

### III

## **FOURTH PEOPLE'S CONGRESS AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT CAMPAIGN**

### Introduction

The campaign to Study the Theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Combat and Prevent Revisionism was initiated by Mao at the time of the 4th National People's Congress. At this time, in late 1974 and early 1975, the Right was going on the offensive. The campaign was an answer to the forces led by Chou En-lai who were claiming that the achievement of the four modernizations (the modernization of industry, agriculture, science and technology, and national defense) had now become the principal task facing the revolution. The Right had argued that the political struggle had by and large been completed and that it was now time to get down to the business of developing the economy. Mao was emphasizing that it was necessary to understand why the proletariat must exercise its dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in all spheres of society and gradually create the conditions in which it could not exist. He brought to the fore the question, why is it that revisionism constantly emerges—at a time when the Right was saying that this was hardly of any consequence—all that needed to be done was to turn China into a modern country. Shortly after the 4th National People's Congress, he released this directive (see Text 17): “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.”

The heavy artillery in this campaign were two signed pamphlets by Yao Wen-yuan and Chang Chun-chiao (Texts 18 and 19), which elaborated on the themes Mao had been stressing, in particular the

relative ease with which capitalism could be re-instituted if political power were seized by Rightists. Attention was drawn in these pamphlets to the very nature and structure of socialist society in China, to the fact that it would require a long historical period before ownership could be completely transformed in the countryside, that there would be continual struggle over which line was in command of different units, and that bourgeois right—reflecting the differences and inequalities still existing in socialist society—had to be restricted in order to strangle newly arising bourgeois elements.

An example of interest is the selection “Socialist Big Fair is Good” (Text 21). It describes a bold initiative in Liaoning province in restricting bourgeois right in the countryside. This example has been the subject of heavy criticism by the current leadership.

## TEXT 15

# REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT

*delivered by Chou En-lai\**

Fellow Deputies!

In accordance with the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, I shall make a report on behalf of the State Council to the Fourth National People's Congress on the work of the government.

Since the Third National People's Congress, the most important event in the political life of the people of all nationalities in our country has been the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao. In essence this is a great political revolution carried out by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. It destroyed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and of Lin Piao and smashed their plots to restore capitalism. The current nation-wide movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is the continuation and deepening of this great revolution. The victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country; promoted socialist construction and ensured that our country would stand on the side of the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world. The cultural revolution has provided new experience on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; its historical significance is great and its influence far-reaching.

In the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, our people of all nationalities have unfolded a mass movement to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and thus heightened their awareness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, and struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure has achieved major successes. The three-in-one revolutionary committees composed of the old, the middle-aged and the young have forged closer links with the masses.

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*Documents of the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China* (Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1975). (Delivered on January 13, 1975.)

\*Although this Report was delivered by Chou En-lai it represents, in the main, the line the Left had been fighting for and that Chou had in fact been opposing. The reader is advised to refer to the Introduction pp. 24-25, as well as pp. 12-13, for an explanation.

Successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution are maturing in large numbers. The proletarian revolution in literature and art exemplified by the model revolutionary theatrical works is developing in depth. The revolution in education and in health work is thriving. The cadres and the workers, peasants, soldiers, students and commercial workers are persevering on the May 7th road. Over a million barefoot doctors are becoming more competent. Nearly ten million school graduates have gone to mountainous and other rural areas. With the participation of workers, peasants and soldiers the Marxist theoretical contingents are expanding. The emergence of all these new things has strengthened the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the realm of the superstructure, and this further helps consolidate and develop the socialist economic base.

We have overfulfilled the Third Five-Year Plan and will successfully fulfil the Fourth Five-Year Plan in 1975. Our country has won good harvests for thirteen years running. The total value of agricultural output for 1974 is estimated to be 51 per cent higher than that for 1964. This fully demonstrates the superiority of the people's commune. While China's population has increased 60 per cent since the liberation of the country, grain output has increased 140 per cent and cotton 470 per cent. In a country like ours with a population of nearly 800 million, we have succeeded in ensuring the people their basic needs in food and clothing. Gross industrial output for 1974 is estimated to be 190 per cent more than 1964, and the output of major products has greatly increased. Steel has increased 120 per cent, coal 91 per cent, petroleum 650 per cent, electric power 200 per cent, chemical fertilizer 330 per cent, tractors 520 per cent, cotton yarn 85 per cent and chemical fibres 330 per cent. Through our own efforts in these ten years we have completed 1,100 big and medium-sized projects, successfully carried out hydrogen bomb tests and launched man-made earth satellites. In contrast to the economic turmoil and inflation in the capitalist world, we have maintained a balance between our national revenue and expenditure and contracted no external or internal debts. Prices have remained stable, the people's livelihood has steadily improved and socialist construction has flourished. Reactionaries at home and abroad asserted that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution would certainly disrupt the development of our national economy, but facts have now given them a strong rebuttal.

Along with the people of other countries, we have won tremendous victories in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, and in particular against the hegemonism of the superpowers. We have smashed imperialist and social-imperialist encirclement, blockade, aggression and subversion, and have strengthened our unity with the people of all

countries, and especially the third world countries. China's seat in the United Nations, of which she had long been illegally deprived, has been restored to her. The number of countries having diplomatic relations with us has increased to nearly 100, and more than 150 countries and regions have economic and trade relations and cultural exchanges with us. Our struggle has won widespread sympathy and support from the people of all countries. We have friends all over the world.

Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, our people of all nationalities are more united and our army has grown stronger. Our great motherland is still more consolidated. All our successes are great victories for Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Fellow Deputies!

The Tenth National Congress of our Party again elucidated the Party's basic line and policies formulated by Chairman Mao for the entire historical period of socialism, and pointed out even more clearly the orientation for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the people of all our nationalities should unite still more closely, adhere to the Party's basic line and policies, endeavour to fulfil the various fighting tasks set forth by the Party's Tenth Congress, consolidate and enhance the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and strive for new victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Our primary task is to continue to broaden, deepen and persevere in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. The struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the two roads, the socialist and the capitalist, and between the two lines, the Marxist and the revisionist, is long and tortuous and at times even becomes very acute. We must never relax our criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius because of the big successes already achieved in this movement. We should go on deepening the criticism of Lin Piao's revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and in line with the principle of **"making the past serve the present,"** sum up the historical experience of the struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools and of class struggle as a whole, build up a vast Marxist theoretical force in the course of struggle and use Marxism to occupy all spheres in the superstructure. The key to the fulfilment of this task is for the cadres and the masses to study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao assiduously in order to arm themselves with the basic theories of Marxism. Through the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, we should further advance the revolution in

literature and art, in education and in health work, promote struggle-criticism-transformation on various fronts and support all the new things so as the better to keep to the socialist orientation.

Under the leadership of the Party, we should strengthen revolutionary committees at all levels. Leading bodies at all levels should become more conscious of the need to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and should maintain closer ties with the masses. We should make active efforts to train young cadres, women cadres and minority nationality cadres, and make a point of selecting outstanding workers and poor and lower-middle peasants for leading posts. We should have better staff and simpler administration with fewer levels. New and veteran cadres should learn from each other and strengthen their unity, and they should be ready to work at any post, high or low, persist in collective productive labour and wholeheartedly serve the people.

We should strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and handle them correctly, implement the Party's policies conscientiously and ensure that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is fulfilled right through to the grass-roots level. We should rely on the broad masses to deal steady, accurate and hard blows at the handful of class enemies, with the emphasis on accuracy. We should earnestly strive to do well in resolving contradictions among the people with democratic methods in accordance with the principle of **"unity—criticism and self-criticism—unity,"** and thus give full play to the masses' enthusiasm for socialism.

**"The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities—these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause."** We should strengthen the great unity of the people of all our nationalities. We should wholeheartedly rely on the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants, unite with the other working people and the many intellectuals and further develop the revolutionary united front which, led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, includes the patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages, patriotic overseas Chinese and our compatriots in Hongkong and Macao. We should unite over 95 per cent of the cadres and the masses and unite with all the forces that can be united with in a joint effort to build our great socialist motherland.

Socialist revolution is the powerful engine for developing the social productive forces. We must adhere to the principle of **"grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war,"** and with revolution in command, work hard to increase production and speed up socialist construction so that our socialist system will have a more solid material foundation.

On Chairman Mao's instructions, it was suggested in the report on the work of the government to the Third National People's Congress that we might envisage the development of our national economy in two stages beginning from the Third Five-Year Plan: The first stage is to build an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and economic system in 15 years, that is, before 1980; the second stage is to accomplish the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology before the end of the century, so that our national economy will be advancing in the front ranks of the world.

We should fulfil or overfulfil the Fourth Five-Year Plan in 1975 in order to reinforce the foundations for completing the first stage before 1980 as envisaged above. In light of the situation at home and abroad, the next ten years are crucial for accomplishing what has been envisaged for the two stages. In this period we shall not only build an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and economic system, but march towards the splendid goal set for the second stage. With this objective in mind, the State Council will draw up a long-range ten-year plan, five-year plans and annual plans. The ministries and commissions under the State Council and the local revolutionary committees at all levels down to the industrial and mining enterprises and production teams and other grass-roots units should all arouse the masses to work out their plans through full discussion and strive to attain our splendid goal ahead of time.

In order to keep on expanding our socialist economy, we must persist in the general line of **"going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism"** and continue to apply the policy of **"taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor"** and the series of policies of walking on two legs. We should work out the national economic plan in this order of priorities: agriculture, light industry, heavy industry. We should give full play to the initiative of both central and local authorities under the state's unified planning. We should implement the **"Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company"** still better and deepen the mass movements—**"In industry, learn from Taching"** and **"In agriculture, learn from Tachai."**

While tackling economic tasks, our leading comrades at all levels must pay close attention to the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure and keep a firm grasp on class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. Only when we do well in revolution is it possible to do well in production. We should thoroughly criticize revisionism, criticize capitalist tendencies and criticize such erroneous ideas and styles of work as servility to things foreign, the doctrine of trailing

behind at a snail's pace, and extravagance and waste.

Chairman Mao points out, **“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.”** This line has enabled us to break the imperialist blockade and withstand social-imperialist pressure, and the progress of our economy has been sound and vigorous all along, regardless of economic fluctuations and crises in the capitalist world. We must always adhere to this line.

Fellow Deputies!

The present international situation is still characterized by great disorder under heaven, a disorder which is growing greater and greater. The capitalist world is facing the most serious economic crisis since the war, and all the basic contradictions in the world are sharpening. On the one hand, the trend of revolution by the people of the world is actively developing; countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution—this has become an irresistible historical current. On the other hand, the contention for world hegemony between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, is becoming more and more intense. Their contention has extended to every corner of the world, the focus of their contention being Europe. Soviet social-imperialism “makes a feint to the east while attacking in the west.” The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are the biggest international oppressors and exploiters today, and they are the source of a new world war. Their fierce contention is bound to lead to world war some day. The people of all countries must get prepared. Detente and peace are being talked about everywhere in the world; it is precisely this that shows there is no detente, let alone lasting peace, in this world. At present, the factors for both revolution and war are increasing. Whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in either case the international situation will develop in a direction favourable to the people and the future of the world will be bright.

We should continue to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs, always keep the people in mind, place our hopes on them and do our external work better. We should uphold proletarian internationalism and strengthen our unity with the socialist countries and all the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world, with each supporting the other. We should ally ourselves with all the forces in the world that can be allied with to combat colonialism,



imperialism and above all superpower hegemonism. We are ready to establish or develop relations with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

The third world is the main force in combating colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. China is a developing socialist country belonging to the third world. We should enhance our unity with the countries and people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and resolutely support them in their struggle to win or safeguard national independence, defend their state sovereignty, protect their national resources and develop their national economy. We firmly support the just struggles of the people of Korea, Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos, Palestine and the Arab countries as well as countries in southern Africa. We support the countries and people of the second world in their struggle against superpower control, threats and bullying. We support the efforts of West European countries to get united in this struggle. We are ready to work together with the Japanese Government and people to promote friendly and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries on the basis of the Sino-Japanese Joint Statement.

There exist fundamental differences between China and the United States. Owing to the joint efforts of both sides the relations between the two countries have improved to some extent in the last three years, and contacts between the two peoples have developed. The relations between the two countries will continue to improve so long as the principles of the Sino-American Shanghai Communique are carried out in earnest.

The Soviet leading clique have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, and our debate with them on matters of principle will go on for a long time. However, we have always held that this debate should not obstruct the maintenance of normal state relations between China and the Soviet Union. The Soviet leadership have taken a series of steps to worsen the relations between the two countries, conducted subversive activities against our country and even provoked armed conflicts on the border. In violation of the understanding reached between the Premiers of China and the Soviet Union as early as 1969, they refuse to sign the agreement on the maintenance of the status quo on the border, the prevention of armed conflicts and the disengagement of the armed forces of the two sides in the disputed areas on the border, an agreement which includes the non-use of force against each other and mutual non-aggression. Hence the negotiations on the Sino-Soviet boundary question have so far yielded no results. They even deny the existence of the disputed areas on the Sino-Soviet border, and they even refuse to do anything about such matters as the disengagement of the armed forces of the two sides in the disputed areas on the border and the prevention

of armed conflicts; instead they talk profusely about empty treaties on the non-use of force against each other and mutual non-aggression. So what can their real intention be if not to deceive the Soviet people and world public opinion? We wish to advise the Soviet leadership to sit down and negotiate honestly, do something to solve a bit of the problem and stop playing such deceitful tricks.

Chairman Mao teaches us, **“Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony.”** **“Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people.”** We should maintain vigilance, strengthen our defence and be prepared against war. The heroic People’s Liberation Army shoulders the glorious task of defending the motherland. The whole army should resolutely implement Chairman Mao’s line for army building to strengthen the army and enhance preparedness against war. We should build the people’s militia conscientiously and well. Together with the people of all our nationalities, the People’s Liberation Army and the masses of the people’s militia should be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy that dares intrude.

We are determined to liberate Taiwan! Fellow country men in Taiwan and people of the whole country, unite and work together to achieve the noble aim of liberating Taiwan and unifying the motherland!

Fellow Deputies!

In the excellent situation prevailing at home and abroad, we should first of all run China’s affairs well and strive to make a greater contribution to humanity.

We must bear firmly in mind Chairman Mao’s teachings and grasp major issues, grasp the line, and adhere to these fundamental principles, **“Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don’t split; be open and aboveboard, and don’t intrigue and conspire.”**

We must resolutely support 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.”** We must put all fields of work under the unified leadership of the Party committees at various levels.

We must carry forward the glorious tradition of observing discipline, conscientiously practise democratic centralism, and, on the basis of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, achieve **“unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action.”**

We must persist in the mass line: **“From the masses, to the masses;”** we must have unshakable faith in the vast majority of the masses and firmly rely on them. Both in revolution and in construction, we should boldly arouse the people and unfold vigorous mass movements.

We must work hard, build the country and run all undertakings with diligence and thrift. **“We should maintain the same vigour, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same daring death-defying spirit we displayed in the years of revolutionary war, and carry on our revolutionary work to the end.”**

We must uphold proletarian internationalism, and **“get rid of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.”**We will never seek hegemony; we will never be a superpower; we will always stand with the oppressed people and oppressed nations throughout the world.

Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Chairman Mao, the Chinese people have worked energetically, surmounted all difficulties and hazards, and turned a poverty-stricken and backward country into a socialist one with the beginnings of prosperity in only twenty years and more. We can certainly build China into a powerful modern socialist country in another twenty years and more before the end of the century. We should continue to work hard, carry forward our achievements and overcome our shortcomings, be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness, and continue our triumphant advance. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, let us **“unite to win still greater victories!”**

## TEXT 16

# REPORT ON THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION

*delivered by Chang Chun-chiao*

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 Tsetung 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 victories 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 Shao-chi and of Lin Piao,

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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 Shao-chi 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 Com-

unist Party of China is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people” and “Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung 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 many 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 practises 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 practise 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 labourers 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 Shao-chi and Lin Piao 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 socialist 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 Tsetung 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 Piao 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 Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao 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 Tsetung Thought!

## TEXT 17

# STUDY WELL THE THEORY OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

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

**Chairman Mao pointed out: “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.”**

This instruction of Chairman Mao's is of tremendous current significance and far-reaching historical significance for further grasping and implementing the Party's basic line, for broadening, deepening and persevering in the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, for waging an effective struggle to combat and prevent revisionism, and for strengthening the revolutionary unity of the people of all nationalities in the country.

It is a basic principle of Marxism that the proletariat must exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie after it has seized power. Lenin profoundly elucidated the necessity and the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat in his struggle against the revisionism of the Second International. Basing himself on the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao has summed up the historical experience of the international communist movement and of our Party, advanced the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and formulated for our Party a basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. The theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on the dictatorship of the proletariat is the beacon light that guides us to success in socialist revolution and socialist construction. We must make a conscientious effort to study it well so as to understand why dictatorship must be exercised over the bourgeoisie, what are the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship and how we should fight for the consolidation of this dictatorship.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself is a great practice in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We destroyed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and of Lin Biao and crushed their plots to

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restore capitalism. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we have further criticized Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and its important ideological source, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and have achieved enormous successes. Our proletarian dictatorship is more consolidated than ever. However, there must not be the least let-up on our part. Our fight against revisionism is a protracted struggle, not one or two trials of strength. Our task is to work ceaselessly to dig up the soil that breeds revisionism, a task, as Lenin put it, **"of creating conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise."** Obviously, this is a task of unparalleled magnitude.

Marx referred to socialist society in these words: **"... 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."** In order to eliminate these birth marks, it is necessary to undertake socialist revolution and construction over a long period. Bourgeois rights inevitably remain in our society. Chairman Mao pointed out: **"China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as capitalism. Even now she practises 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 also pointed out: So far as the bourgeois rights are concerned, **"these can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat."** Thus it would be quite easy for people like Lin Piao to push the capitalist system if they should come to power. Therefore, we should read more of the works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao. We should realize that the period of socialism is a period of struggle between moribund capitalism and nascent communism, and see clearly what is socialism and what is capitalism in both theory and practice. We should realize that harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base still exist in a socialist country, and pay attention to solving problems in the relations of production and to grasping effectively the socialist revolution in the superstructure. We should bring into play the socialist initiative of the masses of the people and develop the socialist economy with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

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 personnel of state organs, there are those who follow the bourgeois

style of life. All these run counter to socialism. In our study, we should acquire a deep understanding of the point that the dictatorship of the proletariat must not only suppress the resistance of the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes and guard against subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism, but must also struggle against the newly engendered bourgeois elements and overcome the corrosion of and influence on the proletariat by the bourgeoisie and the force of habit of the old society. Thus we will more consciously adhere to the socialist road, criticize capitalist tendencies, criticize the bourgeois world outlook, and promote and strengthen the revolutionary unity of the masses.

The attitude towards the dictatorship of the proletariat is the touchstone that distinguishes genuine Marxism from sham Marxism. All revisionists invariably try by hook or by crook to distort, attack and liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. They deny that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between socialism and capitalism is the principal contradiction in a socialist society, that the proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the realm of the superstructure, including all spheres of culture, and that the dictatorship of the proletariat should impose necessary restrictions on that part of the bourgeois rights still existing. On this question, some of our comrades, too, have got muddled ideas of one kind or another, and even regard certain capitalist stuff as socialist. Only by reading and studying conscientiously can we distinguish between genuine Marxism and sham Marxism, be sober-minded, uphold the Party's basic line and policies and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Party committees at all levels must, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction, conscientiously grasp the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Leading cadres should be in the van in this study and organize it effectively among Party members, cadres and the masses, and pay attention to giving play to the role of the theoretical contingents and to correctly distinguishing between and handling the two different types of contradictions. The study of the documents of the Fourth National People's Congress should also be focused on the key question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must carry further our criticism of Lin Piao's reactionary fallacies directed against the dictatorship of the proletariat and make a further analysis of the social base that gave rise to Lin Piao's revisionist line. We must continue to criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, study the history of the struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools and of class struggle as a whole and sum up the historical experience so as to deepen our understanding of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is

necessary to study how revisionism came to power in the Soviet Union and how the first socialist state degenerated into a social-imperialist state. We must make social investigations, study the current conditions of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in all domains and do a good job of struggle-criticism-transformation on all fronts, bring into play the leading role of the vanguard of the proletariat and see to it that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is fulfilled right through to every grass-roots unit.

## TEXT 18

# ON THE SOCIAL BASIS OF THE LIN PIAO ANTI-PARTY CLIQUE

*Yao Wen-yuan*

### Quotations from Chairman Mao

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 practises 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 Piao 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.

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Speaking of the necessity for a clear understanding of the question of the proletariat exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, Chairman Mao has explicitly pointed out, "...if **people like Lin Piao 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 brings up a most important question: What is the class character of "people like Lin Piao"? What is the social basis that engendered the Lin Piao anti-Party clique? Beyond doubt a clear understanding of this question is essential for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevention of capitalist restoration, for firm implementation of the Party's basic line throughout the historical period of socialism and for the creation, step by step, of conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or arise anew.

As with all other revisionists and revisionist trends of thought, the appearance of Lin Piao and his revisionist line was no accident. Lin Pamphlet published by Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1975; also in *Peking Review* #10, March 7, 1975. (Translation of an article in *Hongqi [Red Flag]* #3, 1975.)

Piao and his sworn followers were extremely isolated in the whole Party and army and among the people of the entire country; but there exists a deep-rooted class basis in society that engendered this bunch of extremely isolated persons who styled themselves “heavenly horses flying through the skies,” “solitary and free.”

It is rather clear that the Lin Piao anti-Party clique represented the interests of the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes and the desire of the overthrown reactionaries to topple the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique opposed the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and nursed an inveterate hatred for the socialist system of dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, which they slandered as “feudal autocracy” and reviled as “the present-day Chin Shih Huang.” They wanted to give the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists “genuine liberation politically and economically,” i.e., both in politics and in economics they wanted to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the landlord and comprador-capitalist classes and the socialist system into a capitalist one. As inner-Party agents of the bourgeoisie striving for restoration, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique reached the pitch of frenzy in their attacks on the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, going so far as to set up an organization of secret agents and plot a counter-revolutionary armed coup d’etat. Such frenzy demonstrates that reactionaries who have lost political power and the means of production will inevitably resort to every possible method to recapture the lost positions of the exploiting classes. We have seen how Lin Piao, after going bankrupt politically and ideologically, tried to “devour” the proletariat with the desperation of a gambler staking everything on a single last throw, and ended up betraying his country and fleeing to cast himself into the arms of the enemy; while the extremely patient education, waiting and efforts made to save him by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee could not in the least change his counter-revolutionary nature. All this demonstrates the life-and-death struggle, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, between the two major antagonistic classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a struggle that will go on for a very long time. As long as the overthrown reactionary classes still exist, there will emerge within the Party (and in society) representatives of the bourgeoisie who turn their hopes for restoration into attempts at restoration. Therefore, we must heighten our vigilance and guard against and smash any and every plot by reactionaries both at home and abroad, and must on no account fall into complacency. But understanding of this fact does not exhaust the issue. Not only did the Lin Piao anti-Party clique represent the desire of the overthrown

landlord and capitalist classes for a restoration; it also represented the desire of the newly engendered bourgeois elements in socialist society to usurp power. The clique had certain of the characteristics of these new bourgeois, to whose number some of its members belonged. And some of its slogans suited and reflected what was needed by the bourgeois elements and those wishing to take the capitalist road—for the purpose of developing capitalism. It is this latter aspect that requires further analysis by us.

Chairman Mao has stated, **“Lenin said that ‘small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.’ They are also engendered among a part of the working class and of the Party membership. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state and other organs there are people who take to the bourgeois style of life.”** Some persons in the Lin Piao anti-Party clique were themselves representatives of such a newly engendered bourgeoisie, of such newly engendered capitalism. Among them, Lin Li-kuo [Lin Piao’s son] and his “small fleet” [code name for their secret agent organization] were in all respects anti-socialist bourgeois elements and counter-revolutionaries engendered in socialist society.

The existence of bourgeois influence, and of the influence of international imperialism and revisionism, constitutes the political and ideological source of the new bourgeois elements. And the existence of bourgeois right provides an important economic foundation for their emergence.

Lenin said, **“...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 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 (actually unequal) amounts of labour, equal amounts of products.”**

Chairman Mao tells us, **“...China is a socialist country. Before liberation, she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practises 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.”**

In socialist society, we still have two kinds of socialist ownership: ownership by the whole people and collective ownership. This determines our practice of the commodity system at the present time. The analyses by Lenin and Chairman Mao both tell us that bourgeois right, which inevitably exists in 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 labour will gradually be narrowed, as will the discrepancies between the various grades, and so that material and ideological conditions will gradually be created for closing up all these gaps. If we do not act in this way, but instead call for the consolidation, extension and strengthening of bourgeois right and the partial inequality it entails, the inevitable result will be polarization, i.e., in the matter of distribution a small number of people will appropriate increasing amounts of commodities and money through some legal and many illegal ways; stimulated by “material incentives” of this kind, capitalist ideas of making a fortune and craving personal fame and gain will spread unchecked; phenomena like the turning of public property into private property, speculation, graft and corruption, theft and bribery will increase; the capitalist principle of the exchange of commodities will make its way into political and even into Party life, undermining the socialist planned economy; acts of capitalist exploitation such as the conversion of commodities and money into capital, and labour power into a commodity, will occur; changes in the nature of the ownership will take place in certain departments and units which follow the revisionist line; and instances of oppression and exploitation of the labouring people will arise again. As a result, a small number of new bourgeois elements and upstarts who have totally betrayed the proletariat and the labouring people will emerge from among the Party members, workers, well-to-do peasants and personnel of state and other organs. As our worker-comrades have aptly put it, “If bourgeois right is not restricted, it will restrict the development of socialism and promote the growth of capitalism.” When the economic strength of the bourgeoisie has grown to a certain extent, its agents will demand political rule, demand the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, demand a complete changeover from socialist ownership, and openly restore and develop the capitalist system. Once in power, the new bourgeoisie will start with sanguinary

suppression of the people and restoration of capitalism in the superstructure, including all spheres of ideology and culture; then they will conduct distribution to each according to how much or little capital and power he has, so that the principle of "to each according to his work" will become an empty shell, and the 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 occurred in the Soviet Union.

Many instances of how the Lin Piao anti-Party clique scrupled at nothing to amass riches, insatiably pursued the bourgeois way of life and used bourgeois right to do all kinds of sinister and ugly things not bearing the light of day have been exposed and subjected to criticism. Even more illustrative is their programme for a counter-revolutionary coup d'état, *Outline of "Project 571,"* in which the Lin Piao anti-Party clique made use precisely of the ideology of bourgeois right to abet or incite certain persons from different classes to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. In other words, the class interests represented by this programme, apart from those of the old bourgeoisie, are precisely the interests of a number of new bourgeois elements and the few people who want to use bourgeois right to develop capitalism. This explains why their programme directed its attack against Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and why it showed particular hatred for the restrictions placed on bourgeois right by the socialist revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

The Lin Piao anti-Party clique slandered the practice of office personnel going to May 7th cadre schools as "unemployment in disguise"; they vilified the simplification of administrative structures, and bringing them closer to the masses, as a blow at the cadres. They held that cadres should be overlords sitting on the backs of the people and hence considered them "unemployed" the minute they took part in collective productive labour. All this was designed to incite a section of the office workers—those who wished to extend bourgeois right and be officials and overlords or those seriously infected with the bourgeois style of life—to oppose the Party's line and the socialist system.

The Lin Piao anti-Party clique slanderously alleged that when intellectuals integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and go to the countryside, that is "reform through forced labour in another guise." Young people, full of vigour and imbued with communist consciousness, have been going, group after group, to the countryside. This is a great undertaking of far-reaching significance for narrowing the three major differences and restricting bourgeois right. All revolutionary people laud it with enthusiasm, but those corrupted by bour-

geois ideology, and particularly those manacled by the ideology of bourgeois right, oppose it. Whether the integration of educated young people with the workers and peasants is persisted in or not has a direct bearing on whether the revolution in university education can be carried forward along the road blazed by the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant, i.e., the students not only come from among the workers and peasants but, after graduation, return to their midst. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique's special hatred for this practice laid bare not only its antagonism towards the labouring people, but also its use of bourgeois right to attack the Party, by inciting some of the people deeply influenced by the ideology of bourgeois right into opposing the socialist revolution. This clique's programme was aimed at widening the gap between town and country and between manual and mental labour, and turning educated young people into a new elite stratum; through such means it sought to win the support of persons deeply influenced by the ideology of bourgeois right for its counter-revolutionary coup d'état.

The Lin Piao anti-Party clique smeared as "subjection to exploitation in disguise" the communist spirit displayed by the working class in criticizing the "material incentives" of the revisionists. Lin Piao was a fanatical advocate of "material incentive." In his sinister notebook he wrote such revisionist trash as "material incentive is still necessary," "materialism—material incentive," "inducements: official posts, emoluments, favour." Moreover, a principal member of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique 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 surface, they advocated using money as an "incentive" for the workers; actually they wanted to widen without limit the differences in grade among the workers in order to cultivate and buy over a small section of the working class, turn it into a privileged stratum which would betray the proletarian dictatorship and the proletariat's interests, and thus split the unity of the working class. They tried to corrupt the workers with the bourgeois world outlook and to use the small number of workers deeply influenced by the ideology of bourgeois right as one of the forces supporting their opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Lin Piao clique attached "particular importance" to using "wages" to lure "young workers," and its "inducements: official posts, emoluments, favour" represented a sinister plot. All this shows us, by negative example, that young workers, and particularly those who have become cadres, must consciously reject the material inducements of the bourgeoisie and all the blandishments of the ideology of bourgeois right. They must maintain and bring into play the revolutionary communist spirit of valiant struggle for the complete emancipation of the proletariat and all humanity

and strive to arm themselves with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook; and never must they allow themselves to be dazzled and dizzied by the glittering world of commodities, exchange through money, vulgar flattery, sycophancy and factionalism, lest they should be deceived by political swindlers like Lin Piao or by the landlord and bourgeois elements in society. Under the cloak of “showing concern” for the young workers, these persons are actually putting out “incentives” to lure them onto the capitalist road, and hence can be termed political “abettors of crime.” The inexperienced newly engendered bourgeois elements break the law openly while cunning old-time bourgeois elements direct them from behind the scenes—this is often observed in the class struggle in society today. In handling corrupted young people who have committed crimes we concentrate especially on hitting at their abettors behind the scenes. We must keep on with this policy. A number of young workers who take a clear-cut stand in the fight against bourgeois corruption have come to the fore in current struggles; to them we must give support, and we must sum up their experience gained in the struggle.

Moreover, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique alleged 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 the trail, act and make revolution in the criticism of the bourgeoisie during the great Cultural Revolution were “being hoodwinked and used” . . . In all these vilifications, its aim was to totally negate the socialist system and the Party’s mass line, negate the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, extend bourgeois right and restore capitalism. By spreading the slander that the peasants “lack food and clothing,” it aimed at inciting the peasants to “eat up and divide everything” in order to undermine and liquidate the socialist collective economy. If things were done along this line, a small number of people would turn into the new bourgeoisie while the overwhelming majority would fall prey to capitalist exploitation. In short, the situation yearned for by the landlords, the rich peasants and the section of the well-to-do middle peasants taking the capitalist road in the countryside would come to pass.

By now we can see what Lin Piao’s so-called “building of genuine socialism” amounted to. In reality it was the extension of bourgeois right under the signboard of socialism, aimed at enabling the new bourgeois elements and certain factions and groupings intent on going the capitalist road, in collusion with the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes, to “have everything under their command and everything at their disposal,” to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and to restore capitalism. Lin Piao and his like were their political represen-

tatives. The programme advanced by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique in *Outline of "Project 571"* did not drop from the skies, nor was it innate in the minds of those who described themselves as "super-geniuses"; it was a reflection of social being. To be exact, this clique, proceeding from its reactionary bourgeois stand, reflected the demands of the unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists—who account for only a few per cent of the population—and also the demand of the small number of new bourgeois elements and persons intent on utilizing bourgeois right to become new bourgeois elements. On the other hand, it opposed the demand of the revolutionary people, who make up more than 90 per cent of the population, for adherence to the socialist road. This clique used idealist apriorism to oppose the materialist theory of reflection; however, the materialist theory of reflection must be employed to explain how its counter-revolutionary ideology came into being.

Why would it be quite easy for people like Lin Piao to rig up the capitalist system if they come to power? Simply because in our socialist society classes and class struggle still exist, and so do the soil and conditions that engender capitalism. In order to gradually reduce this soil and these conditions all the way to their final elimination, we must persevere in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only through the firm and indomitable efforts of several generations can this task be accomplished by the vanguard of the proletariat guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. It requires that we 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, unite and lead the masses of revolutionary people to consciously remould their own 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. It requires that we consolidate and extend socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people, prevent the restoration of the bourgeois right that has already been liquidated in the system of ownership, and continue to fulfill, gradually and over a fairly long period of time, the still unfulfilled part of the task of transformation of ownership; and with regard to the two other aspects of the relations of production, namely, the mutual relations between people and the relations of distribution, it requires that we restrict bourgeois right, criticize the ideology of bourgeois right and continually weaken the basis that engenders capitalism. It requires that we persevere in the revolution in the superstructure, deepen our criticism of revisionism and of 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 50 years, yet on 10 occasions certain people inside our Party tried to split it. As I see it, this may happen another 10, 20 or 30 times. You don’t believe it? You may not believe it. Anyhow I do. Will there be no 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.” Lenin said, “Yes, by overthrowing the landlords 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.” Here Lenin discussed the protracted nature of class struggle in society; and Chairman Mao discusses the protracted nature of the two-line struggle which arises in the Party as a reflection of this class struggle. Through this class struggle, and this two-line struggle, we must continually defeat the bourgeoisie and its agents working for revisionism and for a split and engaging in intrigue and conspiracy; only thus can we gradually create the conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or arise anew, and finally achieve the abolition of classes. Such is the great cause we must work to accomplish during the entire historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The new bourgeois elements who arise as a result of corrosion by bourgeois ideas and the existence of bourgeois right generally have the political traits of double-dealers and upstarts. In order to carry out capitalist activities under the dictatorship of the proletariat, they invariably display some sort of socialist signboard; and since the aim of their restorationist activities is not to seize back means of production of which they have been dispossessed but to grab hold of the means of production which they have never possessed, they are particularly greedy and anxious to swallow at one gulp the wealth belonging to the whole people or to the collective, and transfer it to their private ownership. Such were the political traits of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. “Exactly like the Chungshan wolf, most fierce when he attains his wish.” These two lines from the novel *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, describing how one of its characters, Sun Shao-tsu, “changed amazingly according to circumstance” and finally emerged as a vicious brute, just fit the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. Before Lin Piao was in a position

to “attain his wish,” that is, before he got hold of part of the political and economic power, he employed counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics to cheat the Party and the masses, and misused the might of the mass movement for his own ends; to do this, he did not hesitate to put up a revolutionary signboard and shout revolutionary slogans while at the same time distorting them. Analysing the inner world of Lin Piao and his gang, Chairman Mao wrote in a letter early in the great Cultural Revolution, **“I guess their real intention is to make use of a Chung Kuei to fight the ghosts.”** [Chung Kuei, a legendary character, was said to have the power to drive away ghosts.] This was straight to the point. They were making use of “a brick to knock open the door,” after which they would no longer need it and would brutally get rid of it. Acting the 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, by the confession of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique itself, “waving Chairman Mao’s banner to strike at Chairman Mao’s forces”—these are but different ways of describing the same way of acting. The moment the Lin Piao anti-Party clique thought, to use its members’ own words, 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,” it decided to act “most fiercely.” In the units and departments it dominated and controlled, it turned socialist public ownership into private ownership by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. More and more openly it exposed its political ambitions which were bound to grow the more it “attained its wish,” just as the avarice of the bourgeoisie knows no bounds and grows with the accumulation of capital. In analysing the bourgeois, Marx said, **“As capitalist, he is only capital personified. His soul is the soul of capital.”** Likewise, the soul of Lin Piao, a bourgeois agent inside the Party, was nothing but the soul of the bourgeoisie, both the old, toppled but dreaming of a comeback, and the new, coming into being and vainly attempting to rule. Through class analysis, the root cause of the perverse, counter-revolutionary political activities of Lin Piao and his gang is revealed quite clearly: In all their dirty actions—preaching the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, betraying the Party and the Chinese people, and going over to the side of social-imperialism—they were following in the footsteps of the Chinese comprador-bourgeoisie which had worshipped Confucius and betrayed the country; and the counter-revolutionary coup d’etat they so feverishly plotted was a mere repetition of the method the bourgeoisie of many countries has used innumerable times and employs 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 promptly to see through the new bourgeois like Lin Piao when they appear or are still emerging. That is why the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is so important. If we depart from the guidance of Marxism, we cannot accomplish this dual task; moreover, when a revisionist trend surfaces, we are likely to be taken in and even blindly board the pirate craft because of the ideology of bourgeois right in our own minds or because of lack of discernment. If this were not so, why did some people follow a revisionist line whenever it emerged? Why could Lin Piao and company deceive people at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party by resorting to idealism plus raising a hullabaloo. Why could those words of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, aimed so nakedly 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 resort to such methods as wining and dining, making presents and promising official posts and other favours as a means of luring people into their clique, and carrying out factional and conspiratorial activities? Why did they write into their sinister notes and actually employ as a tactic in their counter-revolutionary activities such trash as "using expertise to cover up politics"? There is a profound lesson here. In opposing the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique in 1959, Chairman Mao pointed out that **"at present, the main danger is empiricism,"** and that, therefore, we should read and study conscientiously. In the past decade and more, Chairman Mao has recommended this many times. He has stressed that senior and intermediate Party cadres, and first of all the members of the Party Central Committee, **"should all conscientiously read and study according to their different circumstances and have a good grasp of Marxism."** He also stresses that **"in the next few years, special attention should be paid to the propagation of the Marxist-Leninist classics."** After the collapse of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao said once more. **"I formally advise comrades to do some reading."** And recently he again stressed this when discussing the dictatorship of the proletariat. How heartening are these earnest and significant teachings! All comrades in the Party, and especially the high-ranking cadres, must get a grasp on conscientious study and reading as a matter of cardinal importance in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. First of all, they must study well themselves and gain a clear understanding of the theses and main works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and of Chairman Mao on the dictatorship of the proletariat, strive to elucidate the question by integrating theory with practice and rid themselves, both ideologically and in action, of the bourgeois ideas and style 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, become good at discerning corrosion by capitalism and dare to resist it. 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 investigate the situation and study policy, including economic policy. It is imperative that we persist in adhering to the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production and other work and preparedness against war, a principle which has proved its effectiveness in practice. Attention should be paid to distinguishing between the two different types of contradictions and dealing accurately-aimed and powerful blows at the very small number of bad elements; as regards the bourgeois influence among the masses, we should overcome it by applying the formula "**unity, criticism, unity**"—mainly by such methods as studying and raising awareness, supporting advanced things that stand in firm opposition to capitalism, recalling the past and contrasting it with the present as well as by persuading and educating people and making criticism and self-criticism, and in these ways 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 their consciousness and give them 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 Piao anti-Party clique was extremely isolated among the people of the whole country. In tracing its emergence to its class roots, we have pointed to the soil and conditions which produced it. Having stated this aspect of the matter, we must also point out that the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was in essence very feeble; like all reactionaries, it was a mere paper tiger. All the counter-revolutionary activities of this clique constituted a record only 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. 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 continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and adhere to the line, principles and policies for the socialist revolution which Chairman Mao has laid down for us, we shall be able to smash the resistance put up by the class enemies, erase these birth-marks step by step and continually win fresh victories. The pres-

ent excellent situation, marked by the ever greater prosperity of our socialist cause, is in sharp contrast to the plight of imperialism and social-imperialism which are disintegrating internally and beset with difficulties at home and abroad. Chairman Mao's latest instructions on theory will certainly enable us, both in theory and in practice, to gain a better understanding of the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the ways to accomplish them; it will help greatly to 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, and so are the proletariat and the revolutionary people of our country. United as one and high in spirit, they are fighting under the Party's leadership to oppose and prevent revisionism. The history of the Chinese revolution is the history of the revolutionary people advancing to victory through tortuous struggles, and it is a history of the reactionaries descending to their doom through repeated trials of strength. As Chairman Mao has summed it up, **"In China, since the overthrow of the emperor in 1911, no reactionary has been able to stay in power long. The one who has ruled longest (Chiang Kai-shek) did so for only 20 years, but he, too, fell 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 a big bunch of reactionaries around him. As soon as he turned against the Communist Party, practically the whole landlord class and bourgeoisie came to his support. Moreover, the Communist Party was inexperienced at the time. So, he gleefully gained ascendancy for a while. In those 20 years, however, he never achieved unification. There were 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 years of large-scale civil war, which sent him scampering off to a cluster of islands. If the Rightists 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."** **"The conclusion is still the two familiar comments: The future is bright; the road is tortuous."** Let us advance courageously in the direction and along the road pointed out by Chairman Mao!

## TEXT 19

# ON EXERCISING ALL-ROUND DICTATORSHIP OVER THE BOURGEOISIE

*Chang Chun-chiao*

### Quotations from Chairman Mao

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 practises 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 Piao 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.

Lenin said that “small production *engenders* capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.” They are also engendered among a part of the working class and of the Party membership. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state and other organs there are people who take to the bourgeois style of life.

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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 precisely to enable us to go by Marxism and not revisionism in both theory and practice that Chairman Mao calls on the whole nation to get clear on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. .

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Our country is in an important period of its historical development. As a result of more than two decades of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and particularly of the liquidation of the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and of Lin Piao in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our proletarian dictatorship is more consolidated than ever, and our socialist cause is thriving. Full of militancy, all our people 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 all the way in the dictatorship of the proletariat is a cardinal issue for China's future development. Current class struggles, too, require that we should 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; it must "**be made known to the whole nation.**" The present and long-range importance of success in this study cannot be overestimated.

As early as 1920, Lenin, basing himself on practical experience in leading the Great October Socialist Revolution and directing the first state of proletarian dictatorship, pointed out sharply, "**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 means all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. Lenin stressed time and again 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 confirmed by practice in subsequent years. Sure enough, new bourgeois elements have been engendered batch after batch, and it is precisely the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique that is their representative. These people generally have a good class background; almost all of them were brought up under the red flag; they have joined the Communist Party organizationally, received college training and become so-called red experts.

However, 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 to do but failed. Never should we forget this experience of history in which “the satellites went up to the sky while the red flag fell to the ground,” especially not at this time when we are determined to build a powerful country.

We must be soberly aware that there is still a danger of China turning revisionist. This is not only because imperialism and social-imperialism will never give up aggression and subversion against us, not only because China’s old landlords and capitalists are still around and unreconciled to their defeat, but also because new bourgeois elements are **being engendered** daily and hourly, as Lenin put it. Some comrades argue that Lenin was referring to the situation before collectivization. This is obviously incorrect. Lenin’s remarks are not out of date at all. These comrades may look up Chairman Mao’s *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* published in 1957. There Chairman Mao shows by concrete analysis that after the basic victory in the socialist transformation of the system of ownership, which includes the achievement of agricultural co-operation, there still exist in China classes, class contradictions and class struggle, and there still exist both harmony and 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 gave systematic answers to 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 for the Party’s basic line and for continuing the 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 practises 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 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

covered 97 per cent of the fixed assets of industry as a whole, 63 per cent of the people engaged in industry, and 86 per cent of the value of total industrial output. Industry under collective ownership covered 3 per cent of the fixed assets, 36.2 per cent of the people engaged in industry, and 14 per cent of the total output value. Besides these, individual handicraftsmen made up 0.8 per cent of the people engaged in industry.

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. Here 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 a limited amount of household side-line production.

Then commerce. State commerce accounted for 92.5 per cent of the total volume of retail sales, collectively owned commercial enterprises for 7.3 per cent, and individual pedlars for 0.2 per cent. Apart from these, there still remained the 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 a great victory in China. The dominant position of ownership by the whole people has been greatly enhanced and there have also been some changes in the economy of the people's communes as regards the proportions of ownership at the three levels—commune, production brigade and 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 the proportion going to the teams dropped from 56.7 per cent to 52.3 per cent. The people's commune has demonstrated ever more clearly its superiority, consisting in its larger size and 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 individual labourers 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 specifically records these great victories of ours.

However, we must see that with respect to the system of ownership the issue is not yet fully settled. We often say that the issue of ownership "has in the main been settled"; this means that it has not been settled entirely, and also that bourgeois right has not been totally abolished in this realm. The statistics cited above show that private ownership still exists partially in industry, agriculture and commerce, that socialist public ownership does not consist entirely of ownership by the whole people but includes two kinds of ownership, and that ownership by the whole people is still rather weak in agriculture, which is the foundation of the national economy. The disappearance 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 of society. Clearly we have not yet reached that stage. Neither in theory nor in practice should we overlook the very arduous tasks that lie ahead for 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 which class holds the ownership in fact and not just in name.

Speaking at the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party on April 28, 1969, Chairman Mao said, "**Apparently, we couldn't do without the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for our base was not solid. From my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories—I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority—leadership was not in the hands of real Marxists and the masses of workers. Not that there were no good people in the leadership of the factories. There were. There were good people among the secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of Party committees and among the Party branch secretaries. But they followed that line of Liu Shao-chi's, just resorting to material incentive, putting profit in command, and instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth.**" "**But there are indeed bad people in the factories.**" "**This shows that the revolution is still unfinished.**" Chairman Mao's remarks not only explain the necessity for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution but also help us be more aware that in the problem of the system of ownership, as in all others, we should pay attention not only to its form but also to its actual content. It is perfectly correct for people to give full weight to the decisive role of the system of ownership in the relations of production. But it is incorrect to give no weight to

whether the issue of ownership has been resolved merely in form or in actual fact, to the reaction upon the system of ownership exerted by the two other aspects of the relations of production—the relations among people and the form of distribution—and to the reaction upon the economic base exerted by the superstructure; these two aspects and the superstructure may play a decisive role under given conditions. Politics is the concentrated expression of economics. Whether the ideological and political line is correct or incorrect, and which class holds the leadership, decides which class owns those factories in actual fact. Comrades may recall how we turned any enterprise owned by bureaucrat capital or national capital into a socialist enterprise. Didn't we do the job by sending a military-control representative or a state representative there 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 slavery by the feudal system or of feudalism by capitalism, was invariably preceded by the seizure of political power, which was then used to effect large-scale change in the system of ownership and consolidate and develop the new system. Even more is this the case with socialist public ownership which cannot be born under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Bureaucrat capital, which controlled 80 per cent 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. Similarly, 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 Shao-chi and Lin Piao changed the nature of a number of our factories and other enterprises to varying degrees?

Also, we must see that what we are practising today is a commodity system. Chairman Mao says, **“Our country at present practises 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 Piao 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. For instance in 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, commune ownership accounts for 34.2 per cent of the fixed assets owned at all three levels, and brigade ownership accounts for only 15.1 per cent, while ownership by the production teams still occupies 50.7 per cent of the whole. Therefore, even if we take economic conditions in the communes alone, it will require a fairly long time to effect the transition



from the team as the basic accounting unit to the brigade and then to the commune. Moreover, even when the commune becomes the basic accounting unit, the ownership will still be collective. Thus, in the short term, there will be no basic change in the situation in which ownership by the whole people and collective ownership co-exist. So long as we still have these two kinds of ownership, commodity production, exchange through money and distribution according to work are inevitable. And since **“under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted,”** the growth of capitalist factors in town and country and the emergence of new bourgeois elements are likewise inevitable. If such things are not restricted, capitalism and the bourgeoisie will grow more rapidly. Therefore, on no account should we relax our vigilance just because we have won a great victory in the transformation of the system of ownership and carried out one Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We must realize that our economic base is not yet solid, that bourgeois right has not yet been abolished entirely in the system of ownership, and that it still exists to a serious extent in the relations among people and holds a dominant position in distribution. In the various spheres of the superstructure, some areas are in fact still controlled by the bourgeoisie which has the upper hand there; some are being transformed but the results are not yet consolidated, and old ideas and the old force of habit are still stubbornly obstructing the growth of socialist new things. New bourgeois elements are engendered, batch after batch, 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 described how 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. It is like sweeping the floor; 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 if all have been destroyed except one, it will not vanish of itself if the iron

broom of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not reach it. Lenin was entirely correct in saying, **“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 of 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 struggle of the classes, 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 splendid 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 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 complete 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 **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, and to the revolutionizing of **all the ideas** that result from these social relations. In all the four cases, Marx means **all**. Not a part, a greater part, or 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 banished from the earth so that it will be im-

possible for the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes to exist or for new ones to arise; we definitely must not call a halt along the path of the **transition**. In our view, only those who understand the matter this way can be deemed to have grasped the essence of Marx's teaching on the state. Comrades, please think it over: If the matter is not understood in this way, if Marxism is limited, curtailed and distorted in theory and practice, if the dictatorship of the proletariat is turned into an empty phrase, or all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie is crippled by amputation and exercised only in some spheres but not in all, or only at a certain stage (for instance, before the transformation of the system of ownership) but not at all stages, or in other words, if not all of the "fortified villages" of the bourgeoisie are destroyed but some are left, allowing the bourgeoisie to expand again, doesn't this mean preparing the conditions for bourgeois restoration? Doesn't it mean turning the dictatorship of the proletariat into a thing that protects the bourgeoisie, particularly the newly engendered bourgeoisie? All workers, all poor and lower-middle peasants and other working people who refuse to be plunged back into suffering and woe, all Communists who have dedicated 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 absolutely impermissible to give it up half-way. 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 over-stepped the bounds of small production and of the bourgeoisie. They do approve of the dictatorship of the proletariat at a certain stage and within a certain sphere and are pleased with certain victories of the proletariat, because they will bring them some gains; once they have secured their gains, they feel it's time to settle down and feather their cosy nests. As for exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, as for going on after 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 to advance!

Historical experience also teaches 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 to restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This is exactly what Khrushchov and Brezhnev have done. They changed neither the name "Soviet," nor the name of the party of Lenin, nor the name "socialist republics." But, accepting these names and using them as a cover, they

have gutted the dictatorship of the proletariat of its actual content and turned it into a dictatorship of the monopoly capitalist class that is anti-Soviet, opposed to the party of Lenin and opposed to the socialist republics. They put forward the revisionist programme of "the state of the whole people" and "party of the entire people," which is an open betrayal of Marxism. But when the Soviet people stand up against their fascist dictatorship, they hoist the flag of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to suppress the masses. Similar things have happened in China. Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao 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 while suppressing the revolution. Didn't Lin Piao preach his four "never forgets"? One of them was "never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat." Indeed that was something he "never forgot," only the words "to overthrow" need inserting to make it into "never forget to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat," or as confessed by his own gang, "wave Chairman Mao's banner to strike at Chairman Mao's forces." At times they trimmed their sails 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 were usually waging a direct counter-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 stage a few plays about ghosts. You wanted to restrict bourgeois right? They said it was an excellent thing indeed and should be extended. They are a bunch of past masters at defending old things and, like a swarm of flies, buzz all day long over the "birth marks" and "defects" of the old society referred to by Marx. They are particularly keen on taking advantage of the inexperience of our young people to boost material incentive to them, saying that like strong bean-curd cheese, it stinks but tastes fine. And they invariably wave the banner of socialism while carrying on these dirty tricks. Aren't there some scoundrels who, engaging in speculation, graft and theft, say that they are promoting socialist co-operation? Don't some instigators of crime who poison the minds of young people hoist 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 more effectively.

"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 resorted to recently. We can give a definite answer: The wind of "com-

munization” as stirred up by Liu Shao-chi and Chen Po-ta shall never be allowed to blow again. We have always held that, instead of having too much in the way of commodities, our country has not yet a sufficient abundance of them. So long as the communes cannot yet offer much to be “communized” along with what the production brigades and teams would bring in, and enterprises under ownership by the whole people cannot offer a great abundance of products for distribution to each according to his needs among our 800 million people, we will have to continue practising 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 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 vast sea of small production. Conducting socialist education among several hundred million peasants is a serious question at all times and requires the endeavor of several generations. But among the several hundred million peasants, the poor and lower-middle peasants form the majority, and they know from practice that the only path to the bright future for them is to follow the Communist Party and keep on along the socialist road. Our Party has relied upon them to forge unity with the middle peasants for the 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 in further advance.

We would rather call the attention of comrades to the fact that it is another kind of wind that is now blowing—the “bourgeois wind.” This is the bourgeois style of life Chairman Mao has pointed to, 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 us the greatest of harm. Poisoned by this evil wind, some people have got their heads full of bourgeois ideas; they scramble for position and gain and feel proud of this, instead of being ashamed. Some have sunk to the point of looking at everything as a commodity, themselves included. They join the Communist Party and go to work for the proletariat merely for the sake of upgrading themselves as commodities and asking the proletariat for a higher price. Those who are Communists in name but new bourgeois elements in reality exhibit 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 things of benefit to mankind. But today’s new bourgeois elements are heading in the opposite direc-

tion to their forefathers. They are nothing but a heap of "new" garbage that can only harm mankind. Among the rumour-mongers 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 will "communize" it again; others want to use the chance to grab something for themselves. These people have a better nose than many of our comrades. Some of our comrades say that study is an "elastic" task that can yield precedence to others, whereas these people have sensed by instinct that the present study is an "inelastic" matter gravely confronting both classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Indeed they themselves may deliberately stir up some wind of "communization," or take over one of our own slogans in order to confuse the two different types of contradictions and play some unexpected trick. This is worth watching.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the mighty army of the proletarian revolution formed by China's masses in their hundreds of millions is striding vigorously forward. We have 25 years of practical experience in exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as all the international experience since the Paris Commune, and so 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 other cadres and the masses in reading and studying assiduously, carrying on investigation and analysis and summing up experience, we can certainly translate Chairman Mao's call into reality, gain clarity on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and ensure our country's triumphant advance along the course charted by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. **"The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."** This infinitely bright prospect 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, 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 extinction of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and the victory of communism are inevitable, certain and independent of man's will.

## TEXT 20

### FIGHTING WITH THE PEN AND STEEL ROD

Workers in our plant often have said: "We should shoulder the dual responsibility of using both the pen and the steel rod in battle." That is to say, we should carry out revolutionary mass criticism with the pen and produce more and better steel with the rod.

Through mass criticism, the Marxist-Leninist theoretical level of our plant's workers and cadres has been steadily raised, their ability in distinguishing Marxism from revisionism has been increased and their enthusiasm for building socialism has soared to greater heights. The battle with the steel rod also has scored successes. With no increase in major buildings, equipment and staff, annual steel output in our plant is now double that of 1965, the year prior to the start of the Great Cultural Revolution. Varieties and specifications of rolled steel have risen to 11,800 as against 1,800 in the same period.

Spurred on by the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat this year, our plant has made further progress. Compared with the corresponding period last year, output of steel, rolled steel and new products from January to July increased 8.83, 6.4 and 30 per cent respectively.

Facts are eloquent proof of the correctness of Chairman Mao's principle of "**grasping revolution, promoting production.**"

#### **Revolution Means Liberating Productive Forces**

Marxism holds that revolution means liberating the productive forces and promoting their development. The Chinese people have in the last 26 years turned the poor and backward old China into a socialist country with the beginnings of prosperity by relying on their own efforts. Take iron and steel production for instance. Our plant's annual output has outstripped the highest yearly mark for the whole of old China; Shanghai's daily output now is far more than the annual output in all of old Shanghai. How could the productive forces have expanded so swiftly? The answer is the Chinese people have, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, carried out a thoroughgoing democratic revolution, overthrown the rule of imperialism, feudalism and

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bureaucrat-capitalism, and since then carried on the ever-deepening socialist revolution.

Our plant was born in a revolutionary high tide. In 1956, China had in the main completed the socialist transformation with respect to ownership of the means of production in individual agriculture, individual handicrafts and privately owned industry and commerce. The following year saw the defeat of the attack by the anti-Party, anti-socialist bourgeois Rightists on the political and ideological front. These revolutionary successes heralded the big leap forward in socialist construction beginning from 1958. At that time, builders flocked to the site where our plant was to go up and, working with enormous enthusiasm on this tract of desolate land, erected the first group of workshops and put them into operation in just three months. Annual steel output in the three years 1958-60 rose from tens of thousands to several hundred thousand tons.

However, we were not sailing a smooth sea. China's national economy went through a temporary difficult period as a result of sabotage by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and natural calamities for three successive years. Taking advantage of this, Liu Shao-chi and his gang spared no effort to restore capitalism and strangle socialism. They opposed workers studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, babbling that we couldn't understand it. While ordering the "dismounting" of many new factories, they did their utmost to peddle the Soviet revisionist line in running enterprises, such as putting profits in command, material incentives, the system of one-man leadership and letting specialists rule the factories. These evil trends also showed up in our plant. Some workshops put out the fire in the furnaces, workers' enthusiasm was throttled and output dropped by a big margin in the early 60s.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. Revolution has liberated the productive forces, and our plant's production has gone ahead at an unprecedented speed. Both successes and setbacks have enabled us to see clearly that **"without a correct political approach to the matter the given class will be unable to stay on top, and, consequently, will be incapable of solving its production problem either."** (Lenin: *Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin.*)

### **Consciousness Turns to Matter**

A continuation of the Great Cultural Revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius also had played the role of further



liberating the productive forces. The movement is a political and ideological struggle in the superstructure by which Marxism triumphs over revisionism and the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao long ago pointed out: **“While we recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental and social being determines social consciousness, we also—and indeed must—recognize the reaction of mental on material things, of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base. This does not go against materialism; on the contrary, it avoids mechanical materialism and firmly upholds dialectical materialism.”** (*On Contradiction.*)

From our own experience we can see well-defined examples of how production stagnated because the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, remnants of the ideology of the exploiting classes, had shackled people’s minds. Once this garbage has been swept away and replaced by the new ideology of the proletariat, production will forge ahead. But it must be realized that such rubbish cannot be cleared out all at once. After one corner has been cleaned, it can be found in another corner. After one form of expression has been criticized, it will appear in another form. Thus only repeated cleaning over a long period of time will yield the desired result. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is another such clean-up.

To put proletarian politics in command or “to put profits in command” and go in for “material incentives” has always been a focus of the two-line struggle in running an enterprise. The struggle has a bearing not only on whether production can be done well but, of more fundamental importance, on whether a socialist enterprise will degenerate into a capitalist firm or not. Through study we have come to understand that the “new economic system” by means of which the Soviet revisionists have restored the capitalist economic base has “the principle of profits” and “material incentives” at its core.

The Soviet revisionist “new economic system” actually is nothing new. The exploiting classes have always held that “each for himself” is the “eternal human nature.” Confucius said that “the inferior man thinks in terms of gain.” Lin Piao and his gang also said that “self-aggrandizement and avarice are objective laws.” Those whose minds are poisoned by such thinking do not understand that proletarian politics should be in command of economic work. Instead of relying on the workers’ political enthusiasm for building socialism and on the proletariat’s high sense of responsibility of fulfilling its historical mission, they are bent on promoting production by means of “material incentives” or other similar “incentives.”

We criticized “putting bonuses in command” in the initial stage of

the Great Cultural Revolution. Later, though it was out of the commendable desire to increase production, cadres in a workshop thought of another way to "boost" output by "beating drums and gongs." Thus, if a team fulfilled a high quota, it could proclaim its "achievements" with drums and gongs. Doing this to celebrate successes in socialist construction is permissible, and, indeed, customary. However, if it is treated as a means of self-glorification, then a team will be led astray to the bourgeois road of chasing after fame and gain. Facts proved that this method did not promote production but enhanced the "departmentalism" of the various teams and groups. Criticisms from the workers helped the cadres correct their errors and give prominence to political and ideological work in real earnest. They organized workers to study revolutionary theory and criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie. They took part in manual labour like ordinary workers, made investigations at the furnaces, listened to workers' opinions, visited workers' families. . . . As a result, the workshop's production went up by big margins. The plant's Party committee led all the workers and cadres in analysing and discussing this typical example which was a profound education for everyone.

The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius forcefully pounded away at the decadent idea that "those who work with their minds govern, those who work with their hands are governed." Cadres in our plant have since been more conscious in working together with the workers and listening to their criticisms. And, as masters of the country, the workers have become more active in supervising the work in the plant so that it will proceed along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

**A Big-Character Poster.** Some workers during the movement suggested that small quantities of leftover molten steel in the furnaces be cast into small ingots to increase production, something that had been neglected previously. Underestimating the workers' enthusiasm for socialism, a cadre in charge decided that this was good, but "extra pay" should be given since the workers would be doing "extra work." When comrades in the workshop's theoretical group learnt this, they immediately put up a big-character poster in front of the mess hall. The poster sharply pointed out that the idea of giving "extra pay" was simply a refurbishment of the Confucian thinking that "the inferior man thinks in terms of gain" and a retrogression to the revisionist principle of "putting bonuses in command" which had been criticized. The title of this poster "There's No Future in Going Backwards!" was an eye-catcher.

The poster won the extensive support of the workers and educated the cadre concerned. Together, they worked out appropriate technical measures to utilize the leftover steel. Output went up without any

“material incentives.”

Another example was the “system of deducting from the production quota.” A rule in one of the workshops stipulated that if the necessary preparations were not made to facilitate the work of the next shift, then part of the output of the preceding shift would be deducted and added to that of the next shift. Such “material punishment” increased the contradictions among teams. The workers criticized and abolished this rule during the movement. In its stead the communist style of “offering others what is convenient while tackling the difficulties oneself” was vigorously advocated. The result was closer unity and higher output.

Numerous facts have proved that selfless communist spirit can be fostered only when the influence of bourgeois ideology has been criticized. For instance, a rolling-mill heater in workshop No. 12 once had a hitch. The usual way was to overhaul it after it had cooled for 72 hours. The workers said: “Time means steel and the state needs steel.” Only eight hours later the workers and cadres, wearing protective clothing, went into the centre of the heater to overhaul it. Examples like this showing the difficulty-defying spirit of the workers without any thought of getting rewards are too numerous to cite. Shanghai workers often have said: “Lin Piao wanted to restore capitalism. We must go all-out to build socialism.” Can this kind of spirit be “incited” by “material incentives”? The bourgeois and revisionist Shylocks naturally can never understand this mentality of the proletariat.

The manifestations of “putting profits in command” were also criticized during the movement. How to prevent the practice of thinking in terms of profits is important in business transactions between factories. Under unified state planning, our plant has dealings with some 10,000 factories and our products are sent to all parts of the country. When orders come from other factories, so long as the products are badly needed in socialist construction, we will fulfil them regardless of profits or difficulties involved. We will do our best to satisfy the demands, be they steel ingots weighing many tons or capillaries used in precision medical instruments. If a new equipment is needed to manufacture the products, we make it by our own efforts. If the order is a new product we never made before, we learn to produce it in the course of work. By doing so, the state first of all benefits, and it also spurs us on to increase the varieties and specifications of our products and raise our technical level. We do not chase after profits. Does this mean we will lose? Of course not. Because of our efforts in increasing production and practising economy, annual profits turned over to the state by our plant in the last few years amounted to half its fixed assets. Contrary to the case in capitalist society, such profits do not go to a few people, but are used by the state for construction which benefits the

people of the whole country.

**A New Technique.** The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius opened fierce fire on the decadent idea that "the highest are the wise and the lowest are the stupid." Thus cadres acquired a firmer faith in the workers' collective strength and wisdom and we workers showed greater daring to blaze new trails. The upshot: more and better technical innovations.

The story of "cutting the tiger's tail" has spread in our plant. Molten steel first has to be poured into the ladle and then into the mould to be cast into ingots. In the past, a hand-operated rod was used by workers standing close at hand to function as the ladle's locking stopper. The rod had to be replaced once it was used. This held back production. Several technical innovations ensued and a hydraulic pump was introduced to control the ladle's slide valve. This raised efficiency a great deal. But the splashes of molten steel sometimes caused the pump's wire to snap. Workers called this wire the "tiger's tail," meaning it could not easily be removed and replaced with something else. Some workers suggested making another innovation to solve the problem. Others had apprehensions. "Don't pull the tiger's tail," they cautioned lest normal production might be affected if it was not handled properly.

The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius strengthened our determination and confidence. Confucius and Lin Piao preached that "some are born with knowledge," but we deem that "real knowledge comes from practice." A "three-in-one" group was formed with veteran workers as the backbone and with the participation of leading cadres and technicians to tackle the problem. After overcoming numerous difficulties, they finally succeeded in getting rid of the "tiger's tail."

This example is only one of many showing that mass technical innovations have played a big part in raising output, improving quality, reducing labour intensity and guaranteeing safety in production. In New China, of course, automation will not lead to sacking of workers and unemployment, which is often the case in capitalist countries.

Since the workers' collective strength and wisdom have been given fuller play, the spirit of self-reliance has soared higher. While criticizing Lin Piao's plot to turn China into a Soviet colony, workers in the No. 2 central testing room strengthened their determination to build up the country independently and self-reliantly. Reviewing the designs of two projects, they said: "We will not import any piece of equipment if a domestic one can be used; we will not ask for anything our plant can make." During the movement, the No. 13 workshop began mass-producing cold-rolled high-speed steel strip, which we had to import in quantities previously.

**A New Record.** The movement also dealt a heavy blow to conservative ideology. Chairman Mao has taught us: **“Man has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing. Ideas of stagnation, pessimism, inertia and complacency are all wrong.”** This is the proletarian method of thinking and is diametrically opposed to the Confucian preaching that “I pass on what is ancient and do not create anything new. I have firm confidence in and love the ancient things.”

The No. 5 blast cupola of the No. 4 workshop had produced 4,000 heats. According to the old practice, it should have been pulled down and rebuilt. Based on their rich experience, many workers said that it could still be used. However, a few people wanted to follow the beaten track, saying that this would be safer. A controversy ensued. Many pointed out: “Since we have criticized Lin Piao and Confucius for their attempts at restoration and retrogression, we should persist in making revolution and progress. The cupola is working properly, so why should we do things according to the old rules?” The workshop Party branch supported the workers’ initiative and organized them to work out necessary technical measures. Another 4,000 heats were produced to create a record in our plant for a blast cupola.

Many other examples pointed to the fact that with the change in people’s mental outlook, production went up. Those whose minds are shackled by the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius always look down upon new emerging forces. Before the Great Cultural Revolution, a young recruit usually spent his first three years in the shop sweeping the floor or looking after tools. Now many outstanding youngsters have been put in leading posts. In the movement, the older generation paid more attention to supporting and training the young workers while the latter have increased their own confidence and thus played a more dynamic role. Workers in the supply department, where quite a big proportion are females, work better after they criticized the widely circulated old book *Guide to Women’s Manners* which advocates that man is superior to woman. They also criticized a popular saying that “a man can be bolder, but a woman should always be timid.” Sweep away such rubbish, they said. Now more and more women comrades in our plant have stepped to the forefront of revolution and production in the spirit that “women build half the world.”

Chairman Mao has said: **“Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world.”** (*Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?*) Every criticism of the ideology of the exploiting classes makes the new ideology, new culture, new customs and new habits of the proletariat strike deeper root in people’s minds,

and this becomes a powerful material force. We therefore say: The victories in the battle with the pen bring with them big achievements in the battle with the steel rod.

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Like the rest of the country, our plant has achieved tremendous victories in the Great Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius. In this excellent situation, the Fourth National People's Congress was convened in Peking last January. The congress adopted a new Constitution and set forth the magnificent task of building China into a powerful socialist country before the end of the century.

It was at that crucial historical moment that Chairman Mao issued the important directive on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has said: **“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.”** Like a beacon, this directive illuminates our road of advance. At present, just as is the case in the whole country, an ever-deepening study movement is taking place in our plant. We are confident that mastering the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat by the hundreds of millions of Chinese people is sure to guarantee that our country will march forward on the road charted by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. And this will ensure the eventual accomplishment of the task of the dictatorship of the proletariat set forth by Marx, that is, abolishing class distinctions generally, abolishing all relations of production on which class distinctions rest, abolishing all social relations that correspond to these relations of production, and revolutionizing all ideas that result from these social relations.

Marx and Engels issued the great call **“Working men of all countries, unite!”** more than a hundred years ago. We workers in the Shanghai No. 5 Steel Plant will unite with the people throughout the country and with all the oppressed people and nations in the world to fight for the complete elimination of the system of exploitation of man by man and for the realization of communism—the lofty ideal of mankind. **“Let each stand in his place. The internationale shall be the human race.”** (*The Internationale.*)

## TEXT 21

### **SOCIALIST BIG FAIR IS GOOD**

#### **—An investigation of transformation in rural trade fair in Haerht'ao commune, Changwu county, Liaoning Province**

Last year, just when the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing was vigorously whipping up the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, the Party committee of the Haerht'ao commune, Changwu county, Liaoning Province, through taking class struggle as the key link, adhering to the Party's basic line and closely relying upon the poor and lower-middle peasants, transformed the old rural trade fair and created a new type of fair—the socialist big fair. This gave an effective boost to the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. The socialist position in the countryside was thus further consolidated.

#### **Contradictions Calling for An Urgent Solution**

Haerht'ao commune is situated near the border between Liaoning and Kirin provinces. It has poor soil and an arid climate. In the past, grain output was very low. In the winter of 1974, spurred by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, this commune whipped up a new upsurge in "learning from Tachai in agriculture." The broad masses of cadres and people broke the habit of "allowing land to lie fallow in winter" and energetically participated in farmland capital construction. However, after a period of time, attendance gradually diminished. When the Spring Festival drew near, there were still fewer people at work on farmland capital construction. Where did the people go? After an investigation, the commune Party committee discovered that the force of old habit had attracted the people to the trade fair.

Trade fairs in Haerht'ao had a history of many years. On the 5th, 10th, 15th, 20th, 25th and 30th days of the month, people from the neighboring areas and even from as far as several tens of *li* away converged at the trade fair, numbering from 4,000 or 5,000 at the most to 2,000 or 3,000 at the least. A few profiteers made use of the fair to corner the market, play tricks and carry out capitalist activities. Such a fair held a great attraction for some rich peasants who had not rid themselves of their private-ownership mentality. Under the influence of this

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kind of fair, the collective economy of this commune was weakened, the movement to learn from Tachai failed to get off the ground and agricultural production long remained in a backward stage.

The Party committee of Haerht'ao commune investigated the conditions of the rural fair and made clear the relations between the two-road struggle and trade fair in the countryside. It felt that if such a fair was not subjected to restrictions and transformation, capitalism would make a breach through this fair and run wild and more and more people would deviate from the socialist orbit. How should the rural trade fair be transformed? There were two ways: One was to follow the previous practice of closing it down by way of an administrative order or to exercise general control over it. As a result, it could neither be closed nor controlled properly. Another way was to establish the "socialist big fair" in light of the situation where a small number of private plots and family side occupations were still retained at the present in the countryside. Efforts should be made to take class struggle as the key link, deepen education in the Party's basic line, arouse the masses to sell to the state the agricultural produce and by-products instead of bringing them to the trade fair. At the same time, the supply and sales departments should be organized to break with the usual practice and expand their scopes of buying and selling and the exchange of commodities should be actively organized among the masses, so as to occupy the rural commercial position in a planned manner. The commune Party committee made a study of the matter and decided to adopt the latter measure to transform the existing trade fair.

### **Fair of a New Type Appears**

In the process of establishing the socialist big fair, Haerht'ao Commune first organized the cadres and the masses to vigorously run political night schools, to learn the fundamental experience of Tachai and to unfold penetrating criticism against capitalist tendencies existing in rural trade fair. Meanwhile, conscientious ideological education was conducted to further raise the socialist consciousness of the masses. After spending a period of time on study, criticism and ideological education, many commune members on their own initiative offered to sell to the state private agricultural produce and by-products intended for the fair, so as to support socialist construction. The commune Party committee decided to take advantage of this favorable situation to organize a socialist big fair.

On the 1975 New Year's day, this fair of a new type made its debut in Haerht'ao Commune. That day, the masses of commune members of various brigades led by the cadres carried on their shoulders their own



agricultural produce and by-products and, beating gongs and drums, and holding red banners, came from all directions and converged on the streets of Haerht'ao to take part in the socialist big fair. They sold to the supply and marketing cooperative their surplus agricultural produce and by-products. Then they headed for the stalls of the supply and marketing cooperative to buy various kinds of farm implements and other daily necessities they needed. The brisk trade in the fair presented a delightful bustling scene. The previous bourgeois practice, of shouting prices and driving bargains was swept away at one stroke.

At this fair, the spare-time cultural and art propaganda teams of the commune and various brigades also presented various cultural and art programs, and made propaganda of new men, new deeds and new practices. The masses could participate in the fair and, at the same time, receive socialist education.

At such a fair, there were also various support-agricultural activities organized by factories in the city. What people witnessed here was the vivid scene worker-peasant alliance and exchange between town and country. What they heard were the principles of socialist revolution and the advanced deeds in learning from Tachai, grasping revolution and promoting production. They said elatedly, "The more we attend the socialist big fair the greater the hatred we develop toward capitalism and the closer our hearts draw toward socialism. The socialist big fair is just fine."

Such a fair is a socialist new thing emerging in the struggle between the two roads, and its appearance holds down the capitalist influence. With the support of the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, this kind of socialist big fair is run better and better. Now, apart from the periodical comprehensive big fairs, big fairs for the exchange of one chosen kind of commodities are run in light of agricultural seasons and the people's needs. Such exchange fairs are supplements to the comprehensive big fair. At specified time and locality and within certain limits, they strictly stick to pre-arranged prices. With regard to agricultural produce and by-products, such as piglets, ducklings, chickens, seedlings, etc., which they find it inconvenient to handle for the present, the supply and marketing cooperative organize exchange among the individuals and between one collective and another so as to meet each other's needs. Thus, 128 kinds of agricultural produce and by-products under the nine categories of commodities including pigs and fowl, fabricated straw goods, firewood, weeds, etc., which were freely traded in the past are put on the socialist orbit. The predominance of socialism is established in the position of the rural trade fair. Apart from the buying and selling of ordinary agricultural produce and by-products, the commune also take advantage of the big fair to organ-

ize various brigades to sell to the state grain, pigs and other products under the unified purchase and sales program and under the planned purchase scheme. Actually, this kind of socialist big fair has become the main form of economic exchange activity in the countryside.

### **Another Leap Forward in Understanding**

Not long after the socialist big fair was established, Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory was published.

“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.” “Lenin said, ‘Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.’ ” The cadres and the masses of Haerht’ao Commune studied these teachings of Chairman Mao’s, applied the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in summing up and analyzing the practice of running the socialist big fair, and saw the direction of advance more clearly. They realized that: To run well the socialist big fair is not only a measure to hit at capitalist activities but also a practical step to educate the peasants, transform small production and restrict bourgeois rights. In the period of socialism, there inevitably exist bourgeois rights such as the trade fair, the exchange of commodities, private plots, family side occupations, distribution according to work, etc. Their existence is allowed by the Party’s policy. But they should not be given oxygen and blood and be allowed to grow unrestrictedly. Instead they should be gradually restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Running the socialist big fair provides fresh experience for blocking the channel which leads small production to capitalism, effectively restricting bourgeois rights in the sphere of exchange of commodities in the countryside and gradually removing the soil and conditions engendering capitalism.

On the basis of heightened awareness, the Party committee of Haerht’ao Commune has at all times taken guiding the masses to the socialist road as an important task in the process of running the socialist big fair. Through continuously instilling socialist ideas into the peasants, it has enabled them to consciously break with the concept of private ownership and with established traditions. In this commune, the political night schools of various brigades constantly launched such activities as “line education,” “discussing everything,” etc. Before a big fair was held, they organized the masses to study the Party’s basic line and the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At times, they also invited the old poor peasants to recount histories of their families,

villages and cooperatives, so as to impart education by making comparison between the new and the old societies and between the conditions before and after the great cultural revolution. Through these activities, they praised Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, criticized the revisionist line and brought political and ideological work to every house and every heart, so as to continuously strengthen the people's consciousness in following the socialist road. Thus, a still broader ideological foundation was provided for the socialist big fair.

### **Leaders Stand in the Van of the Movement**

“The root lies in the line and leadership is the key.” This equally applies to the struggle of operating a socialist big fair.

The Party committee of Haerht'ao Commune held that in order to make the masses grasp the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and consciously restrict bourgeois rights and follow the socialist road, the Party committee of the commune should first take the lead in breaking with established traditions and waging a resolute struggle against capitalism. Secretary Nashun (a Mongolian) of the commune Party committee is an old comrade. After receiving education in the great cultural revolution, he looked upon the operation of the socialist big fair as a struggle to continue the revolution. He led the way in recalling the painful lessons he learned by carrying out the revisionist line before the great cultural revolution. He took the initiative to criticize the bourgeois influence in himself and took the lead in restricting bourgeois rights. His act of persisting in continuing the revolution inspired the ideological revolutionization of the leading bodies at the commune and brigade levels. Young cadre Shih Ya-wen, vice chairman of the revolutionary committee of the commune took the initiative to persuade his mother to be the first in selling to the state at the quoted price the tobacco crop from her private plot, thus playing a forward role among the masses. The ideological revolutionization of the leading body also set the pace for the ideological revolutionization of the broad masses of cadres and Party members. In the whole commune, there appeared a revolutionary scene of vigorously criticizing revisionism and capitalism and vigorously building socialism.

### **Turn the Supply and Marketing Cooperative Into a Tool of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat**

In the past, under the influence of the revisionist line, Haerht'ao supply and marketing cooperative did not put proletarian politics in command but only concerned itself with talking about buying and selling

behind the counter and cared nothing about class struggle beyond the counter. In the course of purchasing agricultural produce and by-products, it practiced many restrictive rules. It refused to handle one thing and purchase another, and so it could not meet the needs of the socialist countryside. When it started to run the big fair, the commune Party committee took the correct orientation of the operational line of the supply and marketing cooperative as an important task. It pointed out that the rural commercial departments should persist in putting politics in command, serve the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, become a special army in hitting at capitalism, use socialism to occupy the commercial position in the countryside and set [themselves] as a tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Under the leadership of the commune Party committee, the working personnel of this supply and marketing cooperatives conscientiously studied the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Their idea of doing business went through a tremendous change. They energetically widened the scope of business and regarded the handling of one more kind of product as the occupation of one more position and the removal of one more plot of soil engendering capitalism. In the past year and more, the commodities handled by this supply and marketing cooperative rose to over 350 varieties. The agricultural produce and by-products purchased were 41 items more than those handled before the socialist big fair. Meanwhile, additional points were set up in the commercial network. This gave the masses every facility and production every support. In addition, they also supplied small earth stoves. This gave the commune members every convenience in retrieving the old and utilizing waste materials. Small carts were sent to the countryside to bring goods to the doorsteps, while purchases were made in the brigade. Various sales departments also offered additional services such as cloth cutting, book lending, free glass-cutting, etc. Thus, even on the days when the fair was not held, the masses could also keep in touch with the state-run commercial network. This left no room for capitalism.

After the establishment of the socialist big fair, in order to insure the steady supply of commodities on the market, Haerht'ao commune took market demands into consideration while arranging production in accordance with the guideline of "developing the economy and insuring supplies." While seeing to it that no adverse effect was produced on food crops and not a cut was made in the planted acreages planned by the state plan, when implementing the state cultivation plans, the various production teams, made unified arrangements for certain economic crops needed by the market and gradually substituted the products under the collective economy for those formerly obtained from the

commune members' private plots. Meanwhile, the production teams not only continuously encouraged individual commune members to raise pigs, but also made energetic efforts to develop collective pig-breeding and collective side-occupations and to combine development of diversified economy with the organization of sources of market supplies. Thus not only in the area of commodity circulation but also in the link of commodity production, the initiative was seized in fighting against capitalist influence, and the steady supply of commodities on the market was effectively guaranteed. This was hailed by the broad masses.

### **A New Situation Appears in Learning from Tachai**

The appearance of the socialist big fair is a profound socialist revolution. This revolution has not only transformed the features of rural commerce of Haerht'ao but also educated and transformed people and brought about profound changes in the people's spiritual outlook. In the past, in certain brigades of this commune, class struggle was acute and complicated and capitalism ran wild. Socialist activism of the masses was repressed. After the socialist big fair was established, this situation changed very rapidly. The proper trend of socialism prevailed over the evil trend of capitalism. Revolutionary practice of "glorifying socialism and looking upon capitalism as a shame" took shape. A new situation appeared in the vigorous development of the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. Gratifying results were achieved in changing men, changing soil and changing output.

Old poor peasant and Communist Party member Yang Fu-hsiang of Peiketasu production team of Fuyu Brigade in this commune was praised by the masses as a man who followed the socialist road without turning back and steeled his heart in building socialism. He resented the old fair long ago. Once the socialist big fair appeared, he energetically supported it. He considered that this measure could "get at the throat of capitalism." He said: The poor and lower-middle peasants should not always fix their eyes on their families, a Communist Party member should not occupy his mind with his own business and one who makes revolution must let socialism take roots deeply in his mind.

Once, when he went to another place to attend a meeting, some people of the production team carted over 700 mats to another place for sale at a high price. After he returned to the production team, a deputy leader of the production team boasted to him of his having earned an extra income of over 100 *yuan* for the production team. He also said, "The team has income and the commune members are satisfied. This pleases both sides." On hearing this, Yang Fu-hsiang knew that some-

thing was wrong. He immediately criticized this deputy leader, saying: Your yielding to capitalism is "the most displeasing thing." He added, "You are a leader. If you concern yourself only with making more money and think nothing of learning from Tachai and leading the masses in running the socialist big fair, there will be deviation in orientation and the line will be wrong." These words left this deputy leader speechless. He admitted his mistake. Meanwhile, he took the initiative to make a self-examination at a general meeting of commune members. This matter taught the commune members a vivid lesson on the line.

Sixty-eight-year-old Lin Ta-niang of Yaoao production team of Aohan brigade in this commune formerly "took up side-occupation for her own benefit and revelled in the small fair." After the socialist big fair was established, she raised her consciousness through study. She collected manure for the collective every day. With her thinking changed, her revolutionary spirit of utter devotion to socialism was praised by the commune members.

Old herdsman Chou Te-chin formerly tended cattle for the collective and, at the same time, gathered firewood for himself and for sale at the fair. Now he dropped the firewood basket and carried the manure basket on his back. As he tended cattle he gathered manure for the collective. More than ten herders of the whole brigade gathered over 200,000 catties of manure for the collective.

After the socialist big fair was established, the broad masses of cadres and commune members of Haerht'ao Commune took class struggle as the key link and persisted in vigorously criticizing capitalism and building socialism. After one year's hard effort, they brought rapid changes to the features of this backward commune marked by "the poor natural conditions of rolling mountains, poor soil, violent sandstorms and frequent attacks by drought in nine out of ten years." Last year, the whole commune built over 20,000 *mow* of terraced field, equivalent to ten times the acreage of terraced fields built in the preceding decade. Meanwhile, some irrigation projects were completed. This created conditions for promoting agricultural development. Last year, total grain output of the whole commune showed an increase of 47 percent compared with 1974. Per-unit output increased by 55 percent. The quantity of commodity grain sold to the state rose by 180 percent. The commune members said, "In the past decade, we have been learning from Tachai. This is the only year in which we made fast progress!"

The founding and development of the socialist big fair are fraught with the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Last year, when the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing whipped up the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, certain absurd arguments attacking the newborn things such

as the socialist big fair also appeared in society. The Party committee of Haerht'ao commune conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's directives, constantly made revolutionary mass criticism to give them tit-for-tat rebuttals, and took concrete action to hit back at the Right-deviation to reverse verdicts. At present, the Party committee of the commune is leading the broad masses in penetratingly criticizing the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" put forth by Teng Hsiao-p'ing and is determined to take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, persist in running well the socialist big fair and give impetus to the further deepening of the movement to learn from Tachai.

The experience of Haert'ao commune in establishing the socialist big fair received the close attention and support of the CCP Committee of Liaoning Province. Last year, three provincial meetings were held here to popularize this experience, thus further developing the excellent situation in the countryside.

