constitution. These were great events, not small ones. Some individuals committed the mistake of taking the capitalist road, but they have been corrected through our help. The correction is good. However, we cannot say the capitalist roaders no longer exist after the correction. Not only were there capitalist roaders in the past, but there will be in the future. A few men still implement the bourgeois dictatorship over the masses now or even say that there is no good man among the rebels! Their remarks smack of no Communist Party members.

“Marxism has thousands of principles, but they can be summed up in one sentence: It is right to rebel.” Our old father Marx led us to rebel. Some people abuse us for rising up in rebellion. What is wrong with rebellion? It was through the rebellion led by Chairman Mao against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism that members of the Communist Party of China achieved the victory of revolution and succeeded in seizing political power. In the Great Cultural Revolution, we rebelled against the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes, and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat. What is wrong with it? Some people were rebels in the past, but now they swear at the rebels. This indicates that their thinking has changed and that they have forgotten the past. Was it a rebellion when we liquidated the local gentry and partitioned the land of landlords in the past? Again was it a rebellion when we fought against Chiang Kai-shek? Some people have forgotten these. Of course, there must have been some fish as well as dragons, mud as well as sands slipping into the Great Cultural Revolution. It is not strange that a few bad men have sneaked in among the rebels. When we first organized the Red Army, was our Army very pure? Impossible! It is an unavoidable

phenomenon. How can we say that there is no good man among the rebels? He who says there is no good man among the rebels is in fact negating himself. He has forgotten who led us to rebel and has forgotten the old father of the rebels.

What would a Communist do if he does not rebel against the capitalist roaders? A Communist making such a statement intends to betray Communism. We Communists must rebel against the bourgeoisie and the exploiting classes. Most of the people in question were discovered in our handling the internal problems and analyzing the problems. Through studying Chairman Mao's instructions and the ten great spirits, they may reform themselves. In the meantime, they should also look for the mainsprings from their world outlook and transform their world outlook with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. A few men may not be transformed. The contradictions may change in two ways: some will change for the better and some for the worse. Some Party members may learn the problem and change for the better or completely change. Thus, some contradictions between the enemy and us may change into those among the people; and some contradictions among the people may change into those between the enemy and us.

In the minds of some comrades, the Great Cultural Revolution is not viewed as a consequence of the class struggle that has been engaged in since the liberation. Instead, it is looked upon as a thunder in the clear sky of an early morning. Some people even described it as a great misunderstanding, very reactionary in nature. They have a saying: "Veteran cadres return to their posts, young cadres return to their offices, and those who support the left return to their units. The Great Cultural Revolution is a great misunderstanding." This deviation is an ideological problem, typically reflecting idealism. As they view the Great Cultural Revolution as

a great misunderstanding, they are discontented with everything in existence, anxiously waiting for the situation to get back to normal. Instead of seeing the development as a spiral ascent, they look upon it as a turning movement within a circle. In the factories, they practice control-restriction-pressure; in schools, they put intellectual education in the fore and everything in an old frame. What is this ideology? It is a typical vulgar theory of evolution. According to Marxist materialist dialectics, everything is moving forward and developing continuously. These people clinging to the old admit the truism of dialectics verbally but oppose the dialectics in deeds. At the mention of business administration, they urge the resumption of old rules and systems which have been discarded by the masses. They are enthusiastic for paying wages by the hour and giving monetary reward by the time, saying that in so doing, activity may be promoted. However, they do not reflect what we have relied on for the revolution in the past decades. Did we rely on monetary rewards, wages by the hour or the time? No. We relied on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, millions of revolutionary masses, millet and rifles. Speaking of material incentives, Soviet revisionists have applied them vigorously, but they have rendered their industry stagnant and brought difficulties at home and abroad. If those things had been effective, why did the workers in Leningrad want to rebel? Did the Great Cultural Revolution rely on material incentives or the consciousness of the masses? Didn't it rely on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line to mobilize the masses? Certainly we do not mean to neglect the life of the masses. But to take care of the life of the masses is one thing, and to stress material incentives is another. To raise the labor productivity, we should do something on renovation of technology and mechanization. It is necessary to properly elevate the living standard of the masses, but it would be a great

insult to the working class, not a benefit to the life of the masses, if we practice what is called wages by the hour and monetary rewards. Our Railroad Corps has built many railroads. Did we rely on the wages by the hour? The enlisted men of the corps receive eight *yuan* per month without any additional monetary reward. We entirely relied on Chairman Mao's thought. These problems do not involve everyone. There are two departments in the Central Committee that pursued this line. They conducted an experiment in Shanghai but were dispelled by the workers. This problem is directly related with the Great Cultural Revolution. Today we discuss it here in the hope that our comrades in the study class, after returning to their units, will observe this problem and dare to engage in struggle, or at least report the situation to the Central Committee. Some areas ask whether they can resume the rules and systems adopted before the Cultural Revolution. At a planning work conference, one worker gave a clear-cut answer: "no." He mentioned three conditions: first, we do not want control-restriction-pressure; second, we oppose full payment of monthly wages; and third, those things correct in the past cannot be adopted intact because now our production has developed just as a grown-up boy can no longer wear his old clothes. This worker is versed in dialectics. He is right: things have developed and the thinking of leaders should catch up with the new situation. We resolutely oppose retrograde movement. Chairman Mao teaches us: **"We should strive for discovery, invention, creation and advance. The propositions for standstill, pessimism, arrogance and complacency are all wrong."** We must deepen the campaign to criticize Lin Biao and rectify the style of work, vitalize the movement for criticism of Lin Biao and Confucius and integrate the efforts for criticizing Confucius. In order to criticize the pernicious efforts of Lin Biao we must overthrow the Confucian shop.

Confucius was the first thinker in Chinese history that systematically and totally advocated idealism. All those clinging to the old eulogize him, and Lin Biao was the Confucius of the modern age. Hence, the criticism of Lin Biao and that of Confucius can and must be integrated in order to overthrow the Confucian shop in our mind. Confucius lived in an age of great transition from the slave to feudal system. He hated the change of the social system, desperately defended the slave system and opposed the feudal system in an attempt to stop the rolling wheels of history. Seven days after he became the premier of Lu State, he executed Shao Zhengmao, a revolutionary. When he found one of his students called Ran You cherishing thoughts of renovation, he instigated some other students to attack him. Thus, Chairman Mao said, **“Confucius’s working style much resembled that of the tyrant and smacked of Fascism.”** Because of his perverse acts, he stepped down from his position three months after. Though he was not in office, his heart for restoration did not die. He went on to preach his ideas everywhere and cried “The propriety is deteriorating! The music is collapsing!” whenever he saw the situation turning better and was worried about the situation. Yesterday, *Renmin Ribao* published an article by Zhe Zhun. The article was very well written; I hope that all of you will read it carefully.

Some people have no affection towards Marxism-Leninism but hanker after revisionism with tacit affection. They are not accustomed to seeing the new-born things of the Great Cultural Revolution and hanker after the old things.

Chairman Mao said: **“Capitalism and the capitalist system are in the sunset, breathing their last, and may die at any moment. On the other hand, Communism and the Communist social system are spreading to the whole world like overwhelming waves and thunders and are in their wonderful prime of life.”** Why does a

Communist Party member with Communism as his aim so hanker after old things? This is a question that deserves careful study by all comrades present today.

Our chief purpose is to urge our comrades to seriously study the series of Chairman Mao's important instructions issued since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, and remember the three principles of practicing Marxism-Leninism but not revisionism. Only recently Chairman Mao warned us: **“Comrades, beware! Revisionism will soon appear in China.”** He also pointed out that many people criticize politics without knowledge of political situations and that the Military Affairs Commission know neither the military nor the politics. These instructions apply to government workers, soldiers and students in all areas. They tell us to grasp the major events that deserve our study. Revisionism, if it is to appear in the future, will be seen in the superstructure.

Chairman Mao also directed recently that we should all sing the song *Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention*. In the main, he wishes us to remember that only unity can lead to victory. On Chairman Mao's instructions, we must have a correct understanding and comprehension so that the spirit of the “Tenth Congress” may be better carried out and that we may better unite to win still greater victory.

Has Absolute Music No Class Character?⁷

by Chao Hua of the Arts Department
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With the deepening of the movement to criticize Lin Biao and rectify the style of work and new victories being continually won in the struggle-criticism-transformation in the realm of the superstructure, an excellent situation prevails in the country. But the class struggle and the two-line struggle on the art and literary front remain very sharp and complex. The recent weird contention that so-called absolute music has no social content but simply expresses contrasting and changing moods is a sign of a return to the revisionist line in art and literature.

Should the reactionary nature of this erroneous view be exposed or not? This is a cardinal issue of right and wrong and we cannot treat it casually. It involves the question of whether or not the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle should be recognized as a universally applicable truth, whether or not the proletarian dictatorship should be exercised in the ideological realm, and whether the Marxist critical attitude should be adopted towards the bourgeois arts or whether they should be “taken over wholesale” as the revisionist fallacies of Chou Yang and his like advocated; it involves the question of whether the proletarian revolution in art and literature can be carried through to the end.

7 Article published in *Renmin Ribao*, January 14, 1974. Printed in *Peking Review*, Vol. 17, #9, March 1, 1974.

Absolute music in general refers to instrumental music without a descriptive title as to theme or content and it usually is designated by its musical form or tempo. For example, "Symphony in F Major," "Concerto in C Minor," "Largo," "Allegro" and so on.

Bourgeois theorists have long spouted that absolute music is a form of "pure music," devoid of social content and class nature. They fallaciously contend that music is "simply fantasy, not reality" and that "music is music, and nothing else." The modern revisionists, while paying lip-service to music's ties with social life, actually blur the class distinction between proletarian and bourgeois music by describing absolute music as "of the people," "realistic" and so forth. Why should both the bourgeoisie and the revisionists concoct all sorts of arguments to obscure the class character of art? It is because bourgeois ideology, including bourgeois art and literature, serves to prop up the capitalist system. They dare not openly acknowledge the exploiting class character of their art and literature. Instead, to disguise the essential substance of capitalist exploitation they pose as representatives of the whole people in order to deceive the laboring masses.

Marxist-Leninists hold that all works of music, both absolute and programme music, as a form of ideology **"are products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society."** Music without titles descriptive of their theme or content is by no means merely "a form of the flow of sounds." Not giving their works a descriptive title is only a means by which composers cover up the class content of their works. In fact, a composer clearly has in mind what he wants to praise or oppose and what content and mood he means to convey, when he is composing absolute music.

When the German bourgeois composer Beethoven (1770-1827) was asked the meaning of his *Sonata* No. 17, a composition without a descriptive title, he replied:

“Please read Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*.” That play, we know, preaches the bourgeois theory of human nature. Of course, the means of expression of music are different from those of literature. Music uses melody, rhythm and harmony to evoke scenes, tell a story or convey emotion, thereby expressing quite plainly or relatively subtly and deviously the composer’s world outlook, ideas and feelings. But in any case, the social and class content, thoughts and feelings so expressed can never be abstract, unintelligible “fantasy,” for they can be grasped by applying the Marxist theory of knowledge and method of class analysis.

Take for instance the representative work *Symphony in B Minor (the Unfinished Symphony)* by Schubert (1797-1828), an Austrian bourgeois composer of the romantic school. The class feelings and social content it expresses are quite clear, although it has no descriptive title. This symphony was composed in 1822 when Austria was a reactionary feudal bastion within the German Confederation and the reactionary Austrian authorities not only ruthlessly exploited and oppressed the workers and peasants, but also persecuted and put under surveillance intellectuals with any bourgeois democratic ideas. Petty-bourgeois intellectuals like Schubert saw no way out of the political and economic impasse, and lacking the courage to resist they gave way to melancholy, vacillation, pessimism and despair, evading reality and dreaming of freedom. This work of Schubert’s expressed these class feelings and social content. The opening phrase is sombre and gloomy. The whole symphony continues and expands on this emotion, filling it with petty-bourgeois despair, pessimism and solitary distress. At times the dreaming of freedom does come through but this, too, is escapist and negative.

Absolute music composed in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries are products of the European capitalist society, upholding the interests of the bourgeoisie and

serving the capitalist system. The content and the ideas and feelings with which they are saturated have an unmistakably bourgeois class nature. Marx pointed out: **“Capital comes [into the world] dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt.”** And it is this blood and dirt that bourgeois music extols. Although certain compositions were to some extent progressive in the sense of being anti-feudal, they failed to mirror proletarian thoughts and feelings of their time; and they are, of course, still more incompatible with our socialist system today under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Then why dismiss their class content and extol them? Yet even today there are some who would feed our young people on these musical works uncritically and intact. Where would this lead our young people?

Some devotees of bourgeois absolute music often try to cover up its class nature by holding forth in empty terms on the contrasting, changing moods it presents. This is a reactionary viewpoint of the bourgeois theory of a common human nature transcending classes. For these moods are none other than those of delight and anger, joy and sorrow which vary, as do all men’s ideas and feelings, according to the times and society people live in and the class they belong to. Lu Xun mercilessly repudiated this bourgeois trash that all men share common emotions and feelings. He said: “Of course, it is human nature to know delight and anger, joy and sorrow but the poor are never worried about losing money on the stock exchange, an oil magnate cannot know the trials of an old woman collecting cinders in Peking, and victims of famine will hardly grow orchids like rich old gentlemen....” Are there any feelings that are not stamped with the brand of a class?

“Joy” can be presented in sharply contrasted ways. Thus the music for the despotic landlord’s birthday celebrations in the third scene of the modern revolutionary dance-drama *Red Detachment of Women* uses frivolous

melody and erratic rhythm to expose the landlord's wanton extravagance and profligacy built on the suffering of the working people. In contrast, the magnificent stirring music of the dance by soldiers and civilians in the next scene presents the brilliant sunshine and jubilation in the revolutionary base. Did these two musical passages project the same emotions?

Again, take the subject of "sorrow." The grief of a feudal monarch after his overthrow is expressed in the verses written by Li Yu, the last king of the Southern Tang kingdom in the 10th century, as he hankered in captivity after his former decadent life in the palace.

*Carved balustrades, jade flagstones still remain,
But those rosy cheeks are gone.
How great my lord's grief?
Endless as the spring river flowing to the east!*

But the proletarian fighter Lu Xun portrayed sorrow of a very different kind when he wrote:

*A host of dark, gaunt faces in the brambles,
Yet who dare shake the earth with lamentation?
I brood over our whole far-stretching land
And in this silence hear the peal of thunder.*

This indignant denunciation of the savage oppression of the people by the Japanese invaders and Kuomintang reactionaries conveys the class hatred and national enmity of millions of working people. This militant lamentation has nothing at all in common with the grief of a feudal monarch over the loss of his kingdom. To claim that one melody could be used to express these two diametrically opposed feelings would be sheer charlatanry.

As for empty talk about “bright,” “healthy” melodies, devoid of class content, this is the metaphysical approach which the revisionists usually resort to when peddling their bourgeois wares. Chou Yang once brayed that the American bourgeoisie whom Walt Whitman extolled was “the new man,” “healthy, broad of mind, with high ideals, a pair of working hands, and eternally optimistic” and that that “shiny example” was “worthy of emulating and copying.” But we are aware if the proletariat really were to “emulate” and “copy” the bourgeoisie, then what awaits us is not “bright skies” but the darkness of the dungeon.

The bourgeoisie may well believe that the works of the 18th-century Austrian bourgeois composer Mozart embody “bright” and “healthy” sentiments. But we working people know clearly that these sentiments cannot compare with the exuberant and impassioned feelings expressed by the chorus *The Sun Rises* in the seventh scene of *The White-Haired Girl*. Brimming over with jubilation, this chorus extols Chairman Mao, the red sun in the hearts of the Chinese people, as well as the Communist Party, and evokes the soul-stirring scene “**of the land of hibiscus glowing in the morning sun**” and the emancipation of the downtrodden peasants. No bourgeois music can even remotely compare with this unrestrained healthy burst of joy evoked by this chorus.

Chou Yang and company also raved that “music is a universal language,” in order to concoct a theoretical basis for their attempt to peddle the wholesale Westernization of music. In fact, every class speaks its own language and there is no such thing as a so-called universal language transcending classes. *The Internationale* which rings throughout the world is the common language of the proletariat only. The bourgeoisie trembles at the sound of this melody. Lenin aptly said: “**In whatever country a class-conscious worker finds himself,**

wherever fate may cast him, however much he may feel himself a stranger, without language, without friends, far from his native country—he can find himself comrades and friends by the familiar refrain of *the Internationale*.”

For over eighty years this stirring song has inspired workers of all countries to unite to smash the old world and fight for the realization of communism. All reactionaries, however, regard this battle-song of the proletariat as a fearful menace and do all in their power to prevent *The Internationale* from circulating among the people. Hence, do the reactionaries share a common language with the proletariat?

Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, Zhou Yang and their gang, however, shared a common language with the bourgeoisie and all reactionaries at home and abroad, for these renegades, like all imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries, opposed proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship and vainly tried to restore capitalism in China. This was like the futile efforts of Confucius, the mouthpiece and defender of ancient China's slave-owning class, who, grieving that “the rites were lost and music was ruined,” tried desperately to propagate reactionary music aimed at benumbing and enslaving the people while frantically attacking the new rising folk music in order to preserve the collapsing slave system.

Like the other forms of art, music has always been an instrument of class struggle, and on the art and literary front the class struggle and the two-line struggle have always been extremely acute. In the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Biao and rectify the style of work, great victories have been won on this front and intellectuals have made much progress, but the pernicious influence of revisionist wares peddled by Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, Zhou Yang and company for a long time, such

as “art and literature of the whole people” and “art and literature to nourish people,” is deep-seated and still far from being eliminated. Some people talk about bourgeois classical music with great relish, are mesmerized by it and prostrate themselves before it, showing their slavish mentality for all things foreign. They are nihilists with regard to national art. Their reverence for foreign things is actually reverence for the bourgeoisie. If this erroneous thinking of extolling foreign things and belittling Chinese things is not criticized and repudiated, then proletarian art and literature will not be able to develop and Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line in art and literature cannot be implemented.

We do not exclude foreign things indiscriminately. We should conscientiously study the revolutionary theory developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We should learn from the revolutionary experience of the working class and revolutionary people, of all countries and learn from and acquire advanced sciences and technology. We should critically assimilate certain techniques from classical bourgeois music, but we must not uncritically swallow anything and everything. And we must never throw ourselves at the feet of bourgeois artists. As Engels said: **“The characterization of the ancients no longer suffices today.”** We must adhere to the principle of **“making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China,”** learn from the experience in creating the model revolutionary theatrical works and turn out proletarian music and art worthy of our time.

Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out in the political report to the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China that “we should attach importance to the class struggle in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture” and that “we should continue to carry out well the revolution in literature and art.” The historical experience of the class struggle on the art and literary front shows that the ideology of the bourgeoisie

and all other exploiting classes cannot be buried and done away with by a criticism or two. We must conscientiously study the documents of the Tenth Party Congress, implement the spirit of the Tenth Party Congress, take the Party's basic line as the key link, further deepen the movement to criticize Lin Biao and rectify the style of work and link them to reality in criticizing revisionism and bourgeois world outlook; we must continue to advance along the revolutionary path pointed out by Chairman Mao, and we must never go backwards. We must be on guard and resist a return of the revisionist line in art and literature. We must resolutely defend and develop the fruits of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and carry the proletarian revolution in art and literature through to the end!

Speech by the Chairman of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China at the Special Session of the UN General Assembly⁸

Delivered by Deng Xiaoping

Mr. President,

The special session of the United Nations General Assembly on the problems of raw materials and development is successfully convened on the proposals of President Houari Boumediene of the Council of Revolution of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria and with the support of the great majority of the countries of the world. This is the first time in the 29 years since the founding of the United Nations that a session is held specially to discuss the important question of opposing imperialist exploitation and plunder and effecting a change in international economic relations. This reflects that profound changes have taken place in the international situation. The Chinese Government extends its warm congratulations on the convocation of this session and hopes that it will make a positive contribution to strengthening the unity of the developing countries, safeguarding their national economic rights

8 Delivered by Deng Xiaoping April 10, 1974.

and interests and promoting the struggle of all peoples against imperialism, and particularly against hegemonism.

At present, the international situation is most favourable to the developing countries and the peoples of the world. More and more, the old order based on colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism is being undermined and shaken to its foundations. International relations are changing drastically. The whole world is in turbulence and unrest. The situation is one of "great disorder under heaven," as we Chinese put it. This "disorder" is a manifestation of the sharpening of all the basic contradictions in the contemporary world. It is accelerating the disintegration and decline of the decadent reactionary forces and stimulating the awakening and growth of the new emerging forces of the people.

In this situation of "great disorder under heaven," all the political forces in the world have undergone drastic division and realignment through prolonged trials of strength and struggle. A large number of Asian, African and Latin American countries have achieved independence one after another and they are playing an ever greater role in international affairs. As a result of the emergence of social-imperialism, the socialist camp which existed for a time after World War II is no longer in existence. Owing to the law of the uneven development of capitalism, the Western imperialist bloc, too, is disintegrating. Judging from the changes in international relations, the world today actually consists of three parts, or three worlds, that are both interconnected and in contradiction to one another. The United States and the Soviet Union make up the First World. The developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions make up the Third World. The developed countries between the two make up the Second World.

The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are vainly seeking world hegemony. Each in its own way attempts to bring the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America under its control and, at the same time, to bully the developed countries that are not their match in strength.

The two superpowers are the biggest international exploiters and oppressors of today. They are the source of a new world war. They both possess large numbers of nuclear weapons. They carry on a keenly contested arms race, station massive forces abroad and set up military bases everywhere, threatening the independence and security of all nations. They both keep subjecting other countries to their control, subversion, interference or aggression. They both exploit other countries economically, plundering their wealth and grabbing their resources. In bullying others, the superpower which flaunts the label of socialism is especially vicious. It has dispatched its armed forces to occupy its "ally" Czechoslovakia and instigated the war to dismember Pakistan. It does not honour its words and is perfidious; it is self-seeking and unscrupulous.

The case of the developed countries in between the superpowers and the developing countries is a complicated one. Some of them still retain colonialist relations of one form or another with Third World countries, and a country like Portugal even continues with its barbarous colonial rule. An end must be put to this state of affairs. At the same time, all these developed countries are in varying degrees controlled, threatened or bullied by the one superpower or the other. Some of them have in fact been reduced by a superpower to the position of dependencies under the signboard of its so-called "family." In varying degrees, all these countries have the desire of shaking off superpower enslavement or control and safeguarding their national independence and the integrity of their sovereignty.

The numerous developing countries have long suffered from colonialist and imperialist oppression and exploitation. They have won political independence, yet all of them still face the historic task of clearing out the remnant forces of colonialism, developing the national economy and consolidating national independence. These countries cover vast territories, encompass a large population and abound in natural resources. Having suffered the heaviest oppression, they have the strongest desire to oppose oppression and seek liberation and development. In the struggle for national liberation and independence, they have demonstrated immense power and continually won splendid victories. They constitute a revolutionary motive force propelling the wheel of world history and are the main force combating colonialism, imperialism, and particularly the superpowers.

Since the two superpowers are contending for world hegemony, the contradiction between them is irreconcilable; one either overpowers the other, or is overpowered. Their compromise and collusion can only be partial, temporary and relative, while their contention is all-embracing, permanent and absolute. In the final analysis, the so-called “balanced reduction of forces” and “strategic arms limitation” are nothing but empty talk, for in fact there is no “balance,” nor can there possibly be “limitation.” They may reach certain agreements, but their agreements are only a facade and a deception. At bottom, they are aiming at greater and fiercer contention. The contention between the superpowers extends over the entire globe.

Strategically, Europe is the focus of their contention, where they are in constant tense confrontation. They are intensifying their rivalry in the Middle East, the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. Every day, they talk about disarmament but are actually engaged in arms expansion. Every day, they

talk about “detente” but are actually creating tension. Wherever they contend, turbulence occurs. So long as imperialism and social-imperialism exist, there definitely will be no tranquility in the world, nor will there be “lasting peace.” Either they will fight each other, or the people will rise in revolution. It is as Chairman Mao Zedong has said: **The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today.**

The two superpowers have created their own antithesis. Acting in the way of the big bullying the small, the strong domineering over the weak and the rich oppressing the poor, they have aroused strong resistance among the Third World and the people of the whole world. The people of Asia, Africa and Latin America have been winning new victories in their struggles against colonialism, imperialism, and particularly hegemonism. The Indochinese peoples are continuing to press forward in their struggles against U.S. imperialist aggression and for national liberation. In the 4th Middle East war,⁹ the people of the Arab countries and Palestine broke through the control of the two superpowers and the state of “no war, no peace” and won a tremendous victory over the Israeli aggressors. The African people’s struggles against imperialism, colonialism and racial discrimination are developing in depth. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau was born in glory amidst the flames of armed struggle. The armed struggles and mass movements carried out by the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania against Portuguese colonial rule and white racism in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia are surging ahead vigorously. The struggle to defend sea rights initiated by Latin American countries has grown into a worldwide struggle against the maritime hegemony of the two

9 (The 1973 Yom Kippur War. -Ed.)

superpowers. The 10th Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, the 4th Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries, the Arab Summit Conference and the Islamic Summit Conference successively voiced strong condemnation against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, hegemonism, Zionism and racism, demonstrating the developing countries' firm will and determination to strengthen their unity and support one another in their common struggle against the hated enemies. The struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American countries and people, advancing wave upon wave, have exposed the essential weakness of imperialism, and particularly the superpowers, which are outwardly strong but inwardly feeble, and dealt heavy blows at their wild ambitions to dominate the world.

The hegemonism and power politics of the two superpowers have also aroused strong dissatisfaction among the developed countries of the Second World. The struggles of these countries against superpower control, interference, intimidation, exploitation and shifting of economic crises are growing day by day. Their struggles also have a significant impact on the development of the international situation.

Innumerable facts show that all views that overestimate the strength of the two hegemonic powers and underestimate the strength of the people are groundless. It is not the one or two superpowers that are really powerful; the really powerful are the Third World and the people of all countries uniting together and daring to fight and daring to win. Since numerous Third World countries and people were able to achieve political independence through protracted struggle, certainly they will also be able, on this basis, to bring about through sustained struggle a thorough change in the international economic relations which are based on inequality, control and exploitation and thus create essential con-

ditions for the independent development of their national economy by strengthening their unity and ally- ing themselves with other countries subjected to super- power bullying as well as with the people of the whole world, including the people of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Mr. President,

The essence of the problems of raw materials and development is the struggle of the developing countries to defend their state sovereignty, develop their national economy and combat imperialist, and particularly superpower, plunder and control. This is a very impor- tant aspect of the current struggle of the Third World countries and people against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism.

As we all know, in the last few centuries colonialism and imperialism unscrupulously enslaved and plun- dered the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Exploiting the cheap labour power of the local people and their rich natural resources and imposing a lop- sided and single-product economy, they extorted super- profits by grabbing low-priced farm and mineral prod- ucts, dumping their industrial goods, strangling national industries and carrying on an exchange of unequal values. The richness of the developed countries and the poverty of the developing countries are the result of the colonialist and imperialist policy of plun- der.

In many Asian, African and Latin American coun- tries that have won political independence, the eco- nomic lifelines are still controlled by colonialism and imperialism in varying degrees, and the old economic structure has not changed fundamentally. The imperial- ists, and particularly the superpowers, have adopted neo-colonialist methods to continue and intensify their exploitation and plunder of the developing countries. They export capital to the developing countries and

build there a “state within a state” by means of such international monopoly organizations as “trans-national corporations” to carry out economic plunder and political interference. Taking advantage of their monopoly position in international markets, they reap fabulous profits by raising the export prices of their own products and forcing down those of raw materials from the developing countries. Moreover, with the deepening of the political and economic crises of capitalism and the sharpening of their mutual competition, they are further intensifying their plunder of the developing countries by shifting the economic and monetary crises on to the latter.

It must be pointed out that the superpower which styles itself a socialist country is by no means less proficient at neo-colonialist economic plunder. Under the name of so-called “economic co-operation” and “international division of labour,” it uses high-handed measures to extort superprofits in its “family.” In profiting at others’ expense, it has gone to lengths rarely seen even in the case of other imperialist countries. The “joint enterprises” it runs in some countries under the signboard of “aid” and “support” are in essence copies of “trans-national corporations.” Its usual practice is to tag a high price on outmoded equipment and sub-standard weapons and exchange them for strategic raw materials and farm produce of the developing countries. Selling arms and ammunition in a big way, it has become an international merchant of death. It often takes advantage of others’ difficulties to press for the repayment of debts. In the recent Middle East war, it bought Arab oil at a low price with the large amount of foreign exchange it had earned by peddling munitions, and then sold it at a high price, making staggering profits in the twinkling of an eye. Moreover, it preaches the theory of “limited sovereignty,” alleges that the resources of developing countries are international

property, and even asserts that “the sovereignty over the natural resources is depending to a great extent upon the capability of utilizing these resources by the industry of the developing countries.” These are out-and-out imperialist fallacies. They are even more undisguised than the so-called “inter-dependence” advertised by the other superpower, which actually means retaining the exploitative relationship. A socialist country that is true to its name ought to follow the principle of internationalism, sincerely render support and assistance to oppressed countries and nations and help them develop their national economy. But this superpower is doing exactly the opposite. This is additional proof that it is socialism in words and imperialism in deeds.

Plunder and exploitation by colonialism, imperialism, and particularly by the superpowers, are making the poor countries poorer and the rich countries richer, further widening the gap between the two. Imperialism is the greatest obstacle to the liberation of the developing countries and to their progress. It is entirely right and proper for the developing countries to terminate imperialist economic monopoly and plunder, sweep away these obstacles and take all necessary measures to protect their economic resources and other rights and interests.

The doings of imperialism, and particularly the superpowers, can in no way check the triumphant advance of the developing countries along the road of economic liberation. In the recent Middle East war, the Arab countries, united as one, used oil as a weapon with which they dealt a telling blow at Zionism and its supporters. They did well, and rightly too. This was a pioneering action taken by developing countries in their struggle against imperialism. It greatly heightened the fighting spirit of the people of the Third World and deflated the arrogance of imperialism. It broke through

the international economic monopoly long maintained by imperialism and fully demonstrated the might of a united struggle waged by developing countries. If imperialist monopolies can gang up to manipulate the markets at will, to the great detriment of the vital interests of the developing countries, why can't developing countries unite to break imperialist monopoly and defend their own economic rights and interests? The oil battle has broadened people's vision. What was done in the oil battle should and can be done in the case of other raw materials.

It must be pointed out further that the significance of the developing countries' struggle to defend their natural resources is by no means confined to the economic field. In order to carry out arms expansion and war preparations and to contend for world hegemony, the superpowers are bound to plunder rapaciously the resources of the Third World. Control and protection of their own resources by the developing countries are essential, not only for the consolidation of their political independence and the development of their national economy, but also for combating superpower arms expansion and war preparations and stopping the superpowers from launching wars of aggression.

Mr. President,

We maintain that the safeguarding of political independence is the first prerequisite for a Third World country to develop its economy. In achieving political independence, the people of a country have only taken the first step, and they must proceed to consolidate this independence, for there still exist remnant forces of colonialism at home and there is still the danger of subversion and aggression by imperialism and hegemonism. The consolidation of political independence is necessarily a process of repeated struggles. In the final analysis, political independence and economic independence are inseparable. Without political independence,

it is impossible to achieve economic independence; without economic independence, a country's independence is incomplete and insecure.

The developing countries have great potentials for developing their economy independently. As long as a country makes unremitting efforts in the light of its own specific features and conditions and advances along the road of independence and self-reliance, it is fully possible for it to attain gradually a high level of development never reached by previous generations in the modernization of its industry and agriculture. The ideas of pessimism and helplessness spread by imperialism in connection with the question of the development of developing countries are all unfounded and are being disseminated with ulterior motives.

By self-reliance we mean that a country should mainly rely on the strength and wisdom of its own people, control its own economic lifelines, make full use of its own resources, strive hard to increase food production and develop its national economy step by step and in a planned way. The policy of independence and self-reliance in no way means that it should be divorced from the actual conditions of a country; instead, it requires that distinction must be made between different circumstances, and that each country should work out its own way of practicing self-reliance in the light of its specific conditions. At the present stage, a developing country that wants to develop its national economy must first of all keep its natural resources in its own hands and gradually shake off the control of foreign capital. In many developing countries, the production of raw materials accounts for a considerable proportion of the national economy. If they can take in their own hands the production, use, sale, storage and transport of raw materials and sell them at reasonable prices on the basis of equitable trade relations in exchange for a greater amount of goods needed for the growth of their

industrial and agricultural production, they will then be able to resolve step by step the difficulties they are facing and pave the way for an early emergence from poverty and backwardness.

Self-reliance in no way means “self-seclusion” and rejection of foreign aid. We have always considered it beneficial and necessary for the development of the national economy that countries should carry on economic and technical exchanges on the basis of respect for state sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit, and the exchange of needed goods to make up for each other’s deficiencies.

Here we wish to emphasize the special importance of economic co-operation among the developing countries. The Third World countries shared a common lot in the past and now face the common tasks of opposing colonialism, neo-colonialism and great-power hegemonism, developing the national economy and building their respective countries. We have every reason to unite more closely, and no reason to become estranged from one another. The imperialists, and particularly the superpowers, are taking advantage of temporary differences among us developing countries to sow dissension and disrupt unity so as to continue their manipulation, control and plunder. We must maintain full vigilance. Differences among us developing countries can very well be resolved, and should be resolved, through consultations among the parties concerned. We are glad that, on the question of oil, the developing countries concerned are making active efforts and seeking appropriate ways to find a reasonable solution. We, the developing countries, should not only support one another politically but also help each other economically. Our co-operation is a co-operation based on true equality and has broad prospects.

Mr. President,

The Third World countries strongly demand that the present extremely unequal international economic relations be changed, and they have made many rational proposals of reform. The Chinese Government and people warmly endorse and firmly support all just propositions made by Third World countries.

We hold that in both political and economic relations, countries should base themselves on the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. We are opposed to the establishment of hegemony and spheres of influence by any country in any part of the world in violation of these principles.

We hold that the affairs of each country should be managed by its own people. The people of the developing countries have the right to choose and decide on their own social and economic systems. We support the permanent sovereignty of the developing countries over their own natural resources as well as their exercise of it. We support the actions of the developing countries to bring all foreign capital, and particularly "trans-national corporations," under their control and management, up to and including nationalization. We support the position of the developing countries for the development of their national economy through "individual and collective self-reliance."

We hold that all countries, big or small, rich or poor, should be equal, and that international economic affairs should be jointly managed by all the countries of the world instead of being monopolized by the one or two superpowers. We support the full right of the developing countries, which comprise the great majority of the world's population, to take part in all decision-making on international trade, monetary, shipping and other matters.

We hold that international trade should be based on the principles of equality, mutual benefit and the exchange of needed goods. We support the urgent demand of the developing countries to improve trade terms for their raw materials, primary products and semi-manufactured and manufactured goods, to expand their market and to fix equitable and favourable prices. We support the developing countries in establishing various organizations of raw material exporting countries for a united struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism.

We hold that economic aid to the developing countries must strictly respect the sovereignty of the recipient countries and must not be accompanied by any political or military conditions and the extortion of any special privileges or excessive profits. Loans to the developing countries should be interest-free or low-interest and allow for delayed repayment of capital and interest, or even reduction and cancellation of debts in case of necessity. We are opposed to the exploitation of developing countries by usury or blackmail in the name of aid.

We hold that technology transferred to the developing countries must be practical, efficient, economical and convenient for use. The experts and other personnel dispatched to the recipient countries have the obligation to pass on conscientiously technical know-how to the people there and to respect the laws and national customs of the countries concerned. They must not make special demands or ask for special amenities, let alone engage in illegal activities.

Mr. President,

China is a socialist country, and a developing country as well. China belongs to the Third World. Consistently following Chairman Mao's teachings, the Chinese Government and people firmly support all oppressed peoples and oppressed nations in their struggle to win

or defend national independence, develop the national economy and oppose colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. This is our bounden internationalist duty. China is not a superpower, nor will she ever seek to be one. What is a superpower? A superpower is an imperialist country which everywhere subjects other countries to its aggression, interference, control, subversion or plunder and strives for world hegemony. If capitalism is restored in a big socialist country, it will inevitably become a superpower. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which has been carried out in China in recent years, and the campaign of criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius now under way throughout China, are both aimed at preventing capitalist restoration and ensuring that socialist China will never change her color and will always stand by the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations. If one day China should change her color and turn into a superpower, if she too should play the tyrant in the world, and everywhere subject others to her bullying, aggression and exploitation, the people of the world should identify her as social-imperialism, expose it, oppose it and work together with the Chinese people to overthrow it.

Mr. President,

History develops in struggle, and the world advances amidst turbulence. The imperialists, and the superpowers in particular, are beset with troubles and are on the decline. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — this is the irresistible trend of history. We are convinced that, so long as the Third World countries and people strengthen their unity, ally themselves with all forces that can be allied with and persist in a protracted struggle, they are sure to win continuous new victories.

Constitution of the People's Republic of China¹⁰

PREAMBLE

The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the great victory of the new-democratic revolution and the beginning of the new historical period of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, a victory gained only after the Chinese people had waged a heroic struggle for over a century and, finally, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, overthrown the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism by a people's revolutionary war.

For the last twenty years and more, the people of all nationalities in our country, continuing their triumphant advance under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, have achieved great victories both in socialist revolution and socialist construction and in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and have consolidated and strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. These contradic-

10 Adopted on January 17, 1975 by the Fourth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China at its First Session.

tions can be resolved only by depending on the theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and on practice under its guidance.

We must adhere to the basic line and policies of the Communist Party of China for the entire historical period of socialism and persist in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that our great motherland will always advance along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

We should consolidate the great unity of the people of all nationalities led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants, and develop the revolutionary united front. We should correctly distinguish contradictions among the people from those between ourselves and the enemy and correctly handle them. We should carry on the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment; we should build socialism independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift and by going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results; and we should be prepared against war and natural disasters and do everything for the people.

In international affairs, we should uphold proletarian internationalism. China will never be a superpower. We should strengthen our unity with the socialist countries and all oppressed people and oppressed nations, with each supporting the other; strive for peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence, and oppose the imperialist and social-imperialist policies of aggression and war and oppose the hegemonism of the superpowers.

The Chinese people are fully confident that, led by the Communist Party of China, they will vanquish enemies at home and abroad and surmount all difficulties to build China into a powerful socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to make a greater contribution to humanity.

People of all nationalities in our country, unite to win still greater victories!

CHAPTER I GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Article 1. The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.

Article 2. The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. The working class exercises leadership over the state through its vanguard, the Communist Party of China.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the theoretical basis guiding the thinking of our nation.

Article 3. All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise power are the people's congresses at all levels, with deputies of workers, peasants and soldiers as their main body.

The people's congresses at all levels and all other organs of state practice democratic centralism.

Deputies to the people's congresses at all levels are elected through democratic consultation. The electoral units and electors have the power to supervise the deputies they elect and to replace them at any time according to provisions of law.

Article 4. The People's Republic of China is a unitary multi-national state. The areas where regional national autonomy is exercised are all inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China.

All the nationalities are equal. Big-nationality chauvinism and local-nationality chauvinism must be opposed.

All the nationalities have the freedom to use their own spoken and written languages.

Article 5. In the People's Republic of China, there are mainly two kinds of ownership of the means of production at the present stage: socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people.

The state may allow non-agricultural individual laborers to engage in individual labour involving no exploitation of others, within the limits permitted by law and under unified arrangement by neighborhood organizations in cities and towns or by production teams in rural people's communes. At the same time, these individual laborers should be guided onto the road of socialist collectivization step by step.

Article 6. The state sector of the economy is the leading force in the national economy.

All mineral resources and waters as well as the forests, undeveloped land and other resources owned by the state are the property of the whole people.

The state may requisition by purchase, take over for use, or nationalize urban and rural land as well as other means of, production under conditions prescribed by law.

Article 7. The rural people's commune is an organization which integrates government administration and economic management.

The economic system of collective ownership in the rural people's communes at the present stage generally takes the form of three-level ownership with the pro-

duction team at the basic level, that is, ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team with the last as the basic accounting unit.

Provided that the development and absolute predominance of the collective economy of the people's Commune are ensured, people's commune members may farm small plots for their personal needs, engage in limited household side-line production, and in pastoral areas keep a small number of livestock for their personal needs.

Article 8. Socialist public property shall be inviolable. The state shall ensure the consolidation and development Of the socialist economy and prohibit any person from undermining the socialist economy and the public interest in any way whatsoever.

Article 9. The state applies the socialist principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat" and "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

The state protects the citizens' right of ownership to their income from work, their savings, their houses, and other means of livelihood.

Article 10. The state applies the principle of grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war; promotes the planned and proportionate development of the socialist economy, taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor and bringing the initiative of both the central and the local authorities into full play; and improves the people's material add step by step on the basis of the constant growth of social production and consolidates the independence and security of the country.

Article 11. State organizations and state personnel must earnestly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, firmly put proletarian politics in command, combat bureaucracy, maintain close ties with the

masses and wholeheartedly serve the people. Cadres at all levels must participate in collective productive labour

Every organ of state must apply the principle of efficient and simple administration. Its leading body must be a three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young.

Article 12. The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. Culture and education, literature and art, physical education, health work and scientific research work must all serve proletarian politics, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and be combined with productive labor.

Article 13. Speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters are new forms of carrying on socialist revolution created by the masses of the people. The state shall ensure to the masses the right to use these forms to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, and so help consolidate the leadership of the Communist Party of China over the state and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Article 14. The state safeguards the socialist system, suppresses all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities and punishes all traitors and counter-revolutionaries.

The state deprives the landlords, rich peasants, reactionary capitalists and other bad elements of political rights for specified periods of time according to law, and at the same time provides them with the opportunity to earn a living so that they may be reformed through labor and become law-abiding citizens supporting themselves by their own labor.

Article 15. The Chinese People's Liberation Army and the people's militia are the workers' and peasants' own armed forces led by the Communist Party of China; they are the armed forces of the people of all nationalities.

The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the country's armed forces. The Chinese People's Liberation Army is at all times a fighting force, and simultaneously a working force and a production force.

The task of the armed forces of the People's Republic of China is to safeguard the achievements of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the state, and to guard against subversion and aggression by imperialism, social-imperialism and their lackeys.

CHAPTER II THE STRUCTURE OF THE STATE

Section I The National People's Congress

Article 16. The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

The National People's Congress is composed of deputies elected by the provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities directly under the Central Government, and the People's Liberation Army. When necessary, a certain number of patriotic personages may be specially invited to take part as deputies.

The National People's Congress is elected for a term of five years. Its term of office may be extended under special circumstances.

The National People's Congress holds one session each year. When necessary, the session may be advanced or postponed.

Article 17. The functions and powers of the National People's Congress are: to amend the Constitution, make laws, appoint and remove the Premier of the State Council and the members of the State Council on the proposal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, approve the national economic plan, the state budget and the final state accounts, and exercise such other functions and powers as the National People's Congress deems necessary.

Article 18. The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is the permanent organ of the National People's Congress. Its functions and powers are: to convene the sessions of the National People's Congress, interpret laws, enact decrees, dispatch and recall plenipotentiary representatives abroad, receive foreign diplomatic envoys, ratify and denounce treaties concluded with foreign states, and exercise such other functions and powers as are vested in it by the National People's Congress.

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is composed of the Chairman, the Vice Chairmen and other members, all of whom are elected and subject to recall by the National People's Congress.

Section II

The State Council

Article 19. The State Council is the Central People's Government. The State Council is responsible and accountable to the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee.

The State Council is composed of the Premier, the Vice-Premiers, the ministers, and the ministers heading commissions.

Article 20. The functions and powers of the State Council are: to formulate administrative measures and issue decisions and orders in accordance with the Constitution, laws and decrees; exercise unified leadership over the work of ministries and commissions and local organs of state at various levels throughout the country; draft and implement the national economic plan and the state budget; direct state administrative affairs; and exercise such other functions and powers as are vested in it by the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee.

Section III

The Local People's Congresses and the Local Revolutionary Committees at Various Levels

Article 21. The local people's congresses at various levels are the local organs of state power.

The people's congresses of provinces and municipalities directly under the Central Government are elected for a term of five years. The people's congresses of prefectures, cities and counties are elected for a term of three years. The people's congresses of rural people's communes and towns are elected for a term of two years.

Article 22. The local revolutionary committees at various levels are the permanent organs of the local people's congresses and at the same time the local people's governments at various levels.

Local revolutionary committees are composed of a chairman, vice-chairmen and other members, who are elected and subject to recall by the people's congress at the corresponding level. Their election or recall shall be submitted for examination and approval to the organ of state at the next higher level.

Local revolutionary committees are responsible and accountable to the people's congress at the corresponding level and to the organ of state at the next higher level.

Article 23. The local people's congresses at various levels and the local revolutionary committees elected by them ensure the execution of laws and decrees in their respective areas; lead the socialist revolution and socialist construction in their respective areas; examine and approve local economic plans, budgets and final accounts; maintain revolutionary order; and safeguard the rights of citizens.

Section IV

The Organs of Self-Government of National Autonomous Areas

Article 24. The autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties are all national autonomous areas; their organs of self-government are people's congresses and revolutionary committees.

The organs of self-government of national autonomous areas, apart from exercising the functions and powers of local organs of state as specified in Chapter Two, Section III of the Constitution, may exercise autonomy within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law.

The higher organs of state shall fully safeguard the exercise of autonomy by the organs of self government of national autonomous areas and actively support the minority nationalities in carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Section V

The Judicial Organs and the Procuratorial Organs

Article 25. The Supreme People's Court, local people's courts at various levels and special people's courts exercise judicial authority. The people's courts are responsible and accountable to the people's congresses and their permanent organs at the corresponding levels. The presidents of the people's courts are appointed and subject to removal by the permanent organs of the people's congresses at the corresponding levels.

The functions and powers of procuratorial organs are exercised by the organs of public security at various levels.

The mass line must be applied in procuratorial work and in trying cases. In major counter-revolutionary criminal cases the masses should be mobilized for discussion and criticism.

CHAPTER III THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS

Article 26. The fundamental rights and duties of citizens are to support the leadership of the Communist Party of China, support the socialist system and abide by the Constitution and the laws of the People's Republic of China.

It is the lofty duty of every citizen to defend the motherland and resist aggression. It is the honorable obligation of citizens to perform military service according to law.

Article 27. All citizens who have reached the age of eighteen have the right to vote and stand for election, with the exception of persons deprived of these rights by law.

Citizens have the right to work and the right to education. Working people have the right to rest and the right to material assistance in old age and in case of illness or disability.

Citizens have the right to lodge to organs of state at any level written or oral complaints of transgression of law or neglect of duty on the part of any person working in an organ of state. No one shall attempt to hinder or obstruct the making of such complaints or retaliate.

Women enjoy equal rights with men in all respects.

The state protects marriage, the family, and the mother and child.

The state protects the just rights and interests of overseas Chinese.

Article 28. Citizens enjoy freedom of speech, correspondence, the press, assembly, association, procession, demonstration and the freedom to strike, and enjoy freedom to believe in religion and freedom not to believe in religion and to propagate atheism.

The citizens' freedom of person and their homes shall be inviolable. No citizen may be arrested except by decision of a people's court or with the sanction of a public security organ.

Article 29. The People's Republic of China grants the right of residence to any foreign national persecuted for supporting a just cause, for taking part in revolutionary movements or for engaging in scientific activities.

CHAPTER IV THE NATIONAL FLAG, THE NATIONAL EMBLEM AND THE CAPITAL

Article 30. The national flag has five stars on a field of red.

The national emblem: Tiananmen in the center, illuminated by five stars and encircled by ears of grain and a cogwheel.

The capital is Beijing.

Report on the Revision of the Constitution¹¹

by Zhang Chunqiao

Fellow Deputies!

The Draft Revised Text of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China submitted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Congress for its deliberation has been issued to all the deputies. At the behest of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, I shall explain some points.

Twenty years ago, in 1954, the First National People's Congress adopted the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. Our great leader Chairman Mao Zedong pointed out, **"An organization must have rules, and a state also must have rules; the Constitution is a set of general rules and is a fundamental charter."** The Constitution of 1954 was China's first constitution of a socialist type. In the form of a fundamental charter it summed up historical experience, consolidated the victories of our people and mapped out a clear, well-defined course of advance for the people of the whole country. Practice in the last twenty years has proved that that Constitution was correct. Its basic principles are still applicable today. However, as tremendous changes have taken place in China's politics, economy and culture and in international relations since 1954, some parts of the Constitution are no longer suitable. In the present revision of the Constitution our main task is to sum up our new experience, consolidate our new vic-

11 Delivered on January 13, 1975 and adopted on January 17, 1975 at the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China.

tories and express the common desire of the people of our country to persist in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Of the new victories won by our people in the last two decades the most significant has been the step-by-step consolidation and development of the socialist system under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao. Through repeated trials of strength with enemies at home and abroad, and especially through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of the last eight years which destroyed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shaoqi and of Lin Biao, the people of all nationalities in our country are more united and the dictatorship of the proletariat is more consolidated than ever. What is more important is that, in the course of the struggle, Chairman Mao formulated for us a basic line for the entire historical period of socialism by applying the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with concrete practice. He says:

“Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every

year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line.”

Both the Ninth and the Tenth Congresses of the Party reaffirmed this basic line. Our struggles against Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao have focused on one issue: whether to uphold this basic line or to change it. Past and present class struggles all prove that this basic line is the lifeline of our Party as well as of our country. As long as we uphold it, we shall assuredly be able to overcome all difficulties, defeat enemies at home and abroad and win greater victories. This is the main experience we have gained and also our guiding thought in revising the Constitution.

The draft revised Constitution now submitted is the continuation and development of the 1954 Constitution. It was born out of repeated discussions among the people of all our nationalities and is the outcome of combining the ideas of the leading organizations and those of the masses. The Preamble is new. The number of articles has been reduced from 106 to 30. The important revisions are as follows:

(1) Starting from the Preamble, the draft revised text records the glorious history of the Chinese people's heroic struggle. “The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people” and “Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the theoretical basis guiding the thinking of our nation”—such is the conclusion which the people of our country have drawn from their historical experience of more than a century and which is now inscribed in the General Principles of the draft. The draft stipulates, “The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.” It also stipulates, “The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the country's armed forces.” Since no chairmanship of state

is instituted, the draft makes a corresponding revision of the provisions of the 1954 Constitution concerning the structure of the state. All this will certainly help strengthen the Party's centralized leadership over the structure of the state and meet the desire of the people of the whole country.

(2) The draft stipulates, "The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." It stipulates that the worker, peasant and soldier deputies shall form the main body of people's congresses at all levels. It also specifies the targets of the dictatorship of the proletariat and sets forth the policies of the dictatorship. The draft includes in separate articles the rural people's communes, which integrate government administration and economic management, and the local revolutionary committees at various levels formed on the basis of the revolutionary three-in-one combination, both of which emerged from great revolutionary mass movements. Thus, the class nature of our state and the status of each class in our country are clearly defined. Marx and Lenin consistently teach us, "**The class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat***" and "**The proletarian state is a machine for the suppression of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat.**" Our draft adheres to this principled stand of Marxism-Leninism and is sharply demarcated from such fallacies as Confucius' "benevolent government" or the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's "state of the whole people."

As for our dictatorship of the proletariat, firstly, within the country it suppresses the reactionary classes and elements and those who resist socialist transformation and oppose socialist construction, and suppresses all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities; and secondly, it protects our country from subversion and possible aggression by external enemies. It is the magic

weapon with which the people of our country vanquish enemies and protect themselves. We must treasure it and constantly strengthen it. We should strengthen the great unity of the people of all our nationalities, strengthen the People's Liberation Army and the people's militia which are the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and strengthen the building of state organs. We should continue to consolidate the alliance of the working class with its reliable ally, the poor and lower-middle peasants, unite with the other working people and the masses of intellectuals, and develop the revolutionary united front which includes the patriotic democratic parties and patriotic personages in all walks of life. Only in this way can we unite with all the forces that can be united with, exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat effectively, defend the socialist system, and consolidate the independence and security of our great motherland.

(3) The dictatorship of the proletariat on the one hand exercises dictatorship over the enemy and on the other practices democratic centralism within the ranks of the people. Without ample democracy, it is impossible to have a high degree of centralism, and without a high degree of centralism, it is impossible to build socialism. The draft stipulates that all organs of state shall practice democratic centralism and specifies the democratic rights of citizens, and especially the rights of the fraternal minority nationalities and of women. It also stipulates that the masses shall have the right to speak out freely, air views fully, hold great debates and write big-character posters. Moreover, in accordance with Chairman Mao's proposal, the specification that citizens enjoy freedom to strike has been added to Article 28 of the draft. We are convinced that the revolutionary masses, who have been tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, will apply these provisions still better and "create a political situation in which

there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, and so help consolidate the leadership of the Communist Party of China over the state and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.”

(4) The task of socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production put forth in the 1954 Constitution has in the main been completed. The draft fully affirms this great victory of the Chinese people and lays it down that at the present stage our country has mainly two kinds of ownership of the means of production, namely, socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people. The draft also contains provisions regarding non-agricultural individual laborers and allowing people's commune members to farm small plots for their personal needs and engage in limited household side-line production. These provisions integrate the principle of adherence to socialism with the necessary flexibility and are sharply demarcated from such fallacies as those advocated by Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao on the fixing of farm output quotas for individual households with each on its own and the abolition of farm plots for personal needs.

The draft reiterates the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, and stipulates a series of principles and policies for the consolidation and development of the socialist economic base.

It should be pointed out that in our country we still have harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. Like the morning sun, our socialist system is still very young. It was born in struggle and can only grow in struggle. Take the state sector Of the economy for example. In some enterprises, the form is that of social-

ist ownership, but the reality is that their leadership is not in the hands of Marxists and the masses of workers. The bourgeoisie will seize hold of many fronts if the proletariat does not occupy them. Confucius died more than two thousand years ago, yet such rubbish as his never vanishes of itself where the broom of the proletariat does not reach. The draft lays down that “state organizations and state personnel must earnestly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought,” that “the proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture” and that state organizations and state personnel must maintain close ties with the masses and overcome unhealthy tendencies. It is precisely the purpose of these provisions to call on us to pay keen attention to grasping socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure and to pay attention to solving problems concerning the relations of production. We must broaden, deepen and persevere in the current movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius and occupy all fronts with Marxism.

(5) In accordance with Chairman Mao’s teaching, **Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere and never seek hegemony**, we have written into the draft that “China will never be a superpower” in order to show that our country does not seek hegemony today and that it never will. Only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation. We shall always unite with the people of all countries in the common struggle, to abolish the system of exploitation of man by man over the face of the globe, so that all mankind will be emancipated.

Fellow Deputies!

The work of revising the Constitution has been going on for nearly five years. This Congress will complete the work and promulgate the new fundamental charter of the People’s Republic of China. This is a

major event calling for our enthusiastic celebration. In order to win and defend the right to people's democracy and socialism, smash the schemes of Gao Gang, Rao Shushi, Peng Dehuai, Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao for restoring capitalism internally and capitulating and selling out the country externally, and defeat reactionaries both at home and abroad, the people of our country have long engaged in sharp and complex struggles, in which tens of thousands of martyrs have laid down their lives. It is precisely the victories of these struggles that have given birth to this socialist Constitution. We are confident that the people of all our nationalities and, first of all, the Communists and state personnel, will earnestly implement and courageously defend this Constitution and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end, so as to ensure that our great motherland will forever forge ahead victoriously along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!

Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat¹²

Our great leader Chairman Mao recently gave an important instruction on the question of theory.

Chairman Mao said: **Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation.**

Speaking of the socialist system, Chairman Mao said: **In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as capitalism. Even now she practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution to each according to his work and exchange by means of money, which are scarcely different from those in the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has changed. Chairman Mao pointed out: Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, there being the eight-grade wage system, etc. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus it would be quite easy for people like Lin Biao to push the capitalist system if they come to power. Therefore, we should read some more Marxist-Leninist works.**

12 In accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction, *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* selected and compiled part of the expositions from Marx, Engels and Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat. On February 22, *Renmin Ribao* devoted three and a half pages to these quotations. Printed in *Peking Review*, Vol. 18, #9, February 28, 1975.

Chairman Mao also pointed out: **Lenin said, “Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.” This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life.**

Chairman Mao’s instruction profoundly expounds the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and indicates the utmost importance of the study of the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat at present. This should draw top attention among the comrades of the whole Party and the people of the whole country.

In accordance with Chairman Mao’s instruction, we have selected and compiled part of the expositions by Marx, Engels and Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat for everybody to study. First of all, the leading cadres should be in the van in studying these quotations well and they should conscientiously study the principal works on the dictatorship of the proletariat by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao. At the same time, it is necessary to organize the Party members, cadres and the broad masses to study them well. We should fully grasp the tremendous current significance and the far-reaching historical significance of Chairman Mao’s instruction.

It is a major matter of combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat for the hundreds of millions of people throughout the country to study and master the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party committees at all levels should firmly and effectively grasp the study of the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, more consciously implement the Party’s basic line and policies, achieve

greater success in the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, and continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

No credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society, nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the *existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular historical phases in the development of production*, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*.

—Marx to J. Weydemeyer (March 5, 1852)

Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*.

—Karl Marx: *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (April-early May 1875)

This Socialism *is the declaration of the permanence of the revolution*, the *class dictatorship* of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the *abolition of class distinctions generally*, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations.

—Karl Marx: *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850* (January-November 1, 1850)

In destroying the existing conditions of oppression by transferring all the means of labor to the productive laborer, and thereby compelling every able-bodied individual to work for a living, the only base for class rule and oppression would be removed. But before such a change can be consummated, a dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary, and its first premise is an army of the proletariat.

—Karl Marx: *Speech on the Seventh Anniversary of the International* (September 1871)

The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

—Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (February 1848)

Those who recognize *only* the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found to be still within the boundaries of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics. To confine Marxism to the doctrine of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it, reducing it to something which is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Only he is a Marxist who *extends* the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*. This is what constitutes the most profound difference between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (as well as big) bour-

geois. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism is to be tested.

—V.I. Lenin: *The State and Revolution* (August-September 1917)

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a *more powerful* enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased *ten-fold* by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the *force of habit*, in the strength of *small production*. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production *engenders* capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential, and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, stubborn and desperate war of life and death, a war demanding perseverance, discipline, firmness, indomitableness and unity of will.

—V.I. Lenin: *“Left-Wing” Communism, An Infantile Disorder* (April-May 1920)

During every transition from capitalism to Socialism, dictatorship is necessary for two main reasons, or along two main channels. Firstly, capitalism cannot be defeated and eradicated without the ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, who cannot at once be deprived of their wealth, of their advantages of organization

and knowledge, and consequently for a fairly long period will inevitably try to overthrow the hated rule of the poor; secondly, every great revolution, and a socialist revolution in particular, even if there were no external war, is inconceivable without internal war, i.e., civil war, which is even more devastating than external war, and involves thousands and millions of cases of wavering and desertion from one side to another, implies a state of extreme indefiniteness, lack of equilibrium and chaos. And of course, all the elements of disintegration of the old society, which are inevitably very numerous and connected mainly with the petty bourgeoisie (because it is the petty bourgeoisie that every war and every crisis ruins and destroys first) cannot but “reveal themselves” during such a profound revolution. And these elements of disintegration *cannot* “reveal themselves” otherwise than in the increase of crime, hooliganism, corruption, profiteering and outrages of every kind. To put these down requires time and *requires an iron hand*.

There has not been a single great revolution in history in which the people did not instinctively realize this and did not reveal salutary firmness by shooting thieves on the spot. The misfortune of previous revolutions was that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses, which sustained them in their state of tension and gave them the strength ruthlessly to suppress the elements of disintegration, did not last long. The social, i.e., the class reason for this instability of the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses was the weakness of the proletariat, which *alone* is able (if it is sufficiently numerous, class conscious and disciplined) to win over to its side *the majority* of the working and exploited people

(the majority of the poor, to speak more simply and popularly) and retain power sufficiently long to suppress completely all the exploiters as well as all the elements of disintegration.

It was this historical experience of all revolutions, it was this world-historical —economic and political— lesson that Marx summed up in giving his short, sharp, concise and expressive formula: dictatorship of the proletariat.

—VI. Lenin: *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government* (March-April 1918)

The class of exploiters, the landlords and capitalists, has not disappeared and cannot disappear all at once under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The exploiters have been smashed, but not destroyed. They still have an international base in the form of international capital, a branch of which they represent. They still retain a part of certain means of production, they still have money, they still have vast social connections. Just because they have been defeated, their energy of resistance has increased a hundred- and thousand-fold. The “art” of state, military and economic administration gives them a superiority, and a very great superiority, so that their importance is incomparably greater than their numerical strength among the population would warrant. The class struggle waged by the overthrown exploiters against the victorious vanguard of the exploited, i.e., the proletariat, has become incomparably more bitter. And it cannot be otherwise in the case of a revolution, if this concept is not replaced (as it is by all the heroes of the Second International) by reformist illusions.

—V.I. Lenin: *Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat* (October 1919)

We in Russia (in the third year since the overthrow of the bourgeoisie) are going through the first steps in the transition from capitalism to Socialism, or the lower stage of Communism. Classes have remained, and will remain everywhere *for years after* the conquest of power by the proletariat. Perhaps in England, where there is no peasantry (but where there are small owners!), this period may be shorter. The abolition of classes means not only driving out the landlords and capitalists—that we accomplished with comparative ease—it also means *abolishing the small commodity producers*, and they *cannot be driven out*, or crushed; we *must live in harmony* with them; they can (and must) be remolded and re-educated only by very prolonged, slow, cautious organizational work. They encircle the proletariat on every side with a petty-bourgeois atmosphere, which permeates and corrupts the proletariat and causes constant relapses among the proletariat, into petty-bourgeois spinelessness, disunity, individualism, and alternate moods of exaltation and dejection. The strictest centralization and discipline are required within the political party of the proletariat in order to counteract this, in order that the *organizational* role of the proletariat (and that is its *principal* role) may be exercised correctly, successfully, victoriously. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle—bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative—against the forces

and traditions of the old society. The force of habit of millions and tens of millions is a most terrible force. Without an iron party tempered in the struggle, without a party enjoying the confidence of all that is honest in the given class, without a party capable of watching and influencing the mood of the masses, it is impossible to conduct such a struggle successfully. It is a thousand times easier to vanquish the centralized big bourgeoisie than to “vanquish” the millions and millions of small owners; yet they, by their ordinary, everyday, imperceptible, elusive, demoralizing activity, achieve the *very* results which the bourgeoisie need and which tend to *restore* the bourgeoisie. Whoever weakens ever so little the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during the time of *its* dictatorship), actually aids the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

—V.I. Lenin: *“Left-Wing” Communism, An Infantile Disorder* (April-May 1920)

Ay, the working class is not severed by a Chinese Wall from the old bourgeois society. And when a revolution takes place, it does not happen as in the case of the death of an individual, when the deceased person is simply removed. When the old society perishes, you cannot nail the corpse of bourgeois society into a coffin and lower it into the grave. It disintegrates in our midst; the corpse rots and poisons us.

—V.I. Lenin: *Report to a Joint Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet of Workers’, Peasants’, and Red Army Deputies and the Trade Unions* (June 1918)

What we have to deal with here is a communist society, not as it has *developed* on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, just as it *emerges* from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges. Accordingly, the individual producer receives back from society —after the deductions have been made— exactly what he gives to it. What he has given to it is his individual quantum of labour. For example, the social working day consists of the sum of the individual hours of work; the individual labour time of the individual producer is the part of the social working day contributed by him, his share in it. He receives a certificate from society that he has furnished such and such an amount of labour (after deducting his labour for the common funds), and with this certificate he draws from the social stock of means of consumption as much as the same amount of labour costs. The same amount of labour which he has given to society in one form he receives back in another.

Here obviously the same principle prevails as that which regulates the exchange of commodities, as far as this is exchange of equal values. Content and form are changed, because under the altered circumstances no one can give anything except his labour, and because, on the other hand, nothing can pass into the ownership of individuals except individual means of consumption. But, as far as the distribution of the latter among the individual producers is concerned, the same principle prevails as in the

exchange of commodity-equivalents: a given amount of labour in one form is exchanged for an equal amount of labour in another form.

Hence, *equal right* here is still—in principle—*bourgeois right*, although principle and practice are no longer at loggerheads, while the exchange of equivalents in commodity exchange exists only *on the average* and not in the individual case.

In spite of this advance, this *equal right* is still perpetually burdened with a bourgeois limitation. The right of the producers is *proportional* to the labour they supply; the equality consists in the fact that measurement is made with an *equal standard*, labour. But, one man is superior to another physically or mentally and so supplies more labour in the same time, or can work for a longer time; and labour, to serve as a measure, must be defined by its duration or intensity, otherwise it ceases to be a standard of measurement. This *equal right* is an unequal right for unequal labour. It recognizes no class differences, because everyone is only a worker like everyone else; but it tacitly recognizes unequal individual endowment and thus productive capacity of the worker as natural privileges. It is, *therefore, a right of inequality, in its content, like every right.* Right by its very nature can consist only in the application of an equal standard; but unequal individuals (and they would not be different individuals if they were not unequal) are measurable only by the same standard in so far as they are brought under the same point of view, are taken from one *definite* side only, for instance, in the present case, are regarded *only as workers*, and nothing more is seen in them, everything else being ignored. Further, one

worker is married, another not; one has more children than another, and so on and so forth. Thus, with an equal performance of labour, and hence an equal share in the social consumption fund, one will in fact receive more than another, one will be richer than another, and so on. To avoid all these defects, right instead of being equal would have to be unequal.

But these defects are inevitable in the first phase of communist society as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth pangs from capitalist society. Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development conditioned thereby.

—Karl Marx: *Critique of the Gotha Programme*
(April-early May 1875)

In the first phase of communist society (usually called Socialism) “bourgeois right” is *not* abolished in its entirety, but only in part, only in proportion to the economic revolution so far attained, i.e. only in respect of the means of production. “Bourgeois right” recognizes them as the private, property of individuals. Socialism converts them into common property. *To that extent*—and to that extent alone—“bourgeois right” disappears.

However, it continues to exist as far as its other part is concerned; it continues to exist in the capacity of regulator (determining factor) in the distribution of products and the allotment of labour among the members of society. The socialist principle: “He who does not work, neither shall he eat,” is *already* realized; the other socialist principle: “An equal amount of products for an equal amount of labour,” is also *already*

realized. But this is not yet Communism, and it does not yet abolish “bourgeois right,” which gives to unequal individuals, in return for unequal (really unequal) amounts of labour, equal amounts of products.

—V.I. Lenin: *The State and Revolution* (August-September 1917)

Marx not only most scrupulously takes account of the inevitable inequality of men, but he also takes into account the fact that the mere conversion of the means of production into the common property of the whole of society (commonly called “Socialism”) *does not remove* the defects of distribution and the inequality of “bourgeois right” which *continues to prevail* as long as products are divided “according to the amount of labour performed.”

—V.I. Lenin: *The State and Revolution* (August-September 1917)

Of course, bourgeois right in regard to the distribution of articles of *consumption* inevitably presupposes the existence of the *bourgeois state*, for right is nothing without an apparatus capable of *enforcing* the observance of the standards of right.

It follows that under Communism there remains for a time not only bourgeois right, but even the bourgeois state —without the bourgeoisie!

—V.I. Lenin: *The State and Revolution* (August-September 1917)

Herr Duhring gives everyone a right to “quantitatively equal consumption,” but he cannot compel anyone to exercise it. On the contrary, he is proud, that in the world he has created everyone can do what he likes with his money. He therefore cannot prevent some from setting aside a small money hoard, while others are unable to make ends meet on the wage paid to them. He even makes this inevitable by explicitly recognizing in the right of inheritance that family property should be owned in common; whence comes also the obligation of the parents to maintain their children. But this makes a wide breach in quantitatively equal consumption. The bachelor lives like a lord, happy and content with his eight or twelve shillings a day, while the widower with eight minor children finds it very difficult to manage on this sum. On the other hand, by accepting money in payment without any question, the commune leaves open the door to the possibility that this money may have been obtained otherwise than by the individual’s own labour. *Non olet.* [It (money) does not smell.] The commune does not know where it comes from. But in this way all conditions are created permitting metallic money, which hitherto played the role of a mere labour certificate, to exercise its real money function. Both the opportunity and the motive are present, on the one hand to form a hoard, and on the other to run into debt. The needy individual borrows from the individual who builds up a hoard. The borrowed money, accepted by the commune in payment for means of subsistence, once more becomes what it is in present-day society, the social incarnation of human labour, the real measure of labour, the general medium of circulation. All the “laws and

administrative regulations” in the world are just as powerless against it as they are against the multiplication table or the chemical composition of water. And as the builder of the hoard is in a position to extort interest from people in need, usury is restored along with metallic money functioning as money.

—Frederick Engels: *Anti-Duhring* (September 1876-June 1878)

Once the commodity-producing society has further developed the value form, which is inherent in commodities as such, to the money form, various germs still hidden in value break through to the light of day. The first and most essential effect is the generalization of the commodity form. Money forces the commodity form even on the objects which have hitherto been produced directly for self-consumption; it drags them into exchange. Thereby the commodity form and money penetrate the internal husbandry of the communities directly associated for production; they break one tie of communion after another, and dissolve the community into a mass of private producers.

—Frederick Engels: *Anti-Duhring* (September 1876-June 1878)

What is freedom of turnover? Freedom of turnover is freedom to trade, and freedom to trade means going back to capitalism. Freedom of turnover and freedom to trade mean commodity exchange between individual, small proprietors. All of us who have learnt at least the ABC of Marxism know that this turnover and freedom

to trade inevitably lead to the division of the commodity producers into owners of capital and owners of labour power, a division into capitalists and wage workers, i.e., the restoration of capitalist wage slavery, which does not come like a bolt from the blue, but all over the world grows precisely out of commodity agriculture. We know this perfectly well, theoretically, and, in Russia no one who has watched the life and economic conditions of the small farmer can have failed to observe this.

—V.I. Lenin: *Report at the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P. (B.)* (March 1921)

The bourgeoisie is born of commodity production; the peasant who has a surplus of hundreds of *poods* of grain that he does not need for his family and does not deliver to the workers' state as a loan to help the hungry worker, and profits under the prevailing conditions of commodity production—what is he? Is he not a bourgeois? Is the bourgeoisie not born in this way?

—V.I. Lenin: *Seventh All-Russia Congress of Soviets* (December 1919)

Yes, by overthrowing the landowners and bourgeoisie we cleared the way but we did not build the edifice of socialism. On the ground cleared of one bourgeois generation, new generations continually appear in history, as long as the ground gives rise to them, and it does give rise to any number of bourgeois. As for those who look at the victory over the capitalists in the way that

the petty proprietors look at it—“they grabbed, let me have a go too”—indeed, every one of them is the source of a new generation of bourgeois.

—V.I. Lenin: *Session of the All-Russia C.E.C.* (April 1918)

Comrade Rykov, who in the economic sphere knows the facts very well, told us of the new bourgeoisie which exists in our country. That is true. It is arising not only from among our Soviet government employees—to an insignificant degree it can arise from them also—it is arising from among the peasants and handicraftsman, who have been liberated from the yoke of the capitalist banks and who are now cut off from railway transport. That is a fact. How do you expect to get around this fact? You are only flattering your illusions, or introducing badly digested book learning into reality, which is far more complex. It shows us that even in Russia capitalist commodity production is alive, operating, developing and giving birth to a bourgeoisie, just as in every capitalist society.

—V.I. Lenin: *At the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)* (March 1919)

Among the Soviet engineers, the Soviet school-teachers and the privileged, i.e., the most highly skilled and best situated, workers in the Soviet factories, we observe a constant revival of absolutely all the negative traits peculiar to bourgeois parliamentarism, and we are conquering this evil

—gradually— only by tireless, constant, prolonged and persistent struggle, proletarian organization and discipline.

—V.I. Lenin: *“Left-Wing” Communism, An Infantile Disorder* (April-May 1920)

The workers were never separated by a Chinese Wall from the old society. And they have preserved a good deal of the traditional mentality of capitalist society. The workers are building a new society without themselves having become new people, cleansed of the filth of the old world; they are still standing up to their knees in that filth. We can only dream of cleansing ourselves of that filth. It would be the height of utopianism to think that this can be done all at once. It would be a utopianism which in practice would only postpone socialism to kingdom come.

No, that is not the way we are setting out to build socialism. We are doing so while still standing on the soil of capitalist society, combating all those weaknesses and shortcomings with which the working people are also affected and which tend to drag the proletariat down.

—V.I. Lenin: *Report at Second All-Russian Trade Union Congress* (January 1919)

There is a petty-bourgeois tendency to transform the members of the Soviets into “parliamentarians,” or else into bureaucrats. We must combat this by drawing all the members of the Soviets into the practical work of administration. In many places the departments of the Soviets are gradually becoming merged with the Commissariats. Our aim is to draw *the whole of the poor*

into the practical work of administration, and every step that is taken in this direction—the more varied they are, the better—should be carefully recorded, studied, systematized, tested by wider experience and embodied in law. Our aim is to ensure that *every* toiler, after having finished his eight hours' "task" in productive labour, shall perform state duties *without pay*: the transition to this is particularly difficult, but this transition alone can guarantee the final consolidation of Socialism.

—VI. Lenin: *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government* (March-April 1918)

We do not need fictitious Party members even as a gift. Our Party, the Party of the revolutionary working class, is the only government party in the world which is concerned not in increasing its membership but in improving its quality, and in purging itself of "self-seekers." We have more than once carried out re-registration of Party members in order to get rid of these "self-seekers" and to leave in the Party only politically enlightened elements who are sincerely devoted to Communism. We have further taken advantage of the mobilizations for the front and of the subbotniks to purge the Party of those who are only "out for" the benefits accruing to membership of a government party and do not want to bear the burden of self-sacrificing work on behalf of Communism.

—VI. Lenin: *The Workers' State and Party Week* (October 1919)

Opportunism is our principal enemy. Opportunism in the upper ranks of the working class movement is not proletarian socialism, but bourgeois socialism. Practice has shown that the active people in the working class movement who adhere to the opportunist trend are better defenders of the bourgeoisie, than the bourgeoisie itself.

—V.I. Lenin: *Report at the Second Congress of the Communist International* (July-August 1920)

The bourgeoisie in our country has been vanquished, but it has not yet been uprooted, not yet destroyed, and not even utterly broken. That is why a new and higher form of struggle against the bourgeoisie is on the order of the day, the transition from the very simple task of further expropriating the capitalists to the much more complicated and difficult task of creating conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. Clearly, this task is immeasurably more significant than the previous one; and until it is fulfilled there will be no Socialism.

—V.I. Lenin: *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government* (March-April 1918)

Clearly, in order to abolish classes completely, it is not enough to overthrow the exploiters, the landlords and capitalists, not enough to abolish *their* rights of ownership; it is necessary also to abolish all private ownership of the means of production, it is necessary to abolish the distinction

between town and country, as well as the distinction between manual workers and brain workers. This requires a very long period of time.

—V.I. Lenin: *A Great Beginning* (June 1919)

“Communist” features begin only with the appearance of subbotniks, that is, the unpaid work of individual persons, unregulated by any government or state, performed on a wide scale for the public good. This is not help rendered to a neighbor, such as was always practiced in the countryside; this is labour to satisfy a general need of the state, organized on a wide scale, and unpaid. It would therefore be more correct to apply the word communist not only to the name of the Party, but also, and exclusively, to such economic phenomena in our social life as are “communist” in fact. If there is anything communistic in our present system in Russia it is the subbotniks, and only the subbotniks; everything else is but a fight against capitalism for the consolidation of socialism, from which, after its complete triumph, should grow that communism which we observe in the subbotniks, not as a theoretical thing but as an actual fact.

—V.I. Lenin: *Subbotniks* (December 1919)

The revolution we have begun and have already been making for two years, and which we are firmly determined to carry to its conclusion, is possible and feasible only provided we achieve the transfer of power to the new class, provided the bourgeoisie, the capitalist slave-owners, the bourgeois intellectuals, the representatives of all the owners and property holders are replaced by

the new class in all spheres of government, in all government affairs, in the entire business of directing the new life, from top to bottom.

—V.I. Lenin: *Report at Second All-Russian Trade Union Congress* (January 1919)

In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and with it also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour has become not only a means of life but itself life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly —only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!

—Karl Marx: *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (April-early May 1875)

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

—Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (February 1848)

I also hope that in addition to talks and lectures, you will devote some time to reading at least some of the most important works of Marx and Engels. I have no doubt that these most important works are to be found in the catalogues of literature and in the handbooks which are available to the pupils of the Soviet and Party school; and although, again, some of you may at first be dismayed by the difficulty of the exposition, I must again warn you that you should not be perturbed by this fact and that what is unclear at a first reading will become clear at a second reading, or when you subsequently approach the question from a somewhat different angle. For I once more repeat that the question is so complex and has been so confused by bourgeois scholars and writers that anybody who desires to study this question seriously and to master it independently must attack it several times, return to it again and again and consider the question from various angles in order to attain a clear and definite understanding of it. And it will be all the easier to return to this question because it is such a fundamental, such a basic question of all politics, and because not only in such stormy and revolutionary times as the present, but even in the most peaceful times, you will come across this question in any newspaper in connection with any economic or political question. Every day, in one connection or another, you will be returning to this question: what is the state, what is its nature, what is its significance and what is the attitude of our Party, the Party that is fighting for the overthrow of capitalism, the Communist Party—what is its attitude to the state?

—V.I. Lenin: *The State* (July 1919)

On the Social Basis of the Lin Biao Anti-Party Clique¹³

by Yao Wenyan

Speaking of the necessity for a clear understanding of the question of the proletariat exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, Chairman Mao pointed out explicitly: **“It would be quite easy for people like Lin Biao to push the capitalist system if they come to power. Therefore, we should read some more Marxist-Leninist works.”** This brings up a most important question: What is the class nature of “people like Lin Biao”? What is the social basis that engendered the Lin Biao anti-Party clique? Undoubtedly a clear understanding of this question, is fully necessary for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration and for firmly implementing the Party’s basic line for the historical period of socialism and creating step by step conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise.

As in the case of all other revisionists and revisionist trends of thought, the appearance of Lin Biao and his revisionist line was not accidental. Lin Biao and his sworn followers were extremely isolated in the whole Party, in the whole army and among the people of the whole country; but there is a deep-rooted class basis in

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society that engendered this bunch of extremely isolated persons who described themselves as “heavenly horses flying through the skies, solitary and free.”

It is fairly clear that the Lin Biao anti-Party clique represented the interests of the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes and the aspirations of the overthrown reactionaries to topple the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The Lin Biao anti-Party clique opposed the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and had inveterate hatred for the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, slandering it as “feudal autocracy” and cursing it as “Qin Shi Huang of the contemporary era.” They wanted the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists “to achieve genuine liberation politically and economically,” i.e., politically and economically they wanted to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the landlord and comprador-capitalist classes and the socialist system into capitalist system. As an agent in the Party, an agent of the bourgeoisie working hard for a restoration, the Lin Biao anti-Party clique was wild in its attack on the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, so much so that it set up an organization of secret agents and plotted a counter-revolutionary armed coup d’etat. Such frenzy is a reflection of the fact that the reactionaries who have lost political power and the means of production inevitably will resort to every means to recapture the lost positions of the exploiting classes. We have seen how Lin Biao, after his political and ideological bankruptcy, tried to “eat up” the proletariat by staking everything on a single cast as a desperate gambler would do, and how he finally betrayed the country and fled to defect to the enemy; despite the very patient education, waiting and efforts to save him by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, his counter-revolutionary nature

did not change in the least. All this reflects the life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the two major antagonistic classes, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a struggle that will go on for a long period. As long as the overthrown reactionary classes still exist, the possibility remains for the emergence within the Party (and in society as well) of representatives of the bourgeoisie who will try to turn their hope for restoration into attempt at restoration. Therefore, we must heighten our vigilance and guard against and smash any plot by the reactionaries at home and abroad, and on no account must we slacken our vigilance. Such an understanding, however, still does not embrace all aspects of the issue. The Lin Biao anti-Party clique represented not only the hope of the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes for a restoration but also the hope of the newly engendered bourgeois elements in socialist society for usurping power. Members of this clique had certain characteristics of newly engendered bourgeois elements, and a number of them were in fact such elements. And some of their slogans met and reflected the needs of the bourgeois elements and those wishing to take the capitalist road in developing capitalism. It is precisely this latter aspect that merits our further analysis.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“Lenin said, ‘Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.’ This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs, there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life.”** Some in the Lin Biao anti-Party clique were the very representatives of such newly engendered bourgeoisie and capitalism. Among them, Lin Liguo [Lin Biao’s son] and his small “fleet” [code

name for their secret agent organization] were out-and-out anti-socialist bourgeois elements and counter-revolutionaries engendered in socialist society.

The existence of bourgeois influence and the existence of the influence of international imperialism and revisionism are the political and ideological source of new bourgeois elements, while the existence of bourgeois right provides the vital economic basis for their emergence.

Lenin pointed out: **“In the first phase of communist society (usually called Socialism) ‘bourgeois right’ is *not* abolished in its entirety, but only in part, only in proportion to the economic revolution so far attained, i.e., only in respect of the means of production.”** **“However, it continues to exist as far as its other part is concerned; it continues to exist in the capacity of regulator (determining factor) in the distribution of products and the allotment of labor among the members of society. The socialist principle: ‘He who does not work, neither shall he eat,’ is *already* realized; the other socialist principle: ‘An equal amount of products for an equal amount of labor,’ is also *already* realized. But this is not yet Communism, and it does not yet abolish ‘bourgeois right,’ which gives to unequal individuals, in return for unequal (really unequal) amounts of labor, equal amounts of products.”**

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“China is a socialist country. Before liberation, she was more or less like capitalism. Even now she practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution to each according to his work and exchange by means of money, which are scarcely different from these in the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has changed.”** **“Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, there being the eight-grade wage system, etc. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat.”**

In socialist society, there still exist two kinds of socialist ownership, namely, ownership by the whole social people and collective ownership. This determines that China at present practices a commodity system. The analyses made by Lenin and Chairman Mao tell us that bourgeois right which inevitably exists as regards distribution and exchange under the socialist system should be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that in the long course of the socialist revolution the three major differences between workers and peasants, between town and country and between manual and mental labor will gradually be narrowed and the discrepancies between the various grades will be reduced and the material and ideological conditions for closing such gaps will gradually be created. If we do not follow this course, but call instead for the consolidation, extension and strengthening of bourgeois right and that part of inequality it entails, the inevitable result will be polarization, i.e., a small number of people will in the course of distribution acquire increasing amounts of commodities and money through certain legal channels and numerous illegal ones; capitalist ideas of amassing fortunes and craving for personal fame and gain, stimulated by such "material incentives," will spread unchecked; such phenomena as turning public property into private property, speculation, graft and corruption, theft and bribery will rise; the capitalist principle of the exchange of commodities will make its way into political life and even into Party life, undermine the socialist planned economy and give rise to such acts of capitalist exploitation as the conversion of commodities and money into capital and labor power into a commodity; and there will be a change in the nature of the system of ownership in certain departments and units which follow the revisionist line; and instances of oppression and exploitation of the laboring people will once again occur. As a result, a small number of new bourgeois ele-

ments and upstarts who have totally betrayed the proletariat and the laboring people will emerge from among Party members, workers, well-to-do peasants and personnel in state organs. Our worker-comrades have put it well: "If bourgeois right is not restricted, it will check the development of socialism and aid the growth of capitalism." When the economic strength of the bourgeoisie grows to a certain extent, its agents will ask for political rule, try to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, completely change the socialist ownership, and openly restore and develop the capitalist system. Once in power, the new bourgeoisie will first of all carry out a bloody suppression of the people and restore capitalism in the superstructure, including all spheres of ideology and culture; then they will conduct distribution in proportion to the amount of capital and power each has, and the principle "to each according to his work" will be nothing but an empty shell, and a handful of new bourgeois elements monopolizing the means of production will at the same time monopolize the power of distributing consumer goods and other products. Such is the process of restoration that has already taken place in the Soviet Union.

As regards the way the Lin Biao anti-Party clique stooped to anything to amass riches, insatiably pursued the bourgeois way of life and used bourgeois right to carry out insidious, unsavory and vile activities, many instances have been brought to light and subjected to criticism. But even more illustrative is its programme for a counter-revolutionary coup d'état, Outline of Project "571," in which the Lin Biao anti-Party clique used precisely the idea of bourgeois right, and not anything else, to abet or incite certain people of various classes to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. In other words, the class interests the programme represents, in addition to the interests of the old bourgeoisie, are precisely the interests of a number of new bourgeois

elements and a few people who want to use bourgeois right to develop capitalism. This explains why the programme directs its attack on Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and why it shows particularly bitter hatred for certain restrictions placed on bourgeois right through the socialist revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

The Lin Biao anti-Party clique slandered office cadres going to May 7th cadre schools as "unemployment in a disguised form"; it vilified simplifying administrative set-ups and maintaining close relations with the masses as an attack on cadres. It held that cadres should be overlords sitting on the backs of the people and, therefore, they become "unemployed" once they take part in collective productive labor. This was designed to incite a section of the office workers—those who wish to extend bourgeois right, seek official posts and become overlords and those who are seriously infected with the bourgeois style of life—to oppose the Party's line and the socialist system.

The Lin Biao anti-Party clique slandered intellectuals integrating themselves with the workers and peasants and going to the countryside as "reform through forced labor in a disguised form." Young people, full of vigor and imbued with communist consciousness, have gone group after group to the countryside. This is a great undertaking of far-reaching significance for narrowing the three major differences and for restricting bourgeois right. All revolutionary people enthusiastically praise it, but those corrupted by bourgeois ideology, and particularly those fettered by the idea of bourgeois right, oppose it. Whether the integration of educated young people with the workers and peasants is upheld or not has a direct bearing on whether the revolution in university education can be carried on by following the road taken by the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant—enrolling students from among the workers and

peasants and assigning them to work among workers and peasants upon graduation. The Lin Biao anti-Party clique's special hatred of this not only showed its opposition to the laboring people but also exposed its scheme to use bourgeois right to attack the Party in an attempt to incite some people deeply influenced by the idea of bourgeois right to oppose the socialist revolution. Its programme was aimed at widening the gap between town and country and between manual and mental labor, and turning educated young people into a new stratum of elite, so as to win the support of those deeply influenced by the idea of bourgeois right for its counter-revolutionary coup d'etat.

The Lin Biao anti-Party clique smeared as "exploitation in a disguised form" the communist spirit displayed by the working class in criticizing, the revisionist "material incentives." Lin Biao was a fanatic advocate of "material incentives." He wrote in his sinister notebook such revisionist trash as "material incentives are still necessary" "materialism—material incentives," "inducements—official post, emolument, favor." A principal member of the Lin Biao anti-Party clique also wrote that "the principle of to each according to his work and of material benefit" was the "decisive motive force" in promoting production. On the face of it, they advocated using money to "stimulate" the workers, but actually they wanted to widen without any limit the differences in grade among the workers in order to foster and buy over a small section of the working class, turn it into a privileged stratum which betrays the proletarian dictatorship and the interests of the proletariat, and split the unity of the working class. They tried to corrupt the workers with the bourgeois world outlook and use the small number of workers who are deeply influenced by the idea of bourgeois right as a force in support of their opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lin Biao and company attached "particular importance" to

using “wages” to lure “young workers,” and their “inducements—official post, emolument, favour” were a sinister scheme. This shows us by negative example that young workers, particularly those who have become cadres, must consciously reject the material inducements of the bourgeoisie and the flattery offered them in various forms by the idea of bourgeois right. They must maintain and bring into play the communist revolutionary spirit of fighting valiantly for the complete emancipation of the proletariat and the whole of mankind and strive to arm themselves with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook; they must never be dazzled and become light-headed by the varicolored world of commodities, exchange by means of money, vulgar flattery, sycophancy and factionalism, so as not to be taken in by political swindlers like Lin Biao or by the landlord and bourgeois elements in society. Under the cloak of “showing concern,” all these persons are actually giving the young workers “incentives” to lure them to take the capitalist road, and they could thus be called political “abettors.” Inexperienced newly engendered bourgeois elements openly break the law while cunning bourgeois elements of long standing direct them from behind the scenes—this is a common occurrence in class struggle in the society today. We lay special emphasis on hitting the backstage abettors in dealing with corrupted young people who have committed crimes. We must continue to adhere to this principle. Quite a number of young workers who take a clear-cut stand in the fight against bourgeois corruption have come to the fore in present-day struggles; we must support them and sum up their experience in struggle.

The Lin Biao anti-Party clique also vilified that the peasants “lack food and clothing,” that “the living standards” of cadres in the armed forces “are deteriorating,” and that the Red Guards who displayed the spirit of daring to think, speak, blaze a trail, act and make revo-

lution in criticizing the bourgeoisie during the Great Cultural Revolution “are being hoodwinked and used...” All this was aimed at totally negating the socialist system and the Party’s mass line, negating the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, extending bourgeois right and restoring capitalism. In spreading, the slander that peasants “lack food and clothing,” the Lin Biao anti-Party clique aimed at inciting the peasants to “eat up and divide everything” so as to undermine and liquidate the socialist collective economy. If things were done along this line, a small number of people would become the new bourgeoisie while the overwhelming majority would suffer capitalist exploitation. And this would be a situation the landlords, rich peasants and a part of well-to-do middle peasants taking the capitalist road in the countryside yearned for.

By now we can see what Lin Biao meant by “building genuine socialism.” It meant the extension of bourgeois right under the signboard of socialism so that new bourgeois elements and certain factions and groupings intending to take the capitalist road could, in collusion with the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes, “have everything under their command and everything at their disposal,” overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Lin Biao and his like were their political representatives. The programme advanced by the Lin Biao anti-Party clique in *Outline of Project “571”* neither dropped from the skies nor was it innate in the minds of those who described themselves as “super-genius”; it was a reflection of social being. To be exact, this clique which proceeded from its reactionary bourgeois stand reflected the demands of unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists—who account for only a few per cent of the population—and the demands of a small number of new bourgeois elements and those intending to make use of bourgeois right to become new

bourgeois elements. On the other hand, it opposed the demands of the revolutionary people, who make up more than 90 per cent of the population, to adhere to the socialist road. Members of this clique used idealist apriorism to oppose the materialist theory of reflection; however, the materialist theory of reflection must be used to explain how their counter-revolutionary ideas came into being.

Why would it be quite easy for people like Lin Biao to push the capitalist system if they should come to power? This is because in our socialist society there are still classes and class struggle, there are still the soil and conditions for engendering capitalism. In order to gradually reduce such soil and conditions and finally eliminate them altogether, we must persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a task which the vanguard of the proletariat, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, can accomplish only through the firm and indomitable efforts of a number of generations. So we must adhere to the Party's basic line, enhance the political consciousness of the working class, consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, unite all forces that can be united with and unite the masses of revolutionary people and lead them in consciously remolding their world outlook in the fight against class enemies and in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. And so we must consolidate and develop socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people, prevent the restoration of bourgeois right already liquidated with regard to the system of ownership and continue to fulfil, gradually and over a fairly long period of time, that part of the task which is yet to be fulfilled in the transformation of ownership; and with regard to the two other aspects in the relations of production, namely, the mutual relations

between men and the relations of distribution, we must restrict bourgeois right, criticize the idea of bourgeois right and continually weaken the basis that engenders capitalism. So we must persevere in the revolution in the realm of the superstructure, deepen our criticism of revisionism and the bourgeoisie and achieve the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

In his talks given during an inspection tour of various places in the country in August and September 1971, Chairman Mao said: **“We have been singing *The Internationale* for fifty years, and there have been ten occasions on which someone in our Party worked for a split. As I see it, another ten, twenty or thirty such occasions may arise. Don’t you believe this? Well, if you don’t, I do anyway. There will be no more struggles with the realization of communism? That’s not what I believe. There will be struggles even then, although they will be struggles between the new and the old, between what is correct and what is wrong. Even tens of thousands of years from now, what is wrong won’t pass, it won’t stand up.”** Lenin said: **“Yes, by overthrowing the landowners and bourgeoisie we cleared the way but we did not build the edifice of socialism. On the ground cleared of one bourgeois generation, new generations continually appear in history, as long as the ground gives rise to them, and it does give rise to any number of bourgeois. As for those who look at the victory over the capitalists in the way that the petty proprietors look at it—“They grabbed, let me have a go too”—indeed, every one of them is the source of a new generation of bourgeois.”** What Lenin dealt with is the protracted nature of class struggle in society; what Chairman Mao deals with is the protracted nature of the two-line struggle which takes shape as a reflection in the Party of class struggle in society. We must carry out such class struggle and two-line struggle and continually defeat the

bourgeoisie and its agents working for revisionism, for a split and for intrigues and conspiracy; only thus can we gradually create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise, and finally eliminate classes. Such is the great cause to be accomplished during the entire historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The new bourgeois elements who arise as a result of erosion by bourgeois ideas and the existence of bourgeois right generally share the political features of double-dealers and upstarts. In order to carry out capitalist activities under the dictatorship of the proletariat, they always put up a certain socialist signboard; since their restorationist activities aim not at seizing back any means of production of which they have been dispossessed but at grabbing the means of production they have never possessed, they are especially greedy, anxious to swallow at one gulp the wealth belonging to the whole people or the collective and place it under their private ownership. The Lin Biao anti-Party clique had these political features. "Like the Chungshan wolf in the ancient fable, you commit treachery once you are in a position to have your own way." These two lines from *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, which describe how Sun Shao-tsu, a relentless brute, "stoops to anything to adapt himself to the circumstances," can be aptly applied to the Lin Biao anti-Party clique. Before Lin Biao was "in a position to have his own way," that is, before he got hold of part of political and economic power, he used counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics to deceive the Party and the masses, and utilized the might of the mass movement to serve his own ends; in doing this, he did not scruple at putting up a revolutionary sign-board or shouting revolutionary slogans while at the same time distorting them. Analyzing the innermost feelings of Lin Biao and his gang in a letter written in the early days of the Great Cultural Revolu-

tion, Chairman Mao pointed out: **“I guess their true intention is to make use of Chung Kuei to fight the ghosts.”** [Chung Kuei is a legendary character said to have the power to drive away ghosts.] This put the case well. It was a case of making use of a brick to knock open the door, and once that was done they would no longer need it and would brutally get rid of it. Acting as counter-revolutionary double-dealers, opposing the red flag by waving red flags, “speaking nice things to your face but stabbing you in the back,” or, as the Lin Biao anti-Party clique itself confessed, “waving Chairman Mao’s banner to strike at Chairman Mao’s forces”—these are but different ways of expressing things done in one and the same manner. The moment the Lin Biao anti-Party clique thought, as they put it, that “after several years of preparation, the ideological, organizational and military level has been raised considerably and an ideological and material foundation has been laid to a certain extent,” they decided to have their own way. In units and departments under their domination and control, they turned socialist public ownership into the Lin Biao anti-Party clique’s private ownership. More and more openly they exposed their political ambitions which were sure to grow as they were more and more “in a position to have their own way,” just as the bourgeoisie’s avarice knows no bounds and grows with the accumulation of capital. In analyzing the bourgeoisie, Marx said: **“As capitalist, he is only capital personified. His soul is the soul of capital.”** The soul of Lin Biao, a bourgeois agent inside the Party, was also nothing but the soul of the old bourgeoisie which has been toppled but dreams of a come-back and the soul of the new bourgeoisie which is coming into being and is vainly attempting to rule. A class analysis makes quite clear the root cause of the perverse, counter-revolutionary political activities of Lin Biao said his gang: Preaching the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, betraying the

Party and the Chinese people and going over to social-imperialism, they were engaged in the same kind of dirty business as the Chinese comprador-bourgeoisie which worshiped Confucius and betrayed the country; as to the counter-revolutionary coup d'état they so feverishly plotted, it was only a carbon copy of the method the bourgeoisie of many countries in the world has resorted to numerous times and still resorts to even to this day.

Our task is, on the one hand, to gradually dig away the soil breeding the bourgeoisie and capitalism and, on the other, to be able to see through in good time the new bourgeoisie like Lin Biao when it appears or is emerging. This is why the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is important. If we depart from the guidance of Marxism, we cannot accomplish the above-mentioned two tasks; moreover, when a revisionist trend of thought surfaces, one may be taken in and may even blindly board the gangsters' boat because of the idea of bourgeois right in one's own mind or because of failure to discern it. If this was not so, why did some people follow a revisionist line when it emerged? Why could Lin Biao and company deceive people at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party by resorting to idealism plus raising a big hullabaloo? Why could those naked words of the Lin Biao anti-Party clique aimed at splitting the Party and overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat find a market among a small number of cadres? Why could the "fleets," big and small, openly use such methods as giving feasts and presenting gifts, offering official posts and other favors as a means for luring people over to form a clique, for carrying out factional activities and for conspiring? Why did they write in their sinister notebooks such trash as "using expertise to cover up politics" and use it as their tactics for carrying out counter-revolutionary activities? There is a

profound lesson here. In opposing the Peng Dehuai anti-Party clique in 1959, Chairman Mao pointed out that **“at present, the main danger lies in empiricism.”** Therefore we should read and study conscientiously. In the past decade and more, Chairman Mao has reiterated this opinion on many occasions. He stressed that high-ranking and intermediate Party cadres, first of all members of the Party Central Committee, **“should all conscientiously read and study according to their different levels and have a good grasp of Marxism.”** He also stressed that **“in the next few years, special attention should be paid to propagating Marxism-Leninism.”** After the collapse of the Lin Biao anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao once again said: **“I formally advise comrades to do some reading.”** And he again stressed this recently when he spoke of the dictatorship of the proletariat. How heartening these earnest and significant teachings are! All comrades in the Party, especially the high-ranking cadres, must grasp conscientious study and reading as a matter of cardinal importance in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. First of all, they must themselves study well and thoroughly understand the expositions by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao and their main works on the dictatorship of the proletariat, strive to explain the question by integrating theory with practice and rid themselves, both ideologically and in action, of the bourgeois ideas and styles of work which are divorced from the masses, so as to identify themselves with the masses, really become promoters of the new emerging socialist things and be good at discerning and daring to resist corrosion by capitalism. We must inherit and carry forward our Party’s glorious tradition of plain living and arduous struggle which has been developed over the past decades. We must have a clear understanding of the situation and study policies, including economic policies. It is imperative to adhere to the principle of

grasping revolution and promoting production and other work and preparedness against war, a principle which has proved effective in practice. Attention should be paid to distinguishing between the two different types of contradictions and dealing accurate and powerful blows at the very small number of bad elements; as regards the bourgeois influence among the masses, it should be eliminated by applying the formula **“unity, criticism, unity”**—mainly by such methods as studying and raising consciousness, supporting advanced things which are firmly opposed to capitalism, recalling past suffering and contrasting it with today’s happiness as well as persuading and educating people and making criticism and self-criticism, all for the purpose of uniting 95 per cent of the cadres and of the masses. In criticizing capitalist tendencies, it is necessary to create public opinion, win over the majority, awaken consciousness and give active guidance. As for the few who have sunk deep into the quagmire of capitalism, they must be told sharply: “Comrades, mend your ways right now!”

As was pointed out at the beginning of this article, the Lin Biao anti-Party clique was extremely isolated from the people of the whole country. In tracing its emergence to the class roots, we pointed to the soil and conditions which produced the Lin Biao anti-Party clique. After stating this aspect of the matter, we must also point out that the Lin Biao anti-Party clique was in essence very feeble; like all reactionaries, it was only a paper tiger. All the counter-revolutionary activities of this clique constituted only a record of defeat and impasse, not of victory. The socialist system is bound to replace the capitalist system and communism is bound to triumph throughout the world; this is an objective law independent of man’s will. Since socialist society is born out of the old society, it **“is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose**

womb it emerges.” This is not strange. The history of the past 25 years tells us that so long as we uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat, adhere to Chairman Mao’s theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and keep to the line, principles and policies for the socialist revolution which Chairman Mao has laid down for us, we are able to smash the resistance put up by the class enemies, erase these birth marks step by step and continually win fresh victories. The present excellent situation marked by ever greater prosperity of our socialist cause is in sharp contrast to the situation of imperialism and social-imperialism which are disintegrating internally and beset with difficulties at home and abroad. Chairman Mao’s latest instruction on the question of theory will certainly enable us, both in theory and in practice, to understand more fully the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the ways to accomplish them; it will greatly help consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, deepen the socialist revolution, spur the development of socialist construction and promote nationwide stability and unity. The Communists of China are full of confidence, so are the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the country. United as one and in high spirits, they are waging a struggle under the leadership of the Party to combat and prevent revisionism. The history of the Chinese revolution is a history of the revolutionary people advancing to victory through tortuous struggles and the reactionaries heading for destruction after repeated trials of strength. As Chairman Mao has summed it up: **“In China, after the emperor was overthrown in 1911, no reactionary was able to stay long in power. The longest was only twenty years (Chiang Kai-shek), but he was also toppled once the people rose in revolt. Chiang Kai-shek climbed to power by taking advantage of Sun Yat-sen’s trust in him and by running the Whampoa Academy and gathering around him a big**

bunch of reactionaries. Practically the whole landlord class and bourgeoisie supported him when he turned against the Communist Party. Moreover, the Communist Party was inexperienced at the time. So, he gleefully gained temporary ascendancy. In those twenty years, however, he never achieved unification. There occurred the war between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, the wars between the Kuomintang and the various warlord cliques, the Sino-Japanese war and, finally, the four-year large-scale civil war, which sent him scampering to a cluster of islands. If the Rightists were to stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they would have no peace either and their rule would most probably be short-lived, because it would never be tolerated by the revolutionaries who represent the interests of the people constituting more than 90 per cent of the population." "The conclusion is still the two oft-repeated sentences: The future is bright; the road is tortuous." Let us advance courageously in the direction and along the road pointed out by Chairman Mao!

On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie¹⁴

by Zhang Chunqiao

The question of the dictatorship of the proletariat has long been the focus of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism. Lenin said: **“Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*.”** And it is for the very purpose of enabling us to go in for Marxism and not revisionism in both theory and practice that Chairman Mao calls on our whole nation to get a clear idea of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our country finds itself at an important period of historical development. After more than two decades of socialist revolution and socialist construction, particularly after the liquidation of the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shaoqi and of Lin Biao in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our dictatorship of the proletariat is more consolidated than ever, and our socialist cause is thriving. Full of militancy, the people of the whole country are determined to build China into a powerful socialist country before the end of the century. In the course of this effort and in the entire historical period of socialism, whether we can persevere in the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end is a cardinal question that affects the future of our country’s development. Current class struggle, too, makes it necessary for

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us to get clear on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao says **“Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism.”** It won't do if only a few people grasp the point; **“this should be made known to the whole nation.”** Success in this study has a current and far-reaching significance that can never be overestimated.

As early as in 1920, Lenin, basing himself on practical experience in leading the Great October Socialist Revolution and directing the first state of proletarian dictatorship, sharply pointed out, **“The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a *more powerful* enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased *tenfold* by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the *force of habit*, in the strength of *small production*. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production *engenders* capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential.”** Lenin pointed out that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle—bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative—against the forces and traditions of the old society, that it is an all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. Lenin time and again stressed that it is impossible to triumph over the bourgeoisie without exercising a protracted, all-round dictatorship over it. These words of Lenin's, especially those he underscored, have been proved by practice in subsequent years. Sure enough, the new bourgeois have been engendered in one batch after another, and their representative is none other than the Khrushchov-Brezhnev

renegade clique. These people generally have a good class background; almost all of them have been brought up under the red flag; they have joined the Communist Party organizationally, received college training and become so-called red experts. But they are new poisonous weeds engendered by the old soil of capitalism. They have betrayed their own class, usurped Party and state power, restored capitalism, become chieftains of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat, and accomplished what Hitler had tried but failed to accomplish. At no time should we forget this historical experience in which “the satellites went up to the sky while the red flag fell to the ground,” especially at a time when we are determined to build a powerful country.

We must be soberly aware that there is still the danger for China to turn revisionist. This is not only because imperialism and social-imperialism always set their minds on aggression and subversion against us, and the old landlords and capitalists, unreconciled to their defeat, are still there, but also because new bourgeois elements are, as Lenin put it, **being engendered daily and hourly**. Some comrades argue that Lenin was referring to the situation before co-operation. This is obviously incorrect. Lenin’s remarks are not out of date. These comrades may look up Chairman Mao’s *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* published in 1957. There Chairman Mao presents the concrete analysis that, after basic victory in the socialist transformation of the system of ownership, which includes the achievement of co-operation, there still exist in China classes, class contradictions and class struggle, and there still exist harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. Having summed up the new experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat after Lenin, Chairman Mao answered in a systematic way various

questions arising after the change in the system of ownership, set forth the tasks and policies of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and laid the theoretical basis of the Party's basic line and of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Practice in the past 18 years, particularly in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has proved that the theory, line and policies advanced by Chairman Mao are entirely correct.

Chairman Mao pointed out recently: **"In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in all this differs very little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed."** In order to gain a deeper understanding of Chairman Mao's instruction, let us take a look at the changes in the system of ownership in China and the proportions of the various economic sectors in China's industry, agriculture and commerce in 1973.

First, industry. Industry under ownership by the whole people accounted for 97 per cent of the fixed assets of industry as a whole, 63 per cent of the industrial population, and 86 per cent of the value of total industrial output. Industry under collective ownership accounted for 3 per cent of the fixed assets, 36.2 per cent of the industrial population, and 14 per cent of the total output value. Besides these, individual handcraftsmen made up 0.8 per cent of the industrial population.

Next, agriculture. Among the agricultural means of production, about 90 per cent of the farmland and of the irrigation-drainage machinery and about 80 per cent of the tractors and draught animals were under collective ownership. Those under ownership by the whole people made up a very small proportion. Hence, over 90 per cent of the nation's grain and various industrial crops came from the collective economy. The state

farms accounted for only a small proportion. Apart from these, there still remained the small plots farmed by commune members for their personal needs and limited household side-line production.

Then commerce. State commerce accounted for 92.5 per cent of the total volume of retail sales, commercial enterprises under collective ownership for 7.3 percent, and individual pedlars for 0.2 percent. Apart from these, there still remained a sizable amount of trade conducted at rural fairs.

The above figures show that socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people have indeed won great victory in China. The dominant position of ownership by the whole people has been very much enhanced and there have also been some changes in the economy of the people's commune as regards the proportions of ownership at the three levels—the commune, the production brigade and the production team. On Shanghai's outskirts, for example, income at the commune level in proportion to total income rose from 28.1 per cent in 1973 to 30.5 per cent in 1974, that of the brigades rose from 15.2 per cent to 17.2 per cent, while that of the teams dropped from 56.7 per cent to 52.3 per cent. The people's commune has demonstrated ever more clearly its superiority of being larger in size and having a higher degree of public ownership. In so far as we have, step by step in the past 25 years, eliminated ownership by imperialism, bureaucrat-capitalism and feudalism, transformed ownership by national capitalism and by the individual laborer and replaced these five kinds of private ownership with the two kinds of socialist public ownership, we can proudly declare that the system of ownership in China has changed, that the proletariat and other working people in China have in the main freed themselves from the shackles of private ownership, and that China's socialist economic base has been gradually consolidated and

developed. The Constitution adopted by the Fourth National People's Congress clearly records these great victories of ours.

However, we must see that the issue has not been entirely settled with respect to the system of ownership. We often say that the issue of the system of ownership "has in the main been settled"; this means that it has not been settled entirely, neither has bourgeois right been totally abolished in the realm of the system of ownership. Statistics cited above show that private ownership still exists in part of industry, agriculture as well as commerce, that socialist public ownership does not consist purely of ownership by the whole people but includes two kinds of ownership, and that ownership by the whole people is as yet rather weak in agriculture, the foundation of the national economy. The non-existence of bourgeois right in the realm of the system of ownership in a socialist society, as conceived by Marx and Lenin, implies the conversion of all the means of production into the common property of the whole society. Clearly we have not yet advanced to that stage. Neither in theory nor in practice should we overlook the very arduous tasks that lie ahead of the dictatorship of the proletariat in this respect.

Moreover, we must see that both ownership by the whole people and collective ownership involve the question of leadership, that is, the question of ownership by which class, not just in name but in reality.

Speaking at the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party on April 28, 1969, Chairman Mao said: **"It seems that it won't do not to carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for our foundation is not solid. Judging from my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories—I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority of them—leadership was not in the hands of genuine Marxists and the masses of workers. Not that there were no good**

people among those in charge of the factories. There were. There were good people among the secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of Party committees and among Party branch secretaries. But they were following that line of Liu Shaoqi—simply resorting to material incentives, putting profit in command and, instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth.” “But there were indeed bad people in the factories.” “This showed that the revolution remained unfinished.” Chairman Mao’s remarks not only explain the necessity of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution but enable us to see more clearly that on the problem of the system of ownership, as on all other problems, we should pay attention not only to its form but also to its actual content. It is perfectly correct for people to attach importance to the decisive role of the system of ownership in the relations of production. But it is incorrect to attach no importance to whether the issue of the system of ownership has been resolved in form or in reality, to the reaction exerted on the system of ownership by the two other aspects of the relations of production—the relations between men and the form of distribution—and to the reaction exerted on the economic base by the superstructure; these two aspects and the superstructure may play a decisive role under given conditions. Politics is the concentrated expression of economics. The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line, and the control of leadership in the hands of one class or another, decide which class owns a factory in reality. Comrades may recall how an enterprise owned by bureaucrat capital or national capital was turned into a socialist enterprise. Didn’t we do the job by sending there a representative for military control or a state representative to transform it according to the Party’s line and policies? Historically, every major change in the system of ownership, be it the replacement of slave system by feudal

system or of feudalism by capitalism, was invariably preceded by the seizure of political power which was then used to change the system of ownership on a big scale and consolidate and develop the new system of ownership. This is even more so with socialist public ownership which cannot be brought forth under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Bureaucrat capital, which controlled 80 percent of the industry in old China, could be transformed and placed under ownership by the whole people only after the People's Liberation Army had defeated Chiang Kai-shek. Likewise, a capitalist restoration is inevitably preceded by the seizure of leadership and a change in the line and policies of the Party. Wasn't this the way Khrushchov and Brezhnev changed the system of ownership in the Soviet Union? Wasn't this the way Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao changed the nature of a number of our factories and other enterprises to varying degrees?

Also, we must see that what we practice today is a commodity system. Chairman Mao says: **“Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. So if people like Lin Biao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system.”** This state of affairs which Chairman Mao pinpointed cannot be changed in a short period. Take for instance the rural people's communes on the outskirts of Shanghai where the economy at the commune and production brigade levels has developed at a rather fast pace. The commune accounts for 34.2 per cent of the fixed assets owned at all three levels, the brigade accounts for only 15.1 per cent while the production team still accounts for 50.7 per cent. Therefore, considering the economic conditions in the commune alone, it will take a fairly long time to effect the transition from the team to the brigade and then to the com-

mune functioning as the basic accounting unit. Even when the commune is made the basic accounting unit, it will still remain under collective ownership. Thus within a short period no basic change will take place in the situation in which there are both ownership by the whole people and collective ownership. So long as these two kinds of ownership still exist, commodity production, exchange through money and distribution according to work are inevitable. Since **“these can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat,”** the growth of capitalist factors in town and country and the emergence of new bourgeois elements are likewise inevitable. If these are not restricted, capitalism and the bourgeoisie will grow faster. Therefore, on no account should we relax our vigilance just because we have won great victory in the transformation of the system of ownership and carried out a Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We must realize that our economic base is not yet solid and that bourgeois right, which has not yet been abolished entirely in the system of ownership, is still prevalent to a serious extent in the relations between men and holds a dominant position in distribution. In the various spheres of the superstructure, some aspects are in fact still controlled by the bourgeoisie which is predominant there; some are being transformed but the results are not yet consolidated, and old ideas and the old force of habit are trying obstinately to hold back the growth of socialist new things. New bourgeois elements are engendered, group after group, in the wake of the development of capitalist factors in town and country. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. Even when all the landlords and capitalists of the old generation have

died, such class struggles will by no means come to a stop, and a bourgeois restoration may still occur if people like Lin Biao come to power. In his speech *The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan*, Chairman Mao said that in 1936 near the site of the Party Central Committee in Pao-an there was a fortified village held by a handful of armed counter-revolutionaries who obstinately refused to surrender until the Red Army stormed into it to settle the problem. This story has a universal significance, for it tells us: **“Everything reactionary is the same; if you don’t hit it, it won’t fall. This is also like sweeping the floor; as a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust never vanishes of itself.”** Today there are still many “fortified villages” held by the bourgeoisie; when one is destroyed, another will spring up, and even when all but one have been destroyed, this last, one will not vanish of itself if the iron broom of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not reach there. What Lenin said is entirely correct: **“For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential.”**

Historical experience shows us that whether the proletariat can triumph over the bourgeoisie and whether China will turn revisionist hinges on whether we can persevere in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in all spheres and at all stages of development in the revolution. What is all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? The most succinct generalization is found in a passage from a letter Marx wrote in 1852 to J. Weydemeyer, which we are all studying. Marx said: **“No credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society, nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the *existence of classes* is only bound up**

with *particular historical phases in the development of production*, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes and to a classless society*.” In this remarkable observation, Lenin said, Marx succeeded in expressing with striking clarity the chief and radical difference between his theory on the state and that of the bourgeoisie, and the essence of his teaching on the state. Here it should be noted that Marx divided the sentence on the dictatorship of the proletariat into three points, which are nevertheless interrelated and cannot be cut apart. It is impermissible to accept only one of the three points while rejecting the other two. For the sentence gives perfect expression to the entire process of the inception, development and withering away of the dictatorship of the proletariat and covers the whole task of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its actual content. In *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850*, Marx deals in more specific terms with this dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of **all class distinctions**, to the abolition of **all the relations of production** on which they rest, to the abolition of **all the social relations** that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of **all the ideas** that result from these social relations. Here Marx says “all,” and in all four places! Not a part, nor a greater part, nor even the greatest part, but all! This is nothing surprising, for only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation. The only way to attain this goal is to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end, until the above-mentioned four “alls” are abolished on the earth so that it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes to exist or for new ones

to arise, and we must not call a halt along the path of transition. In our view, only those who have such an understanding can grasp the essence of Marx's teaching on the state. Comrades, please think it over: If the point is not to be grasped this way, if Marxism is to be limited, curtailed and distorted in theory and practice, if the dictatorship of the proletariat is to be turned into an empty phrase, or all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie rendered incomplete and exercised only in some but not all spheres, or only at some stages (for instance, before the transformation of the system of ownership) but not at all stages, or in other words, if the "fortified villages" of the bourgeoisie are not all destroyed but some are left to allow the bourgeoisie to expand its ranks again, doesn't that mean to prepare the conditions for a bourgeois restoration? Doesn't it mean to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into something that protects the bourgeoisie, particularly the newly engendered bourgeoisie? All workers, all poor and lower-middle peasants and all other working people who refuse to suffer once again, all Communists who dedicate their lives to the struggle for communism, and all comrades who do not want China to turn revisionist, must firmly bear in mind this basic principle of Marxism: It is imperative to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and it is absolutely impermissible to give it up halfway. There are undeniably some comrades among us who have joined the Communist Party organizationally but not ideologically. In their world outlook they have not yet stepped out of the confines of small production and of the bourgeoisie. They do approve of the dictatorship of the proletariat at certain stages and in certain spheres and are pleased with certain victories of the proletariat, because these will bring them some gains; once they have secured their gains, they feel it's time to settle down and feather their cozy nests. As for exercising all-round dictatorship over the

bourgeoisie, as for following up the first step on the 10,000-*li* long march, sorry, let others do the job; here is my stop and I must get off the bus. We would like to offer a piece of advice to these comrades: It's dangerous to stop half-way! The bourgeoisie is beckoning to you. Catch up with the ranks and continue the advance!

Historical experience also shows us that, as the dictatorship of the proletariat wins one victory after another, the bourgeoisie may pretend on the surface to accept this dictatorship while in reality it continues to work for the restoration of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This is exactly what Khrushchov and Brezhnev have done. They changed neither the name of "Soviet," nor the name of the party of Lenin, nor the name of socialist republic," but accepting these names and using them as a cover, deprived the dictatorship of the proletariat of its actual content and turned it into a dictatorship of the monopoly capitalist class against the Soviet, the party of Lenin and the socialist republics. In open betrayal of Marxism, they put forward the revisionist programme of "the state of the whole people" and "the party of the entire people." However, they flaunt the flag of the dictatorship of the proletariat to suppress the masses of the Soviet people who rise against their fascist dictatorship. Similar cases have occurred in China. Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao did not limit themselves to spreading the theory of the dying out of class struggle; they, too, flaunted the flag of the dictatorship of the proletariat when they suppressed the revolution. Didn't Lin Biao preach his four "never forgets"? One of these was "never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat." Indeed there was something he "never forgot," only the words "to overthrow" should be inserted here to make it "never forget to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat," or on the confession of his gang, "wave Chairman Mao's banner to strike at Chairman Mao's forces." At times they acted "in submission" to

the proletariat and even pretended to be more revolutionary than anyone else, raising “Left” slogans to create confusion and carry out sabotage, but they constantly waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the proletariat. You wanted to carry out socialist transformation? They said the new democratic order had to be consolidated. You wanted to organize co-operatives and communes? They said it was too early to do that. When you said literature and art should be revolutionized, they said it would do no harm to put on some ghost plays. You wanted to restrict bourgeois right? They said it was a very good thing indeed and should be extended. They are past masters at defending old things and, like a swarm of flies, hum all day long over the “birth marks” and “defects” of the old society as referred to by Marx. Taking advantage of the inexperience of young people, they are particularly keen to peddle among the youth the idea that material incentive, like odd-odor bean curd, smells awful but tastes good. And they always wave the banner of socialism while committing these acts of disgrace. Don’t some bad eggs engaged in speculation, graft and theft say that they are going in for socialist co-operation? Don’t some abettors who poison the minds of young people wave the banner of “care and love for the successors to the cause of communism”? We must study their tactics and sum up our experience so as to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in a more effective way.

“Are you out to stir up a wind of ‘communization’”? To fabricate rumours by posing such a question is a tactic which some persons have recently resorted to. To this we can answer explicitly: The wind of “communization” as stirred up by Liu Shaoqi and Chen Boda shall never be allowed to rise again. We have always held that, instead of having too big a supply of commodities, our country does not yet have a great abundance of them. So long as the communes cannot yet offer much to be

“communized” with production brigades and teams, and enterprises under ownership by the whole people cannot offer a great abundance of products for distribution according to need among our 800 million people, we will have to continue with commodity production, exchange through money and distribution according to work. We have taken and will continue to take proper measures to curb the harm caused by these things. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a dictatorship by the masses. We are confident that under the leadership of the Party, the broad masses have the strength and the ability to fight against the bourgeoisie and finally vanquish it. Old China was a country submerged in a vast sea of small production. Conducting socialist education among several hundred million peasants is always a serious problem and requires the endeavour of several generations. But the poor and lower-middle peasants form the majority among the several hundred million peasants, and they know from practice that the one and only bright path for them is to follow the Communist Party and advance along the socialist road. Our Party has relied upon them to unite with the middle peasants for a step-by-step advance from mutual-aid teams to the elementary and advanced agricultural producers’ co-operatives and then to the people’s communes, and we can surely lead them onward.

We would rather call comrades’ attention to the fact that it is another kind of wind which is blowing—the “bourgeois” wind. This is the bourgeois style of life Chairman Mao has pointed out, an evil wind stirred up by those “parts” of the people who have degenerated into bourgeois elements. The “bourgeois” wind blowing from among those Communists, particularly leading cadres, who belong to these “parts,” does the greatest harm to us. Poisoned by this evil wind, some people are permeated with bourgeois ideas; they scramble for fame and gain and feel proud instead of ashamed of this.

Some have reached the point of looking at everything as a commodity, including themselves. They join the Communist Party and do some work for the proletariat merely for the sake of upgrading themselves as commodities and asking the proletariat for higher prices. Those who are Communists in name but new bourgeois elements in reality manifest the features of the decadent and moribund bourgeoisie as a whole. Historically, when the slave-owning, landlord and capitalist classes were in the ascendancy, they did some good turns for mankind. The new bourgeois elements today act in diametrical opposition to their forefathers. They are nothing but a "new" heap of garbage and can only be destructive to mankind. Among those who spread the rumor about a wind of "communization" being stirred up, some are new bourgeois elements who have taken public property into their private possession and fear that the people would "communize" it again; others are people who want to seize the opportunity to grab some gains. These people have a better nose than many of our comrades. Some of our comrades say that study is a flexible task, whereas those people have sensed by instinct that the current study is an inflexible task for both classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. They may indeed stir up some wind of "communization" or take over one of our slogans deliberately to confuse the two different types of contradictions and create some trouble. This merits our attention.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the mighty proletarian revolutionary contingents formed by the masses in their hundreds of millions in China are striding forward. With 25 years of practical experience in the dictatorship of the proletariat and the international experience since the Paris Commune, and as long as the few hundred Members of our Party Central Committee and the several thousand senior cadres take the lead and join the

vast numbers of cadres and masses of people in reading and studying assiduously, conducting investigation and study and summing up experience, we can certainly translate Chairman Mao's call into reality, get a clear idea of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and ensure the triumphant advance of our country along the course charted by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. **“The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win!”** This infinitely bright future will surely continue to inspire growing numbers of awakened workers and other working people and their vanguard, the Communists, to keep to the Party's basic line and persevere in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end! The fall of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and the victory of communism are inevitable, certain and independent of man's will.

Criticism of Selected Passages from “Analects”, a Confucian “Classic”¹⁵

By the workers’ theoretical study group of the
No. 2 workshop of the Shanghai No. 5 Steel Plant

The Shanghai No. 5 Steel Plant was built in 1958, the year of China’s big leap forward in socialist construction, and the No. 2 workshop was completed the following year. Since the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966, the plant’s cadres and workers have vastly raised their political consciousness and further understood the importance of grasping theory by the working people. Since the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in August 1970, they have been, more consciously than ever, studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, studying the Party’s basic line in the historical period of socialism, and criticizing the bourgeoisie and revisionism. In the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, they have set up workers’ theoretical study groups.

While criticizing Lin Biao in 1972, workers in the No. 2 workshop looked through the four “classics” of the Confucian school—“Analects,” “The Doctrine of the Mean,” “Great Learning” and “Mencius”—and selected 258 sayings of Confucius and Mencius and, by compar-

15 From *Peking Review*, Vol. 18, #16, April 18, 1975.

ing them with similar sayings by Lin Biao, they found that Lin Biao was a faithful disciple of Confucius. After the Tenth Party Congress in 1973, they selected and edited "One Hundred Fallacious Sayings by Confucius and Mencius" and criticized them. Since 1974 they not only have repeatedly criticized the "Analects," a record of the reactionary sayings and activities of Confucius, but selected and annotated works written in the classical language by such Legalists as Wang Anshi and Liu Zongyuan. Thus they have played the working class' role of being the main force in broadening, deepening and persevering in the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius.

We publish here 17 items from the criticism of selected passages from the "Analects" edited and written by them. —Ed.

I

Original text. Confucius said: "Benevolence means to restrain oneself and return to the rites. Once self-restraint and return to the rites are achieved, all under heaven will submit to the benevolent ruler."

Criticism. Here the "rites" refer to the hierarchy and its related rites and ceremonies under the slave system of the Western Zhou Dynasty (11th century-770 B.C.). "Restraining oneself and returning to the rites" was the reactionary programme of Confucius for restoring the Western Zhou slave system.

Towards the end of the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.), the revolutionary flames of peasant uprisings were spreading everywhere and the newly rising landlord class was struggling to take over power from the slave-owning aristocracy. Faced with the situation of "the rites being lost and music ruined" and big turmoil under heaven, Confucius, a reactionary who stubbornly upheld the interests of the slave-owning

aristocrats, waved the sinister banner of “restraining oneself and returning to the rites.” What he wanted was to “revive states that were extinct, restore families that had lost their positions, and call to office those who had fallen into obscurity.” He aimed at reviving the extinct states of the slave system, resuming the hereditary privileges of the slave-owning aristocrats and letting the overthrown slave-owning aristocrats return to power so as to restore the dictatorship of the slave-owning class.

The bourgeois careerist and conspirator Lin Biao more than once wrote reactionary scrolls bearing these words: “Of all things, this is the most important: to restrain oneself and return to the rites,” and he regarded “to restrain oneself and return to the rites” as the most important thing of all. “Restraining oneself” was his way of having his gang cover up its counter-revolutionary ambition and engage in intrigues and conspiracies, and he also wanted the masses to put themselves at his and his son’s “command” and “disposal.” “Returning to the rites” was his goal, which is to change fundamentally the Party’s basic line and policies in the historical period of socialism, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, restore capitalism and turn China into a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Facts have proved that both Lin Biao and Confucius were diehards trying to turn back the clock.

As for “returning to the rites,” it reminds us Shanghai workers of Chiang Kai-shek’s big slaughter on April 12, 1927. In collusion with imperialism, that national traitor staged a counter-revolutionary coup d’etat and sent troops to carry out large-scale murder of unarmed demonstrating workers. In a few moments corpses piled up and blood drenched Shanghai’s Paoshan Road. We will never forget this historical lesson paid in blood! Now, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lin Biao dished up the reactionary programme of “restraining oneself and returning to the rites” in an attempt to

restore capitalism, dispose of millions of revolutionaries and plunge the working people once again into the abyss of suffering. But this is only a daydream! Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“Retgression eventually produces the reverse of what its promoters intend.”** Like all other reactionaries, Lin Biao went against the historical tide and finally met his ignominious end and total ruin.

II

Original text. Confucius said: “What must be done is to rectify titles.... If the titles are not correct, words will not carry weight; if words do not carry weight, affairs will not succeed.”

Criticism. Towards the end of the Spring and Autumn Period, insubordinations and rebellions were frequent and thus destroyed the rank and titles of “king, minister, father and son” stipulated in the rites of the Western Zhou Dynasty. Under these circumstances Confucius sprang to the fore clamoring for “rectifying titles.” His aim was to drag back the changed objective reality and make it suit the old rank and titles and uphold and restore the ruling order of slave society. His idea of “rectifying titles” completely served the reactionary programme “restrain oneself and return to the rites.”

Lin Biao picked up the garbage of “rectifying titles” from Confucius and dished up his anti-Party political programme in open opposition to Chairman Mao’s repeated instructions that the state would not have a chairman. Lin Biao babbled that when “the state has no head,” the result would be: “If the titles are not correct, words will not carry weight.” In “rectifying titles” Lin Biao wanted to usurp supreme Party and state power so that he could restore capitalism with “a correct title and weighty words.” But the wheel of history cannot be

turned back. In spite of his big efforts to advocate “title-rectifying,” Confucius could not save the slave system from collapsing. Neither could Lin Biao’s “rectifying titles” stem the triumphant advance of our socialist cause.

III

Original text. Confucius said: “When the common people are ruled by administrative order and restricted by punishment, they might not commit crimes even though they do not know crimes are shameful. When ruled by virtue and restricted by rites, the common people know what shame is and behave well.”

Criticism. When the slave system was collapsing and the feudal system was rising in the last years of the Spring and Autumn Period, the Legalists put forward the line of rule of “law”—to rule the country by law—and advocated development of feudal ownership of land, the use of revolutionary violence to strike at the slave-owning aristocrats and the establishment of political power of the rising landlord class. Confucius did his utmost to prettify “virtue” and “rites” and used the reactionary idea of rule of “rites”¹⁶ to oppose the Legalist thinking of rule of “law.” This reflected the sharp opposition between the Confucian and Legalist lines at that time.

In eulogizing the rule of “rites,” Confucius was simply using the hypocritical preachings of benevolence, righteousness and Virtue to covet up the barbaric and

16 The rule of “rites” was a political idea of the Confucian school. It stressed absolute observance of the hierarchy, rituals and ceremonies under the slave system of the Western Zhou Dynasty, strict distinction between the social position of the slave-owner and the slave and absolute obedience by the slave to the slave-owner. The slave-owning aristocrats at all levels had to be content with their rank and title and not overstep the limits set by them.

cruel dictatorship of the slave-owners. When the rulers of Chi and Lu (two ducal states in the Spring and Autumn Period, Lu being in the southern part of present-day Shantung Province and Chi in the northern part) attended a meeting of friendship in Chiaku, the slaves were ordered to entertain them with music and dancing. Confucius said that their music and dancing violated the rites of the Western Chou Dynasty and befuddled the rulers, and therefore the slaves should be put to death. So the slaves were executed there and then. Less than three months after he became acting prime minister of the State of Lu, Confucius killed the reformer Shao Zhengmao in 498 B.C. In murdering the representatives of the Legalists, the restorationist forces of the slave-owners killed Wu Chi with a volley of arrows in 381 B.C., killed Shang Yang (c. 390-338 B.C.) by tying his limbs to chariots driven in different directions, and killed Li Si by cutting him in half at the waist in 208 B.C. Countless numbers of working people also were killed. These sanguinary facts fully revealed the reactionary essence of Confucius' rule of "rites."

Harping on the same string used by the Confucianists to attack the Legalists, Lin Biao slandered the latter as "punishers" and clamored that "he who relies on virtue will thrive and he who relies on force will perish." In doing this, his aim was opposing revolutionary violence, social change and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Both Lin-Biao and Confucius were insidious reactionaries. While saying "he who relies on virtue will thrive," he was plotting to kill the revolutionary people. But the working class, armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, could neither be deceived by Lin Biao's hypocritical preachings about the rule of "virtue" and "benevolence and righteousness" nor frightened by his counter-revolutionary ferocious features. Since the struggle to smash the Lin Biao anti-Party clique, we have heightened, our ability to distinguish between gen-

uine and false Marxism and understood still better the importance of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat.

IV

Original text: Confucius said: “I pass on what is ancient and do not create anything new. I have firm confidence in and love the ancient things.”

Criticism: As Confucius saw it, all the old things were perfect and even the slightest changes should be prohibited. He advocated that people should follow the calendar of the Xia Dynasty (c. 21st century-17th century B.C.), ride in carts built in the style of the Yin Dynasty (17th century-11th century B.C.), wear hats in the fashion of Zhou Dynasty times and play music dating back to the times of Yu Shun (legendary leader of a tribal alliance in Chinese primitive times more than 4,000 years ago). What a vivid self-portrait of a “back to the ancients” maniac!

The diehard Confucius was the deadly enemy of all new-born things. He ardently trumpeted the reactionary idea of “having firm confidence in and loving the ancient things,” attacked a series of social changes such as casting tripods bearing articles of punishment¹⁷ and collecting the land tax¹⁸, and was dissatisfied even with

17 This refers to casting iron tripods bearing articles of punishment. There was punishment in slave society but no proclaimed articles. The will of slave-owners was law and they were immune from punishment. Some representatives of the emerging landlord class in the Spring and Autumn Period wanted to work out some articles of punishment and proclaim them by casting them on tripods, so as to restrict and strike at the privileged status of the slave-owning aristocrats.

18 This means collecting a military tax according to the area of land held by each household. At the time of slavery in China, all land belonged to the supreme ruler and was called “public

the changed form of a wine cup. What he had “confidence” in was the declining system and what he “loved” were rotten things.

Tit for tat, the Legalists in the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period advocated that “when the situation changes things will change too”; they maintained that the old rules and old systems should not be followed and criticized the moribund “way of former kings” and the “rites of Duke Zhou.”¹⁹ The Legalist line of reform and corresponding measures conformed to the historical development of society at that time and thus played a progressive role.

Following in the footsteps of Confucius, Lin Biao energetically spread the fallacy that “the present is worse than the past,” slandered the excellent situation since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, venomously attacked and vilified socialist new things and frantically opposed the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. But historical dialectics is irresistible. **“With the support of the prole-**

domain.” The supreme ruler distributed the “public domain” to the slave owners for their use according to their rank. With the development of the productive forces in the Spring and Autumn Period, a section of the slave-owners used the labour of their slaves to open up more land which became the “private land” of the slaveowners. At first, the rulers of the ducal states refused to recognize the legality of “private land.” In 594 B.C. the ducal State of Lu in what is now Shantung Province began collecting tax according to the land area, irrespective of “public domain” and “private land.” This measure objectively recognized the legality of feudal land ownership.

- 19 Duke Zhou worked out for the Western Zhou Dynasty the institutions and systems which upheld the dictatorship of the slave-owning aristocrats. They were later known as the “rites of Duke Zhou.”

tarian state power, the young shoots of Communism will not wither; they will grow and blossom into complete Communism.” (Lenin: *A Great Beginning*.)

The growth of any new-born thing has to go through difficulties and twists and turns. In trying for a restoration, the class enemy will naturally attack and sabotage socialist new things by every means. Influenced by the force of habit, some people in our revolutionary ranks often follow the conventional way and get into a rut. To consolidate and develop the successful results of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we must deeply criticize the reactionary saying of “having firm confidence in and loving the ancient things,” wipe out its influence, give tremendous support to socialist new things and be promoters of revolution.

V

Original text. Zixia (a disciple of Confucius) said: “I heard from my teacher that life and death are preordained; wealth and honour come from heaven.”

Criticism. Confucius spared no efforts to blare the idealist theory of the “will of heaven.” According to this theory, people should believe that the ruling position of the slave-owning class was decided by “heaven” and could not be changed, and that the bloody rule of the slave-owners over the slaves was “preordained” and irresistible. By preaching the theory of the “will of heaven,” he attempted to stamp out the conflagration of slave uprisings and prevent any revolutionary change by the emerging landlord class.

The reactionary ruling classes of the past in China all used Confucius’ theory of the “will of heaven” as their magic weapon for ruling the people. They fabricated many proverbs propagating this theory such as “everything is preordained, nothing is disposed by man,” and “what is preordained will be given you, what is not pre-

ordained will be out of your reach.” They cursed the working people, calling them born “cheap bones” and “ill-fated devils.” Sayings like these are extremely absurd and reactionary!

An old worker in our workshop who was an apprentice in the old society in Shanghai at 12 led a life worse than that of a beast of burden. He has been emancipated politically and economically since liberation and his family now lives a happy life. With profound understanding, he said: “We working people suffered much in the past. It was entirely the result of ruthless oppression and exploitation by the landlords and capitalists and had nothing to do with any so-called bitter fate. Our living is getting better and better. Is this because our fate has changed? Certainly not. It is because of the good leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party and the good socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We do not rely on and believe in the will of heaven, but we rely on and believe in revolution.”

The bourgeois careerist Lin Biao also desperately peddled the “will of heaven” theory. Styling himself a “heavenly horse” and a “genius,” he wanted others to believe he was “endowed by heaven” and to accept his rule willingly. But his dream of restoration could never be realized. He finally died in a plane crash at Undur Khan in the People’s Republic of Mongolia and met his shameless end.

VI

Original text. Confucius said: “The superior man stands in awe of three things: the will of heaven, great men and the words of the sages. As the inferior man does not know the will of heaven, he does not stand in awe of it. He shows no respect for the great men and looks down on the words of the sages.”

Criticism. The “will of heaven,” “great men” and “words of the sages” mentioned by Confucius are in fact the religious authority, political authority and reactionary ruling ideology of slave society. He tried to scare people with these three monstrous things and compel them to submit to the rule of the slave-owners for ever. He attacked the “inferior man” for not fearing these three things. He was correct on this point. The slaves and Legalists had no fear of the so-called will of heaven, the political power of the slave-owning class was precisely what they wanted to overthrow, and the words of the sages were exactly what they wanted to criticize. What they did was to rise in revolution and rebellion.

“Standing in awe of the three things” or not was an important content in the class struggle and the two-line struggle for more than 2,000 years. Liuhsia Chih, outstanding leader of a slave uprising, refuted Confucius to his face and exposed that Confucius’ so-called “great men” and “sages” were merely “turmoil creators” and “the strong bullying the weak.” Speechless before this criticism, Confucius fled helter-skelter. Chen Sheng, the leader of the first great peasant uprising in Chinese history which took place in 209 B.C., said: “Are the kings, dukes, generals and prime ministers destined to be so?” He led the peasants in an uprising, negating the Confucian theory of the “will of heaven” by his revolutionary action. The Legalist Xun Shuang (see “Contention Between Xun Shuang and Mencius Is a Two-Line Struggle,” *Peking Review*, No. 44, 1974) put forward the concept of “making use of heaven by mastering its law of change,” a concept which affirmed that man would surely triumph over nature. The Legalist Wang Anshi in the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127) set forth the concept that “natural changes need not be feared, ancestral ways need not be followed and other people’s slanders need not be heeded.” Directly opposed to Con-

fucius' idea of "standing in awe of the three things," this concept strongly refuted the attacks of the diehards and spread the idea of reform and change.

An agent of the landlord and capitalist classes, Lin Biao copied Confucius' "standing in awe of the three things" and used this as his counter-revolutionary ideological weapon. He wanted people to believe the "will of heaven," obey his counter-revolutionary statements and activities, and regard the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius he propagated as "truths." In this way he energetically endeavored to create public opinion for founding a fascist Lin dynasty. But, like Confucius who failed to save the slave system from destruction by trumpeting "standing in awe of the three things," Lin Biao also could not avert failure by peddling this stuff.

VII

Original text. Confucius said: "Those born with knowledge rank highest. Those who acquire knowledge through learning rank lower. Those who have difficulty but learn rank still lower. Those who have difficulty and refuse to learn are the lowest—the common people."

Criticism. Here Confucius shamelessly praised the slave-owners and viciously attacked the working people. This is out-and-out idealist apriorism.

Confucius talked about different ranks, actually he put people into only two ranks. One was the slave-owning aristocrats together with the so-called "sages" who were the natural rulers; the other embraced those born "stupid," or slaves, who could only be ruled. In disseminating the idea that there were people "born with knowledge," he was simply trying to defend and restore the slave system. In fact there is no such thing in the world—a "sage" "born with knowledge." "The lowly are most intelligent; the elite are most ignorant." The masses are the real motive force in creating history.

Confucius, the “sage,” was an outright fool without learning and knowledge and a homeless dog chased everywhere. Liuhsia Chih derided him: “Haven’t you boasted that you are a genius and sage born with knowledge? But you were twice chased out of the State of Lu, you could not remain in the State of Wei (a ducal state in the northern part of present-day Henan Province), you failed to find a way out in the State of Chi, and were besieged and hungry for days in Chen and Tsai (two ducal states in what is now the eastern part of Henan Province and a part of Anhui Province). There is no place for you to stay in this vast world.... After all, what is your preaching worth?” These words stripped Confucius of his mask of “sage.”

Taking over from Confucius, Lin Biao used the idealist theory of “genius” as his theoretical programme for usurping Party and state power and restoring capitalism. He boasted about the “particularly brilliant” head he was given by his “parents,” and dressed himself up as a “genius” “born with knowledge.” But the fact was he was a big Party tyrant and big warlord without any learning.

According to Marxist epistemology, correct ideas **“come from social practice, and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice, the struggle for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment.”**

(Mao Zedong: *Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?*)

We workers have a deep understanding of this point. When our No. 2 workshop was first built in 1959, most of its workers and staff members came from other trades and did not know how to make steel. Learning while doing, we gradually learnt the art of it and are now turning out several hundred kinds of steel as against a dozen at the beginning. Many experienced veteran workers can judge the temperature of the molten steel by its color and the carbon content by its sparks. It has been proved by facts that true knowledge comes from

practice and ability grows out of struggle. Great numbers of creations and inventions by us, the working people, constitute a powerful rebuttal to the theory of “genius” that some are “born with knowledge” as peddled by Confucius and Lin Biao.

VIII

Original text. Zeng Shen (a disciple of Confucius) said: “Every day I repeatedly examine myself from my innermost part and cultivate myself.”

Criticism. This is the idealist method of self-cultivation.

Since Confucius and his later generations of disciples politically turned their faces backward and wanted to put back the clock, philosophically they had to stand the relation between knowledge and practice upside down. According to the Confucianists, the benevolence, righteousness, loyalty and sincerity they touted were all inherent in people’s minds, and only by examining one’s words and acts by such moral standards and digging out one’s mistakes behind a closed door could one cultivate oneself to be a defender of the old system.

Lin Biao also made big efforts to peddle this Confucian “self-examination” method of cultivation and advocated that “if you want to solve problems, you should let revolution break out in the innermost part of your soul.” According to this absurd remark, one’s knowledge can be acquired and world outlook remolded without taking part in the practice of the three great revolutionary movements and without studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and these can be achieved simply by “outbreaks in the innermost part of the soul.” Here Lin Biao sang the same refrain as Liu Shaoqi did in his sinister book *Self-Cultivation*. By spreading this reactionary philosophy, Lin Biao tried to

lead the masses astray on to the road of “self-cultivation behind a closed door” so they would forget the Party’s basic line and become docile tools of the bourgeoisie.

“The standpoint of life, of practice, should be first and fundamental in the theory of knowledge.” (Lenin: *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*.) It is impossible to have correct knowledge or a scientific world outlook if one departs from social practice and does not study revolutionary theory. Take for example the old workers in our workshop who lived in the old society. Does their consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle come out of “outbreaks in the innermost part of the soul” touched off by “repeated examination and self-cultivation”? Certainly not. Enslaved and persecuted at every turn in the old society by the landlords and capitalists, they know that the reactionary ruling classes will never change their nature, just like “tigers in the eastern or western mountains all devour people.” Through repeated struggle, failure and renewed struggle, they have come to understand that they can liberate themselves and become masters of the country only by following the Communist Party to make revolution and overthrow the reactionaries. Led by the Party after liberation, they have studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Through many political movements which defeated successive attacks by monsters and ghosts, they have seen through the class enemies, who are just like “onions under the eaves whose hearts are still alive despite the scorched outer skin,” and deepened their understanding of the Party’s basic line. We members of the working class deeply understand that in order to continuously raise our consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle, we must diligently study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, actively take part in the practice of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle,

the struggle for production and scientific experiment,
and persevere in the continued revolution under the
dictatorship of the proletariat.

Reversing Correct Verdicts Goes Against the Will of the People²⁰

Renmin Ribao editorial

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, a great struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts is triumphantly developing throughout the country.

Our great leader Chairman Mao recently pointed out: **“Reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people.”** Chairman Mao's words have fully expressed the strong desire of the revolutionary people to combat restoration and retrogression and to persevere in continuing the revolution and exposed the reactionary nature of the unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party who goes against the trend of history. They are an inspiration to the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country to take a still more active part in the struggle against the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts.

This struggle was provoked by the bourgeoisie. The Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts was stirred up around last summer. Those doing this opposed taking class struggle as the key link, tampered with the Party's basic line, negated the proletarian revolution in education and in literature and art and the socialist revolution in the field of science and technology; they negated the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young, the new socialist

20 From *Peking Review*, Vol. 19, #11, March 12, 1976.

things on various fronts and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and they tried to reverse the correct appraisal of the Cultural Revolution and settle accounts with it. They had theory and a programme to guide their organized activities in reversing correct verdicts. They directed their spearhead at our great leader Chairman Mao, at his revolutionary line and at the masses of revolutionary people. If this Right deviationist wind is not rebuffed and beaten back, would it not be tantamount to tolerating the spread of revisionism unchecked and the restoration of capitalism?

The mass revolutionary debate that started in Tsinghua University has dealt this Right deviationist wind a head-on blow; this has won the hearts of the people as well as enthusiastic support and acclaim from the people of all nationalities in the country. The revolutionary masses' and revolutionary cadres have earnestly studied the experience of Tsinghua University and, under the leadership of the Party, criticized "taking the three directives as the key link," thereby completely isolating the capitalist-roaders in the Party who stirred up the Right deviationist wind. Facts prove that the workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, that is, the people who account for over 95 percent of the total population, want revolution and support socialism. They do not want to be oppressed by bigwigs who practice revisionism. Their basic desire is to take the socialist road, and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution represents their fundamental interests. They want to consolidate and expand the fruits of victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, restrict bourgeois right and advance the socialist revolution. To practice revisionism and reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution will never be approved by the masses of the people.

Chairman Mao recently pointed out: **“With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the co-operative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois right, they resent it. 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.”**

This incisive Marxist-Leninist analysis by Chairman Mao has summed up the historical experience of China's socialist revolution over the past 20 years and more, and it has defended and developed Marxism-Leninism. It is a powerful ideological weapon for us in combating and preventing revisionism, a powerful ideological weapon for us in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao clearly indicates here that the capitalist-roaders are precisely the bourgeoisie in the Party during the period of socialist revolution. From the co-operative movement to the criticism of bourgeois right, every step forward in the socialist revolution has met with resistance from the bourgeoisie in the Party. Since in socialist society, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle and there still are the soil and the conditions engendering capitalism and the bourgeoisie, capitalist-roaders or new representatives of the bourgeoisie will inevitably appear in the Party, and the phenomenon that “the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road” will continue to exist for a long time. The person who stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts is precisely the capitalist-roader who followed Liu Shaoqi in practicing revisionism and opposed all the socialist revolutionary movements before the Cultural Revolution and who was criticized in the Cultural Revolution but has refused to mend his ways. In words, he stated “I'll never reverse the verdict,” but once he took up work

again, he relapsed into error and continued to take the capitalist road. Persons like him have never been Marxists but are bourgeois democrats with their ideology, as Chairman Mao pointed out, remaining at the stage of the democratic revolution. Like Song Jiang in the novel *Water Margin* who, though having joined the ranks of the peasant insurgents, still represents the landlord class, the capitalist-roaders are “Communists” in name but actually representatives of the old and new bourgeoisie within and outside the Party. We must bear in mind that throughout the historical period of socialism, the principal contradiction is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the main danger is revisionism, and the target of the revolution is the bourgeoisie, mainly those in power in the Party taking the capitalist road.

The struggle initiated and led by Chairman Mao to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts concerns the future and destiny of our Party and state. After every great historical-social change, there inevitably are persons like Confucius who came out and tried to turn things back and restore the old order. Such persons are bound to appear in great revolutions such as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The current struggle between reversing correct verdicts and opposing the reversal, between restoring the old order and combating restoration, is a continuation and deepening of the struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao, and a continuation and deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Such struggles will go on in the future, and we must be sober-minded about this.

The struggle against the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts is being carried out under the leadership of the Party committees at various levels. Do not establish ties and do not organize fighting groups. It

is essential to conscientiously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, study Chairman Mao's theses on classes, class contradictions and class struggle since the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and his important instructions on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and on the counter-attack on the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, and get a clear understanding of the character, target, tasks and prospects of the socialist revolution. Leading cadres should stand in the van of the movement and take the lead in study, exposure and criticism and in the counter-attack against the Right deviationist wind. It is necessary to have faith, in the masses, rely on the masses and boldly arouse the masses, and firmly grasp the main orientation of struggle; unite, and focus the criticism on the revisionist line of that capitalist-roader who refuses to mend his ways. The revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres must bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings **“help more people by educating them and narrow the target of attack”** and **“learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient.”** With regard to the small number of leading cadres who have carried out the erroneous line, it is essential to help them change their class stand and encourage them to correct their mistakes. We should adhere to the principle “grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war,” do a better job in all work including industrial and agricultural production, be vigilant against class enemies trying to make trouble and against those trying to, sabotage production to undermine revolution. It is necessary to continue, through the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, to promote stability and unity and consolidate

and develop the great achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, let us take class struggle as the key link and carry the struggle against the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts through to the end!

From Bourgeois Democrats to Capitalist-Roaders²¹

by Zhi Heng

[The person referred to as “the capitalist-roader in the Party who has refused to mend his ways” is of course Deng Xiaoping]

The great struggle initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse previous correct verdicts is developing soundly in various spheres of the superstructure, including education, science and technology, and art and literature. The spearhead of the criticism is directed at the capitalist-roader inside the Party who refuses to mend his ways, the one who put forward the revisionist programme of “taking the three directives as the key link.” A continuation and deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, this struggle is yet another major trial of strength on the political and ideological front between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, and between Marxism and revisionism.

Through this struggle, the cadres and masses will certainly receive a profound lesson in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and further raise their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. Through it our country’s socialist revolution and construction will certainly take a giant stride forward.

21 From *Peking Review*, Vol. 19, #13, March 26, 1976.

The deepening of the revolutionary mass debate has raised a number of thought-provoking questions: Why is it that some people who were revolutionaries in the period of the new-democratic revolution have become capitalist-roaders in the period of the socialist revolution? Why does the capitalist-roader who refuses to mend his ways deny the existence of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society, oppose taking class struggle as the key link and run counter to the basic line formulated by Chairman Mao for our Party?

We can find the class and ideological origins of the Right deviationist wind by using the Marxist method of class analysis and draw beneficial lessons accordingly.

At the Eighth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee in 1959, Chairman Mao penetratingly pointed out that Right opportunist elements in the Party had never been proletarian revolutionaries. They were merely bourgeois or petty-bourgeois democrats who had found their way into the proletarian revolutionary ranks. Nor had they ever been Marxist-Leninists, but were fellow-travellers of the Party. The capitalist-roader in the Party who refuses to mend his ways is also one of this kind. When he and other such people joined the proletarian revolutionary ranks, they brought with them the ideology of bourgeois democracy. When they accepted to varying degrees the Party's minimum programme, that is, the programme of the new-democratic revolution, they did not associate it with the Party's maximum programme, that is, the winning of socialism and communism. They do not understand the Party's maximum programme, nor are they prepared to work for its realization. In other words, their world outlook is not a proletarian communist world outlook but a bourgeois one. Furthermore, this bourgeois stand and world outlook have not been remolded in the course of protracted revolutionary

struggles. When the revolution advanced from the stage of the new-democratic revolution to that of socialist revolution, their ideology failed to keep pace with the revolutionary advance. On the contrary, although they had physically entered socialist society, ideologically they were still in the stage of the democratic revolution. This determined their inevitable conflict with and even opposition to the socialist revolution. The bourgeois democratic stand and world outlook represent the bourgeoisie and are the class and ideological origins of the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts.

The new-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party are two revolutionary stages whose character, targets and tasks are essentially different. The former took place in the old China of semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. The principal contradiction it aimed to resolve was the contradiction between the masses of the people including, workers, peasants, the petty and national bourgeoisie on one side and imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism on the other. Therefore, it was anti-imperialist and anti-feudal bourgeois democratic revolution in character. Its task was to strive under the leadership of the proletariat to overthrow the rule of imperialism, the feudal landlord class and the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie in China, and to lead the revolution to socialism.

With the victory of the new-democratic revolution, the character and principal contradiction of the Chinese society changed. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie became the principal contradiction in our country. This contradiction not only exists in society at large but is also reflected in the Party. The socialist revolution we are carrying out is a revolution waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. The spearhead of the revolution is directed mainly against the bour-

geoisie and against Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. Its task is to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat, use socialism to defeat capitalism, and through protracted class struggle gradually create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise, and finally eliminate classes and realize communism. The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 marked the beginning of the socialist revolutionary stage.

If one's ideology still remains at the old stage and views and treats the socialist revolution from the stand and world outlook of bourgeois democrats, one will become a representative of the bourgeoisie, a capitalist-roader and a target of the socialist revolution.

After the victory of the new-democratic revolution in China, the ideology of some people in the Party remained at the stage of the democratic revolution and they did not want to continue the revolution along the socialist road. Isn't this true of the capitalist-roader in the Party who refuses to mend his ways? He and his followers are afraid that the socialist revolution will bring them under fire and will affect private ownership, bourgeois right which they cherish, the traditional ideas they want to uphold and their bourgeois class stand and world outlook. They therefore become representatives of the bourgeoisie. The deeper the socialist revolution goes, the sharper becomes the contradiction between them and the revolution and between them and the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants who persevere in continuing the revolution. As the socialist revolution moves forward, they fall back and oppose revolution.

It is precisely the capitalist-roader refusing to mend his ways who opposed agricultural co-operation and the people's commune and supported "the fixing of farm output quotas for individual households with each on

its own.” Later, he set himself up against the Great Cultural Revolution and suppressed the revolutionary mass movement, and now made every effort to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“Revisionism is one form of bourgeois ideology. The revisionists deny the differences between socialism and capitalism, between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. What they advocate is in fact not the socialist line but the capitalist line.”** (*Speech at the Chinese Communist Party’s National Conference on Propaganda Work.*)

In terms of ideology and class origin, the bourgeois class stand and world outlook are in accord with revisionism. Opportunism, or revisionism, is a faction and school of thought in the workers’ movement which represents the interests of the bourgeoisie. Its special feature is betrayal of the fundamental interests of the proletariat and capitulation to the bourgeoisie. Revisionists invariably preach class conciliation, the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces from a bourgeois class stand. They invariably use these revisionist fallacies to oppose the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. From Bernstein and Kautsky to Trotsky and Bukharin, and from Khrushchov and Brezhnev to Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao, all acted in this way. This is true also of the capitalist-roader who has refused to mend his ways. He put forward the revisionist programme of “taking the three directives as the key link” and advocated the theories of the dying out of class struggle and of productive forces to counter the theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. He also used it to interfere with and undermine the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the criticism of the novel *Water Margin*,

both initiated and led by Chairman Mao. He also used it to push the revisionist line in various fields. The absurdities, which appeared last year in the educational, scientific and technological fields, in literature and art and other spheres in opposition to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the Great Cultural Revolution and the socialist new things, all stemmed from this revisionist programme. He whose ideology remains in the stage of the democratic revolution, denying the existence of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the socialist period, is bound to practice revisionism.

Chairman Mao has said: **“What ‘taking the three directives as the key link’! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it.”** This is a penetrating criticism of the revisionist programme of “taking the three directives as the key link.” We have won great victories in socialist revolution in the past 20 years and more but class struggle has not died out. Members of the defeated class are still around, this class still exists and is still struggling and dreaming of a comeback; the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie still exist; large numbers of intellectuals who have not been thoroughly remolded still exist; the force of habit and conventional influences of the small producers still exist and are still engendering the bourgeoisie and capitalism. Are these not facts known to everyone? Were people not greatly shocked at the subversive activities of the anti-Party cliques of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao, agents of the bourgeoisie inside the Party who attempted to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism? Isn't the emergence of new bourgeois elements in the Party such as Lin Biao and his like a profound lesson to us? Under such circumstances, how can it be said that class struggle has died out? In putting forward ideas such as “taking the three directives as the key link” and talking of the dying out of class struggle and

the theory of productive forces, people like the capitalist-roader in the Party who has refused to mend his ways do not really want to abolish class struggle. What they are really after is to extinguish the struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and fight the proletariat on behalf of the bourgeoisie. They pretend to want stability and unity and to develop production; what they really want is to reject the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Their revisionist line is in fact detrimental to stability and unity and socialist production.

After the victory of the democratic revolution, the issue is whether to stop the revolution at the old stage and not going forward or to persist in making socialist revolution and strive for the goal of communism, that is, whether or not to persevere in making revolution against the bourgeoisie. Herein lies the fundamental difference between proletarian revolutionaries and bourgeois democrats and between Marxists and revisionists. The struggle between the two lines within the Party during the socialist period precisely centers on this issue.

Why does the capitalist-roader in the Party who refuses to mend his ways so resent the Great Cultural Revolution? Why does he regard the socialist new things which have emerged in the Great Cultural Revolution as a thorn in his flesh and something to be got rid of at all costs? Why is he so reluctant to part with the capitalist and revisionist trash which was repudiated in the Great Cultural Revolution, and is so eager to reinstate it? This is because, as Chairman Mao has said, **“the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is in essence a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes.”** This great revolution smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao, criticized their revisionist line,

brought the capitalist-roaders in the Party under fire, made the bourgeoisie in the Party the target of the revolution, criticized the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and transformed education, literature and art and other parts of the superstructure not in conformity with the socialist economic base. All these run counter to the bourgeois interests represented by the capitalist-roader in the Party who has refused to mend his ways and to the capitalist road he is so eager to take. Because of this, people like him have inevitably become opponents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The birthmarks of the old society remain in socialist society as is the case with bourgeois right and the three major differences between worker and peasant, between town and country and between manual and mental labour. These provide the soil and conditions for engendering the bourgeoisie and capitalism. The long-term task in the period of socialism is to restrict bourgeois right and gradually wipe out the vestiges of the old society. The deeper the socialist revolution goes, the more imperative it is for us to put forward this task and set about to accomplish it.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Biao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. That is why we should do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works.”** This instruction of Chairman Mao’s reflects the desire and demands of the proletariat and the revolutionary people to push the socialist revolution forward. At the same time it arouses fear and opposition from people whose ideology still remains at the stage of the democratic revolution. They want to retain these fundamental aspects of bour-

geois right. These people come out in opposition when the revolution hits them directly by moving to restrict those aspects of bourgeois right which they wish to uphold. Why does this capitalist-roader who refuses to mend his ways hate the socialist new things which restrict bourgeois right in various fields? Why does he censure in every way the criticism of material incentives and of regarding knowledge as private property and other ideas arising from bourgeois right? Why is he so afraid of raising the question of restricting bourgeois right and why is he dead against it? It is because he represents the bourgeoisie and wants to safeguard and strengthen bourgeois right and safeguard and expand the basis on which the bourgeoisie is engendered and survives.

Resentment of and opposition to the socialist revolution stemming from ideology which remains at the stage of the democratic revolution—this is a historical phenomenon which has repeatedly appeared in the Party over the past 20 years and more. For example, our Party in 1953 decided to carry out the policy of planned purchase and marketing, an important step in undertaking socialist revolution and construction. At that time, there were people in the Party who leapt out in firm opposition. They were Communists in name, but spoke out for the urban and rural capitalist forces against the socialist revolution. In the period when agricultural co-operatives were being developed, Liu Shaoqi and his like disbanded large numbers of co-operatives and attacked the movement. What they planned and did was contrary to the wishes and doings of the peasants numbering hundreds of millions. In 1957, when the bourgeois Rightists took advantage of the Party's rectification drive to launch a wild attack upon the proletariat, there were also people in the Party, who advocated a bourgeois programme in co-ordination with the bourgeois Rightists of that time. In 1959, Peng Dehuai's

Right opportunism opposed the Party's general line, negated the great leap forward and the people's communes. This once again exposed the true colors of those who remained bourgeois democrats. These people, who tried to push forward a capitalist programme and bourgeois slogans in the period of socialist revolution, could not but be washed away by the current of the socialist revolution.

It is by no means strange that, in the period of the socialist revolution, there are still some in the Party whose ideology remains at the stage of the democratic revolution and who deal with things from the standpoint and world outlook of the bourgeoisie. Ours is a great, glorious and correct Party. Under the guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the revolution led by the Party has won great victories. But because the Party over a long period in the past led revolutionary movements which were bourgeois democratic in nature, many bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats joined the revolutionary ranks and the vanguard of the proletariat. Many who were educated in Marxism-Leninism and were tempered in protracted revolutionary struggles gradually abandoned their bourgeois world outlook and accepted or fostered the proletarian stand and world outlook. But there are still a few who have been profoundly influenced by bourgeois ideology but have not accepted the Party's education and remolding, and their stand and world outlook remain unchanged. In socialist society, the bourgeoisie still exists and its ideology will inevitably influence certain people in the vanguard of the proletariat and turn them into bourgeois democrats and revisionists. Their world outlook is bound to find expression stubbornly on political and ideological questions by every possible means. One cannot expect it to do otherwise. When the socialist revolution is rolling forward, there inevitably

are people who obstinately want to stop it and turn it back. Such people appeared in the past, are still around at present and will emerge in the future.

The proletarian Party must wage resolute struggles against such attempts to transform the Party and society in the image of the bourgeoisie. With regard to those comrades who have made mistakes, our Party's consistent policy is: **"Learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient."** In the current struggle, we should continue to adhere to this policy, patiently help those comrades who have made mistakes to mend their ways so as to promote unity and do our work well.

Criticism of “Taking the Three Directives as the Key Link”²²

Unsigned

[The person referred to as “the capitalist-roader in the Party who has refused to mend his ways” is of course Deng Xiaoping]

China is now deepening the criticism of that programme for restoring capitalism put forward by the capitalist-roader in the Party who has refused to mend his ways.

Background to Its Emergence

The programme of “taking the three directives as the key link” was dished up last summer with ulterior motives by that unrepentant capitalist-roader. It is a distortion of Chairman Mao’s instructions by putting his directives on promoting stability and unity and on pushing the national economy forward on a par with the directive on studying the theory of the proletarian dictatorship and combating and preventing revisionism, describing all three as “the key link for all work.”

Chairman Mao recently pointed out: **“What ‘taking the three directives as the key link’! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it.”** This important directive of Chairman Mao’s has penetratingly exposed the programme of “taking the three directives as the key link” as an out-and-out revisionist pro-

²² From *Peking Review*, Vol. 19, #14, April 2, 1976.

gramme negating the taking of class struggle as the key link. The essence of this programme is to restore capitalism.

The programme of “taking the three directives as the key link” is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao’s important directive on the question of studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the end of 1974, Chairman Mao pointed out: **“Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation.”** **“Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Biao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system.”** This directive of Chairman Mao’s has further raised the consciousness of the people of the whole country to take class struggle as the key link, uphold the Party’s basic line, strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and combat and prevent revisionism. Thus it has further aroused fear from that unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party. He has been filled with resentment when the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, criticize capitalism and revisionism, carry out in a deep-going way the socialist revolution in the superstructure and the economic base and restrict bourgeois right. Hence he hurriedly dished out his revisionist programme of “taking the three directives as the key link.”

Negating the Party’s Basic Line

This is a revisionist programme because it completely betrays our Party's basic theory and practice of taking class struggle as the key link.

Throughout the historical period of socialism, there is only one key link guiding all our work, and this is the taking of class struggle as the key link; that is to say, we must persevere in the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and in the all-round dictatorship exercised by the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. This is determined by class relations and the principal contradiction in socialist society. On the eve of the founding of New China, at the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee, Chairman Mao made it clear that in the coming period of socialist revolution the principal internal contradiction would be **"the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie."** In 1962, Chairman Mao advanced the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. He stressed: **"Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line."** In the 26 years since the founding of New China, Chairman Mao has always

urged the whole Party and the people of the whole country to firmly “**grasp class struggle as the key link.**” He has repeatedly initiated and led the people of the whole country to wage struggles by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that started ten years ago is such a struggle.

Lenin said. “**Opportunism does not extend the recognition of class struggle to what is the cardinal point, to the period of *transition* from capitalist to Communism, to the period of the *overthrow* and the complete *abolition* of the bourgeoisie.**” (*The State and Revolution.*) The unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party used an eclectic sleight of hand to confuse the principal contradiction with secondary contradictions. He deliberately elevated promoting stability and unity and pushing the national economy forward to the principal position and called them “key links” in an attempt to cover up the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which is the principal contradiction under socialism. In preaching “taking the three directives as the key link,” his intention was to deny the existence of classes and class struggle under socialism so as to negate taking class struggle as the key link and tamper with the Party’s basic line.

Consistently Opposing Taking Class Struggle As the Key Link

The Party capitalist-roader who engineered this revisionist programme has always opposed taking class struggle as the key link. In 1957, shortly after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production, he proclaimed that “classes have in the main been eliminated and we should not stress class struggle.” He took part in formulating and pushing Liu Shaoqi’s revisionist line before the Great Cultural Revolution. During the Great Cul-

tural Revolution, the Party and the revolutionary masses exposed and criticized him and gave him a chance to mend his ways. Though he said that he would “never reverse the verdict,” he relapsed into error after he took up work again. The new revisionist programme he hatched is a continuation of his consistent revisionist stand against taking class struggle as the key link.

It is obvious that he himself represented the bourgeoisie, yet he said he saw no class contradictions. In China today, there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie and there are large numbers of petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals who have not sufficiently remolded their ideology, while small production still engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. All these are obvious facts. The inner-Party two-line struggles since the founding of New China are really amazing. Lenin gave a profound explanation of class contradictions in the period of socialism. He pointed out that classes remain and will remain everywhere for years after the conquest of power by the proletariat. The so-called theory of the dying out of class struggle has always been meant to deceive people. Liu Shaoqi suppressed the revolutionaries to protect his handful of renegades and sworn followers. Lin Biao launched a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'état and plotted to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat. How can this be called a dying out of class struggle? Now the unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party has again spread the fallacy of the dying out of class struggle; his aim was to use it as a smokescreen to cover the offensive by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, to launch vengeful counter-attacks and to restore capitalism.

Waving “Red Flags” to Oppose the Red Flag

As soon as his revisionist programme came out, the Right deviationist wind was stirred up, and there was a spate of restorationist activities in educational, scientific and technical and other circles in an attempt to reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution. Revisionist absurdities were spread and the spearhead was directed against the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. People now understand that this Right deviationist wind was stirred up from above by that unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party. He used a trick that was very deceptive and that put people off their guard. The three directives he mentioned are all statements made by Chairman Mao, but they have been woven into a revisionist programme which is in opposition to taking class struggle as the key link and are therefore deprived of their revolutionary essence.

Lenin said that opportunism can use expressions from all kinds of theories, including Marxist theories, and that **“Marxist words have in our days become a cover for a total renunciation of Marxism.”** (*British Pacificism and the British Dislike of Theory.*) Quoting Marxist phraseology to oppose Marxism, is a common characteristic of all revisionists.

That unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party put the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and combating and preventing revisionism ahead of the other two directives, but this was merely a camouflage. He himself did not read books and did not understand Marxism-Leninism. He did his utmost to oppose the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the revolutionary people. He picked faults with socialist new things and was very afraid of restricting bourgeois right, narrowing the three major differences between workers and peasants, between town and country and between mental and manual labour and reducing the soil that engenders capitalism and the

bourgeoisie. He has never said that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the principal contradiction in present-day China and that revisionism is the main danger today.

He paid lip service to promoting stability and unity while actually sabotaging it. The stability we want is the stability attained by consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and our unity is the unity based on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. On the one hand he stressed reliance on those capitalist-roaders who had grudges against the Great Cultural Revolution and wanted to settle moves. On the other hand he used various pretexts to attack and discriminate against these old and new cadres who persevered in Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. He insisted that young cadres were only "to be promoted step by step" and wanted to remove large numbers of young cadres and new emerging force in the Great Cultural Revolution from leading posts, thus sabotaging the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young in the leading bodies as advocated by Chairman Mao. He also sowed discord between old and new cadres in an effort to split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao.

To push the national economy forward is an important instruction of Chairman Mao's. Building China into a powerful modern socialist country before the end of the century is a grand blueprint personally drawn up by Chairman Mao. However, sharp struggle between the two lines has always existed on the question of the type of modernization and how to realize it. The unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party never mentioned taking class struggle as the key link but trumpeted the theory of productive forces. He said that he cared only about a rise in the national economy but not how it was to be done. He disapproved of putting proletarian politics in command and peddled "putting profit in command" and "material incentives." He opposed relying on the

masses and advocated the return to “relying on specialists in running factories.” He opposed the policy of building our country independently with the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts, and trumpeted servility to things foreign. If things were done according to his revisionist line, then the nature of socialist ownership would be changed, the relation between men would become one between employers and employees, the capitalist system of distribution would reappear, and socialist relations in production would be undermined. In this way, the result would be that the national economy would fail to develop, or if it developed, it would either be temporary or it would turn out to be modernization of an imperialist or social-imperialist type. Whichever way it might take, production would be hampered and the development of the social productive forces retarded.

Class Struggle Continues and Deepens

The current struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts is a struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and is a continuation and deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which has won great victories. This struggle shows that the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road and that the Chinese people’s struggle against them will be protracted and repeated. This is a most important feature of class struggle in the period of socialism. In this period some people do not know where the bourgeoisie is. We should of course see that it still exists in society; but more important, it is found right in the Communist Party—those in power taking the capitalist road. They represent the interests of the old and new bourgeoisie. They are the main target of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao calls on the people of the whole

country to **“guard against revisionism, and especially its emergence in the Central Committee of our Party.”** The capitalist-roaders in the Party have great power and it is extremely dangerous when they practise revisionism.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the people of the whole country are determined to persevere in taking class struggle as the key link, thoroughly repudiate the revisionist programme of “taking the three directives as the key link” put forth by that unrepentant capitalist-roader, and carry the great struggle against the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts through to the end.

Counter-Revolutionary Political Incident at Tiananmen Square²³

by *Renmin Ribao* worker-peasant-soldier
correspondents and staff correspondents

Early April, a handful of class enemies, under the guise of commemorating the late Premier Zhou during the Qingming Festival, engineered an organized, pre-meditated and planned counter-revolutionary political incident at Tiananmen Square in the capital. They flagrantly made reactionary speeches, posted reactionary poems and slogans, distributed reactionary leaflets and agitated for the setting up of counter-revolutionary organizations. By means of insinuation and overt counter-revolutionary language, they brazenly clamoured that “the era of Qin Shi Huang is gone.” Openly hoisting the ensign of supporting Deng Xiaoping, they frenziedly directed their spearhead at our great leader Chairman Mao, attempted to split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, tried to change the general orientation of the current struggle to criticize Deng Xiaoping and counterattack [with] the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, and engaged in counter-revolutionary activities.

The counter-revolutionary activities culminated on April 5. At about 8 a.m., a loudspeaker car of the municipal Public Security Bureau was overturned, the body of the car and its loudspeakers smashed. After 9 a.m., more than 10,000 people gathered in front of the Great Hall of the People. At its maximum the crowd at

23 From *Peking Review*, Vol. 19, #15, April 9, 1976.

Tiananmen Square numbered about 100,000 people. Except for a handful of bad elements who were bent on creating disturbances, the majority of the people were passersby who came over to see what was happening. Some of the people were around the Monument to the People's Heroes; the majority were concentrated on the west side of the square near the eastern entrance to the Great Hall of the People. A dozen young people were surrounded and beaten up by some bad elements, receiving cuts and bruises on their heads with blood trickling down their swollen faces. The hooligans shouted: "Beat them to death! Beat them to death!" An army guard who tried to stop the hooligans by persuasion had his insignia pulled off, uniform torn and his face beaten to bleed. The bad elements exclaimed: "Who can put this situation under control? Nobody in the Central Committee can. Should he come today he would not be able to return!" Their counter-revolutionary arrogance was unbridled to the extreme. The masses were infuriated and many of them said: "Ever since liberation, Tiananmen Square has always been the place where our great leader Chairman Mao reviews parades of the revolutionary masses. We'll absolutely not tolerate such counter-revolutionary acts happening here!" Several hundred worker-militiamen who went up the flight of steps leading to the Great Hall of the People to stand guard were broken up into several sections by the hooligans. The latter repeatedly shouted reactionary slogans and savagely beat up anyone in the crowd who opposed them. Some of those who got beaten up were dragged to the monument and forced to kneel down and "confess their crimes."

At 11:05 a.m., many people surged towards the Museum of Chinese History on the east side of Tiananmen Square. In front of the museum, a woman comrade who came forward to dissuade them was immediately manhandled. At this moment, a bunch of bad elements

besieged a People's Liberation Army barracks by the clock tower in the southeast corner of the square. They crushed the door, broke into the building and occupied it. A few bad elements, sporting a crew cut, took turns to incite the people, shouting themselves hoarse through a transistor megaphone. Towards noon, some of the trouble-makers proclaimed the inauguration of what they called "committee of the people of the capital for commemorating the Premier." A bad element wearing spectacles had the impudence to announce that the Public Security Bureau must give a reply in ten minutes. He threatened that if their demands were not met, they would smash the public security department.

At 12:30, the PLA fighters on guard duty at Tiananmen Square marched in formation towards their barracks to guard it. The bad elements who were making disturbances shouted in instigation: "The people's army should stand on the side of the people!" and "Those befuddled by others are innocent!" Later, they overturned a Shanghai sedan car and set it on fire. The firemen and PLA guards who came to the rescue were blocked, and a fire-engine was wrecked. These bad elements said that putting out the fire meant "suppressing the mass movement." Several members of the fire-brigade were beaten to bleed.

At 12:45, a detachment of people's police came as reinforcement. But they too were taunted and stopped. The caps of several policemen were snatched by the rioters and thrown to the air. Some even threw knives and daggers at the people's police. Several policemen were surrounded and beaten up.

In the afternoon, the sabotage activities of this handful of counter-revolutionaries became still more frenzied. They burnt up four motor vehicles bringing water and food to the worker-militiamen on duty or belonging to the public security department. Around 5 o'clock in the afternoon, this gang of bad elements

again broke into that barracks, abducted and beat up the sentries, smashed the windows and doors on the ground floor and looted everything in the rooms. Radios, quilts, bed sheets, clothing and books were all thrown into the fire by this gang of counter-revolutionaries. They also burnt and smashed dozens of bicycles of the Beijing worker-militiamen. Black smoke rose to the sky amid a hubbub of counter-revolutionary clamors. Nearly all the window panes in the barracks were smashed. Then they set the barracks on fire.

The revolutionary masses showed their utmost hatred for this counter-revolutionary political incident. Yet the handful of bad elements said glibly: "It manifests the strength of the masses." They went so far as to claim brazenly that "the situation has now got out of hand and it would be of no use even if a regiment or an army was called in," and so on and so forth, showing their unbridled reactionary arrogance.

See how these counter-revolutionaries use extremely decadent and reactionary language and the trick of insinuation to viciously attack and slander our great leader Chairman Mao and other leading comrades on the Party Central Committee:

"Devils howl as we pour out our grief, we weep but the wolves laugh. We spill our blood in memory of the hero; raising our brows, we unsheathe our swords. China is no longer the China of yore, and the people are no longer wrapped in sheer ignorance; gone for good is Qin Shi Huang's feudal society. We believe in Marxism-Leninism, to hell with those scholars who emasculate Marxism-Leninism! What we want is genuine Marxism-Leninism. For the sake of genuine Marxism-Leninism, we fear not shedding our blood and laying down our lives; the day modernization in four fields is realized, we will come back to offer libations and sacrifices."

The clamours of these counter-revolutionaries about combating “Qin Shi Huang” and demanding “genuine Marxism-Leninism” were out-and-out counter-revolutionary agitation in the same vein as the language used in Lin Biao’s plan for a counter-revolutionary coup d’etat, *Outline of Project “571.”* By directing their spearhead at our great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and lauding Deng Xiaoping’s counter-revolutionary revisionist line, these counter-revolutionaries further laid bare their criminal aim to practice revisionism and restore capitalism in China.

In the past few days these elements not only wrote reactionary poems but put up reactionary posters. They lauded Deng Xiaoping and attempted to nominate him to play the role of Nagy, the chieftain of the counter-revolutionary incident in Hungary. They raved that “with Deng Xiaoping in charge of the work of the Central Committee, the struggle has won decisive victory” “to the great satisfaction of the people throughout the country.” They uttered vile slanders, saying that “the recent so-called anti-Right deviationist struggle is the act of a handful of careerists to reverse verdicts.” They openly opposed the great struggle initiated and led by Chairman Mao to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts; their counter-revolutionary arrogance was inflated to the utmost.

However, the time when these counter-revolutionary elements ran rampant coincided with the day of their downfall. Going against the will of the people, they were extremely isolated. As these bad elements were making disturbances, perpetrating acts of violence and sabotage, many revolutionary people courageously stepped forward to denounce their counter-revolutionary acts and struggled against them. The Peking worker-militia, people’s police and army guards on duty at the square and the revolutionary people present at the time

worked in close co-operation, and fought bravely in defense of Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the great capital of our socialist motherland.

When the handful of bad elements again set fire to the barracks at 5 p.m., the army guards put out the fire at the risk of their own lives. To safeguard the Great Hall of the People, more than 100 Beijing worker-militiamen were injured, a dozen of them seriously wounded. Six army guards were abducted and many wounded. Risking dangers, the people's police persevered in fighting. Although the barracks was besieged and fire was engulfing the first floor, leading comrades of the Beijing worker-militia command post persevered in the struggle on the second floor. At this critical moment, the switchboard operator calmly reported the news to leading departments concerned.

At 6:30 p.m., after Comrade Wu De's speech was broadcast, most of the onlookers and the masses who had been taken in quickly dispersed. But a handful of counter-revolutionaries continued their desperate resistance and again posted some reactionary poems around the Monument to the People's Heroes. Three hours later, on receiving an order from the Beijing Municipal Revolutionary Committee, tens of thousands of worker-militiamen, in co-ordination with the peoples police and PLA guards, took resolute measures and enforced proletarian dictatorship. In high morale, the heroic Beijing militiamen valiantly filed into Tiananmen Square and mounted powerful counterattacks. They encircled those bad elements who were still creating disturbances and committing crimes in the vicinity of the Monument to the People's Heroes. They detained the active criminals and major suspects for examination. In the face of powerful proletarian dictatorship, the handful of rampant rioters could not withstand even a single blow. They squatted down, trembling like stray dogs. Some hur-

riedly handed over their daggers, knives and notebooks on which they had copied the reactionary poems. Several criminals who pulled out their daggers in a vain attempt to put up a last-ditch fight were duly punished. The revolutionary masses and people of the whole city heartily supported and acclaimed the revolutionary action of the Beijing worker-militia, the people's police and PLA guards.

Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on Dismissing Deng Xiaoping From All Posts Both Inside and Outside the Party²⁴

Having discussed the counter-revolutionary incident which took place at Tiananmen Square and Deng Xiaoping's latest behavior, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China holds that the nature of the Deng Xiaoping problem has turned into one of antagonistic contradiction. On the proposal of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Political Bureau unanimously agrees to dismiss Deng Xiaoping from all posts both inside and outside the Party while allowing him to keep his Party membership so as to see how he will behave in the future.

**The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China**
April 7, 1976

24 From *Peking Review*, Vol. 19, #15, April 9, 1976.

A Great Victory²⁵

Renmin Ribao editorial

On the proposal of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has unanimously agreed to appoint Comrade Hua Guofeng First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, and has unanimously agreed to dismiss Deng Xiaoping from all posts both inside and outside the Party. This is an important measure Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee have taken to combat and prevent revisionism and ensure that our Party and state will continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; it is a great victory in beating back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts.

The people are overjoyed at these happy tidings. The capital is astir as is the whole country. Armymen and civilians in their hundreds of millions have turned out to parade amid cheers and the beating of drums and gongs to hail the happy news. Grand rallies have been held in various parts of the country and messages sent to Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, warmly acclaiming and resolutely supporting the two wise decisions. A revolutionary scene of unity in struggle prevails throughout China, with the whole nation determined to carry through to the end the great struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt.

Deng Xiaoping has been the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party. Over a long period of time, he has opposed Chairman Mao, opposed Mao Zedong

25 From *Peking Review*, Vol. 19, #16, April 16, 1976.

Thought and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, he worked in collaboration with Liu Shaoqi in pushing a counter-revolutionary revisionist line; during the early stage of the Great Cultural Revolution, he, together with Liu Shaoqi, suppressed the masses and pushed a bourgeois reactionary line. Through criticism by the masses, he expressed his willingness to mend his ways and declared that he would "never reverse the verdict." Chairman Mao saved him and gave him the chance to resume work. But he did not live up to Chairman Mao's education and help. Once back in a position to wield that portion of power in his hands, he relapsed into error and tried to reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution and settle accounts with it. He dished up the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link," continued to pursue the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and took the lead in stirring up the Right deviationist wind.

With farsightedness, Chairman Mao saw through Deng Xiaoping's activities to reverse correct verdicts, and has since last October made a series of important instructions and led the whole Party, whole army and the people of the whole country in waging a great struggle to counterattack the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts. Chairman Mao points out: **"This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link." "He knows nothing of Marxism-Leninism; he represents the bourgeoisie. He said, he would 'never reverse the verdict.' It can't be counted on."** Chairman Mao's instructions hit Deng Xiaoping squarely in the vulnerable spot and exposed his reactionary class nature.

At a time when the broad masses of cadres and people throughout the country were criticizing Deng Xiaoping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, a counter-rev-

olutionary political incident was perpetrated at Tiananmen Square by a handful of class enemies who openly hoisted the ensign of supporting Deng Xiaoping and carried out counter-revolutionary activities. This was by no means accidental. These counter-revolutionaries frenziedly directed the spearhead of their attack at our great leader Chairman Mao, tried to split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, sang paeans for Deng Xiaoping and attempted to cast him in the role of Nagy, the chieftain of the counter-revolutionary incident in Hungary. This clearly shows whose interests Deng Xiaoping represents. This is how the capitalist-roaders in the Party are connected with the bourgeoisie and the unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists in society. The heroic worker-militia of the capital, working in coordination with the people's police and the army guards, enforced the dictatorship of the proletariat over the handful of class enemies, winning support and praise from the broad masses of the people. In view of the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tiananmen Square and Deng Xiaoping's latest behaviour, the Party Central Committee held that the nature of the Deng Xiaoping problem had turned into one of antagonistic contradiction and decided to dismiss him from all posts both inside and outside the Party. This has greatly heightened the morale of the revolutionary people and deflated the reactionary arrogance of the class enemies.

The counter-revolutionary political incident at Tiananmen Square provided for us an extremely profound lesson in class struggle by negative example. It tells us how sharp class struggle is in the period of the socialist revolution. First, it took place in our capital; second, it occurred in Tiananmen Square; third, vehicles and barracks were set on fire and worker-militiamen, people's police, P.L.A. men and revolutionary

masses were manhandled. How unbridled was the counter-revolutionary arrogance! It also shows how complex class struggle is. In a premeditated, planned and organized way, the counter-revolutionaries unscrupulously fabricated political rumours, made reactionary speeches, posted reactionary poems, distributed reactionary leaflets and agitated for the setting up of counter-revolutionary groups. They tried to hoodwink the masses and created disturbances. They were extremely insidious and ruthless! This incident also demonstrates that the broad masses of the people want revolution and have a deep hatred for these counter-revolutionaries. No matter how frenziedly this handful of class enemies behaved, they could not withstand a single blow and they disintegrated in no time when confronted by the revolutionary masses and the powerful dictatorship of the proletariat.

The two resolutions of the Party Central Committee have greatly inspired the revolutionary fighting will of the whole Party, the whole army and the people throughout the country. This will inevitably advance the struggle against the Right deviationist attempt to new heights. We are determined to carry this great struggle through to the end. We must firmly keep to the general orientation of the struggle and concentrate our criticism on Deng Xiaoping, his revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link," his counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and his crimes of trying to reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution and settle accounts with it, and attempting to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. We should heighten our revolutionary vigilance and pay attention at all times to the new trends of class struggle. We must realize that the class enemies who are unreconciled to their defeat will wage a death-bed struggle. We must resolutely strike at all conspiracies and sabotage activities of the class enemies. It is

necessary to pay attention to distinguishing between the two types of contradictions which are different in nature, educate those people who were duped and do ideological work well among them.

Let us unite and defend Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line by winning still greater victories in repulsing the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts.

Denial of the Difference Between Socialism and Capitalism Is Not Allowed²⁶

by Jin Zhibo

In the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, Chairman Mao has penetratingly exposed and criticized the nature of the unrepentant capitalist-roader Deng Xiaoping in negating the taking of class struggle as the key link and in practicing revisionism. Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of ‘white cat, black cat,’ making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism.”** It is of extremely great significance for us to study conscientiously this important directive of Chairman Mao’s, make an in-depth criticism of the reactionary theme about “white cat, black cat,” draw a clear demarcation line between Marxism and revisionism and between socialism on the one hand and capitalism and imperialism on the other so as to adhere to the Party’s basic line and carry the socialist revolution through to the end.

Background Of The “White Cat, Black Cat” Theme And Its Essence

26 From *Peking Review*, Vol. 19, #16, April 16, 1976.

The reactionary fallacy “It doesn’t matter whether it is a white cat or a black cat, any cat that catches mice is a good cat” came out in 1961. At that time, owing to the sabotage by the Khrushchov renegade clique of the Soviet Union and serious natural disasters, China met with temporary economic difficulties and the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines was very acute and fierce. Class enemies both at home and abroad who rejoiced at our temporary difficulties slandered that China’s economy was “on the verge of collapse” and considered that socialist China was about to fall apart. Joining in the chorus of class enemies at home and abroad, the ringleaders of the revisionist line inside our Party tried their utmost to distort the real causes that gave rise to the temporary difficulties, ascribing them to the socialist system, the Party’s line, principles and policies without mentioning at all the sabotage by the Soviet revisionists and the serious natural disasters. They made a wrong appraisal of the situation and, thinking that the time for restoring capitalism had come, made frenzied attacks on socialism. The renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shaoqi shouted himself hoarse, saying: “Industry should fall back to a sufficient degree and agriculture should do the same, including the fixing of farm output quotas based on individual households and returning to individual farming.” The bourgeois careerist and conspirator Lin Biao also trumpeted with great vigor that of the various types of relations of production in the world, “we’ll choose the one that will raise production.” What he really meant was to restore the capitalist relations of production. It was in these circumstances that Deng Xiaoping also came out talking blatantly about his theme on the “white cat and black cat.” For fear that people might not follow what he said, he went out of his way to elaborate: “What kind of relations of production is better? It seems that we have to take this attitude:

Adopt whatever kind in whatever place that facilitates the restoration and development of production.” He also said: “Individual farming is also permissible as long as there is a rise in production.” Apparently, he thought that the socialist system no longer worked for it “has failed to catch mice”; to him the capitalist system was better for it “catches mice all right.” So he worked with might and main to turn the collective economy back to an individual economy and “twist” the New China advancing on the socialist road back to the capitalist road.

Which one is better, socialism or capitalism? Whither China? This is a question that has been cleared up long ago. Chairman Mao pointed out in unmistakable terms: **“The present social system of our country is far superior to that of the old days. If it were not so, the old system would not have been overthrown and the new system could not have been established. In saying that socialist relations of production are better suited to the development of the productive forces than are the old relations of production, we mean that they permit the productive forces to develop at a speed unattainable in the old society.”** (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*) Although China at that time had met with temporary economic difficulties, they were merely difficulties on the road of advance and we could overcome them by relying on the Party leadership and the initiative of the masses and on the socialist system itself. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line, our Party and the people of the whole country persisted in taking class struggle as the key link, criticized revisionism and capitalism, adhered to the policy of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts, strengthened and consolidated the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat, took further steps to carry out the Party’s

policies for the countryside, and consolidated the collective economy based on the three-level system of ownership of the means of production in the people's commune, with the production team at the basic level. All this further brought the socialist initiative of the masses into play, and the result was the national economy quickly recovered and developed and the situation very soon took a turn for the better. Since then, in agricultural production in our country, there have been good harvests for 14 years in succession and industrial production too has been thriving. Hasn't this historical fact fully demonstrated that, compared with the capitalist system, the socialist system has potentially unparalleled great strength? Isn't this a forceful repudiation and negation of the "white cat, black cat" theme that negated socialism and advocated capitalism? Facts have given eloquent proof that **"only socialism can save China."** (Mao Zedong: *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.) If we were to act in the way proposed by Deng Xiaoping, let all the capitalist "white cats and black cats" come out, engage in individual farming and speculation, and embark on free enterprises, then the socialist collective economy would disintegrate, the cause of socialism would go down the drain and the state under the dictatorship of the proletariat would be turned into one under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Then capitalist restoration such as that occurring in the Soviet Union would appear in our country. This is a thing the Chinese people absolutely will not agree. We can only advance, not retreat; we can only take the socialist road, not the capitalist road.

**"Taking The Three Directives As The Key Link"
Is A Continuation And Development Of
The "White Cat, Black Cat" Theme**

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the “white cat, black cat” theme was sternly criticized by the revolutionary masses. Deng Xiaoping had verbally acknowledged that such talk was “wrong” and expressed his desire to “mend his ways.” But has he really mended his ways? No. Once he took up work again, he relapsed into error, peddled even more frantically his “white cat, black cat” ware and persisted in taking the capitalist road. The revisionist programme of “taking the three directives as the key link” he had concocted was a continuation and development of his “white cat, black cat” theme. Throwing the key link of class struggle to the winds, he denied the objective fact that classes and class struggle exist in socialist society and spread the theory of the dying out of class struggle. He was in fact trying to let the struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie “die out” while encouraging the bourgeoisie to launch attacks on the proletariat.

Nor was this all. Deng Xiaoping also spread many other similar absurdities in a vain attempt to replace in all spheres Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line with a revisionist line. He said undisguisedly that “not to be socialist-minded but professionally expert is useful for the People’s Republic of China” and that “this should be cherished and praised.” At his instigation, numerous fallacies were trotted out. One of these was: “It doesn’t matter whether it is a black line or a red line, any line will do as long as it can train people who are proficient and able to produce something.” To be socialist-minded and professionally expert or not to be socialist-minded but professionally expert—this is a question of which road we should take, the socialist road, or the capitalist road. Only by firmly taking the socialist road and integrating himself with the workers and peasants to become both red and expert can an intellectual contribute to the cause of socialist revolution and construc-

tion. As to those intellectuals obstinately taking the capitalist road, no matter how “expert” they are, they will do no good but harm to our socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Just as Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“They do not like our state, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat, and yearn for the old society. Whenever there is an opportunity, they will stir up trouble and attempt to overthrow the Communist Party and restore the old China. As between the proletarian and the bourgeois roads, as between the socialist and the capitalist roads, these people stubbornly choose to follow the latter.”** (*Speech at the Chinese Communist Party’s National Conference on Propaganda Work.*) Aren’t things just like this? In 1957, some Rightists in the cultural, educational and scientific and technological circles ended up in the anti-Party, anti-socialist quagmire by following the road of “not being socialist-minded but professionally expert.” These people formed the social basis and served as tools for Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and their like to restore capitalism. If they are of any use, they can only be useful to the restoration of capitalism and the subversion of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Having been tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals in our country have made progress to varying degrees; they are willing to work for socialism and integrate themselves with the workers and peasants, but in their minds there are still a lot of old bourgeois ideas and they need to continue to remold their world outlook. In 1957, Chairman Mao said: **“We hope that they will continue to make progress and that, in the course of work and study, they will gradually acquire the communist world outlook, get a better grasp of Marxism-Leninism and become integrated with the workers and peasants. We hope they will not stop half-way, or, what is worse, slip back, for there will be no future for them in going backwards.”** (*On the Correct*

Handling of Contradictions Among the People.) When more and more intellectuals were forging ahead towards the goal of being socialist-minded and professionally expert in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, Deng Xiaoping babbled that not being socialist-minded but professionally expert was "useful." In preaching this he was actually opposing the Party's policy to help intellectuals remold their ideology, and he was trying to pull intellectuals wishing to make progress back to the old revisionist road which they took before the Great Cultural Revolution. His aim was that they would serve as his tool in restoring capitalism. What a sinister motive!

Deng Xiaoping also kept babbling that we should "give first place to daring" and that we should "put the word daring above everything else." Here he said nothing about which class we should serve, what road we should take and which line we should follow. To him, anyone who dares to take on a job was praiseworthy. This, in essence, was another way of presenting his "white cat, black cat" theme. In class society, the word daring has a specific meaning, and there is no such thing as "daring" in the abstract and above the classes. What we advocate is the fearless revolutionary spirit of the proletariat: **"We can clasp the moon in the Ninth Heaven and seize turtles deep down in the Five Seas."** In our struggle for the realization of communism, we must not fear any formidable enemy, we must not be daunted by any danger, difficulty or obstacle, and we must dare to struggle and dare to win, dare to go against the tide and dare to smash the old order and build a new world. But Deng Xiaoping talked with great fervor about "putting the word daring above everything else," about "making up one's mind and fighting tooth and nail without any regard for one's own life." What did he really want to fight for? It was to egg on a handful of capitalist-roaders who refused to mend their ways to

have a trial of strength with the proletariat “without any regard for their own lives,” be daring to practice revisionism and restore capitalism. Owing to the fact that taking the socialist road is what the people really want and that anyone who wishes to take the capitalist road is extremely isolated, those who wanted to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism were afraid to do so. Deng Xiaoping was well aware of their frame of mind, so he went all out to preach “putting the word daring above everything else” so as to back them up and boost their morale, encourage them to whip up the Rightist deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution and settle accounts with it.

A New Version Of The Bourgeois Pragmatic Philosophy

Although the “white cat, black cat” theme of the unrepentant capitalist-roader Deng Xiaoping does not deal with philosophy, it nevertheless involves the important question of what is the objective criterion of truth in the theory of knowledge. The theme that “any cat that catches mice is a good cat” is nothing but a new version of the notorious bourgeois philosophy of pragmatism which preaches that “anything useful is a truth” and vaunts that it is a philosophy above classes. In actual fact, it is out-and-out subjective idealism. It completely denies the objectiveness of truth and denies the fact that practice by people in their tens of millions is the only criterion for testing truth. According to this philosophy, whether a thing is right or wrong is determined by whether it is of any use to the bourgeoisie. So according to this reactionary concept on “truth,” rumors and sophistry which are useful to intriguing and conspiring are truths; brutal exploitation of the working people which is to the advantage of the bourgeoisie is a truth; the theory of the dying out of class struggle and

theory of productive forces, both useful to capitalist restoration, are truths. Obviously, this philosophy which apologizes for the bourgeoisie and the capitalist system is most absurd and extremely reactionary. Precisely because pragmatism helps preserve the interests of the bourgeoisie and is deceptive to a certain degree, it meets the needs of the revisionists in working for restoration and retrogression. They often pick up this outdated weapon from the ideological arsenal of the bourgeoisie to attack the proletariat. Deng Xiaoping negated the socialist road by encouraging individual farming in the name of “increasing production”; he negated being red and expert and advocated not being socialist-minded but professionally expert on the pretext that the latter was “useful”; he opposed the fearless revolutionary spirit of the proletariat to overthrow the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and trumpeted the “courageous” spirit of the bourgeoisie to launch attacks on the proletariat on the pretext that this could “solve problems.” Aren’t all these bourgeois pragmatic trash? In order to oppose socialism he went to great lengths to seeking the aid of pragmatism and completely denied the objective criterion of truth and the objective law of social development and cast away the Marxist method of class analysis. This shows to what extent he has degenerated!

Socialism and capitalism are diametrically opposed to each other. Between the two there is always an uncompromising struggle. The result of the struggle can only be the growth of the one and the elimination of the other and the “gobbling up” of one by the other. But all revisionists try to write off this struggle. Just as Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“The revisionists deny the differences between socialism and capitalism, between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. What they advocate is in fact not the socialist line but the capitalist line.”** (*Speech at the Chi-*

nese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work.) From his “white cat, black cat” theme to his “taking the three directives as the key link,” Deng Xiaoping has proved that he has consistently pushed a capitalist line, that is, a revisionist line. This line denies that the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the principal contradiction in socialist society, that revisionism is the main danger in socialist society; it tries to reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution and settle accounts with it, so as to attain the aim of replacing the socialist system with the capitalist system and replacing the dictatorship of the proletariat with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

We must attach importance to the role of teachers by negative example. Both the new and old revisionists invariably resort to the trick of saying things in abstract terms and placing them above classes so as to blur the line of demarcation between socialism and capitalism, between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and replace the Marxist-Leninist line with the revisionist line. In opposing the switch from the new-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, Liu Shaoqi made all-out efforts to spread the idea that “capitalist exploitation is not wrong, but has its merit,” that “the more people you exploit the more advantageous it is to the people.” He preached this in the vain hope of sabotaging the cause of socialist revolution. This tells us by negative example that it is most important to draw a clear line of demarcation on the question of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines.

Repulsing the Right Deviationist Wind in the Scientific and Technological Circles²⁷

by the Mass Criticism Group of
Peking and Tsinghua Universities

[Around last summer, several leading members in the scientific and technological circles pushing the revisionist line, instigated by the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Deng Xiaoping, tried to negate the achievements gained in science and technology during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Their attempt was to pull scientific research back to the old revisionist road of Liu Shaoqi before the Great Cultural Revolution. The struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse the correct verdicts in the scientific and technological circles is a component part of the great counterattack initiated and led by Chairman Mao on the Right deviationist wind. The following article deals with issues involved and the essence of the two-line struggle in that field. —Ed.]

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao, has criticized in a penetrating way the revisionist line of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao and promoted the vigorous development of China's science and technology. Many new, important

27 From *Peking Review*, Vol. 19, #18, April 30, 1976, pp. 6-9.

achievements in this field, including the recovery of a man-made earth satellite according to plan after orbiting the earth, the man-made synthetic insulin and measurement of its crystallized structure, are indications that China's science and technology have continued to advance to a new high level. However, for a period recently, a Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts was whipped up in the scientific and technological circles. Several people clinging to the revisionist line clamoured: "What is the revisionist line in scientific research? Can anyone give a clear answer?" This reactionary fallacy is itself an example of the revisionist line in the scientific and technological circles.

The Necessity to Uphold the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

"Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be fully achieved in every factory, village, office and school." This brilliant directive of Chairman Mao's which sets forth in explicit terms the fundamental task on various fronts must be firmly implemented without exception. Yet, advocates of the Right deviationist trend in the scientific and technological circles openly declared: "Don't talk about the dictatorship of the proletariat in the scientific and technological circles." One of their reasons was: "You can't exercise dictatorship over science and technique."

Dictatorship always means the relations between classes, not the relations between human beings and things. The task of natural science is to study the laws of nature. In class society, those engaged in scientific and technological work as well as research institutes and their leading and administrative organs are all conditioned by class struggle and the two-line struggle, and they all serve the dictatorship of a certain class. In capi-

talist society, science and technology are in the hands of the capitalists who make **“natural science subservient to capital.”** They are tools serving the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the interests of the capitalists. In socialist society, science and technology should be in the hands of the laboring people and serve as a tool for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the interests of the laboring people. It is necessary to exercise proletarian dictatorship in the scientific and technological circles, but advocates of the Right deviationist wind distorted it to mean exercising dictatorship over science and technology; in doing so, they tried to make use of the particularity of the objects of scientific research to negate the necessity of exercising proletarian dictatorship on the scientific and technological front. This is a revisionist sleight of hand.

The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. For a long time the scientific and technological field was dominated by the exploiting classes and bourgeois prejudices and traditional influences were deep-rooted. In the 17 years prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, Liu Shaoqi and his cohorts pushed a revisionist line in the scientific and technological circle. Many scientific research institutes were dominated by bourgeois intellectuals. Since the Great Cultural Revolution started, many new things conducive to the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship have come to the fore. But the achievements obtained through struggle have to be consolidated and some places are still controlled by the bourgeoisie today. The struggle is still very acute and complicated as to who will hold the dominant position, what line is implemented and what direction and road should be followed in developing science and technology. To advocate the nonsense “Don’t talk about the dictatorship of the proletariat in the scientific and technological circles”

means, in essence, negating the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, negating the principle of taking class struggle as the key link and pitting the theory of the dying out of class struggle against the Party's basic line. This is in effect a counterattack in an attempt to liquidate the achievements gained in the Great Cultural Revolution and to let the bourgeoisie exercise dictatorship over the proletariat in science and technology.

To exercise proletarian dictatorship in the scientific and technological field means not only the suppression of a handful of counter-revolutionaries who oppose socialist revolution and undermine socialist construction. In a more fundamental sense, it means firmly implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the Party's principles and policies, persisting in the criticism of revisionism and the bourgeoisie as well as bourgeois ideology in scientific theories so that scientific research will serve proletarian politics, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and be combined with productive labour.

In the scientific and technological field, there are large numbers of intellectuals. One of the important tasks of the proletarian dictatorship is to use proletarian world outlook to prevail over bourgeois world outlook and to unite, educate and transform the intellectuals. To help the intellectuals remold their ideology is entirely different from regarding them as "objects of the dictatorship" which was a slander by advocates of the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts with ulterior motives. Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, the vast majority of the intellectuals have made progress to varying degrees. Yet the advocates of the Right deviationist trend had put out the reactionary fallacy that the intellectuals were regarded as "objects of the dictatorship." This was an

attempt to vilify and oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat and it showed nothing but their own fear of the proletarian dictatorship.

Use Marxism to Occupy the Scientific and Technological Field

An important aspect in the exercise of proletarian dictatorship on the scientific and technological front is to use Marxism to occupy all the positions and guide scientific research, so as to continuously wipe out idealism, metaphysics and other bourgeois ways of thinking.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“Marxism embraces but cannot replace realism in literary and artistic creation, just as it embraces but cannot replace the atomic and electronic theories in physics.”** This explains in an all-round way the relation between Marxism and natural science. Advocators of the Right deviationist wind, however, chose to quote out of context. Without mentioning that Marxism embraces natural science, they one-sidedly emphasized that Marxism could not replace natural science. Their aim was to oppose using Marxism to guide natural science.

It should be noted that, in the first place, Marxism embraces natural science. In creating Marxism, Marx and Engels not only summed up the experience of class struggle, but generalized the rich achievements of natural science. Marxism is the crystallization of the entire human knowledge including natural science. Just as Chairman Mao has pointed out that Marx **“studied nature, history and proletarian revolution and created dialectical materialism, historical materialism and the theory of proletarian revolution.”** Marx wrote *Mathematical Manuscripts*. Engels, in his *Dialectics of Nature*, made a theoretical summary of many fields of natural science. By summing up the new discoveries in natural science after Engels' death, Lenin wrote *Materialism*

and Empirio-Criticism to criticize the reactionary philosophy of the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao has always paid attention to the philosophical generalization of natural science. In *On Contradiction* and *On Practice*, Chairman Mao has summed up in a penetrating way the achievements of natural science, and in *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Chairman Mao has generalized on a high plane the dialectical law of the development of natural science.

Since Marxism has generalized natural science, the general laws of dialectical materialism it expounds are applicable to every branch of natural science. Because of the variation in the forms of motion of matter and the particularity of contradictions, every branch of science has its specific object of study. While we say that Marxism cannot replace natural science, we do not mean to weaken the guiding role played by Marxism. Rather, people are required to learn to apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to make a concrete and dialectical analysis and study of their own vocational work.

As a result of the sabotage carried out by Liu Shaoqi and his gang prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, people engaged in scientific and technological work did not conscientiously study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, and idealism and metaphysics dominated quite seriously over the scientific and technological field. During the Great Cultural Revolution, scientific and technical workers have enhanced their consciousness in studying Marxism. But this is only the beginning. It requires persistent efforts and struggle over a long period in order to be able to really use Marxism to guide scientific research and occupy the scientific and technological field. In these circumstances, the reactionary fallacies advocated by the Right deviationists were actually aimed at strangling the mass movement of the scientific and technical personnel to study Marxism.

Historical experience has proved that the revisionists often make use of natural science to attack Marxism. Marxists must gird themselves for battle in this field. An important aspect of Marx' and Engels' struggle against Duhring concerned natural science. In *Anti-Duhring*, Engels criticized Duhring's anti-Marxist viewpoints in cosmogony, physics, chemistry and biology. After the defeat of the revolution in Russia in 1905, to oppose Bogdanov's revisionist line, Lenin made deep-going researches into the new discoveries of natural science and the "crisis of physics" and thoroughly criticized Machism and its disciples in Russia. Chairman Mao's directive "**Break down blind faith, go in for industry, agriculture and technical and cultural revolutions independently**" and his instruction on opposing the suppression of newborn forces have incisively criticized the philosophy of servility to things foreign and other idealistic and metaphysical views in the scientific and technological field. But the advocates of the Right deviationist trend openly opposed using Marxism to occupy all positions in natural science.

Integration With Workers and Peasants

Professional scientific and technical personnel integrating with the workers and peasants and the conducting of scientific research in an open-door way are socialist new things that have emerged in the Great Cultural Revolution. The Right deviationists, however, did their utmost to find fault with these revolutionary newborn things. They asserted that conducting scientific research in an open-door way would mean "too much linking with practice to the neglect of theory" and "too much emphasis on integration with workers and peasants, which would make people not dare to study theory."

To set linking scientific research with production against the development of scientific theory is that kind of theory of knowledge which puts the cart before the horse. What is theory? **“There is only one kind of true theory in this world, theory that is drawn from objective reality and then verified by objective reality.”** Man’s activity in production is the most fundamental practical activity. In the last analysis, the emergence and development of the theories of natural science originate from practice in production. **“If society has a technical need, that helps science forward more than ten universities.”** Today, the vigorous development of China’s industrial and agricultural production and construction poses many urgent theoretical problems to be solved by natural science, and on the other hand accumulates rich practical experience for solving these problems and developing scientific theories. If the scientific and technical personnel were to follow what the Right deviationists advocated, completely ignore the needs of China’s industrial and agricultural production and cudgel their brains behind closed doors, then they could only find topics for study from foreign magazines and be led by the nose by others. Before the Cultural Revolution, under the pernicious influence of Liu Shaoqi’s revisionist line in scientific research, many research units tried to “raise the standards” through study behind closed doors, and had no contact, whatsoever with factories and the villages. The result was lots of money were wasted, no success was gained and the scientists turned revisionist. Having criticized the revisionist line during the Cultural Revolution, scientific and technical workers began to take an active part in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Working according to the theory of knowledge of “practice — theory — again practice,” they have begun to achieve some successes.

By integrating themselves with the workers and peasants, the brilliant road charted by Chairman Mao, scientific and technical workers receive re-education politically and this helps them remold their world outlook. At the same time, it is also very necessary for them to study again vocationally. The Right deviationists emphasized “fanning up a hurricane for vocational work” and forbade stressing the integration of scientific and technical personnel with workers and peasants. Isn't it quite clear what they opposed and what they advocated?

“From the very beginning the origin and development of the sciences has been determined by production.” The laboring people are those who directly engage in production. In the long process of practice, they have accumulated rich experience, both successful and unsuccessful. This is the source for developing scientific theories. Only by modestly learning from and summing up the masses' new experience and gathering together their wisdom can scientific and technical personnel give full play to their professional skills and make greater contributions in their work. By promoting open-door scientific research, we do not mean doing away with laboratories or negating study and research by the scientific workers and technicians themselves. What we mean is to link research in the laboratories with experiments by the masses and to adhere to the correct orientation of integration with productive labour and with workers and peasants.

Launch Vigorous Mass Movement

Should the masses be mobilized in developing science and technology? This is a question of principle concerning the political line. The Right deviationists regarded the scientific and technological field as a sacred place where ordinary laborers must not be

admitted. In their eyes, the cultural level of the workers, peasants and soldiers was “too low” and they were therefore not qualified to do research work. This was an attempt to bar the masses from scientific and technological work.

“The mass movement is necessary in all work. Things won’t go without the mass movement.” To launch vigorous mass movements in scientific and technological work is an extremely important feature of the development in China’s science and technology.

China is a socialist country. We cannot rely on foreign aid to develop our science and technology. **Main-
taining independence and keeping the initiative in our
own hands and relying on our own efforts** is a fundamental principle in socialist revolution and socialist construction. We must never trail behind others at a snail’s pace, but should race against time to catch up with and surpass advanced world levels. To achieve this, it won’t do just to rely on a few people; we must launch vigorous mass movements and rely on the masses’ wisdom and strength.

The masses doing scientific research is of great importance to narrowing the three major differences between worker and peasant, between town and country and between manual and mental labour, and to restricting bourgeois right. By launching vigorous mass movements on the scientific and technological front, ordinary laborers are able to master science and technology, thereby breaking the monopoly of science and technology by the exploiting classes. In present-day China, workers, peasants and soldiers are toppling blind faith and emancipating their minds and are enthusiastically taking part in the mass movement of scientific experiment. From the creation of the new series of oil-extracting technology in Taching to the “sponge farmland” in Tachai which is a development in the science of soil, from the manufacture of a “mass drill” to the inven-

tion of new electric light source, from automatic production lines in neighbourhood-run small factories to the building of 10,000-ton vessels with home-made materials and equipment, from the swift progress in industry to reaping rich harvests for 14 years in a row — all are splendid feats performed by China's workers and poor and lower-middle peasants. They vividly speak of the truth that **“the masses are the real heroes.”** Mass contingents engaged in scientific research constitute the main force in promoting science and technology in China.

We have always attached importance to the role of professional scientific and technical personnel. We have always held that they should integrate themselves with the masses and we regard this as the only way to developing China's science and technology at a quick tempo. When we say that vigorous mass movements should be launched in the scientific and technological field, we also mean reliance on professional scientific and technical personnel and we advocate and put into practice the principle that they should integrate themselves with the masses. China's successes in nuclear and thermonuclear tests and in launching man-made earth satellites are all fruits of the combined efforts of workers, cadres, scientific workers and technicians and the result of mass movements. The aim of the Right deviationists was to lead scientific and technical personnel astray on to the road of separation from the workers and peasants; there could be no future for any vocational work if scientific and technical personnel were to go up this blind alley.

Non-Professionals Can Lead Professionals

Which class wields the power of leadership is of great importance concerning which line is followed. The Right deviationists openly advocated that “first-rate” “authorities” “publicly acknowledged in the scientific

and technological circles” should hold the leading posts. They tried to use this to oppose the leadership of the proletariat over scientific and technological work.

This is a typical example of the fallacy that “experts should be in charge of the institutes.” Its essence was to slash Party leadership, just as what Liu Shaoqi had done before the Cultural Revolution in letting bourgeois intellectuals control the leadership in science and technology. In this respect, the weapon used by the Right deviationists was the same as that used by the Rightists in 1957 when they attacked the Party, saying: Those who do not have vocational skill cannot hold responsible positions; non-professionals cannot lead professionals.

Dialectical materialism holds that it is a universal law for non-professionals to lead professionals. Anyone who maintains that only those with scientific and technical knowledge can lead a certain branch of work is not only negating the leadership of politics over vocational work but is actually denying any possibility of giving unified leadership over various departments of vocational work. Of course, this does not mean that comrades engaged in Party work on the scientific and technological front should not learn scientific and technological knowledge at all. Our Party has always maintained that cadres should learn the vocational work they lead and strive to be both red and expert, because this helps them to implement Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line in a still better way and is conducive to strengthening Party leadership.

The fact that the hackneyed tune that “non-professionals cannot lead professionals” surfaces again and again in the scientific and technological circles shows that the exploiting classes will never retreat from their hereditary domain of their own accord. In this field, in particular, which requires special knowledge, the bourgeoisie often regard the scientific and technological

knowledge it possesses as capital in contending with the proletariat for leadership. Therefore, Party leadership in this field should in no way be weakened but should be greatly strengthened.

Chairman Mao has time and again taught us: **“Guard against revisionism.”** The Right deviationist wind in the scientific and technological circles to negate the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is by no means an isolated phenomenon. It was whipped up by the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Deng Xiaoping who pushed a revisionist line which is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line. The essence of this revisionist line is to negate class struggle as the key link, change the Party’s basic line and negate the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in a vain attempt to restore capitalism. The current great struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind is to consolidate and develop the fruits of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and to prevent capitalist restoration.

The Great Cultural Revolution Will Shine Forever²⁸

Editorial in Renmin Ribao,
Hongqi, and Jiefangjun Bao

Ten years ago, the *May 16 Circular* of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was drawn up under the personal guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao. This brilliant Marxist document sounded the clarion call for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and illuminated the course of its triumphant advance. Today, having won great victories in the struggle to criticize Deng Xiaoping and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, we warmly celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Great Cultural Revolution and restudy the *Circular*, which gives us a deeper understanding of the necessity and far-reaching significance of the revolution and a greater confidence to persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The *Circular* was drawn up in the fierce struggle between the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shaoqi as its chieftain. It incisively criticized Liu Shaoqi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, exposed the reactionary essence of the "February Outline Report,"²⁹ refuted the fallacies against the Great Cul-

28 From *Peking Review*, Vol. 19, #21, May 21, 1976.

29 The "February Outline Report" refers to the "Outline Report on the Current Academic Discussion Made by the Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution" which was approved for

tural Revolution spread by those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road, armed the whole Party with the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship, and called on us to expose and criticize the bourgeois representatives in the Party and seize that portion of leadership they had usurped. The formulation of the Circular proclaimed the bankruptcy of the “February Outline Report.” Since then the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has been forging ahead vigorously.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“We couldn’t do without the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.”** This great revolution, which had been brewing for a long time, was the inevitable outcome of the acute struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. For years the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shaoqi and company had made frenzied efforts to push the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and stubbornly stuck to the capitalist road. They did their utmost to oppose Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line on all fronts: clamoring about capitalists “having merits in carrying out exploitation” and about “consolidating the new-democratic order”; drastically slashing the number of co-operatives and practicing *san zi yi bao*³⁰; lauding to the skies the reactionary films *Inside Story of the*

distribution on February 12, 1966 to whole Party by the counter-revolutionary revisionist Peng Zhen who employed the most dishonest methods, acted arbitrarily, abused his powers and usurped the name of the Party Central Committee. This outline report opposed carrying the socialist revolution through to the end, opposed the line formulated by the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Zedong for carrying out the Cultural Revolution, attacked the proletarian Left and shielded the bourgeois Rightists, and its aim was to prepare public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. It was a reflection of bourgeois ideology in the Party and was out-and-out revisionism.

Qing Court and *The Life of Wu Xun*; and resisting the criticism of the play *Hai Rui Dismissed From Office*. For a period of time Liu Shaoqi's bourgeois headquarters was in control of Party power and the power in the cultural and propaganda fields and in many localities. Capitalism and revisionism were rampant in the ideological and cultural departments under its control. Hordes of ghosts and monsters came out into the open and filled our press, radio, books and works of literature and art. A grave situation in which the bourgeoisie exercised dictatorship over the proletariat developed in certain spheres in the superstructure. Material incentives and "bonuses in command" were widely practiced to lure people to the capitalist road. In a fairly large majority of factories and enterprises, leadership was not in the hands of real Marxists and the masses of workers. Our socialist economic base was not solid. If the Great Cultural Revolution had not taken place, it would not have taken long before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale would inevitably occur, our Party would turn into a revisionist party, and the whole of China would change its political color.

With great Marxist-Leninist insight, Chairman Mao perceived in good time the grave danger that the capitalist-roaders in the Party were subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao pointed out in the Circular. **"Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the**

30 This refers to the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of farm output quotas for individual households with each on its own.

bourgeoisie.” In the course of the present struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, Chairman Mao has again 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.”** In these important instructions, Chairman Mao has profoundly analyzed the changes in the class relations and the characteristics of class struggle during the period of socialism, advanced the scientific thesis that the bourgeoisie is in the Communist Party, developed Marxism-Leninism and further clarified for us the orientation for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the past decade we have waged struggles against Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping. All these struggles have proved that the bourgeoisie is indeed inside the Communist Party. The capitalist-roaders in the Party are the bourgeoisie’s main force in its trial of strength with the proletariat and in its efforts to restore capitalism. The crux of the matter here lies in the fact that these capitalist-roaders are persons in power who have sneaked into the very structure of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chieftains of the revisionist line, like Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping, hold a very large proportion of the Party and state power. They are thus in a position to turn instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat into instruments for exercising dictatorship over the proletariat, and they are therefore even more ruthless in their efforts to restore capitalism than the bourgeoisie outside the Party. They could use the power in their hands to recruit deserters and renegades, form cliques to pursue their own selfish interests, rig up a bourgeois headquarters, work out a revisionist line and push it from top to bottom. They could consolidate and extend bourgeois right, protect their own

interests, namely, the interests of the “high officials” who practice revisionism, embezzle and squander huge amounts of social wealth, energetically engage in capitalist activities, undermine and disrupt the socialist relations of production. Donning the cloak of Marxism-Leninism and flaunting all sorts of ensigns, they are able to mislead for a time a number of people who lack an understanding of the real situation and do not have a high level of consciousness, deceiving them into following their revisionist line. In short, they are political representatives of the bourgeoisie and, in their trial of strength with the proletariat, they are commanders of all social forces and cliques that resist the socialist revolution and oppose and undermine socialist construction.

Deng Xiaoping, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party, played the commander’s role in vehemently stirring up the Right deviationist wind which culminated in the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tiananmen Square. Before the Great Cultural Revolution he was the No.2 chieftain of Liu Shaoqi’s bourgeois headquarters. The two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao were smashed during the Great Cultural Revolution and, when Deng Xiaoping was criticized by the masses, his words flowed in a spate of vows, such as “I’ll mend my ways” and “I’ll never reverse the verdict.” But, once he resumed work and was in power, he threw off his disguise and, with hatred grown tenfold and frenzy increased a hundredfold, brought all his experience in counter-revolutionary political struggle into play, cooking up a programme, preparing public opinion and mounting an organized and planned attack on the Party, with the spearhead directed at our great leader Chairman Mao.

“Take the three directives as the key link”—this was Deng Xiaoping’s political programme for reversing correct verdicts and restoring capitalism. Preaching the

theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive-forces, this revisionist programme opposes taking class struggle as the key link and denies the Party's basic line and the necessity for the Great Cultural Revolution. Deng Xiaoping attempted to make it the "general programme for all work" for a long time to come and to impose it on the whole Party and the people throughout the country in order to pave the way for an all-round restoration of capitalism.

"Seize ideological positions"—this was a move Deng Xiaoping took to prepare public opinion for his scheme to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism. After he came to power, especially during last July, August and September and afterwards, political rumors were afloat and strange tales passed around here, there and everywhere in society. All these rumors and strange tales originated with Deng Xiaoping and were fabricated by Deng's rumor-mongering company. Deng Xiaoping and his followers feverishly created counter-revolutionary public opinions by various base means to hoodwink the people and create splits. In doing this, they spearheaded their attack at the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and raised a hue and cry to clear the way for Deng Xiaoping to usurp the Party leadership and seize state power.

"The first and foremost thing is to grasp leading bodies"—this was the organizational measure Deng Xiaoping adopted, in his attempt to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism. He opposed the setting up of "three-in-one" revolutionary leading bodies, attacked and pushed aside the old, middle-aged and young cadres who upheld Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, mustered unrepentant capitalist-roaders and put them in important positions, and knocked together "restorationist legions" in his attempt to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism. He did his utmost to keep in the Party renegades and special agents, who had

been identified as such during the Great Cultural Revolution, so that they could stage a comeback sometime in the future.

“Carry out all-round rectification”—this was the plan of action Deng Xiaoping mapped out for his scheme to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism. The moment he issued the order for “rectification,” the sinister wind to reverse correct verdicts sprang up. Through “rectification” he aimed at making a clean sweep of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line and policies, the achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution and the superiority of the socialist system. The so-called rectification was in essence an attack on the proletariat by the bourgeoisie and an attempt at capitalist restoration.

All these acts by Deng Xiaoping were a continuation and development of the reactionary “February Outline Report,” which Chairman Mao had already criticized in the *Circular*. Deng Xiaoping’s “taking the three directives as the key link” is a carbon copy of the revisionist line which the *Circular* describes as **“completely denying that the several thousand years of human history are a history of class struggle,” “completely denying the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.”** The *Circular* exposes Peng Zhen for deliberately spreading rumors to divert people from the target of the struggle and scathingly denounces his “rectification campaign” as one aimed at attacking the proletarian Left and shielding the bourgeois Rightists. Deng Xiaoping went still further. His line is a continuation of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao. If this line were followed, not only would the achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution be nullified but those of the Chinese revolution as a whole would also go by the board. The capitalist road

taken by Deng Xiaoping would lead back to the semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China and reduce China to an appendage of imperialism and social-imperialism. As Chairman Mao pointed out in the Circular when he criticized the representatives of the bourgeoisie: **“They are faithful lackeys of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists. Together with the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, they cling to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system, and they oppose Marxist-Leninist ideology and the socialist system”**; **“their struggle against us is one of life and death, and there is no question of equality. Therefore, our struggle against them, too, can be nothing but a life-and-death struggle.”**

The tremendous historic merits of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao lie in the fact that the scheme of the bourgeoisie inside the Party to restore capitalism was smashed resolutely and in good time, its counter-revolutionary revisionist line was criticized and that portion of the Party and state leadership it had usurped was seized back, thereby ensuring that our country continues to advance along Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line. The Great Cultural Revolution’s merits also lie in solving, in both theory and practice, the cardinal question in the contemporary international communist movement, namely, how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. Hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals have come to realize ever more deeply that the Great Cultural Revolution **“is absolutely necessary and most timely.”** They warmly hail: **“The Great Cultural Revolution is excellent!”** Only unrepentant capitalist-roaders like Deng Xiaoping harbor bitter hatred for it. Bent on settling old scores and reversing the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution, he offended

the great majority of people. They do not agree with him nor will they allow him to carry on. **“Reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people.”** The will of the people, the Party and the Party members is for continuing the revolution and against restoration and retrogression. It is precisely for this reason that the great struggle personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts has won the wholehearted support of the entire Party, the whole army and the people throughout the country. The struggle has the full approval of the people and is to their great satisfaction. Those who attempted to reverse correct verdicts and settle old scores were extremely isolated and were soon brought to defeat.

We have won great victories, but the struggle has not come to an end. The struggle to criticize Deng Xiaoping’s counter-revolutionary revisionist line must be carried on in depth. We must never slacken our fighting will. The handful of class enemies will not be reconciled to their defeat. Drawing lessons from their failure, they are studying tactics and methods of how to deal with us. The revolutionary people must be soberly aware of this.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“Lenin spoke of building a bourgeois state without capitalists to safeguard bourgeois right. We ourselves have built just such a state, not much different from the old society: there are ranks and grades, eight grades of wages, distribution according to work, and exchange of equal values.”** As long as these conditions still exist, as long as classes, class contradictions and class struggle exist and as long as the influences of the bourgeoisie and international imperialism and revisionism exist, the historical phenomenon that **“the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road”** will remain for a long time to come. On the first anniversary of the *Circular*, Chairman Mao gave

us this admonition: **“The present Great Cultural Revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future.”** During the current struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, Chairman Mao has again pointed out: **“After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of the high officials.”** **“Will there be need for revolution a hundred years from now? Will there still be need for revolution a thousand years from now? There is always need for revolution. There are always sections of the people who feel themselves oppressed; junior officials, students, workers, peasants and soldiers don’t like bigshots oppressing them. That’s why they want revolution. Will contradictions no longer be seen ten thousand years from now? Why not? They will still be seen.”** Therefore, we must prepare ourselves ideologically for a protracted struggle against the capitalist-roaders and for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao said at the beginning of this year: **“Without struggle, there is no progress.”** **“Can 800 million people manage without struggle?!”** The ten years of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, was a decade in which we advanced through struggle and brought tremendous changes to our country. Studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in the course of struggle, hundreds of millions of people have greatly raised their consciousness in combating and preventing revisionism and continuing the revolution. Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line has found its way even deeper into the hearts of the people. By getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh, our Party has grown

in strength and become more vigorous than ever. Our army has grown stronger, after going through new tests and making fresh contributions to the people in “supporting industry, supporting agriculture, supporting the broad masses of the Left, exercising military control, and giving political and military training.” The militia has contributed to the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship through participation in the struggle to defend the motherland and in class struggle in society. The “three-in-one” combination of the old, middle-aged and young has been adopted in the leading bodies at all levels, and millions upon millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause are steeling themselves and maturing in the course of struggle in accordance with this five requirements put forward by Chairman Mao. The socialist revolution in education, literature and art, medical and health work, science and technology has advanced in giant strides in the course of the acute struggle between the two lines. Vast numbers of educated youth have gone eagerly to settle in the countryside, and cadres at all levels have persevered in taking the May 7 road. The mass movements to learn from Dazhai in agriculture and to learn from Daqing in industry have surged ahead. Agriculture, industry and the entire national economy are thriving. Our great motherland is a flourishing scene of prosperity. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has further released the energies of the people in their hundreds of millions. The tremendous impact of this revolution, which is just beginning to show itself, will make itself felt with greater force with the deepening of the revolution.

We must continue our triumphant advance and carry forward the excellent situation. The broad masses of Party members, cadres and other people must conscientiously study Chairman Mao’s important instructions concerning the Great Cultural Revolution and the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt,

study the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, get a clear understanding of the questions of where the bourgeoisie is to be found and enforcing all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and persist in combating and preventing revisionism and continuing the revolution. We must acquire a profound understanding of the brilliant victories and tremendous significance of the Great Cultural Revolution, wholeheartedly support the socialist new things, and consolidate and develop the achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution. We must deepen the criticism of Deng Xiaoping, beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts and deal resolute blows at all counter-revolutionary disruptive activities. We must unite over 95 percent of the cadres and of the masses under the general objective of criticizing Deng Xiaoping, and continue to do a good job in the revolution in the superstructure and the economic base. We must **“grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war”** and continuously advance socialist construction in all fields.

The proletariat is full of revolutionary optimism. We have faith in dialectics. We firmly believe that **“the supersession of the old by the new is a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe.”** (Mao Zedong: *On Contradiction*.) However many twists and turns there are on the road of revolution and however many ups and downs it encounters, the truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is irresistible and the masses of the people who account for over 95 per cent of the population invariably want revolution. Revolution will inevitably triumph over reaction and the newborn over the decadent—this is a law of history. It is just over a century since the founding of Marxism, and the old world has been shattered to pieces. Today, capitalism and revisionism are declining like “a setting sun in the west wind.” The clowns who go against the tide of his-

tory may have their own way for a time but will eventually be swept on to the garbage heap of history by the people. As Marx and Engels stated, **“Its [the bourgeoisie’s] fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.”** (*Manifesto of the Communist Party*.) While commemorating the 10th anniversary of the *Circular*, we are full of revolutionary pride as we look back on the course of struggle of the Great Cultural Revolution, view the excellent situation in which “oracles sing, swallows dart,” and look forward to the bright future when “the world is being turned upside down.” Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, we are determined to persevere in taking class struggle as the key link and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line is invincible, and our advance cannot be stopped!

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution will shine forever!

(May 16, 1976)

Negating the Revolution in Literature and Art Aims at Restoring Capitalism³¹

by the Mass Criticism Group of
Beijing and Tsinghua Universities

Initiated and led personally by our great leader Chairman Mao, the great struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts is now developing in a deep-going way.

In dishing up the revisionist programme of “taking the three directives as the key link,” the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Deng Xiaoping not only made a vindictive attack on the proletariat in the fields of education and science and technology, but also whipped up a Right deviationist wind in literary and art circles. With the spearhead directed at our great leader Chairman Mao, he frenziedly attacked Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in literature and art, disparaged the model revolutionary theatrical works, slandered the proletariat's leadership over literature and art and tried to reverse the correct verdicts on the revisionist line in literature and art which held sway in the 17 years before the start of the Great Cultural Revolution in 1966. His vain attempt was to achieve the criminal aim of restoring capitalism not only in literary and art arena but in the political arena as well. In order to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, keep to the orientation of carrying on the revolution in literature and art, consolidate and develop the achievements of the revolution in literature and art and exercise all-

31 From *Peking Review*, Vol. 19, #22, May 28, 1976.

round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, we must resolutely beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts.

The Present Is Better Than the Past

The arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Deng Xiaoping slandered that the revolution in literature and art was “in a mess” and said that it was “a question of line.” Some even called for a “reappraisal” of the literature and art before the Great Cultural Revolution.

Is the line of the proletarian revolution in literature and art correct or not? Is the present better than the past or is the present not as good as the past on the literary and art front? These are major questions of right and wrong which must be clarified.

Prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shaoqi which controlled the leadership in literary and art circles pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line. He and his followers were **“enthusiastic about promoting feudal and capitalist art, but not socialist art”** and the old Ministry of Culture actually became **“the Ministry of Emperors, Kings, Generals and Ministers, the Ministry of Talents and Beauties or the Ministry of Foreign Mummies.”** A component part of the superstructure, literature and art in those days did not serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, proletarian politics, socialism and the socialist economic base, but played a disruptive role. Could such literature and art be allowed to spread unchecked without undergoing a revolutionary change? Of course not!

It was only after the proletariat had seized back the leadership in literary and art circles during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that the domination of the revisionist line in literature and art was fundamentally demolished. Thanks to the revolution in literature

and art marked by the creation of the model revolutionary theatrical works, China's drama, literature, cinema, music, dance, *chuyi* (balladry, storytelling and cross-talk) and the fine arts underwent a profound transformation, and tremendous changes have taken place in various aspects of literature and art, including the line, orientation, ideas guiding creative work, artistic form and the building of literary and art contingents. Emperors, kings, generals, ministers, talents and beauties have been driven off the stage and the heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers have taken their places as the leading characters. The reversal of history over the past several thousand years has now been reversed. Our literature and art today reflect the militant course of the Chinese revolution, portray the magnificent scenes in socialist revolution and construction, depict the heat of the struggle and life of the workers, peasants and soldiers, praise the sturdy growth of revolutionary new things and eulogize the great victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Many outstanding works of literature and art, like a sharp dagger, lash at the exploiting classes' ideology, and they are a clarion call inspiring hundreds of millions of people to advance valiantly along the road of continuing the revolution.

The revolution in literature and art in the past ten years or so has gone through twists and turns and has yielded solid fruits. All branches of literature and art have made big advances both qualitatively and quantitatively and large numbers of outstanding works, inspired by the model revolutionary theatrical works, have emerged and have attained high ideological and artistic levels as never before. Many new films of a fairly high ideological and artistic standard have been made. Amateur activities in literary and art creations among workers, peasants and soldiers have flourished; and in giving theatrical performances, the emphasis is on the grassroots units. Advancing triumphantly in the direc-

tion of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, proletarian politics and socialism, literature and art have become a powerful instrument for consolidating the socialist economic base and the dictatorship of the proletariat. How can all this be put on a par with the situation in those days before the start of the Great Cultural Revolution when there were poisonous weeds all around and when ghosts and demons danced in riotous revelry, literature and art served only a small number of people and the bourgeoisie exercised dictatorship over the proletariat? The masses have put it well when they said: "In the past, the more performances we saw, the angrier we became; but nowdays, the more we see, the happier we are." Taking the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, Deng Xiaoping, however, ranted that the question concerning the line to be followed in literature and art had not been solved. This fully shows that what he wanted to follow was a revisionist line directly opposed to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

It goes without saying that the revolution in literature and art, like all other new things, is still developing and moving forward, and there is still a gap between the literature and art we have at present and the fervent expectations of the workers, peasants and soldiers and the fast developing excellent situation. This requires that we make continued efforts. But there is certainly nothing wrong whatever with the orientation of the revolution in literature and art.

Deng Xiaoping resorted to the base means of reversing correct verdicts and trying to stage a comeback under the pretext of opposing "ultra-Leftism." When he saw the feature film *Spring Shoot*, he went away disapprovingly before it ended, slandering it as "ultra-Left." People cannot but ask: Why did he fly into a rage at this film which has won acclaim from the masses? This is because it stung him to the quick, for the film sings the praises of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution,

successfully creates the typical image of Tian Chun-miao, one of a new generation of young people who have come to the fore during the Great Cultural Revolution, and sharply criticizes those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. By attacking *Spring Shoot* as “ultra-Left,” Deng Xiaoping revealed his own ultra-Right stand. In his eyes, not only this film but the revolution in literature and art and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution were “ultra-Left.” He never admitted that there was a revisionist line in literature and art before the Great Cultural Revolution and that there were capitalist-roaders in the Party. As he saw it, the Great Cultural Revolution which is a political revolution carried out by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie was utterly wrong and any criticism of the capitalist-roaders was “ultra-Left.”

While paying lip service to “never reverse the verdict,” he was actually dissatisfied with the Great Cultural Revolution and wanted to settle accounts with it. The moment he came up with his revisionist programme of “taking the three directives as the key link,” he directed some people to engage in underhand activities, going around agitating, fomenting trouble and fabricating rumors. His aim was to negate the entire revolution in literature and art and Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, pull literature and art back to the revisionist line which was predominant before the Great Cultural Revolution, use again literature and art to corrupt the masses and poison their minds, and turn them into a hotbed for creating conditions for capitalist restoration. But reversing correct verdicts and working for a restoration goes against the will of the people, and will turn out to be nothing but a pipe dream!

**Literary and Art Creation Must Take
Class Struggle as the Key Link**

Model revolutionary theatrical works are the fruitful results of practice in line with Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art* and the great achievements of the proletarian revolution in literature and art. The attitude one takes with regard to these works is the focal point in the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in the field of literature and art. In the course of their improvement and perfection, rich and valuable experiences have been accumulated which are of significance in guiding the creation of our socialist literature and art.

With ulterior motives Deng Xiaoping railed against the model revolutionary theatrical works, deriding them as "a single flower blossoming." After Deng Xiaoping had called the tune, a handful of persons followed up with a spate of absurdities designed to belittle the experience in creating these theatrical works, negate the guiding role these works play and distort the basic spirit embodied in them. This is a sharp manifestation of the current struggle waged by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat on the literary and art front. The focus of their attack is on the fundamental question of whether literary and art creation should take class struggle as the key link and whether we should do our best to depict typical heroic images of the proletariat.

Is there class struggle in socialist society? Members of the overthrown exploiting classes are still around and are not reconciled to their defeat, the petty bourgeoisie still exists in large numbers, a great number of intellectuals have not remolded their world outlook, the force of habit and traditional influence inherent in the small producers still exist and the capitalist-roaders in the Party are still on the capitalist road— all this shows that class struggle has not died out. In creating their works, writers and artists must firmly grasp the key link of class struggle and **"concentrate such everyday phenomena, typify the contradictions and struggles within**

them,” making big efforts to depict present-day class struggle, especially the struggle waged by the proletariat and revolutionary people against the capitalist-roaders, and describe in a graphic and vivid manner the character, target, task and prospects of the socialist revolution. Those absurdities negating the need of literature and art to mirror class struggle are a reflection of the theory of the dying out of class struggle in literature and art and a refurbished version under new conditions of the theory of absence of conflict. In fact, they were merely used by the bourgeoisie to oppose the proletariat. Those who spread these absurdities wanted to put an end to the struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie; as to their struggle against the proletariat, they certainly did not want to put an end to it, but reminded themselves of this struggle and carried it out with might and main every day.

Should writers and artists create typical heroic images of the proletariat? This is a question of paramount importance concerning which class would take over the stage of literature and art and whether the proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure. The model revolutionary theatrical works, which have successfully portrayed many typical heroic images of the proletariat, warmly eulogize the communist revolutionary spirit and scathingly criticize the reactionary and decadent ideologies such as bourgeois ideas and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. This, however, was censured by the revisionists who babbled that if literature and art were all required to create lofty and perfect heroic images of the proletariat, it would lead to “similarity.” This is out-and-out mudslinging at revolutionary literature and art. Sure enough, there is really “similarity” between the heroic images of the proletariat and that is the general character they share in common. In the model revolutionary theatrical works, however, the general character

of the heroic images is embodied in their individual character and every one of them has his or her own clear-cut characteristics and personality. Is it not a fact that these theatrical works with a history of only a dozen years have already succeeded in depicting a wide range of important subject-matters and creating many vivid heroic images?

It is crystal clear that the model revolutionary theatrical works have helped bring about the blossoming of a hundred flowers in revolutionary literature and art, but why did Deng Xiaoping regard this as “a single flower blossoming”? Did he really want to have a hundred flowers blossom in proletarian literature and art? Not at all. Facts in the past and at present have proved that he, representing the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party, always harbored a bitter hatred for the fragrant flowers of socialist literature and art and prostrated himself in admiration before feudal, capitalist and revisionist literature and art. What he tried to do was to smother the fragrant flowers of proletarian literature and art and let feudal, capitalist and revisionist poisonous weeds grow instead, thereby turning literature and art into his tool for restoring capitalism. This is the very essence of the issue.

The Ranks of Literary and Art Workers Must Be Transformed

To push his revisionist programme of “taking the three directives as the key link,” Deng Xiaoping vociferously called for “rectification” “in all fields.” Flaunting the banner of “rectification,” he attempted to “pull” literary and art circles back to the old track, from the formation of leading bodies to the building of literary and art contingents. His aim was to launch a vengeful attack against the proletariat and change Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line in literature and art.

While slandering that the new leading bodies in the literary and art circles were incompetent and not even able to run a literary journal well, Deng Xiaoping lavished praises on the old Ministry of Culture with a view to reinstating those restorationist “professionals,” and letting them again usurp the leadership. If this scheme had succeeded, the bourgeoisie would again exercise dictatorship over the proletariat in the literary and art circles. What a dangerous prospect it would be!

Having been tempered in the Great Cultural Revolution and having had practice in the revolution in literature and art, a contingent of literary and art workers who adhere to Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line have been gradually formed and a number of up-and-coming young people from among the workers, peasants and soldiers are maturing on the literary and art front. Gratifying changes have taken place in the mental outlook of literary and art workers after they have assiduously studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao’s works, gone to the forefront of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and taken the road of integrating themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. They learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers, depict them and reproduce their heroic images on the stage, thereby winning acclaim and support from the broad masses. Motivated by their class bias and artistic tastes, the bourgeoisie always tries its utmost to discriminate against things proletarian. They slander the revolutionary literary and art workers as being of a “low level”; what they are concerned about is not the maturing of the younger generation, they are actually trying to crush the revolutionary new forces. Their efforts, however, are merely a pipe dream.

Literature and art used to be the “hereditary domain” of the exploiting classes, where the pernicious influences of feudal, capitalist and revisionist trash were deep-rooted. Under the rule of the revisionist line of Liu Shaoqi and his gang before the Great Cultural Revolution, many people **“have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, have not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and have not reflected the socialist revolution and socialist construction.”** During the Great Cultural Revolution, literary and art workers have made progress, to varying degrees, in remolding their world outlook. Nevertheless, bourgeois political views, ideas of bourgeois right and bourgeois literary and art thoughts still exist to a serious extent, and there are people who take to the bourgeois style of life. If this state of affairs is not changed, they will not be able to carry out successfully the historical task of the proletarian revolution in literature and art. Deng Xiaoping’s opposition to the transformation of the ranks of literary and art workers was, in essence, an attempt on behalf of the bourgeoisie to win over this literary and art contingent from the proletariat and turn it into a social basis for capitalist restoration.

The Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts whipped up by Deng Xiaoping in the literary and art circles was not isolated and accidental; it was a component part of his revisionist line which was opposed to Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line. The struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind is actually a continuation and deepening of the struggle on the literary and art front between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines and a continuation and deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We must carry this struggle through to the end.

Deng Xiaoping's Total Betrayal of Marxism³²

by Li Zhang

The arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Deng Xiaoping trotted out the revisionist programme of “taking the three directives as the key link” and pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line. His reactionary programme and line were opposed to Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line and, politically, represented the interests and aspirations of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party, and his vain attempt was to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism; ideologically or theoretically, they revised *in toto* the three component parts of Marxism, that is, philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. The current great struggle to criticize Deng Xiaoping’s revisionist line and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts is developing victoriously. In order to thoroughly settle accounts with Deng Xiaoping’s crimes, it is extremely necessary to expose and criticize in a deep-going way, ideologically or theoretically, his reactionary nature in betraying Marxism.

I

The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism and the most important content of scientific socialism. To uphold or to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat has always been the focus of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism.

32 From *Peking Review*, Vol. 19, #23, June 4, 1976.

Deng Xiaoping is a renegade to the dictatorship of the proletariat. He denied class struggle in socialist society, opposed the proletariat exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and vainly attempted to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Thus he completely betrayed the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Referring to the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin pointed out: **“The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a *more powerful* enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased *tenfold* by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the *force of habit*, in the strength of *small production*. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production *engenders* capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential.”** (*“Left-Wing” Communism, An Infantile Disorder.*)

Chairman Mao has comprehensively summed up the historical experience, both positive and negative, of the dictatorship of the proletariat since the October Revolution, and has inherited, defended and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He has profoundly expounded the law governing class struggle in socialist society and solved, both in theory and in practice, the question of whether or not to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the target of the revolution and the way to make revolution and the question of how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent capitalist restoration and build socialism. As far back as 1949, Chairman Mao pointed out that after the seizure of

political power throughout the country, the principal contradiction at home was one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was in the main completed, Chairman Mao has, in a series of works and instructions, repeatedly set forth the views:

Throughout the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, and the principal contradiction is that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. He has also formulated the basic line for our Party to persist in the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. Chairman Mao has specially analyzed the question of the struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the Party. In a document concerning the socialist education movement in January 1965, he pointed out: **“The main target of the present movement is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road.”** Recently, he further 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.”** Chairman Mao has not only solved in theory the question of how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, but has also, on the basis of this theory, personally initiated and led a series of political movements— the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the criticism of Lin Biao and Confucius, the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the criticism of *Water Margin*, and the current struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts. All these movements are class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and are aimed at consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism.

Betraying our Party's basic theory and practice over the last two decades, Deng Xiaoping did his utmost to deny class struggle in socialist society. When the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was basically completed, he followed Liu Shaoqi in trumpeting the theory of the dying out of class struggle, alleging that "class contradictions have now been solved in the main," that "since classes have been eliminated basically, we should not stress class struggle." His revisionist stand remained unchanged even after the Great Cultural Revolution. Shortly after he resumed work, he dished up the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link," denying class struggle as the key link and tampering with the basic line of the Party. He even babbled: "How can we talk about class struggle every day?" He thus openly betrayed Marxism.

The essence of the theory of the dying out of class struggle advocated by Deng Xiaoping is betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin pointed out: **"The dictatorship of the proletariat is not the end of class struggle but its continuation in new forms. The dictatorship of the proletariat is class struggle waged by a proletariat that is victorious and has taken political power into its hands against a bourgeoisie that has been defeated but not destroyed, a bourgeoisie that has not vanished, not ceased to offer resistance, but that has intensified its resistance."** (*Foreword to the Published Speech "Deception of the People With Slogans of Freedom and Equality."*) To deny and oppose the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is bound to deny and oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. In betraying the dictatorship of the proletariat, the revisionists, besides openly abandoning and opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat, usually resort to the means of mouthing phrases about "the dictatorship of the proletariat but actually distorting,

emasculating and tampering with the revolutionary content of the dictatorship of the proletariat; that is to say, they advocate the theory of the dying out of class struggle, deny the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship exercised by the former over the latter and talk only about state leadership over economic construction. By this fraudulent tactic, they try to make the dictatorship of the proletariat “evolve” into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It was under the cover of the theory of the dying out of class struggle that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique toppled the dictatorship of the proletariat established personally by Lenin in the Soviet Union and has since been exercising the dictatorship of the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie. Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao also resorted to this tactic when they plotted to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. What Deng Xiaoping had taken over was precisely this mantle of theirs.

In criticizing the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, Chairman Mao said: **“In 1949 it was pointed out that the principal contradiction within the country was 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 turn for the better. What is the Great Cultural Revolution for? To wage class struggle. Liu Shaoqi 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 Biao wanted to overthrow the proletariat and attempted a coup. Did class struggle die out?”** This instruction of Chairman Mao’s hit the nail on the head in exposing the reactionary nature of the theory of the dying out of class struggle peddled by Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping. Deng Xiaoping did not in the lead extinguish

the class struggle waged by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. He took the lead in whipping up the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, pushed a revisionist line, tried to reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution and settle accounts with it, and he represented the bourgeoisie in launching a wanton attack against the proletariat. It is clear from Deng Xiaoping's words and deeds that, from the superstructure to economic base, he attacked and opposed whatever was conducive to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism; and he gleefully hailed and tried by a thousand and one ways to push forward whatever was beneficial to restoring the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao has said: **“The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture.”** After the seizure of political power by the proletariat, the bourgeoisie is still quite strong in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. Unless this situation is completely changed, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be consolidated. Whether or not to carry out socialist revolution in all spheres of the superstructure and to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie is an important hallmark of upholding or opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Deng Xiaoping and his followers openly declared that it was impermissible to mention the dictatorship of the proletariat in the fields of science and technology; they energetically opposed turning the schools into an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat, opposed the revolution in education, in literature and art and in health work and tried to reverse the correct verdicts on the revisionist line followed in the 17 years before the Great Cultural Revolution. All these were aimed at restoring the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in those spheres.

At the end of 1974, Chairman Mao called upon the people of the whole country to make clear **“why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie”** and raised the question of restricting bourgeois right. This is a fundamental measure for combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Since bourgeois right, which still exists in socialist society, provides the soil and conditions for continuously engendering capitalism and the bourgeoisie, **“therefore, if people like Lin Biao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system.”** Whether or not to restrict bourgeois right is, in the final analysis, a question of whether or not to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this respect, Deng Xiaoping also revealed his reactionary features of betraying the dictatorship of the proletariat. That he feverishly opposed restricting bourgeois right and had deep hatred for socialist new things which restrict bourgeois right from various aspects was determined by his reactionary stand of opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.”** Deng Xiaoping’s reactionary crimes and the counter-revolutionary political incident that took place early in April at Tiananmen Square have once again proved that this thesis of Chairman Mao’s is very wise and perfectly correct. After Deng Xiaoping’s plot to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by pushing a revisionist programme and line was exposed and frustrated, the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and the unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-

revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists he represented, hurriedly launched a frantic counterattack against the proletariat. They viciously assailed our country's dictatorship of the proletariat and tried to make Deng Xiaoping China's Nagy, stage a counter-revolutionary coup and establish the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This has further exposed Deng Xiaoping as the general representative of the various reactionary forces which are hostile to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat in China was established after long years of revolutionary struggle led by Chairman Mao and has taken deep root among the masses of the people. It has become more consolidated and more powerful than ever after the Great Cultural Revolution. In putting up a desperate struggle, Deng Xiaoping and the handful of class enemies were lifting a rock only to drop it on their own feet, and they ended up in utter defeat.

II

Marxist political economy is an important theoretical basis for proletarian political parties to formulate their political lines and policies. The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the inevitable conclusion arrived at by Marx after analyzing the law of the development of the capitalist relations of production. Deng Xiaoping betrayed not only the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat but the basic principles of Marxist political economy as well.

Using the law of the unity of opposites—the fundamental law of the universe—Marx and Lenin made profound analyses of socialist society. They pointed out in explicit terms that it is still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society and bourgeois right still exists in regard to the distribution of articles of consumption.

Lenin further pointed out: **“There remains for a time not only bourgeois right, but even the bourgeois state—without the bourgeoisie!”** (*The State and Revolution*).

Summing up the practical experience after Lenin, Chairman Mao has made a penetrating analysis of the relations of production in socialist society and the movement of their contradictions with the productive forces, thereby developing Marxist political economy. Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“Socialist relations of production have been established and are in harmony with the growth of the productive forces, but they are still far from perfect, and this imperfection stands in contradiction to the growth of the productive forces.”** (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.) He has further pointed out his important instruction on the question of the theory: **“In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation, she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in all this differs very little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed.”** **“Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted.”** These scientific theses tell us clearly that in socialist society, there is still the contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces which finds concentrated expression in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. The soil and conditions engendering new bourgeois elements not only include certain remnants of private ownership but also bourgeois right which exists in distribution according to work, in the exchange of equal values and in the relations between people. To wipe out the

social basis of revisionism and create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise, bourgeois right must be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. These theses of Chairman Mao's have smashed the metaphysical viewpoints which have long existed in the field of political economy and dealt heavy blows to revisionist viewpoints of all descriptions.

Revisionists invariably allege that after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the revolution in the relations of production and in the superstructure is also accomplished and that, after this transformation, the primary or even the only task is to develop the productive forces. Deng Xiaoping is a stubborn trumpeter of this theory of productive forces. As early as in 1956, he and Liu Shaoqi advocated that the principal contradiction at home was "the contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the backward social productive forces," that "the future task is construction as the task of revolution has in the main been completed." Last year, Deng Xiaoping once again trotted out the theory of productive forces to serve as the theoretical basis of his revisionist line. He preached "taking the three directives as the key link," negated taking class struggle as the key link and, putting the label of the four modernizations (modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology) on the theory of productive forces, he called for stirring up an "economic hurricane" and a "hurricane for vocational work." His real aim was to sweep away the movement for the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to protect bourgeois right and safeguard the economic base on which the bourgeoisie and especially the bourgeoisie within the Party rely for existence.

The theory of productive forces denies in a fundamental way that in socialist society there are still contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base, that among the various factors of productive forces, it is people, not things, that are decisive. Therefore, it denies that the only way to develop the productive forces is to take class struggle as the key link, persist in putting proletarian politics in command, deepen the socialist revolution and persevere in mobilizing and relying on the masses. It turns a blind eye to the fact that there are still birthmarks of capitalism in the socialist relations of production, that there are two possibilities for the development of the socialist relations of production, namely, if the proletariat does not persevere in continuing the revolution and does not restrict bourgeois right nor struggle against the bourgeoisie within the Party, then not only will socialism be unable to move on to communism but will degenerate into capitalism. It is therefore clear that if Deng Xiaoping's theory of productive forces were followed, the already established socialist relations of production would surely be wrecked and those things in the relations of production which differ very little from those of the old society would be retained forever and continuously expanded. In this way, capitalism and new bourgeois elements would emerge at a more rapid pace from the soil of bourgeois right, laying the social basis for capitalist restoration.

One of Deng Xiaoping's favorite remarks was: "It doesn't matter whether it is a white cat or a black cat, any cat that catches mice is a good cat." This serves better than many long articles to reveal more clearly the revisionist nature of the theory of productive forces. In criticizing Deng Xiaoping, Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of 'white**

cat, black cat,' making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism." Deng Xiaoping regarded revisionist and imperialist trash as treasures. In his eyes, material incentives, putting profits in command, servility to things foreign, the doctrine of trailing behind others at a snail's pace were things which he could not part with for a moment. If his revisionist line were followed, it would be impossible to develop socialist production. Only socialism and only Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought can save China. This has been proved by history and reality. Therefore, Deng Xiaoping's clamor for the development of the productive forces and the four modernizations was a fraud; his real aim was to restore capitalism. The differences between us and him lie not in whether the four modernizations should be realized or whether the productive forces should be developed, but are fundamental differences between taking the socialist road and taking the capitalist road.

Deng Xiaoping's aim in advocating material incentives was to further strengthen and expand bourgeois right. The theory of material incentives is an important viewpoint of revisionist political economy. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has always used it to protect their special privileges and legalize their wanton appropriation and exploitation of the Soviet proletariat's fruits of labor; at the same time, it inculcates decadent ideas of bourgeois selfishness in the minds of the laboring people so as to blunt their revolutionary will and make them willingly submit themselves to oppression and exploitation. Lenin once pointed out: "**Oppportunism and social-chauvinism stand on a common economic basis— the interests of a thin crust of privileged workers and of the petty bourgeoisie, who are defending their privileged position, their 'right' to some modicum of the profits that their 'own' national bourgeoisie obtain from robbing other nations, from the advantages of their Great-Power status, etc.**" (*Socialism and War*)

In socialist society, there are the class basis and economic conditions for engendering revisionism. In advocating material incentives, Deng Xiaoping was safeguarding and expanding the economic conditions for engendering revisionism. This is diametrically opposed to the interests of the workers, peasants, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals. Chairman Mao has said: **Politics is the commander, the soul. Political work is the life-blood of all economic work.**” Our experience in the past two decades and more has proved that only by adhering to the principle of putting proletarian politics in command can the socialist enthusiasm of the masses be really aroused, and only in this way can they be guided to advance along the socialist road. Going in for material incentives will only lead to the expansion of bourgeois right and foster the concept of private ownership, and the result would be departing further and further from socialism and going nearer and nearer to capitalism. The reality in the Soviet Union is a mirror. In that country, material incentives are all pervasive, resulting in the enrichment of a handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists and the increasing poverty of the laboring people. Isn't it crystal clear which class benefits and which class suffers from material incentives, and whether it is Marxism or revisionism? Deng Xiaoping's clinging to material incentives shows precisely that he is a revisionist who has betrayed Marxism.

III

The struggle between political lines is often linked with the two-line struggle in the philosophical field. Ringleaders of the opportunist lines in our Party —from Chen Duxiu and Wang Ming to Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao — all philosophically betrayed Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism and based their opportunist lines on idealism and metaphysics. This is

also the case with Deng Xiaoping. In philosophy, a conspicuous manifestation of his betrayal of Marxism was his using idealism to oppose materialism and palming off eclecticism as dialectics.

Marxism always holds that the people are the makers of history. Chairman Mao has said: **“The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.”** (*On Coalition Government.*) He has also said: **“The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant.”** (*Preface and Postscript to “Rural Surveys.”*) Our cause and all our work reflect, in the final analysis, the demands of the masses. From the masses and back to the masses—this is our basic method of leadership and is also the only correct ideological line for us to know and change the world according to material dialectics. Directly opposed to this Marxist-Leninist line, all revisionists are protagonists of historical idealism. In their eyes, history is made by a few heroes, not by slaves. They never believe in the truth that **the masses are the real heroes**. They fear the mass movement very much and when there is one, they always try by every means possible to suppress it.

Deng Xiaoping acted his part fully in this respect. When the socialist transformation of agriculture was in full swing, he opposed the movement for co-operation. In the initial stage of the Great Cultural Revolution, he and Liu Shaoqi pushed a bourgeois reactionary line to suppress the revolutionary masses. This time he fanned up the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, negated the Cultural Revolution and socialist new things and opposed wholehearted alliance on the working class and other laboring people—thereby further laid bare his features as proponent of historical idealism.

Marxist philosophy holds that the law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. The two aspects in a contradiction are united and at the

same time struggle with each other, and it is this that propels the development of things. There are many contradictions in the process of development of a complex thing, and one of them is necessarily the principal contradiction whose existence and development determine or influence the existence and development of the other contradictions. Observing society with this fundamental law, we can see that in socialist society the fundamental contradiction at home is that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Once we grasp this principal contradiction and take the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as the key link, everything will fall into place and the other contradictions can be correctly solved. Openly revising this basic principle, Deng Xiaoping put stability and unity and pushing the national economy forward all in the place of key link. In this way, he negated the principal contradiction and the law of the unity of opposites, and so landed himself in the mire of eclecticism.

Eclecticism is revisionism. In putting the three directives on a par, and placing politics and economy, politics and vocational work and technique all on an equal footing, Deng Xiaoping was using sophistry to negate the principal contradiction and the main aspect in a contradiction. This was an eclectic sleight of hand. Lenin pointed out in criticizing Bukharin: **“His theoretical attitude is ‘on the one hand, and on the other,’ ‘the one and the other.’ That is eclecticism.”** (*Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin.*) We can use these very words to give an apt description of Deng Xiaoping. This phenomenon only shows the weak nature of the revisionists. They want to reverse the theoretical conclusions arrived at by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and replace them with revisionist theories. But revisionism goes against the interests of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolution-

ary intellectuals, that is, the masses who comprise 95 percent of the population; and since practicing revisionism goes against the will of the people, they dare not expose themselves too much, so they resort to eclecticism because **“in falsifying Marxism in opportunist fashion, the substitution of eclecticism for dialectics is the easiest way of deceiving the masses.”** (Lenin: *The State and Revolution*.) However, confronted by the masses whose consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle has greatly heightened, these tactics of theirs are completely useless.

IV

Lenin said: **“The opportunists’ formal membership in workers’ parties by no means disproves their objectively being a political detachment of the bourgeoisie, conductors of its influence, and its agents in the labor movement.”** (*The Collapse of the Second International*.) To push a political line which represents the interests of the bourgeoisie, the opportunists and revisionists invariably attack or revise the three component parts of Marxism. From Bernstein to the present-day Soviet revisionist renegade clique, they all betrayed Marxism in an all-round way on the pretext that Marxism is outdated. After Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao had played their part, Deng Xiaoping stepped out to serve as a teacher by negative example. Didn’t he often say that “one mustn’t always talk with ready terms, but should say something new”? From the above analysis we can see clearly that by “ready terms” he meant the basic principle of Marxism and “something new” meant the theory of the dying out of class struggle, the theory of productive forces, idealism, eclecticism and other revisionist trash. When these were used by class enemies as weapons in their attack on proletarian dictatorship, they were turned into the most reactionary and

dirty political slogans such as were used during the counter-revolutionary political incident that took place at Tiananmen Square. The handful of counter-revolutionaries who created the incident clamored that they wanted “genuine Marxism-Leninism.” These reactionaries who opposed communism and the people and harbored bitter hatred for our socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat have deep hatred for Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and what they want is out-and-out revisionism and fascism. They directed the spearhead of their attack at our great leader Chairman Mao and at the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and they openly hoisted the banner of supporting Deng Xiaoping. This shows that the “ism” of these counter-revolutionaries is Deng Xiaoping’s revisionism. This all the more exposes the fact that Deng Xiaoping has completely betrayed Marxism and that his practice of revisionism represented the interests of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party and of the class enemies at home and abroad.

The struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind has won great victories. On the proposal of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee decided to dismiss Deng Xiaoping from all posts both inside and outside the Party. This has greatly heightened the morale of the revolutionary people and deflated the reactionary arrogance of the class enemies. But the struggle is by no means over. We are still confronted with the important and militant task of deepening our criticism, ideologically or theoretically, of Deng Xiaoping’s revisionist line.

Lenin said: Marxism **“has had to fight for every step forward in the course of its life.”** (*Marxism and Revisionism.*) The bourgeoisie and revisionists will never be reconciled to the advance and victories of Marxism. They are sure to continue their attack on Marxism and try to revise it. However, history has proved that Marx-

ism becomes stronger and more vigorous after each big struggle against revisionism. Marxism advances continuously in the course of fighting against revisionism. Revisionism, like the bourgeoisie it represents, is decadent and is doomed to destruction.

“Seal the Coffin and Pass the Final Verdict”³³

by Mao Zedong

It's rare for a man to live to the age of seventy, and now I am already past eighty. When one has reached the end, one cannot help but think about one's funeral arrangements. There is a Chinese saying, “Seal the coffin and pass the final verdict.” Although the lid is not yet on my coffin, the moment is drawing near, and I think the final judgment can already be passed. I've done two things in my lifetime. One was battle all those years against Chiang Kai-shek and in the end chase him off to that little island. In the War of Resistance, I asked the Japanese to return to their ancestral home. Battling back and forth, I finally battled my way into the Forbidden City. Only a tiny number of people would argue with me about this. At most, some would say I should have reclaimed that island a long time ago. The other thing, as you know, was to launch the Great Cultural Revolution. Here I don't have many supporters, and I have quite a few opponents. The Great Cultural Revolution is something that has not yet been concluded. Thus I am passing the task on to the next generation. I may not be able to pass it on peacefully, in which case I may have to pass it on in turmoil. What will happen to the next generation if it all fails? There may be a foul wind and a rain of blood. How will you cope? Heaven only knows!

33 Remarks made by Chairman Mao in conversation with Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao, Jiang Qing, Hua Guofeng, Wu De and Wang Hairong on June 15 1976. (see: Michael Schoenhals, ed., *China's Cultural Revolution, 1966-69: Not a Dinner Party* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1996), p. 493)

Capitalist-Roaders Are the Bourgeoisie Inside the Party³⁴

In the great struggle to criticize Deng Xiaoping and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois right, they resent it. 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.”** This scientific thesis has incisively laid bare the bourgeois essence of the capitalist-roaders in the Party, further indicated the main target of the revolutionary struggle throughout the historical period of socialism, and defended and developed the great Marxist-Leninist theory on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a powerful ideological weapon for us to persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and to combat and prevent revisionism.

An Important Feature of Class Struggle in The Historical Period of Socialism

The emergence of capitalist-roaders —the bourgeoisie inside the Party— is an important feature of class struggle in the historical period of socialism and is

34 From *Peking Review*, Vol. 19, #25, June 18, 1976.

closely linked with the change in class relations under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the period of democratic revolution, the principal contradiction in our society was the contradiction between the proletariat and the masses of the people on the one hand and imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism on the other. At that time, there were also opportunists, revisionists, and chieftains of the various opportunist lines inside the Party; they were agents of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes in the Party, but for the bourgeoisie as a whole, they were merely its appendages. Since the landlord and comprador-capitalist classes held the reins of government at that time, the nucleus and the main force of the bourgeoisie, its headquarters and its chief political representatives were outside and not inside the Party.

After great victory had been won in the new-democratic revolution, the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism was overthrown and the proletariat led the people of the whole country in seizing the political power of the state. Since then China has entered the historical period of socialist revolution and the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has become the principal contradiction in society. Since our Party has become the ruling party, the struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois and revisionist line determines not only the nature of our Party but also the character and prospects of our country as a whole. From that time on, our struggle against the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party has gradually developed in depth in all spheres, centring around the basic question of whether or not to carry out the socialist revolution. The *san fan* and *wu fan* movements,³⁵ the

35 These movements were carried out between December 1951 and June 1952. The former was against the three evils of corruption, waste and bureaucracy in the Communist Party and

socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production and the anti-Rightist struggle³⁶ were all major struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie since the founding of New China. In these struggles, the bourgeoisie outside the Party still had some strength to engage in a trial of strength with the proletariat and was still able to nominate its own protagonists; but even then a complicated situation had already developed in which the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party responded to and colluded with each other. In their unbridled attacks on the Party, the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes outside the Party had the support of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and banked on its help. Through the two-line struggle in the Party, we brought to light the activities of the bourgeoisie inside the Party against the socialist revolution and criticized its revisionist line, thereby ensuring the victories of the various major campaigns in the socialist transformation.

With the continuous deepening of the socialist revolution, the bourgeoisie outside the Party which is in a position of being ruled has lost its means of production economically and met with one defeat after another on the political and ideological fronts; consequently, its strength has been gradually weakened. If during the bourgeois Rightists' attack on the Party they still had the so-called "Zhang-Luo alliance"³⁷ playing the com-

government organs and the latter was against the capitalists' five evils of bribery of government workers, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing economic information from government sources for private speculation.

36 This refers to the struggle in 1957 to counterattack the bourgeois Rightists who took advantage of our Party's rectification campaign to launch wild attacks on the proletariat.

37 Zhang-Luo refers to Zhang Bojun and Luo Longji who were protagonists of the bourgeois Rightists in attacking the Party in

mander's role, then after the anti-Rightist struggle it has become much more difficult for the bourgeoisie outside the Party to openly muster its forces to wage an all-round struggle against the proletariat, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

The principal contradiction in the entire historical period of socialism is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. With the balance of class forces having undergone a change, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie finds expression in the Party in an increasingly profound and acute way. Thus the capitalist-roaders emerge in the Party as the force at the core of the bourgeoisie as a whole and become the main danger in subverting the proletarian dictatorship and restoring capitalism. While carrying out the socialist revolution, we must not only see that the old bourgeoisie and its intellectuals still exist in society and that large numbers of the petty bourgeoisie are still in the course of remolding their ideology, but we must be especially aware of the bourgeoisie hidden inside the Party, that is, those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. Only by waging a resolute struggle against the capitalist-roaders in the Party like Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping and persisting in directing our revolution at the bourgeoisie inside the Party can victory be ensured in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and the capitalist forces in society at large; only thus can it be said that the main target of the socialist revolution has been really grasped. Anyone who fails to understand that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party is not a sober-minded proletarian revolutionary.

1957. The objective of this reactionary alliance was to topple the Chinese Communist Party and turn the proletarian dictatorship in China into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

In summing up the historical experience of the Paris Commune, Engels pointed out that after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is necessary to guard **“against this transformation of the state and the organs of the state from servants of society into masters of society” “in pursuance of their own special interests.”** (Introduction by Frederick Engels to Karl Marx’s *The Civil War in France*.) After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin analysed the actual social conditions in the Soviet Union and clearly pointed out that a new bourgeoisie existed in the country and that it was arising from among the Soviet government employees and the small producers. In the light of the historical lesson of how the Soviet Union has turned revisionist and the practical experience in exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, Chairman Mao has put forward the brilliant thesis that the bourgeoisie **“is right in the Communist Party— those in power taking the capitalist road.”** This is an important development of Marxism-Leninism. Over the last 20 years and more following the founding of the People’s Republic of China, Chairman Mao has not only made a profound analysis of the bourgeoisie inside the Party from a theoretical angle, but has also in practice led us in carrying out repeated struggles against it. The chieftains of the revisionist line Gao Gang, Peng Dehuai, Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping were all commanders of the bourgeoisie inside the Party, and the several major two-line struggles in the socialist period have been struggles waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie inside the Party with them as the ring-leaders. It is precisely in the course of these struggles that our socialist system of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been continually consolidated and developed.

Class Nature of Capitalist-Roaders

Chairman Mao has pointed out in his *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*: **“To distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes towards the revolution.”** It is, therefore, extremely necessary for us to apply the Marxist scientific method to reveal, both politically and economically, the bourgeois nature of the capitalist-roaders so that we can clearly see that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party.

The most essential political characteristic of the capitalist-roaders in the Party is that they push the revisionist line and cling to the capitalist road. In analyzing them, we must first and foremost grasp this characteristic and, from the viewpoint of political line, get a clear understanding of their essence. It is on the basis of a common effort to push the revisionist line that the capitalist-roaders form a political faction in the Party in a vain attempt to restore capitalism. And the chieftains of the revisionist line that emerged on many occasions in the past were all general representatives of this line. These chieftains, like Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping, all held a very large portion of the Party and state power, so they were in a position to recruit deserters and renegades, form cliques to pursue their own selfish interests and set up bourgeois headquarters, turn the instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat into those of the bourgeoisie, and hoodwink for a time a number of people who lack an understanding of the real situation and do not have a high level of consciousness, inveigling them into following their revisionist line. They were more ruthless and dangerous than the bourgeoisie outside the Party in their efforts to restore capitalism. The revisionist line pushed by the capitalist-roaders in the Party represents in a concentrated way the interests of the old and new bourgeoisie

and all other exploiting classes, and this determines the bourgeois nature of the capitalist-roaders. The socialist period is **“a period of struggle between moribund capitalism and nascent communism.”** (Lenin: *Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*.) It is beyond doubt that the capitalist-roaders as the bourgeoisie inside the Party are part of the declining bourgeoisie as a whole. Precisely because the bourgeoisie is a moribund and decadent class, its reactionary nature is all the more pronounced. **“The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie.”** Bent on practicing revisionism, Lin Biao went so far as to cook up the *Outline of Project “571”* and launch a counter-revolutionary armed coup d’etat, while Deng Xiaoping who persisted in practicing revisionism caused the counter-revolutionary political riot like the incident at Tiananmen Square. These soul-stirring facts of class struggle have bared in an extremely sharp and clear-cut manner the reactionary nature of the bourgeoisie inside the Party.

Economically, the reason why the capitalist-roaders are the bourgeoisie inside the Party is that they represent the decadent capitalist relations of production. In the socialist period, the proletariat wants to constantly transform those parts of the superstructure and the relations of production which are not in harmony with the socialist economic base and the productive forces and carry the socialist revolution through to the end. The capitalist-roaders in the Party, however, do everything possible to preserve those parts of the superstructure and the relations of production which hamper the development of the socialist economic base and the productive forces; their vain attempt is to restore capitalism.

If we examine the position of the capitalist-roaders in the Party in the relations of social production by following Lenin’s teaching on the meaning of classes as

expounded in his *A Great Beginning* and Chairman Mao's analysis in *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* regarding classes and class struggle in socialist society after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, we will get a fairly clear understanding of their bourgeois nature. We can see from real life that once the leadership in certain units or departments was controlled by capitalist-roaders like Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping they would use the power in their hands to energetically push the revisionist line and turn the socialist mutual relations among people into capitalist relations between employers and employees; they would use legal and numerous illegal means to expand bourgeois right with respect to distribution and appropriate the fruits of other people's labor without compensation; and they would also take advantage of their position and power to dispose of state-or collectively-owned means of production and consignment, with the result that socialist ownership exists only in name but is actually turned into capitalist ownership under the control of the capitalist-roaders. In the final analysis, the revisionist line pushed by Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping was designed to preserve the decadent and declining capitalist relations of production to **"cling to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system"** and to serve the economic interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole, so as to drag out country back to those dark days of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China.

Class and Historical Roots of the Emergence of Capitalist-Roaders

The emergence of capitalist-roaders —the bourgeoisie inside the Party— in the socialist period is by no means accidental but has deep class and historical roots. In the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of the high officials.”** This instruction of Chairman Mao’s has strung the capitalist-roaders in the Party to the quick. The switch-over from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution is a fundamental change in the course of which division is bound to take place within the revolutionary ranks. The workers and poor and lower-middle peasants want revolution and Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line reflects their demand and guides the whole Party and the people throughout the country to continue to make the socialist revolution, but a number of people in the Party who cling to bourgeois democratic ideas and refuse to remold themselves do not want to go forward. In the eyes of these people, imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, which were like three big mountains weighing down on the Chinese people, were overthrown while they themselves had gained enormous political and material benefits, and that meant the end of the revolution. Some of them whose revolutionary will had sagged failed to keep pace with the times; some others clung to the reactionary bourgeois stand and, in order to protect their own interests which are, in essence, those of the bourgeoisie as a whole, came out into the open to oppose the proletarian socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, in a vain attempt to turn back the wheel of history and restore

capitalism, and these people are none other than those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. The arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Deng Xiaoping is just such a person, and turning from a bourgeois democrat into a capitalist-roader is the course he actually followed.

An important reason why the capitalist-roaders oppose the socialist revolution is that they are against restricting bourgeois right. Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“Lenin spoke of building a bourgeois state without capitalists to safeguard bourgeois right. We ourselves have built such a state, not much different from the old society: there are ranks and grades, eight grades of wages, distribution according to work, and exchange of equal values.”** Bourgeois right is inevitable in the socialist period and this birthmark left over from the old society cannot be eliminated overnight. But it must be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat, otherwise it would lead to capitalist restoration. Bourgeois right is an important economic basis for engendering the new bourgeoisie. Some people in the Party whose world outlook has not been thoroughly remolded and who try hard to strengthen and expand bourgeois right are bound to turn step by step into capitalist-roaders, or members of the bourgeoisie. To expand bourgeois right is, in essence, to safeguard the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole and to reinforce the social basis for restoring capitalism. That Deng Xiaoping was so resentful and panic-stricken when he heard that bourgeois right was being criticized was because bourgeois right is the lifeblood of the bourgeoisie inside the Party, and any restriction of bourgeois right means directing the revolution against it. In the socialist period, what attitude one takes towards bourgeois right—to restrict it or to expand it—is an important criterion for distinguishing whether one is continuing the revolution or is standing still or even opposing the revolution. On this

issue, our struggle against the capitalist-roaders in the Party—a struggle between restriction and counter-restriction—will continue for a long time to come.

The Fall of the Bourgeoisie and the Victory Of the Proletariat Are Equally Inevitable

The Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. Does the existence of the bourgeoisie inside the Party affect its proletarian nature? This question should be explained by applying materialist dialectics. Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“The law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. This law operates universally, whether in the natural world, in human society, or in man’s thinking.”** (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*) A socialist society is an entity in which there are contradictions and struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Such contradictions and struggle also find expression in the Party. **“Outside any party there are other parties, inside it, there are groupings; this has always been so.”** **“A grouping is one wing of a class.”** The capitalist-roaders are the Rightists inside the Party or the bourgeoisie inside the Party during the socialist period. Whether or not the existence of the bourgeoisie inside the Party will change its nature depends on the roles of the two contradictory aspects. **“The nature of a thing is determined mainly by the principal aspect of a contradiction, the aspect which has gained the dominant position.”** (Mao Zedong: *On Contradiction.*) The criterion by which we judge whether a party is Marxist or revisionist is not whether there is a bourgeoisie in the Party but, most fundamentally, whether Party leadership is in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries or bourgeois representatives and whether the Marxist or revisionist line holds the dominant position in the Party.

The Chinese Communist Party, founded and nurtured by our great leader Chairman Mao himself, is a great, glorious and correct Party. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and under the guidance of his proletarian revolutionary line, our Party has persisted in carrying out the two-line struggle, constantly got rid of opportunist factions within the Party, overcome the interference of “Left” or Right opportunist lines, thereby maintaining the dominant position of the Marxist-Leninist line in the Party and its proletarian nature. Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our Party has become purer and stauncher and grown from strength to strength; it has given full play to its role as the vigorous vanguard organization in leading the proletariat and the masses of the people to fight against the class enemies. This is the essential and main aspect of our Party. It is precisely because ours is a genuine proletarian revolutionary Party that we dare to admit the existence of the bourgeoisie within it and dare to mobilize and rely on the masses to persistently wage a struggle against it. Since Khrushchov, Brezhnev and their like came to power, they have pushed a revisionist line effecting an all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, caused the Soviet Communist Party founded by Lenin to degenerate into a revisionist party, a bourgeois party and a fascist party, and turned the first socialist country in the world into a social-imperialist country. These renegades of the proletariat not only do not dare to admit the existence of the bourgeoisie within the Soviet party, but do not dare even to acknowledge the existence of classes and class struggle in the Soviet society. They can only use such fallacies as the “state of the whole people” and the “party of the whole people” to deceive others. The reason why they do so is that should they admit these facts, it would be

tantamount to admitting that they themselves are the monopoly-capitalist class in the Soviet party, and this would mean their own destruction.

Some people are of the opinion that it is not easy to discern the capitalist-roaders inside the Party because they not only have the title of “Communist Party members” but are leading persons and some of them hold very high posts. It should be admitted that since the capitalist-roaders, who are the bourgeoisie inside the Party, are in power in the Party and have a variety of political “protective colors” and since they invariably resort to all sorts of wiles and intrigues to deliberately put up a false front, it is therefore much more difficult for us to detect them. But dialectical materialism tells us that all objective things can be known step by step in the course of practice; agnosticism is both idealist and metaphysical. No matter how crafty the capitalist-roaders in the Party are in disguising themselves, they are bound to expose their true colors since they oppose Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line and pursue a revisionist line. So long as we really have a good grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought —the telescope and microscope in political affairs— we will be able to distinguish between right and wrong on cardinal issues from the viewpoint of political line and recognize the reactionary bourgeois essence of the capitalist-roaders. As a matter of fact, when Deng Xiaoping energetically stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, workers, peasants and soliders, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals and educated youth in many places took a clear-cut stand and, going against the evil wind, firmly defended Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line and waged a tit-for-tat struggle against Deng Xiaoping’s revisionist line. They have provided us with valuable experience in discerning and defeating the bourgeoisie inside the Party. We can surely increase our ability of discernment if we assiduously

study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and earnestly sum up the experience gained in practical struggle.

In 1962, after analyzing the situation of class struggle at home and abroad, our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out with farsightedness: **“The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past.”**

Chairman Mao’s wise conclusion that the bourgeoisie is right in the Party is a brilliant example of the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China’s socialist revolution. The struggle between the proletariat and the broad masses of the people on the one hand and the bourgeoisie inside the Party on the other is a great struggle which has many features different in form from those of the past. However arduous the tasks of the socialist revolution are and however tortuous the road of advance is, we are firmly convinced that, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and under the guidance of his revolutionary line, the prospects of the revolution are bright. As Marx and Engels pointed out in *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: **“Its fall [the bourgeoisie’s] and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.”**

A Confession of Attempts at Reversal of Verdicts and Restoration³⁸

by the Mass Criticism Group of
Beijing and Tsinghua Universities

Criticizing an Article Concocted at Deng Xiaoping's Bidding

When the unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Deng Xiaoping stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts last year, he issued instructions for the concoction of an article entitled "On the General Programme for All Work of the Party and the Country." It went to great lengths to preach that "taking the three directives as the key link"³⁹ was the "general programme for all work" not only "for the present" but also "for the

38 From *Peking Review*, Vol. 19, #28, July 9, 1976.

39 The revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" was dished out in the summer of 1975. Waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag and using an eclectic sleight of hand, the unrepentant capitalist-roader Deng Xiaoping with ulterior motives distorted Chairman Mao's directives, putting the directive on studying the theory of the proletarian dictatorship and combating and preventing revisionism on a par with the directives on stability and unity and on pushing the national economy forward and describing all three as the "general programme for all work." This trick of confusing the principal with the secondary and replacing the former with the latter was an attempt to negate the Party's basic line and Chairman Mao's repeated instructions on taking class struggle as the key link for all work in the period of socialism.

next 25 years.” This big poisonous weed of more than ten thousand words, which he had not yet had the time to publish, is an excellent teaching material by negative example and a confession of his attempts at reversal of verdicts and restoration. A critical analysis of the article shows that Deng Xiaoping’s “taking the three directives as the key link” was an out-and-out revisionist programme, that Deng Xiaoping and his followers had theory and a programme in their organized Right deviationist activities to reverse correct verdicts, and that they had resorted to intrigues and conspiracies.

It must be pointed out that Deng Xiaoping pinned great hopes on this article. “When this article is published,” he exclaimed, “it means a blow has been delivered.” What kind of “blow” was it? And what did they want to strike at? A look at the counter-revolutionary incident that took place at Tiananmen Square, where a handful of class enemies committed arson and beat up people, shows that the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party invariably brandishes two “fists”—counter-revolutionary public opinion and counter-revolutionary violence. Their revisionist “blows” were directed at the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, at Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line and at the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Attacking Cultural Revolution on the Pretext of “Opposing Leftism”

From beginning to end this article on the “general programme” attacked the Great Cultural Revolution on the pretext of “criticizing Lin Biao” and “opposing Leftism.” Lin Biao pushed an ultra-Right revisionist line but the authors of the article, out of ulterior motives, called it an “ultra-Left” line. They raised a hue and cry, saying that there could be no political stability and unity unless the “pernicious Leftist influence is completely

wiped out.” Since these people consistently took an ultra-Right stand, they looked on the Cultural Revolution as “ultra-Left.” What they meant by “opposing Leftism” was in fact opposing Chairman Mao’s Marxist-Leninist line. Their so-called “criticizing Lin Biao” was a mere sham; what they really wanted to do was to negate the Cultural Revolution.

What is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution for? To wage class struggle. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is in essence a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. The main target of the movement is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. Chairman Mao has pointed out recently: **“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.”** To negate the fact that the main target of the Great Cultural Revolution is the capitalist-roaders in the Party means negating the entire Cultural Revolution. Deng Xiaoping slandered that the Cultural Revolution had “harmed experienced cadres,” and the article concocted at his bidding made a concentrated attack on the Cultural Revolution for having “overthrown good Party cadres.” Shouldn’t the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao be overthrown? Shouldn’t the handful of renegades, special agents and counter-revolutionaries who had wormed their way into the Party be expelled? Shouldn’t those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road be exposed and criticized? The Great Cultural Revolution has given the cadres a profound education in class struggle and the two-line struggle and has saved a number of cadres who committed mistakes. This is of great help to them in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The article, however, did

not say a word about Chairman Mao's important instructions on the nature, target and tasks of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, but slandered the criticism of capitalist-roaders as "ultra-Left," viciously attacked the Cultural Revolution, made complaints on behalf of those capitalist-roaders who refused to mend their ways, and instigated those cadres who had committed mistakes and been criticized by the masses to resent the Great Cultural Revolution. This revealed once again that when Deng Xiaoping declared "I'll never reverse the verdict," he was only following the trick of "recoiling in order to extend" practiced by the disciples of Confucius and Mencius.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is an unprecedented great mass movement. **"Never before in any mass movement have the masses been aroused so thoroughly and on so broad a scale."** Chairman Mao has highly commended and warmly praised the revolutionary spirit of hundreds of millions of people who rose to rebel against the capitalist-roaders in the Party during the Cultural Revolution. The historical experience of the proletarian dictatorship proves that, to prevent revisionists from coming to power, it won't do to depend only on a few persons, but the people of the whole country must be aroused to fight. The Great Cultural Revolution is a great practice to combat and prevent revisionism by mobilizing and relying on the broad masses. Deng Xiaoping consistently held the idealist conception of history that "the highest are the wise and the lowest are the stupid" as advocated by Confucius, and alleged that "reliance on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative." Following his cue, the authors of the article vilified the masses as being liable to follow others blindly and to rebel in a wanton manner. In the eyes of Deng Xiaoping, the masses are an ignorant mob. His venomous attack on the mass movement of the Cultural Revolution shows that this struggle has hit the capital-

ist-roaders in the Party where it hurts and demonstrates the immense power of the revolutionary mass movement. Setting themselves against the masses and venting their hatred on them, these capitalist-roaders fully revealed their reactionary features as bourgeois lords in the Party. In 1959 when he refuted the fallacy of Peng Dehuai, ringleader of the revisionist line, in opposing the revolutionary mass movement, Chairman Mao said: **“Do you see how Lenin criticized the renegade Plekhanov and those ‘bourgeois gentlemen and their hangers-on,’ ‘the curs and swine of the moribund bourgeoisie and of the petty-bourgeois democrats who trail behind them’? If not, will you please have a look?”**

While giving instructions to write the article, Deng Xiaoping spread the idea: “Forget everything about the Great Cultural Revolution; don’t think about it and don’t mention it. My memory is bad, I’ve forgotten everything.” These few sentences completely revealed his hatred and grudge against the Cultural Revolution. What he was driving at was: I don’t give a hang about the Cultural Revolution; I just consider nothing had happened. I’ll go on following the capitalist road the way I did before the Cultural Revolution! As to his tale about “bad memory” and that he had “forgotten everything,” it was only meant to deceive the people. The series of unbridled activities he had carried out fully showed that what he was engrossed in day and night was to settle old scores and restore capitalism, and that he would not be reconciled unless the proletariat and the revolutionary people were put down and the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution was reversed.

Reversing the Correct Appraisal of Cultural Revolution by So-Called “Rectification”

In order to reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution, Deng Xiaoping maliciously proposed that “there is the need at present to carry out rectification in all fields of work.” The article written on his instruction alleged: “It is imperative to take the three directives as the key link to sum up the rich experience gained since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, formulate specific policies for different fields of work, and use this general work programme and various policies to guide and rectify all fields of work.” When Deng Xiaoping and his followers proposed “taking the three directives as the key link” to “sum up” the Cultural Revolution, didn’t they mean to say that the summing-up of the Cultural Revolution at the Ninth and Tenth Party Congresses was no longer valid? **“The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.”** Doesn’t this directive of Chairman Mao’s still hold good? It is quite obvious that to make a summing-up in accordance with Deng Xiaoping’s revisionist programme and line could only mean a counterattack on the Great Cultural Revolution. In advocating “formulating” various policies and “rectifying” all fields of work, he simply wanted to negate and oppose the proletarian policies laid down by Chairman Mao for our Party and transform the work in all fields as well as transform our Party and state in the image of the bourgeoisie.

The article on the “general programme” listed nine aspects which needed to be “rectified,” the “emphasis” being on Party rectification and the “key point” on the leading bodies. It clamored for overthrowing the “class enemies who oppose Marxism” and for “seizing back the leadership.” The so-called “class enemies who oppose Marxism” had a specific reactionary implication; it referred to the proletarian revolutionaries who firmly

implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. It is only too natural for those who practice revisionism to regard those who uphold Marxism and the dictatorship of the proletariat as their class enemies. They also maliciously linked the "class enemies who oppose Marxism" with the renegade and traitor Lin Biao, describing them as having "inherited Lin Biao's mantle" and "followed in Lin Biao's steps." Actually, these words are most suitable for describing themselves. The vast amount of facts brought to light during the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind prove that it is none other than the unrepentant capitalist-roader Deng Xiaoping who had inherited the mantle of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao's revisionist line, used the old trick of waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag and frenziedly opposed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. In trying to hoodwink the people and create confusion, in vilifying the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the proletarian revolutionaries and in speaking out what the handful of overt and covert counter-revolutionaries dare not speak, Deng Xiaoping's real aim was to split our Party, sow discord among the masses and seize power from the proletariat.

What was Deng Xiaoping up to in pressing ahead so recklessly with his attempt to reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution and seize power from the proletariat? The article on the "general programme" gave the best answer! He wanted to change the Party's basic line and bring about an all-round restoration of capitalism.

Effecting Capitalist Restoration in the Name of Grasping Production

The article on the "general programme" started off with this statement: The Second Plenary Session of the Party's Tenth Central Committee and the Fourth

National People's Congress put forward the magnificent task of developing the national economy for the next 25 years. Immediately following this, the authors of the article specified that "taking the three directives as the key link" was to be the "general programme for all work" for the remaining quarter of this century. Here they deliberately tampered with the spirit of the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Tenth Central Committee and the Fourth National People's Congress, distorted our Party's slogan for persistently taking class struggle as the key link in achieving socialist modernization in the next 25 years, and by a sleight of hand took over the "25 years" and wedded it to the so-called "taking the three directives as the key link," turning upside down the relationship between revolution and production and between politics and economy, which is a relationship between the commander and the commanded. They placed the achievement of modernization above everything else and in command of everything and declared that "taking the three directives as the key link" was precisely for the purpose of modernization. In this way, class struggle as the key link was liquidated, and so was the fundamental task of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, leaving only the so-called "modernization." If this were followed, wouldn't our Party become a "party for production" and a revisionist party? And wouldn't our Party's programme have to be revised? If things were to develop along this line, then it would take less than 25 years for the whole of China to change its political color.

Marxism holds that in general the productive forces and the economic base play the principal and decisive role in the development of history as a whole; at the same time, however, we must recognize the reaction of the relations of production on the productive forces and that of the superstructure on the economic base. When the old relations of production and the superstructure

become a hindrance to the development of the productive forces and the economic base, then changes in the relations of production and the superstructure play the principal and decisive role. Chairman Mao pointed out in his *On Coalition Government* during the democratic revolution: **“In the last analysis, the impact, good or bad, great or small, of the policy and the practice of any Chinese political party upon the people depends on whether and how much it helps to develop their productive forces, and on whether it fetters or liberates these forces.”** He went on to say: **“The social productive forces of China can be liberated only by destroying the Japanese aggressors, carrying out land reform, emancipating the peasants, developing modern industry and establishing an independent, free democratic, united, prosperous and powerful new China— and this will win the approbation of the Chinese people.”** Here Chairman Mao emphasizes that only revolution can liberate the productive forces. In the period of socialism, Chairman Mao has always emphasized the role played by continuous changes in the relations of production and the superstructure in promoting the development of the productive forces and has laid down for our Party the principle of **grasping revolution, promoting production**. The vigorous development of all undertakings in China’s construction since the start of the Cultural Revolution has eloquently proved that this great revolution is a powerful motive force for developing the country’s social productive forces.

However, in order to push ahead with the revisionist programme of “taking the three directives as the key link,” the article on the “general programme” vehemently attacked the principle of **grasping revolution, promoting production**, lashed at putting proletarian politics in command, and peddled the theory of productive forces. It openly distorted the above-mentioned passage from Chairman Mao’s *On Coalition Govern-*

ment and, employing the vile practice of quoting out of context, deliberately deleted that part of Chairman Mao's statement about carrying on the revolution. Instead, it dwelt only on production and considered that so long as production developed, it would be "real revolution" and following the "correct line" no matter what road was taken. In a word, it still harped on Deng Xiaoping's theory of "white cat and black cat." According to this logic, aren't the two superpowers the "most correct" and the "most revolutionary" because they have the highest output of steel and the greatest number of atom bombs? Many third world countries are still economically underdeveloped owing to imperialist and social-imperialist control and plunder. Does this mean they are the "most incorrect" and the "most non-revolutionary"? How absurd these persons were who styled themselves as people "well versed in Marxism"!

Historical experience shows that both old and new revisionists often make a fuss about economy in order to oppose the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship. Following in their footsteps and wearing the mask of an "expert" in developing economy, Deng Xiaoping pretended to be most concerned about production and most acquainted with it. But what he actually did was trying to restore capitalism on the pretext of grasping production. Using "everything for modernization" as his slogan, he did his utmost to oppose the revolution in all spheres of the superstructure and at the same time stubbornly pushed a revisionist line in the economic field in a vain attempt to change the orientation of China's socialist construction. He vigorously peddled bourgeois ideas about economy and preached giving top priority to science and technology, the omnipotence of revisionist rules and regulations, putting personal material gains first, and so on and so forth. But he never mentioned people and revolution as the most important factors, and evaded the question of

criticizing the capitalist-roaders, his aim being to liquidate the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. He opposed the leadership of the Party and advocated “relying on specialists to run the factories”; he opposed putting proletarian politics in command and advocated material incentives; he opposed relying on the masses and launching mass movements and advocated reintroducing rigid regulations to “control, check and suppress the workers” and stifle their enthusiasm for socialism; he opposed bringing into play the initiatives of both central and local authorities and, in his attempt to stress one-sidedly the initiative of the central authorities, he wanted to implement once again the principle of “direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned”; he opposed the principle of “walking on two legs” and one-sidedly stressed things ostentatious and foreign; he opposed the principle of independence and self-reliance and spread the philosophy of servility to things foreign and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail’s pace. By worshipping everything foreign, Deng Xiaoping exposed his real features as a slavish comprador-capitalist and caused grave consequences in China’s socialist construction. If things were to develop the way he wished, China’s economic construction would be led astray on to the road of capitalism and our country would once again be reduced to the status of a colony or semi-colony.

Reversing Correct Verdicts Goes Against The Will of the People

The concocting of the article on the “general programme” once again shows that class struggle is an objective reality independent of man’s will. How haughty and ferocious Deng Xiaoping was when he, thinking that he had his way, launched an attack on the proletariat! Pledging to overthrow the so-called “class enemies who oppose Marxism” and to “fight for the truth” “with undaunted faith,” he really wished he could strike down the proletariat with one blow. However, the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts might gain the upper hand for a time, it was in essence extremely feeble. **Reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people.** The truth was not in the hands of those who tried to reverse correct verdicts and bring about capitalist restoration. They feared the truth the most and were very afraid of the masses possessing the truth. Not long after the article had been written, they sensed that the general trend was not to their advantage, so they took great pains to rewrite it again and again, taking out such words as overthrowing the “class enemies who oppose Marxism.” How strange all this was! Why was it that all of a sudden there was no need for them to overthrow the “class enemies” who “oppose Marxism”? Why was it that the authors who pledged to “fight for the truth” “with undaunted faith” had suddenly become irresolute and weak-minded? In rewriting the article, the authors added some sentences which they had no intention at all to say, and deleted some sentences which reflected their real intentions, and they resorted to a more crafty and more disguised way to attack the proletariat. But the result was the more they wanted to cover up their designs, the more they exposed themselves for what they really were.

In any great revolution in history, it takes more time to consolidate and develop the achievements of the revolution than to carry out the revolution itself. And during that revolution and for a very long time after it, there is always the struggle between attempts at reversal of verdicts and counter-reversal and between restoration and counter-restoration. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao has opened up broad vistas for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It shoulders the task of mobilizing the masses to make revolution against the bourgeoisie, especially the bourgeoisie within the Party, in the period of socialism. It has provided extremely valuable experiences for combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism. The nature, tasks and significance of the Great Cultural Revolution determine that all those who practice revisionism and advocate restoration and retrogression will inevitably try to reverse the correct appraisal of the Cultural Revolution. To affirm or to negate the Great Cultural Revolution is a question of building genuine or sham socialism and a question of carrying the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end or giving it up halfway. The current great struggle against the Right deviationist trend is a continuation and deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and an issue of cardinal importance concerning the destiny and future of our Party and state. We must resolutely smash the attack launched by the bourgeoisie, consolidate and develop the great achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution so as to ensure that our country will advance triumphantly along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Inner-Party Struggle and Party Development⁴⁰

by Zhi Heng

Filled with proletarian revolutionary pride, we have greeted the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in the excellent situation in which the struggle to criticize Deng Xiaoping and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts has won great victories. The series of important instructions issued by Chairman Mao in the struggle to criticize Deng Xiaoping and repulse the Right deviationist attempt is an important development of the Marxist-Leninist theories on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat and on the Party. By deepening the study of Chairman Mao's important instructions, conscientiously summing up the experience of the two-line struggle within the Party and persistently struggling against the bourgeoisie in the Party, we are bound to greatly strengthen Party building ideologically and organizationally and further promote the Party-led great cause of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Inner-Party Struggle Is the Universal Law Governing Growth of a Proletarian Political Party

Engels said: **“The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles.”** (*Engels to A. Bebel.*) Chairman Mao has said: **“If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to**

40 From *Peking Review*, Vol. 19, #34, August 20, 1976.

an end.” (*On Contradiction*.) **“Without struggle, there is no progress.”** These teachings of the proletarian revolutionary teachers have profoundly summarized the historical experience of the international communist movement and of our Party and set forth in a deep-going way the universal law governing the progress and development of the proletariat and its political party. It is essential to know and grasp this law and deepen the criticism of Deng Xiaoping’s revisionist line in order to strengthen Party building and promote the development of the Party.

A proletarian political party is the product of the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and a tool in the proletariat’s hands for waging this struggle. A party emerges in the wake of class struggle, and as long as the party exists there is inner-party struggle which reflects class struggle. The Chinese Communist Party is the vanguard of the Chinese proletariat. During the period of democratic revolution to overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, our Party led the people of the whole country in waging protracted revolutionary struggles and revolutionary wars. In the course of that revolution, inner-Party two-line struggle took place on several occasions in connection with the issues of the united front and armed struggle. Since we entered the period of socialist revolution, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has become the principal contradiction in society, and the two-line struggle in the Party centring round the question of taking the socialist road or the capitalist road has never ceased. This struggle will continue throughout the historical period of socialism. Only by using the viewpoint of class struggle to observe inner-Party life can we really understand the inevitability of inner-Party

struggle, be ideologically prepared for protracted struggles inside the Party and build and expand the Party in the course of struggle.

Under the conditions of socialism, inner-Party struggle is mainly the struggle between the Marxists in the Party and the capitalist-roaders, the bourgeoisie in the Party. It is a struggle between the two major antagonistic classes— the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. A characteristic of the capitalist-roaders is to use the power in their hands to push the revisionist line, so inner-Party class struggle finds concentrated expression in the struggle between the Marxist line and the revisionist line. In 1964, Chairman Mao pointed out in a directive concerning the socialist education movement: **“The bureaucrat class on the one hand and the working class together with the poor and lower-middle peasants on the other are two classes sharply antagonistic to each other.”** Chairman Mao also stated in this directive: **“Those leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road have turned, or are turning, into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers; how can they possibly realize fully the imperative need for socialist revolution? These people are the target of the struggle, the target of the revolution, and we must never rely on them in the socialist education movement. We can rely only on those cadres who are not hostile to the workers and are imbued with revolutionary spirit.”** In studying this important directive, we come to a deeper understanding of the brilliant thesis that the bourgeoisie exists **“right in the Communist Party.”** The concepts “the bureaucrat class” and “those leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road” mentioned by Chairman Mao have a clear-cut class content; they refer to the capitalist-roaders, to the bourgeoisie which exists in the Party during the period of socialism. Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping, all members of the bourgeoisie in the Party, oppressed and exploited the work-

ers and poor and lower-middle peasants politically and economically, and were in a state of sharp class struggle with the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants. They were the main targets of the socialist revolution. They held in their hands a considerable portion of Party and state power, and they formulated and pushed the revisionist line from above and engaged in extensive activities to restore capitalism in the superstructure as well as in the economic base; their vain attempt was to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. They are much more ruthless and dangerous than the bourgeoisie outside the Party. Therefore, we must see through the reactionary bourgeois nature of the capitalist-roaders, understand that inner-Party struggle is serious class struggle, and be resolute in using Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line to defeat the revisionist line which represents the bourgeoisie.

Use Materialist Dialectics to Guide Inner-Party Life

Some people consider that since the Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat, there should be no contradictions and struggle within the Party and that the Party should be absolutely pure. This is a naive concept which runs counter to materialist dialectics. **“The law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the basic law of materialist dialectics.”** (Mao Zedong: *On Contradiction*.) Everything in the world divides into two. Purity is relative and impurity is absolute. The two aspects of a contradiction are united and at the same time struggle against each other, and it is this which propels the movement and change of things. This is the fundamental law of the development of all things, and is also the fundamental law of the development of the Party. Our Party does not live in a vacuum, but exists in an environment of com-

plex class struggle. During the period of democratic revolution, especially when the revolution was in a high tide, it was inevitable that there was an admixture of the genuine and the false and that a few secret agents, renegades, alien class elements and other undesirable elements wormed their way into the Party. It was not strange for some people who only accepted the Party's minimum programme to varying degrees and who were imbued with ideas of bourgeois democratic revolution to have joined the Party. After liberation, with the gradual deepening of the socialist revolution, division among the Party ranks constantly took place. Part of the Party members, who clung to the bourgeois stand, refused to remold their ideology and, not willing to go forward, opposed the socialist revolution and became capitalist-roaders. The existence of classes and class struggle, the existence of bourgeois right and the influence of the international bourgeoisie and revisionism engender new bourgeois elements within the Party. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie inside the Party will inevitably find expression in inner-Party class struggle and two-line struggle. It is only through this struggle that the Party can develop and advance.

It is Chairman Mao's consistent thinking that in Party building it is necessary to use materialist dialectics to guide inner-Party activities and to achieve progress and development through struggle. Speaking of Party consolidation during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out: **"A human being has arteries and veins through which the heart makes the blood circulate, and he breathes with his lungs, exhaling carbon dioxide and inhaling fresh oxygen, that is, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh. A proletarian party must also get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, for only thus can it be full of vitality. Without eliminating waste matter and absorbing fresh blood the Party has no vigor."** Here Chairman Mao

used a simple and vivid simile to profoundly expound the dialectics of inner-Party contradictions and the objective law that only through persistent inner-Party struggle can the Party maintain its vitality. Historically speaking, the slave-owning class, the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie were once vigorous, revolutionary and progressive and were real tigers before they won state power and for a period afterwards. But with the lapse of time, they changed step by step into the reverse, into reactionaries, backward people, paper tigers and obstacles impeding social development and the progress of history. The proletariat is the **“most far-sighted, most selfless and most thoroughly revolutionary”** class. (Mao Zedong: *On the People’s Democratic Dictatorship*.) It is a vigorous, advanced class which fights for the realization of communism. The seizure of political power is only the beginning of a long march of the proletarian revolution. The historical mission of the proletariat is to carry the socialist revolution through to the end and abolish classes. A political party of the proletariat must reflect in a concentrated way these class characteristics of the proletariat and educate the proletariat and the masses to know their own historical mission and fight persistently for its realization. But the proletarian nature and thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the Party can only be maintained and developed in the course of struggle. If inner-Party struggle were not upheld, if Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line were not used to defeat the revisionist line of the capitalist-roaders, then the Party would change its nature once the revisionist line dominates the Party. The Soviet Communist Party founded and led by Lenin had once been vigorous, but later when its leadership was usurped by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, it turned into a revisionist party, a bourgeois party, a fascist party and an extremely reactionary and decadent political force. Judging from the historical experience,

both at home and abroad and both positive and negative, isn't it quite clear that persistence in inner-Party struggle is of tremendous significance to combating and preventing revisionism and to strengthening Party building?

Difference in Principle Between Two Lines In Party Building

Whether to persist in inner-Party struggle or not is a principled difference between Chairman Mao's line and the revisionist line in Party building. Out of their counter-revolutionary political needs, chieftains of the revisionist line Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping did their utmost to propagate the theory of the dying out of class struggle in Party building. They either negated the class content of inner-Party struggle by distorting it into a struggle between individuals, or attacked inner-Party struggle as "creating contradictions," denying the objective reality that struggle exists within the Party. These fallacies fundamentally betrayed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the theory of Party building. It was a hypocritical double-dealing tactic of chieftains of the revisionist line to preach the theory of the dying out of class struggle in Party building, a tactic designed to cover up their own frenzied attacks on the Party and the proletariat. While talking loudly about "making accommodations for the sake of overall interest," Liu Shaoqi did his utmost to protect his bunch of renegades and sworn followers and rigged up his bourgeois headquarters. As for Lin Biao, while he babbled that "when two sides live in harmony, they become friends," he plotted a counter-revolutionary armed coup, aiming at overthrowing the proletariat. Deng Xiaoping on the one hand denied the existence of inner-Party two-line struggle, but on the other he put forward the revisionist pro-

gramme of “taking the three directives as the key link,” stepped up the organization of “restorationist legions,” and was impatient to reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution and settle accounts with it. Thus it can be seen that in negating and distorting inner-Party struggle, chieftains of the revisionist line in the Party tried to disarm Party members ideologically in the face of serious class struggle and two-line struggle so that they could wantonly engage in activities to restore capitalism and change the proletarian nature of the Party and state. This tells us from the negative side that we must deepen the criticism of Deng Xiaoping’s revisionist line and further eliminate the pernicious influence of the theory of the dying out of class struggle.

“To lead the revolution to victory, a political party must depend on the correctness of its own political line and the solidity of its own organization.” (Mao Zedong: *On Contradiction*.) We must, in the course of struggle to uphold Chairman Mao’s correct line and criticize the revisionist line, continuously consolidate and develop the unity of the whole Party and strive for greater victories in the revolutionary cause. To oppose Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, chieftains of the revisionist line Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping invariably engaged in counter-revolutionary activities to undermine Party unity organizationally and split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. To maintain Party unity, we must fight resolutely against the splittist activities of these chieftains of the revisionist line in the Party. At present, we must deepen the criticism of Deng Xiaoping, eliminate his pernicious influence and achieve further successes in the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind so as to strengthen the unity of the whole Party on the basis of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line. In the struggle, we must implement Chairman Mao’s consistent policy, pay attention to distinguishing the two types of contradic-

tions which are different in nature and adopt correct methods. Deng Xiaoping's revisionist line must be severely criticized and the policy of **"learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones"** and **"curing the sickness to save the patient"** must be taken towards those cadres who have committed mistakes. The struggle to criticize Deng Xiaoping and beat back the Right deviationist wind must be carried out under the unified leadership of Party committees at various levels, and no fighting groups should be formed. Party organizations must stick to the principle of **grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war**, warmly support socialist new things, guard against troublemaking and sabotage by the class enemies and see to it that work in every field continues to advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

This Party of Ours Has a Bright Future

During his inspection tour in August and September 1971, Chairman Mao said: **"We have been singing *The Internationale* for fifty years, yet on ten occasions certain people inside our Party tried to split it. As I see it, this may happen another ten, twenty or thirty times. You don't believe it? You may not believe it. Anyhow I do. Will there be no more struggle when we get to Communism? I just don't believe it. There will be struggles even then, but only between the new and the old, between what is correct and what is incorrect. Tens of thousands of years from now, what is wrong still won't get by, it won't stand up."** During the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, Chairman Mao again pointed out: **"Will there be need for revolution a hundred years from now? Will there still be need for revolution a thousand years from now? There is always need for revolution."** These brilliant theses of Chairman Mao's which brim with the rev-

olutionary optimism characteristic of the proletariat, elucidate the protracted nature of class struggle and the two-line struggle in the Party. Historically, there was invariably a long and repeated trial of strength before a revolutionary class defeated a counter-revolutionary class. It is inconceivable that, without encountering many heart-stirring fierce struggles and without going through an arduous and tortuous fighting course, the proletariat can thoroughly overthrow the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat and capitalism with socialism and finally realize communism. All genuine Marxists are always full of confidence and plunge into the fiery revolutionary struggles to create a bright future through fighting. Evading contradictions and wearying of struggle are not part of the mental outlook of Marxists.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“This Party of ours has a bright future.”** In the last half century and more, our Party has undergone major two-line struggles on many occasions, and a batch of chieftains of opportunist lines have made their appearance. However, none of them could block the swift advance of the proletarian revolutionary cause. As a result of the triumph of Chairman Mao’s correct line over the opportunist lines, our Party has led the people of the entire country in achieving great victories in the new-democratic revolution and in the socialist revolution. Our Party has become purer and stronger and has further developed since the Great Cultural Revolution began. It is the proletariat and the masses of the people who want to continue the revolution, and not any social group and social forces, including the bourgeoisie inside the Party, which aim at restoration and retrogression, that determine the orientation of history. Since Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line conforms to the objective law of historical development and represents the fundamental interests of the

proletariat and the masses, it is invincible. On the contrary, chieftains of the revisionist line in the Party represent the bourgeoisie, they go against the trend of history and truth is not on their side, and they go against the will of the people and are extremely isolated, so they are bound to fail. So long as we adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, uphold the philosophy of struggle and rally closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the schemes of the bourgeoisie for restoration will meet with ignominious defeat and the revolutionary cause of the proletariat will win complete victory no matter how many more struggles there will be and no matter what changes may take place in the form of struggle.

Comments on Deng Xiaoping's Economic Ideas of the Comprador Bourgeoisie⁴¹

by Gao Lu and Zhang Ge

The arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Deng Xiaoping made many absurd statements about economic construction. In a nutshell, his economic ideas are essentially those of the comprador bourgeoisie. Domestically speaking, he represented the bourgeoisie and wanted to seize the leadership over the national economy from the proletariat and turn China's socialist economy into a bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist economy. In foreign affairs, he practiced capitulation and national betrayal, and vainly attempted to turn China into a colony or semi-colony of imperialism and social-imperialism.

Reimposing "Direct And Exclusive Control Of Enterprises By The Ministry Concerned"

After Deng Xiaoping took up work again, he imposed without the knowledge and approval of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao an economic administration system of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned." This means a few top persons in the central ministries concerned could directly issue orders to enterprises in

41 From *Peking Review*, Vol. 19, #35, August 27, 1976.

all parts of the country and exercise leadership over them. Enterprises of the same trade thus formed into a separate system operating by themselves, thereby liquidating the controlling power of the Party Central Committee and the local Party committees over the economy and negating the unified leadership of the Party committees at various levels.

As early as 1956, Chairman Mao pointed out that in order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, strengthen the socialist economic base and build a strong socialist country, it is necessary to handle correctly the relations between the central and local authorities and **“let the localities undertake more work under unified central planning”**. This will bring the initiative of both the central and local authorities into play. However, Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping for a long time refused to implement this correct principle; instead, they lauded the imperialist trusts to the skies.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao. During the revolution, the masses and the revolutionary cadres rose to revolt against “direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned” and promoted the implementation of Chairman Mao’s correct principle. China no longer has to ship grain from the south to the north nor coal from the north to the south. Deposits of coal, petroleum and natural gas have been discovered in the south. Small iron and steel, chemical fertilizer, cement, machinery and hydro-electric power industries have mushroomed in the various localities and output has multiplied, while many small and medium-sized cities have developed into new industrial centers. All this shows the absolute correctness of Chairman Mao’s instruction that **“it is far better for the initiative to come from two sources than from**

only one.” This is of great and far-reaching significance to developing the national economy with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

After Deng Xiaoping resumed work, he lapsed into his old ways. On the pretext of exercising “centralized and unified” leadership, he wanted to “turn over to the higher authorities” what he called “key enterprises which serve the whole nation and require organized co-ordination on a national scale.” If this policy had been followed, most of the big enterprises and the lesser ones working in co-ordination with them in all parts of the country would have been “turned over.” This would inevitably have undermined the initiative of the localities and the broad masses of the people and sabotaged socialist construction as a whole. What Deng Xiaoping undertook to do fully shows that he was stubbornly opposed to Chairman Mao’s principle of bringing into play the initiative from both the central and local authorities, that he wanted to reverse the correct appraisal of the Cultural Revolution, and that he wished to continue pushing the revisionist line and take the beaten track of imperialist trusts.

The system of “direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned” is diametrically opposed to the Party’s unified leadership. It is splittism and advocates the doctrine of “many centers” in opposition to the Party Central Committee; it is despotism and bourgeois dictatorship over the localities and the masses. The purpose of Deng Xiaoping’s reimposing “direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned” was the liquidation of our socialist economy through “rectification.” This kind of “control” would inevitably divide up the socialist economy of ownership by the whole people and turn it into the “private property” of respective trades. And the various trades and departments would become sharply opposed to each other. The overly distinct division of labor would

lead to undermining each other's work and the relations between them would be turned into capitalist relations of competition.

Since "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" disregarded inter-departmental equilibrium in the national economy, it would inevitably undermine the rational distribution of the national economy and the multi-purpose utilization of resources and obstruct extensive socialist co-operation.

Deng Xiaoping's "rectification" of the economy by means of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" was intended to bring about a capitalist concentration of production and monopoly and enforce the revisionist practices of running factories by relying on experts, putting profits in command, offering material incentives, giving first place to production and putting technique above everything else. It also aimed at negating Chairman Mao's line and policies concerning the socialist revolution and construction, at expanding and strengthening bourgeois right, at changing the socialist orientation and road of our enterprises and turning the socialist economy into a bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist economy.

Pushing the Soviet Revisionist Managerial System

Resurrecting the economic administration system of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" and introducing the Soviet revisionist managerial system in the enterprises to exercise bourgeois dictatorship over the working class are two aspects of the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalism Deng Xiaoping worked for. Chairman Mao pointed out in 1964: **"Management itself is a matter of socialist education. If the managerial staff do not join the workers on the shop floor, eat, live and work with them and modestly learn one or more skills from them, then they will**

find themselves locked in acute class struggle with the working class all their lives and in the end are bound to be overthrown as bourgeois by the working class.” Deng Xiaoping always acted in contravention of Chairman Mao’s instruction that **we must wholeheartedly rely on the working class**, and obstinately tried to push his revisionist line characterized by hostility to the working class. He openly declared that “reliance on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative,” categorically refused to regard the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants as masters of the state, and denied that they had the right to control the economy. He showed the utmost hatred for the revolutionary action of the working class during the Great Cultural Revolution in criticizing the capitalist and revisionist managerial principles, rules and regulations, and he lost no time in mounting a vengeful counterattack the moment he came into office again. He not only brought out again the set of rules aimed at “controlling, checking and repressing” the workers but clamored for dealing with them “as strictly as possible.” This proves to the hilt that he was indeed the general representative of those **bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers** whom Chairman Mao had scathingly criticized. Which political line is followed and which class wields the power of leadership in an enterprise are factors determining which class actually owns it. If Deng Xiaoping had been allowed to carry on with his revisionist line, the leadership of the enterprises would inevitably be seized by the capitalist-roaders, the bourgeoisie in the Party, who would use the power in their hands to embezzle and squander huge amounts of wealth created by the working class and ride roughshod on the backs of the workers. In that case, the socialist enterprises would exist only in name and would be turned into bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist enterprises.

What Deng Xiaoping pushed was merely a carbon copy of the so-called “economic reforms” introduced by Khrushchov and Brezhnev. To develop bureaucrat-monopoly capitalism, the Soviet revisionists energetically pushed what they called a “new economic system” with material incentives and putting profits in command as the core. They gave top priority to expertise and relied on specialists to run the enterprises, and the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class completely controlled the leadership over the national economy. The rules and regulations of their enterprises stipulate explicitly that the managers are vested with the power to sell, transfer or lease any part of the enterprises’ means of production, to recruit and fire workers at will, and to do whatever they like to the workers, that is to say, exercise bourgeois dictatorship over them. The Soviet revisionists exercise vertical leadership over the enterprises through the two-level organizational system of “ministry – production combine enterprises” or the three-level system of “ministry – industrial combines – production combine enterprises”. These combines, which are large in scale, have centralized practically all the managerial functions of the enterprises. By pushing this “new economic system” the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has intensified its monopoly and control over the enterprises throughout the country.

The reality of the Soviet Union is a mirror. It helps us to see clearly that once the socialist economy turns into bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist economy, it will bring disaster to the laboring people. Powerless politically and exploited economically, the working people of the Soviet Union today are having a very hard time. The Ninth Five-Year Plan, decked out by the Soviet revisionists as a “welfare plan,” has gone bankrupt; the rate of industrial growth is constantly diminishing; agriculture is a hopeless mess; there are serious disproportions between the various departments of the national econ-

omy; and the contradiction between the worker-peasant masses and the handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists is sharpening with each passing day. All this is steadily aggravating the political and economic crisis of Soviet social-imperialism. Deng Xiaoping's attempt to follow in the footsteps of the Soviet revisionists could only lead to a serious disruption of China's socialist relations of production and superstructure and destroy the socialist economy.

“Major Policy” Of Capitulation And National Betrayal

Chairman Mao has pointed out that under China's historical condition, those who stubbornly choose to take the capitalist road are in fact **“ready to capitulate to imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism.”** This was the case with Deng Xiaoping. In his eyes, the Chinese people were no good at carrying out economic construction or bringing about the modernizations of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology, nor, for that matter, was the socialist system of any help. The only feasible way to “speed up the technical transformation of industry and raise labor productivity” is to “import foreign techniques and equipment.” For this purpose he put forward a so-called “major policy” under which China would sign “long-term contracts” with foreign countries, with the foreign capitalists supplying the “most up-to-date and the best equipment” to be “paid for” by China with its mineral products. This “major policy” was purely a policy of out-and-out capitulation and national betrayal.

In economic construction, whether to rely on the strength of our own people or to worship everything foreign and rely on foreign countries represents two diametrically opposed lines. Chairman Mao has taught us: **“Rely mainly on our own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary, break down blind faith, go in for**

industry, agriculture and technical and cultural revolutions independently, do away with slavishness, bury dogmatism, learn from the good experience of other countries conscientiously and be sure to study their bad experience too, so as to draw lessons from it. This is our line.” Deng Xiaoping completely betrayed this line advanced by Chairman Mao. His so-called “major policy” actually opposed putting China’s economic construction on the basis of the strength of the Chinese people and advocated instead “importing foreign techniques and equipment.”

Whether or not to adhere to the principle of independence and self-reliance is not only an economic question but, first and foremost, a political one. An important means employed by imperialism and social-imperialism to control and plunder other countries is to monopolize advanced techniques and equipment and use their economic strength to check the other countries’ development and carry out extortion, infiltration and expansion. In the world today, if a country is not independent and self-reliant economically, it cannot become politically independent or cannot consolidate its independence and is liable to fall under the control of one or the other superpower.

We hold that, under the guidance of the principle of independence and self-reliance, it is necessary to import some foreign techniques and equipment on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and in accordance with the needs of our country’s socialist revolution and construction. But we absolutely cannot place our hopes for realizing the four modernizations on imports. If we do not rely mainly on our own efforts but, as Deng Xiaoping advocated, rely solely on importing foreign techniques, copying foreign designs and technological processes and patterning our equipment on foreign models, we will forever trail behind foreigners and our country’s

development of technology and even its entire national economy will fall under the control of foreign monopoly capital.

Some economists of the monopoly capitalists allege that industrially backward countries can only “take off” by relying on the techniques of imperialism. That Deng Xiaoping, with the label of a Communist Party member, should chime in with such nonsense was a big irony indeed! This of course was not a mere coincidence. It showed that Deng Xiaoping’s economic concepts fully met the needs of imperialism.

The Soviet revisionists’ newspaper *Pravda* had advocated mortgaging Soviet resources to bring in foreign capital and experience and using part of the products turned out by the factories to be built to pay back the debts some time in the future. Deng Xiaoping’s “major policy” is of the same stuff as that of the Soviet revisionists. The essence of this “policy” is to ask for foreign loans by selling out China’s natural resources and state sovereignty.

Deng Xiaoping shamelessly asserted that his “major policy” had three “advantages”, namely, the policy made it possible for China to export, to promote technical transformation and to absorb labor power. What kind of “advantages” are these? They mean nothing but this: the foreign monopoly capitalists would contribute money and equipment while China would supply the necessary labor power, thus the doors would be thrown wide open for the imperialists to plunder China’s natural resources and bleed its people. The Chinese people had more than enough of such “advantages” before liberation. If this capitulationist “major policy” of Deng Xiaoping’s were followed, China would be reduced step by step to a raw materials supplying base for imperialism and social-imperialism, a market for their commodities and an outlet for their investments. And not only would the fruits of socialist revolution be forfeited but

those of the democratic revolution would also be brought to naught. This fully reveals the ugly features of Deng Xiaoping who worked as a comprador for the imperialists and represented the interests of big foreign capitalists.

Historical Experience Merits Attention

Historical experience over the past hundred years tells us that it is but an illusion to think that China can become strong and prosperous by depending on imperialism for techniques and loans to develop its economy. In the latter half of the 19th century, advocates of the “Westernization Movement” of the late Qing Dynasty stressed the need to “accept loans to develop the country.” They considered that China’s only “chance of making progress” and “way of survival” was to use the country’s natural resources as mortgage to borrow large amounts of money from the imperialist countries and to “copy” foreign techniques to build up an industry. Things turned out to be just the opposite. It was these capitulationist ideas which suited the imperialists perfectly to dump their surplus goods, export capital and carve up China. The “Westernization Movement” drained China’s resources day by day and deepened her national crisis.

In the semi-feudal and semi-colonial old China, there were some people enthusiastically advocating “saving the country by industrialization.” They deemed that the root cause of China’s poverty and backwardness was her underdeveloped industry, and they believed that China would become strong and prosperous by developing industry and commerce on a large scale. They did not have the courage to launch a thoroughgoing struggle against imperialism and feudalism but harbored the illusion that China could develop a capitalist industry without overthrowing imperialist

rule. However, under the dual oppression of the imperialists and their lackeys, the destiny awaiting those advocates of “saving the country by industrialization” was either failure with all their illusions rising in bubbles or throwing themselves into the embrace of the imperialists and ending up in the same way as comprador capitalists. During his youth, Deng Xiaoping had cherished the idea of “saving the country by industrialization.” In the decades that followed, his bourgeois stand and world outlook had not changed a bit. As the revolution develops in depth, his reactionary nature became more and more exposed. From opposing the socialist revolution and attempting to restore capitalism to taking over the mantle of the comprador capitalists and practicing capitulations and national betrayal, Deng Xiaoping could not but end up in the same ignominious way as compradors in China’s history.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“Only socialism can save China.”** This is the historical conclusion arrived at by the Chinese people after protracted revolutionary struggles. Departing from Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, from the dictatorship of the proletariat and from the socialist road, it would be wishful thinking to hope for China’s independence and prosperity and the Chinese people’s freedom and happiness. Revolution is changing and can change everything. So long as we firmly implement Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, persevere in taking class struggle as the key link and adhere to the principle of independence and self-reliance and resolutely rely on and bring into full play the enthusiasm and creativeness of the broad masses of people, we will surely be able to build China into a powerful socialist state with modern agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology before the end of this century and continue to advance towards the great goal of communism.

Working Class Occupying and Transforming the Superstructure⁴²

by Liang Xiao

“The working class must exercise leadership in everything.” *On July 27, 1968, in response to this great call from Chairman Mao, a Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Team composed of outstanding workers in Peking marched into Tsinghua University, a famous institute of higher learning in China. Following this, other Mao Zedong Thought propaganda teams formed by workers entered the other universities, middle and primary schools, and a number of cultural, health, scientific and technological, physical culture and sports organizations in the capital and other parts of the country.*

The Chinese working class had thus entered the political stage of struggle-criticism-transformation of the superstructure. This means waging struggles to overthrow those persons in authority in the Party taking the capitalist road, criticizing the reactionary bourgeois academic “authorities” and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and transforming education, literature and art and all other fields of the superstructure not in harmony with the socialist economic base— all aimed at consolidating and developing the socialist system.

Following is a slightly abridged translation of an article that was published in “Renmin Ribao,” dealing with the acute struggle between occupation and

42 From *Peking Review*, Vol. 19, #37, September 8, 1976.

*counter-occupation, transformation and counter-transformation. The subheads are ours. –Ed.*⁴³

Eight years ago when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was at a high tide, the Chinese working class, acting on Chairman Mao's instruction and guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, entered the cultural and educational fields which had long been dominated by exploiting classes. This opened up a new chapter of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the working class led the revolutionary teachers and students in criticizing the bourgeoisie and revisionism and in destroying the old and fostering the new. They have since scored one victory after another.

Great Mission of the Working Class

Engels pointed out: **“Every genuine revolution is a social one, in which a new class is brought to the ruling position and enabled to reorganize society according to its own image.”** (*Refugee Literature*.) The great historical mission of the proletariat is to transform according to its own image the entire society, including the old superstructure. Since the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party in the historical period of socialism, in the course of transforming the entire superstructure, therefore, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie inside the Party thus becomes the focus of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“Without struggle, there is no progress.”** In reviewing the militant course we have travelled in the last eight years and in summing up the historical experience prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, we find that although the struggle

43 (Note from *Peking Review*.)

is extremely complex in content and there is a constant change in its form, it is mainly a struggle against the capitalist-roaders.

The capitalist-roaders stand for the old capitalist relations of production and defend all decadent ideas and culture. Before the working class occupied the cultural, educational and other fields of the superstructure, the main opposition to the transformation of the superstructure according to the image of the proletariat came first and foremost from the bourgeoisie inside the Party.

Why was it that the revolution in education taking place in 1958, the year of the big leap forward in socialist construction, was suppressed? Why was it that bourgeois intellectuals had long dominated our schools and cultural and educational fields, and that the working class could not occupy them?

The root cause lay with the bourgeoisie inside the Party. Before the Great Cultural Revolution, the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shaoqi for a period of time not only controlled Party power and the power in many localities, but also planted renegades, its sworn followers and capitalist-roaders in leading posts in the cultural and educational fields to control cultural and propaganda work and oppose socialist transformation. After Liu Shaoqi's downfall, Lin Biao came forward to have a trial of strength with the proletariat. During the Great Cultural Revolution, the working class mounted the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure only after Liu Shaoqi's bourgeois headquarters had been toppled and the sabotage and interference by Lin Biao and his cohorts done away with.

Capitalist-Roaders Are Commanders of the Force of Restoration

But the struggle did not end there. After the working class has occupied the realm of the superstructure, there still is a fierce struggle between occupation and counter-occupation, transformation and counter-transformation, seizure of power and counter-seizure of power before it can hold its position and carry the transformation through to the end. The bourgeoisie is not reconciled to its defeat. In a vain attempt to seize back its lost hereditary domain, it strikes back at the proletariat with a frenzy ten times greater than before and a hatred grown a hundredfold. The main force in this counterattack is still the bourgeoisie within the Party.

Intellectuals are concentrated in the cultural and educational fields where the old concepts of the exploiting classes are deep-rooted. This state of affairs must be and can be changed, and the key is: which class exercises the leadership and what line is followed.

Experience has proved that the intellectuals trained in the old-type schools can be re-educated and the masses can be mobilized to criticize the traditional concepts of the exploiting classes. It is the bourgeoisie within the Party who are in a position to contend with the proletariat for leadership and change the Party's line. The capitalist-roaders inside the Party have power and wear the mask of Party members; to the non-Party intellectuals they are members of the Communist Party, and to the rank-and-file Party members they represent the leadership, while before the workers' propaganda teams they often pass themselves off as "old hands" and "experts." This is particularly so in the case of the chieftains of the revisionist line who, having usurped a con-

siderable portion of power, may dish up a revisionist line in the name of the Party and forcefully push that line through legal organizations.

It is quite clear that without the chieftains of the opportunist lines in command and without the capitalist-roaders taking the field themselves, it is not easy for those diehard intellectuals clinging to their reactionary stand to drive the working class out of schools and reverse the general orientation of the revolution in education by themselves. After assuming office, Deng Xiaoping hatched a revisionist programme and stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts. What he did clearly illustrated the outstanding role of the bourgeoisie within the Party in restorationist activities.

Refuting Deng Xiaoping

In order to throw the workers out of the schools, Deng Xiaoping did his utmost to vilify the excellent situation in the realm of the superstructure and attacked the educational revolution, alleging that there was a “crisis” in the educational departments. Instigated and abetted by him, a Right deviationist wind in an attempt to reverse correct verdicts was whipped up in the educational circles. He and his followers cried: The working class has made a mess of education. This is of course a distortion of facts.

Under the leadership of the working class, fundamental changes have taken place in education, and the situation is excellent with a bright future. The situation in Tsinghua and Beijing Universities alone, not to mention the many other advances units throughout the country, is typical and eloquently illustrates the case. Comrades at both universities have said: “Before the Great Cultural Revolution, the two universities were dominated by bourgeois intellectuals and the leader-

ship was in the grip of capitalist-roaders who pushed a revisionist line in education and relied on the professors to run these institutions; at that time the bourgeoisie exercised dictatorship over the proletariat. Now the working class exercises leadership over the two universities and is resolutely implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, leading the teachers, students and staff members in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought conscientiously, grasping class struggle firmly and exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. The feudal, bourgeois and revisionist strongholds of the past are now being turned into a powerful instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"In the past," they have also said, "the students were trained to become members of an elite standing above the laboring people. Today, with Chairman Mao's policy in education in full implementation, the students are being trained to become laborers with both socialist consciousness and culture and identifying themselves with factory workers and peasants. In the 17 years preceding the Cultural Revolution, none of the 100,000-odd students graduated from the two universities joined the ranks of workers or peasants. Today, the worker-peasant-soldier students vie with each other to go to the rural or border areas and places where they are needed most, and they consciously restrict bourgeois right and act as promoters in narrowing the gap between worker and peasant, between town and country and between mental and manual labor. By their concrete action, they are doing things that are the very opposite of what was preached by Deng Xiaoping who was bent on strengthening and expanding bourgeois right."

In order to throw the workers out of the schools, Deng Xiaoping spread political rumors, instigating intellectuals to oppose working-class leadership; at the same time, he and his followers attacked the workers'

propaganda teams stationed in the superstructure, falsely accusing their members of “lacking in special knowledge” and “lacking in enthusiasm.”

This is out-and-out slander! In transforming the superstructure according to the image of the proletariat, it is the workers who are the most enthusiastic and who know the best. In the past few years, members of the workers’ propaganda teams have been working in the forefront of the educational revolution and have acquainted themselves with the content of the revolution and gained rich experience. The capitalist-roaders, however, did everything to oppose the revolution in the superstructure. Deng Xiaoping himself was a big Party tyrant who did not study, knew little about Marxism-Leninism and had no contacts with the masses and the reality. Those capitalist-roaders who entrenched themselves in the fields of culture and education only knew and practiced revisionism and were enthusiastic about reversing correct verdicts and staging a comeback.

In order to throw the workers out of the schools, Deng Xiaoping resorted to despicable means such as instigating people to write letters with framed-up charges, defaming and attacking the workers’ propaganda team stationed in Tsinghua University and directing the spearhead of their attack at our great leader Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao saw through their scheme and said point-blank: **“The question involved in Tsinghua is not an isolated question but a reflection of the current two-line struggle.”** He took the opportunity to make a breakthrough on the cultural and educational front and personally initiated and led the great struggle to criticize Deng Xiaoping’s counter-revolutionary revisionist line and repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts.

That Deng Xiaoping took a hostile attitude towards working-class leadership and hated to see it occupying the superstructure is not strange. Chairman Mao has

pointed out: **“The bureaucrat class on the one hand and the working class together with the poor and lower-middle peasants on the other are two classes sharply antagonistic to each other.”** **“Those leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road have turned, or are turning, into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers; how can they possibly realize fully the imperative need for socialist revolution? These people are the target of the struggle, the target of the revolution, and we must never rely on them in the socialist education movement.”** The proletarian revolution in the superstructure impairs the fundamental interests of the bourgeoisie within the Party, it is therefore bound to meet with its desperate resistance.

The Struggle Goes On

The capitalist-roaders are still taking the capitalist road, and this is a social phenomenon that will last for a long time in the historical period of socialism. After one batch of capitalist-roaders have been overthrown, another batch will emerge. Those who committed the mistake of taking the capitalist road may relapse into the same error. This is particularly so in the cultural and educational circles, not only because bourgeois and revisionist ideological influences in these fields are very strong but because bourgeois right there is deep-seated and there are more fertile soil and more favorable conditions for engendering capitalism, and also because these are important positions of public opinion. Now that it has lost political power and the means of production, the bourgeoisie tries desperately to keep its hold on ideology, culture and education to content with the proletariat for the ideological positions and use them as a bridgehead for counter-revolutionary restoration.

As the capitalist-roads are still taking the capitalist road, it is imperative for the proletariat to wage a protracted struggle. **“The workers’ propaganda teams should stay permanently in the schools and colleges, take part in all the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation there and will always lead these institutions.”** This important instruction of Chairman Mao’s tells us that throughout the historical period of socialism the working class must occupy the cultural and educational positions and firmly keep the leadership in its own hands.

To transform the cultural and educational positions according to the image of the proletariat is more difficult and complicated than to seize political power and change the system of ownership. Members of the workers’ propaganda teams stationed in the various fields of the superstructure must live up to the expectations of their own class and accomplish this great historic mission. They must earnestly study the works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao in the course of the struggle and constantly remold their own world outlook. Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“The working class remolds the whole of society in class struggle and in the struggle against nature, and at the same time remolds itself. It must ceaselessly learn in the course of its work and overcome its shortcomings step by step, and must never stop doing so.”** (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.) Not paying attention to ideological remolding, some members of the working class are also liable to degenerate. After the nationwide victory, some cadres with a good family background and tempered in the revolutionary wars were sent to work in the cultural and educational departments. Some of them, however, yielded to bourgeois and revisionist pressure, showed an inter-

est in bourgeois right and went after it, and ended up as capitulationists and capitalist-roaders. This is a lesson that merits attention.

“The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.” (Marx and Engels: *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.) We firmly believe that, no matter how complex the struggle is and how tortuous the road ahead, the working class will certainly realize this great call and accomplish the task of transforming culture and education.

Message to the Whole Party, the Whole Army and the People of All Nationalities Throughout the Country⁴⁴

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, the State Council of the People's Republic of China and the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China announce with deepest grief to the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country: Comrade Mao Zedong, the esteemed and beloved great leader of our Party, our army and the people of all nationalities in our country, the great teacher of the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Honorary Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, passed away at 00:10 hours on September 9, 1976 in Beijing as a result of the worsening of his illness and despite all treatment, although meticulous medical care was given him in every way after he fell ill.

44 Xinhua News Agency, September 9, 1976.

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Chairman Mao Zedong was the founder and wise leader of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the People's Republic of China. Chairman Mao led our Party in waging a protracted, acute and complex struggle against the Right and "Left" opportunist lines in the Party, defeating the opportunist lines pursued by Chen Duxiu, Qu Qiubai, Li Lisan, Luo Zhanglong, Wang Ming, Zhang Guotao, Gao Gang-Rao Shushi and Peng Dehuai and again, during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, triumphing over the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping, thus enabling our Party to develop and grow in strength steadily in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. Led by Chairman Mao, the Communist Party of China has developed through a tortuous path into a great, glorious and correct Marxist-Leninist Party which is today exercising leadership over the People's Republic of China.

During the period of the new-democratic revolution, Chairman Mao, in accordance with the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and by combining it with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, creatively laid down the general line and general policy of the new-democratic revolution, founded the Chinese People's Liberation Army and pointed out that the seizure of political power by armed force in China could be achieved only by following the road of building rural base areas using the countryside to encircle the cities and finally seizing the cities, and not by any other road. He led our Party, our army and the people of our country in using people's war to overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, winning the great victory of the new-democratic revolution and founding the People's Republic of China. The victory of the Chinese people's revolution led by Chairman Mao changed the situation

in the East and the world and blazed a new trail for the cause of liberation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people.

In the period of the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao comprehensively summed up the positive as well as the negative experience of the international communist movement, penetratingly analysed the class relations in socialist society and, for the first time in the history of the development of Marxism, unequivocally pointed out that there are still classes and class struggle after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been completed, drew the scientific conclusion that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party, put forth the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and laid down the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, our Party, our army and the people of our country have continued their triumphant advance and seized great victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, particularly in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, in criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius and in criticizing Deng Xiaoping and repulsing the Right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts. Upholding socialism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in the People's Republic of China, a country with a vast territory and a large population, is a great contribution of world historic significance which Chairman Mao Zedong made to the present era; at the same time, it has provided fresh experience for the international communist movement in combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.

All the victories of the Chinese people have been achieved under the leadership of Chairman Mao; they

are all great victories for Mao Zedong Thought. The radiance of Mao Zedong Thought will forever illuminate the road of advance of the Chinese people.

Chairman Mao Zedong summed up the revolutionary practice in the international communist movement, put forward a series of scientific theses, enriched the theoretical treasury of Marxism and pointed out the orientation of struggle for the Chinese people and the revolutionary people throughout the world. With the great boldness and vision of a proletarian revolutionary, he initiated in the international communist movement the great struggle to criticize modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core, promoted the vigorous development of the cause of the world proletarian revolution and the cause of the people of all countries against imperialism and hegemonism, and pushed the history of mankind forward.

Chairman Mao Zedong was the greatest Marxist of the contemporary era. For more than half a century, basing himself on the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution, he inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the protracted struggle against the class enemies at home and abroad, both inside and outside the Party, and wrote a most brilliant chapter in the history of the movement of proletarian revolution. He dedicated all his energies throughout his life to the liberation of the Chinese people, to the emancipation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people the world over, and to the cause of communism. With the great resolve of a proletarian revolutionary, he waged a tenacious struggle against his illness, continued to lead the work of the whole Party, the whole army and the whole nation during his illness and fought till he breathed his last. The magnificent contributions he made to the Chinese people, the

international proletariat and the revolutionary people of the whole world are immortal. The Chinese people and the revolutionary people the world over love him from the bottom of their hearts and have boundless admiration and respect for him.

The passing away of Chairman Mao Zedong is an inestimable loss to our Party, our army and the people of all nationalities in our country, to the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of all countries and to the international communist movement. His passing away is bound to evoke immense grief in the hearts of the people of our country and the revolutionary people of all countries. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China calls on the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in the country to resolutely turn their grief into strength:

We must carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao and persist in taking class struggle as the key link, keep to the Party's basic line and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We must carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao and strengthen the centralized leadership of the Party, resolutely uphold the unity and unification of the Party and closely rally round the Party Central Committee. We must strengthen the building of the Party ideologically and organizationally in the course of the struggle between the two lines and resolutely implement the principle of the three-in-one combination of the old, middle-aged and young in accordance with the five requirements for bringing up successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution.

We must carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao and consolidate the great unity of the people of all nationalities under the leadership of the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, deepen the

criticism of Deng Xiaoping, continue the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts, consolidate and develop the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, enthusiastically support the socialist new things, restrict bourgeois right and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. We should continue to unfold the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, build our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift, and go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism.

We must carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao and resolutely implement his line in army building, strengthen the building of the army, strengthen the building of the militia, strengthen preparedness against war, heighten our vigilance, and be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy that dares to intrude. We are determined to liberate Taiwan.

We must carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao and continue to resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs. We must adhere to proletarian internationalism, strengthen the unity between our Party and the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations all over the world, strengthen the unity between the people of our country and the people of all other countries, especially those of the third world countries, unite with all the forces in the world that can be united, and carry the struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and modern revisionism through to the end. We will never seek hegemony and will never be a superpower.

We must carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao and assiduously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao

Zedong Thought, apply ourselves to the study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and works by Chairman Mao, fight for the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and for the triumph of socialism over capitalism, and strive to build our country into a powerful socialist state, make still greater contributions to humanity and realize the ultimate goal of communism.

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Eternal glory to the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Zedong!

Chairman Mao Will Live Forever in Our Hearts⁴⁵

Editorial in *Renmin Ribao*,
Hongqi, and *Jiefangjun Bao*

Chairman Mao Zedong, the great leader of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country and the great teacher of the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people, has left us. The passing of Chairman Mao is a loss beyond measure to the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world. His death has plunged the 800 million sons and daughters of China into profound grief and is deeply mourned all over the five continents. Words cannot possibly convey the sorrow that overwhelms us. Chairman Mao, the most esteemed and beloved great leader and teacher, will live forever in our hearts.

Chairman Mao Zedong was the founder of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the People's Republic of China; he was the greatest Marxist of the contemporary era. For more than half a century the Chinese people, under the banner of Mao Zedong, fought on and won victory after victory. Our Party, our country and our people owe what they are today to Chairman Mao's wise leadership. The magnificent contributions he made to the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world are immortal.

We will never forget that it was Chairman Mao who integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism

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with the concrete practice of the revolution and formulated a Marxist-Leninist line for our Party, and led the people of the whole country in waging hard and bitter struggles, defeating repeated interference and sabotage by opportunist and revisionist lines within the Party, defeating vicious enemies at home and abroad and winning the complete victory of the new-democratic revolution and great victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction and in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The history of the oppression and enslavement of the long-suffering Chinese nation came to an end, and the Chinese people took their destiny into their own hands and made giant strides forward. The poor, backward and benighted old China has now been transformed into new socialist China full of vigor and with the beginnings of prosperity.

We will never forget that it was Chairman Mao who, with the great boldness and vision of a proletarian revolutionary, led our Party and the people of our country, together with Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations and revolutionary people throughout the world, in waging the great struggle to criticize modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core, thereby bringing about the vigorous development of the international communist movement and the cause of the people of the world against imperialism and hegemonism. Chairman Mao made incisive analyses of the contemporary world situation, put forth a series of important strategic concepts, formulated a revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs for China, enhanced the militant unity between the Chinese people and the people of the whole world, especially the people of the third world, and pushed forward mankind's historical advance.

We will never forget that it was Chairman Mao who, in the course of protracted struggles against class enemies at home and abroad and inside and outside the

Party, summed up the practical experience of the proletariat and revolutionary masses in their revolutionary struggles, and inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism. Chairman Mao made a contribution with his theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, thereby solving the major problem of the international communist movement, namely the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the prevention of the restoration of capitalism. Chairman Mao developed Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism, greatly enriching the treasure house of Marxist theory.

Chairman Mao has left us, but Mao Zedong Thought will shine eternally, his revolutionary line has struck deep roots in the hearts of the people, and there are worthy successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause which he pioneered in China. Chairman Mao adjured us: **“Act according to the principles laid down.”** While mourning the death of Chairman Mao with deep sorrow, we must turn grief into strength, always follow his teachings, persist in taking class struggle as the key link, keep to the Party’s basic line, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, uphold proletarian internationalism, and carry the great cause of proletarian revolution through to the end.

To act according to the principles laid down means to act according to Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line and policies. **“The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything.”** All our victories are victories of Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line. The entire history of our Party shows: When our Party carries out Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, it develops and the revolutionary cause wins victories; when our Party goes against this line, it meets with

setbacks and the revolutionary cause suffers defeats. So at all times and under all circumstances, we should firmly bear in mind this most important historical experience and unswervingly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and bravely defend it. Throughout the period of socialism we must persevere in criticizing the bourgeoisie, repudiating revisionism, restricting bourgeois right and fighting against the capitalist-roaders in the Party. At present, we must continue to deepen the struggle initiated by Chairman Mao to criticize Deng Xiaoping and repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, consolidate and develop the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. As long as we act according to Chairman Mao's line we shall be invincible.

In his lifetime, Chairman Mao time and again taught the whole Party, especially its senior cadres, to **“read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism.”** If we are to faithfully carry out his behests, we must assiduously study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao. The great works of Chairman Mao are brilliant Marxist-Leninist documents; they are invaluable spiritual assets for the Chinese people and the revolutionary people the world over and an inexhaustible source of strength for us. Only by carefully studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao can we become conscious proletarian fighters and uphold Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line better. The grasping of invincible Mao Zedong Thought by hundreds of millions of people is the fundamental guarantee for combating and preventing revisionism and for winning continual victories for the proletarian revolutionary cause.

The Communist Party of China is a long-tested, mature Marxist-Leninist Party, a part with rich

experience in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines; it is the core of leadership of the entire Chinese people. We should rally very closely round the Party Central Committee to which the entire Party is subordinate, resolutely to uphold the unity and unification of the Party, and consolidate the great unity of the people of all nationalities which is under the leadership of the working class and is based on the worker-peasant alliance. We should exert greater efforts in building the Party ideologically and organizationally in accordance with Chairman Mao's theory on Party building. We should give full play to the Party's fine style of work fostered by Chairman Mao. We should strengthen the centralized leadership of the Party, take class struggle as the key link, make the criticism of Deng Xiaoping a motive force, grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war and advance socialist undertakings in all fields.

We have a great, glorious and correct Party founded and nurtured by Chairman Mao himself. We have an invincible people's army created by Chairman Mao himself. We are a heroic people armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We must never fail to carry out what our great leader Chairman Mao taught us throughout the years, and we can surely overcome any difficulty, and always advance courageously along the revolutionary course charted by Chairman Mao. We are fully confident that the cause of communism will triumph. **"Our goal must be attained." "Our goal can certainly be attained."**

Eternal glory to the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Zedong!