

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

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WE are now in a new era of the world revolution, one in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing towards worldwide victory. Sharp class struggles in diverse forms are going on like raging fires in the international arena and within various countries, in both the capitalist world and the socialist world. The struggles between different classes and political forces are extremely complicated. In the final analysis, the central issue of these struggles is that of state power.

Lenin said that the basic question in any revolution is that of state power. He also said that those who recognize only the class struggle are not yet Marxists. Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism-Leninism, the fundamental issue of the proletarian revolution, and the "magic weapon" which guarantees that the proletariat will defeat the bourgeoisie and be victorious in its socialist cause. For the proletariat, to have state power means to have everything; to lose state power is to lose all. Throughout the historical period of the transition from capitalism to communism, to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat or not to uphold it has always been the touchstone for distinguishing Marxist-Leninists from revisionists of all stripes.

The new historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat tells us that the question of state power is the basic question for the revolution in the capitalist countries where the proletariat has not yet seized political power; it remains the basic question for the revolution in the socialist countries where the proletariat is already in power. Before coming to power, the proletariat and other revolutionary people should adhere to the principle of making revolution by violence, smashing the old state machine and seizing political power by armed force. Once in power, the proletariat should carry the socialist revolution through to the end, prevent the revisionists from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state, prevent the restoration of capitalism, and defend and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It was once thought that with the proletariat's seizure of power, the question of political power was solved and that the main task for the revolution would be to transform the old economy, organize a new economy, and engage in construction and education. It was not realized that state power might be recaptured by the bourgeoisie, that the proletariat might lose political power, and that the dictatorship of the proletariat might be transformed back into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The betrayal of the Tito clique caused Yugoslavia long ago to degenerate from a socialist state into a capitalist one. Later, in the birthplace of Leninism, the Khrushchov revisionist clique usurped the leadership of the Party and the state, causing the Soviet Union, after several decades of socialist construction, to take the road of capitalist restoration.

It is imperative for Marxist-Leninists to pay the greatest attention to these harsh facts and seriously ponder over them.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has constantly studied and summed up the experience and lessons of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and internationally, and put forward the theses on the contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society, solving a series of new important problems and developing the Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat to a new height.

With genius, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has creatively applied Marxist-Leninist materialist dialectics to socialist society and made a scientific analysis of the nature of the contradictions in socialist society and the law of their development.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that contradictions exist in socialist society, contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and contradictions among the people. These two types of contradictions are different in nature. In given conditions, these two types of contradictions can be transformed into their opposite. Only by recognizing their existence and correctly understanding and handling them is it possible to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat constantly

and push forward the cause of socialist revolution and construction.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that socialist society is still built on the basis of class antagonism and that throughout the extremely long historical period of socialism there is struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads. The struggle between the two classes and between the two roads is the principal contradiction in socialist society and the motive force for its advance.

Since the struggle between the two classes and between the two roads exists in socialist country, if we are not vigilant and fail to adopt the necessary measures, the danger of the dictatorship of the proletariat degenerating into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie exists and the danger of the restoration of capitalism exists.

The Soviet revisionist leading clique deliberately ignores the fact that contradictions exist in socialist society, and categorically denies the existence of classes and class struggle in the Soviet Union. Khrushchov does and so do his disciples Brezhnev, Kosygin and Shelepin.

Such nonsense as their "socialist-society-without-contradictions" is aimed at protecting the interests of the revisionist leading clique and the privileged strata of the Soviet Union, and at maintaining their reactionary rule over the Soviet people. Their denial of the existence of classes and class struggle in the Soviet Union is precisely a weapon that they wield in the class struggle. As a matter of fact, they plant themselves firmly on the side of the bourgeoisie, suppressing the proletariat and carrying on ruthless class struggle against the Soviet people. They use the allegation that there are neither classes nor class struggle as grounds for "the state of the whole people" and "the Party of the entire people," in order to deceive the Soviet people and the people of the world and cover up their traitorous deeds in abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have completely betrayed the great Lenin and Stalin. What they fear most is for the Soviet people to rise in rebellion against revisionism and capitalist restoration, engage in class struggle against them, overthrow their rule and re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung often quotes the saying — "The tree may prefer calm, but the wind will not subside" — to tell people that class struggle is an objective fact, independent of people's subjective will. It cannot be avoided, much as you want to. If you don't struggle with him, he will struggle with you; if you don't eliminate him, he will eliminate you. Marxist-Leninists cannot in any way deny or avoid class struggle. Instead, they should lead the proletariat, guide it properly in the given circumstances according to the laws of class struggle, carry the socialist revolution through to the end on the political, economic, ideological and cultural fronts, smash the bourgeois plot for restoration, and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our country is at present engaged in a great proletarian cultural revolution without parallel in history. This is precisely to avoid capitalist restoration and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system in our country still further.

This great proletarian cultural revolution was initiated and is being led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung personally. The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung has won great victories over the bourgeois reactionary line after sharp struggle.

The struggle between the two lines within the Party in the great proletarian cultural revolution is a reflection in the Party of the class struggle in society. The social basis of the bourgeois reactionary line is chiefly in the bourgeoisie. This reactionary line is in essence defending the bourgeoisie. It has a certain audience within the Party, that is, those whose bourgeois world outlook either remains unchanged or has not yet been sufficiently transformed. The handful of people within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and who are opposed to the Party, to socialism and to Mao Tse-tung's thought, and the ghosts and monsters in society take this line as their protective talisman and seize the opportunity to stir up trouble.

The present great proletarian cultural revolution is the most profound class struggle history has ever witnessed. The struggle between the two lines within the Party, as it is reflected, is likewise the most profound struggle in the history of our Party. Through all channels, the very few people who stubbornly cling to the bourgeois reactionary line are shifting the struggle between the two lines within the Party on to society to be interwoven with the class struggle in society.

Every forward step taken in the great cultural revolution is the result of sharp struggle and of efforts to overcome various forms of resistance in society as well as in the Party. In the last few months, the revolutionary masses have been penetratively exposing and criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line. This is a great debate of the largest scale on the question of the two lines. As a result of this great debate, the broad masses and revolutionary cadres have raised their class consciousness and ideological level, and are still more conscientiously supporting and implementing the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. Although a handful of people who stubbornly cling to the bourgeois reactionary line constantly change their tactics and resort to new tricks to counter Chairman Mao's correct line, the bourgeois reactionary line constantly meets with bankruptcy and failure as the irresistible mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution forges ahead.

Within half a year, the turbulent stream of the revolutionary mass movement has been washing away the filth left by the old society, bringing forth an earth-shaking change in China. This is a truly great revolution under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is giving rise to great changes in class re-

lations and touches people to their very souls, countless new things have appeared on the horizon, which have puzzled some people. Nevertheless, if one takes the struggle between the two classes and the two roads in socialist society as the key link, one can see clearly the great significance and chief characteristics of the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country.

1. China's great proletarian cultural revolution is an inevitable development of the class struggle within the country, an inevitable development of the socialist revolution and a new and higher stage of the proletarian revolution.

After the seizure of political power, the Chinese proletariat carried out the socialist revolution on the economic front and in the main transformed capitalist ownership of the means of production. Immediately following this, it crushed the frantic attacks on the Party and socialism by the bourgeois Rightists and launched the socialist revolution on the political front. With the deepening of the socialist revolution and the unfolding of the nationwide socialist education movement in town and countryside, class struggle has increasingly come to the fore in the ideological sphere.

The overthrown exploiting classes have been using the relative superiority they still possess in the ideological and cultural spheres, using the old ideology and the old forces of habit to corrupt and deceive the masses and confuse and poison people's minds in order to extend their own positions and create public opinion for staging a restoration.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said that to overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion and to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class. This thesis of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's has been proved entirely correct in practice.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is precisely one to determine the issue of which will win, socialism or capitalism, in the ideological sphere.

It is a continuation and development of the struggle between the two classes and the two roads, a deeper and broader new stage in the development of the socialist revolution.

2. China's great proletarian cultural revolution is the most extensive, profound and gigantic revolutionary mass movement in history.

The great proletarian cultural revolution in China is an extremely acute and complicated class struggle, a great revolution to remould the souls of the people and promote the revolutionization of people's thinking, which inevitably touches every aspect of society in the political, economic and cultural spheres. Such a great revolution can be carried out in depth, with thoroughness and to the end only by relying on the conscious action of hundreds of millions of people.

A characteristic of China's great proletarian cultural revolution is that Mao Tse-tung's thought has gone deep into the minds of the people and has truly aroused hundreds of millions of people to action.

The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung is permeated with trust in the masses, reliance on them, bold mobilization of them and respect for their initiative.

The bourgeois reactionary line, on the contrary, opposes the masses, opposes the revolution and opposes and represses the revolutionary mass movement.

When unflagging struggle is waged against the bourgeois reactionary line, the waves of the mass movement rise, one higher than the other.

A great number of new things of great historic significance have emerged in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution. The sensitivity and courage of a proletarian revolutionary lies precisely in the fact that he strongly supports new things when they are still in embryo.

The Red Guards are one such new thing. With the far-sighted support of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Red Guards have grown rapidly in schools and colleges all over the country and in many factories and villages, from small beginnings into a mighty mass revolutionary force. The Red Guards are daring in thinking, speaking out, action, struggle and making revolution. They have accomplished earth-shaking deeds.

The revolutionary masses are the main force of the great proletarian cultural revolution. When the masses are unswervingly permitted to educate and liberate themselves and to rise up in revolution, a mammoth revolutionary mass movement of tremendous scale and irresistible force appears.

3. China's great proletarian cultural revolution is a struggle to prevent the leadership from being usurped by counter-revolutionary revisionism and a struggle by the proletariat to prevent a capitalist restoration.

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, hundreds of millions of people have consciously risen in vigorous action to eradicate the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits of the exploiting classes and foster the new ideas, new culture, new customs and new habits of the proletariat. They are transforming the mental outlook of the whole of society and removing the roots of revisionism.

The main targets of attack in China's current great proletarian cultural revolution are the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road. These representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the Party, government, army and various circles in the cultural fields are counter-revolutionary revisionists, bad eggs of the Khrushchov type, and time bombs planted within our Party. Once the conditions were ripe, they would explode and start a coup d'etat of the Khrushchov type.

In the course of this great revolution, the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road have found themselves floundering in the ocean of the mass movement. They have been exposed and discredited to such an extent that their arrogance has been swept into the dust. This has dealt a powerful blow at the scheme of the counter-revolutionary revisionists to restore capitalism.

China's great proletarian cultural revolution is a life-and-death struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, a struggle in which one side works to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the other attempts to transform the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This is an extremely fierce, acute and profound class struggle.

4. The great proletarian cultural revolution in China has brought into being the new experience of extensive democracy under the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and new experience in carrying out democratic centralism.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the compass for action in the great proletarian cultural revolution. China's great proletarian cultural revolution is a movement of extensive democracy under the command of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In the course of this great cultural revolution our Party has given support to the creativeness of the revolutionary masses and their widespread use of such forms of extensive democracy as the free airing of views, putting up big-character posters, carrying out great debates and going to other units and places to exchange revolutionary experience. The masses have the right to criticize and raise suggestions about Party and state policies and every aspect of the state apparatus. The masses have the right to criticize leading cadres at all levels no matter how meritorious their service, how high their position or how senior their qualifications. A system of general elections, like that of the Paris Commune, is introduced without exception for all organs of power leading the cultural revolution. The masses have the power to replace through election or recall any elected member at any time. Extensive democracy should also be carried out among the masses themselves and between mass organizations in order to unify understanding and thinking, to heighten political consciousness and to master Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, by the free airing of views, big-character posters and great debates. Such extensive democracy is the best method for the masses to educate themselves.

The extensive democracy we have carried out is extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat, true proletarian democracy of a high degree unprecedented in human history and a new development of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's mass line in the socialist revolution.

The historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat tells us that if proletarian democracy is not

fully put into effect it is impossible to have a true proletarian centralism. Without extensive proletarian democracy it is impossible to effect a great revolution in the very souls of the people, impossible to conduct the great proletarian cultural revolution in a penetrating and thoroughgoing way and impossible to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without such extensive democracy, without hundreds of millions of people paying attention to state affairs, supervising the organs of the Party and the state and supervising leading cadres at all levels, it is impossible to prevent the usurping of leadership of the Party and the state by counter-revolutionary revisionists and impossible to prevent the changing of the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

At the same time, the dictatorship of the proletariat is the guarantee for extensive democracy. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat it is impossible for the masses to have extensive democracy. It is precisely because our dictatorship of the proletariat is consolidated that we dare to undertake and can carry out such extensive democracy.

A vigorous and lively political situation, as has been advocated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, is taking shape throughout our country, in which there is both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind.

5. China's great proletarian cultural revolution has laid the foundation for training and bringing up a contingent of working-class intellectuals.

China already has a good number of working-class intellectuals. However, much has yet to be done in this field. Some of the schools have not yet, or not yet completely, broken down the conventions set by the capitalist educational system. Some of the positions in the cultural field are not in the hands of the proletariat but in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

In the current great proletarian cultural revolution, the revolutionary masses are thoroughly criticizing and repudiating reactionary bourgeois ideas in academic work and in the fields of education, journalism, literature and art, and publishing. They are thoroughly changing the phenomenon of reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" dominating these positions, and are seizing and consolidating leadership in all fields of culture.

The ranks of working-class intellectuals are developing and growing stronger in the test of the great storms and waves of revolution. The revolutionary youth and the Red Guards are becoming integrated with the worker-peasant masses, and are forging ahead along the road of proletarian revolutionization.

Many revolutionary cadres and young people are striving hard to temper themselves into reliable successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat accord-

ing to the five requirements proposed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.*

Under the leadership of our Party, the whole country should be turned into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought. While they should concentrate their main efforts on their own occupations, the workers, peasants, soldiers, students, commercial workers, and functionaries should at the same time study other things, so as to be able gradually to take part in both civilian and military affairs, in both industry and agriculture, and become cultured labourers with a communist consciousness.

6. China's great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of her social productive forces.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "It is man's social being that determines his thinking. 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."

Matter is transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter. The great proletarian cultural revolution is vigorously promoting the revolutionization of people's thinking. It is breaking down all unreason-

*They must be genuine Marxist-Leninists and not revisionists like Khrushchov wearing the cloak of Marxism-Leninism.

They must be revolutionaries who wholeheartedly serve the overwhelming majority of the people of China and the whole world, and must not be like Khrushchov who serves both the interests of the handful of members of the privileged bourgeois stratum in his own country and those of foreign imperialism and reaction.

They must be proletarian statesmen capable of uniting and working together with the overwhelming majority. Not only must they unite with those who agree with them, they must also be good at uniting with those who disagree and even with those who formerly opposed them and have since been proved wrong in practice. But they must especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchov and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level.

They must be models in applying the Party's democratic centralism, must master the method of leadership based on the principle of "from the masses, to the masses," and must cultivate a democratic style and be good at listening to the masses. They must not be despotic like Khrushchov and violate the Party's democratic centralism, make surprise attacks on comrades or act arbitrarily and dictatorially.

They must be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity; they must be imbued with the spirit of self-criticism and have the courage to correct mistakes and shortcomings in their work. They must never cover up their errors like Khrushchov, and claim all the credit for themselves and shift all the blame on others.-Tr.

able old conventions, discarding all outdated customs as well as bad habits, further emancipating the social productive forces and bringing into fuller play the enthusiasm and initiative of the worker-peasant masses and scientific and technical research personnel. It has thus created new and favourable conditions for great advances in industry, agriculture and scientific research.

Under the slogan of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production," the great proletarian cultural revolution is on the rise in the factories and rural areas. It can be anticipated that the soaring revolutionary enthusiasm of the worker-peasant masses and revolutionary scientific and technical personnel, called up by the great cultural revolution, will be carried into the struggle for industrial and agricultural production and scientific experiment to bring about a great leap forward in our national economy.

The great proletarian cultural revolution will ensure that China's construction work advances with giant strides in the direction of socialism and communism.

7. China's great proletarian cultural revolution is also a struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and against modern revisionism with the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party at its centre.

A socialist country which adheres firmly to Marxism-Leninism and resolutely opposes imperialism and modern revisionism internationally, must resolutely oppose revisionism and "peaceful evolution" at home.

The handful of persons in authority in our Party who are taking the capitalist road are counter-revolutionary revisionists. They carry out criminal activities against the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought in concert with the class enemies abroad. They are in the active service of the imperialist policy of "peaceful evolution." What they want to do is what Khrushchov has already done in the Soviet Union and what the Soviet revisionist leading clique hopes they will do.

The current great cultural revolution in China has frustrated the dream of imperialism and modern revisionism of a capitalist restoration in China. This is a crushing blow at imperialism and modern revisionism.

By giving prominence to proletarian politics and promoting the revolutionization of people's thinking, the present great cultural revolution is the most fundamental preparation for defeating aggressive war by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The masses of revolutionary Red Guards and revolutionary youth are an important reserve force for the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

As a result of the great proletarian cultural revolution, a socialist China which will never change colour will even more effectively carry on the struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and against modern revisionism with the leadership of the C.P.S.U. at its centre. She will support even more actively

Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people throughout the world so as to fulfil still better our glorious proletarian internationalist obligations.

8. China's great proletarian cultural revolution has promoted a tremendous development of Marxism-Leninism.

The *Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*, drawn up under the personal guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and a series of his instructions on the great proletarian cultural revolution, constitute a major development of Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, always has developed in the struggle against domestic and foreign class enemies, in the struggle against opportunism and revisionism of all descriptions and in the struggle to eradicate bourgeois ideas. The thorough criticism and repudiation of bourgeois ideas by hundreds of millions of people in China will assuredly bring about a tremendous development of Marxism-Leninism.

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers throughout the country are making vigorous efforts to study Mao Tse-tung's thought and establish its ascendancy, thereby opening up a new era of the mastery and application of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, directly by the working people. The fact that hundreds of millions of working people use Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, as their weapon in considering all questions in the world, in criticizing and repudiating the old world, in struggling and making revolution, constitutes an epoch-making event in the history of the development of Marxism.

Revolutionary people throughout the world unanimously praise China's great proletarian cultural revolution, while Brezhnev, Kosygin, Shelepin and other renegades like them, in collusion with imperialists like Johnson and Rusk, grind their teeth and heap curses on it. Turning on all their propaganda machinery and using the most vicious language, they have stirred up an anti-China hysteria to wildly attack China's great cultural revolution. Why are the reactionaries so incensed? Precisely because China's great proletarian cultural revolution, like a prairie fire, will inevitably spread among the people of the world, exercise a tremendous influence on the revolutionary struggle of the people of all countries, and pound against and shake the tottering rule of imperialism and modern revisionism. China's great proletarian cultural revolution, unparalleled in history, has sounded the death knell of imperialism and modern revisionism even more loudly.

The new chieftains of the Soviet revisionist group have now all come out into the open and thus torn off the mask with which they once tried to deceive people. Thus they have revealed themselves more

openly as being of the same stripe as Khrushchov, and even worse than him. And this will inevitably rouse the Soviet people still further to oppose them. They are themselves speeding up their march towards the same end as Khrushchov.

In the history of the development of Marxism, whether at the time of its birth or when it achieved historic victory and developed to a new stage, the ghosts and monsters of the whole world had collaborated in launching fierce counter-attacks against it.

When Marxism first appeared in Europe and was beginning to be mastered by the working class, its enemies immediately sensed a great threat. At that time, all the reactionary forces in Europe joined in a "Holy Alliance" against Marxism, vainly attempting to exorcise this "spectre" that had appeared in Europe. When Marxism developed to the stage of Leninism and achieved an epoch-making victory in the October Revolution, all the imperialists who were then strangling each other, the revisionist "heroes" of the Second International who served the imperialists, and the scabs and traitors of all countries, again joined forces in a "Holy Alliance" against Leninism and conducted ferocious encirclement attacks against it. Now, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius and creativeness and in an all-round way, and thus raised it to a completely new stage. The imperialists headed by the United States, the modern revisionists with the C.P.S.U. leadership at their centre, all reactionaries and all old and new scabs and turncoats in the world, have once again joined forces in knocking together a "Holy Alliance" against Mao Tse-tung's thought. They vainly attempt to resist the spread of Mao Tse-tung's thought to the whole world and obstruct the grasping of Mao Tse-tung's thought — an invincible ideological weapon — by the oppressed people and nations.

One after another, those past "heroes" who opposed Marxism and Leninism were thrown into the garbage heap of history. Today's "heroes" who oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought will meet a still sadder defeat. Their clamouring is no more than a frantic last-ditch struggle.

Actively responding to Comrade Lin Piao's call, the Chinese people, in the great proletarian cultural revolution, are carrying forward to a new stage the mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. The arming of the Chinese people with Mao Tse-tung's thought is the most reliable and fundamental guarantee for the prevention of revisionism and a capitalist restoration and for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is also of great significance to, and will exert far-reaching influence on, the international communist movement and the revolutionary cause of the world's people.

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