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ON THE CORRECT HANDLING OF CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE

[Following is a translation of an article by
Mao Tse-tung in the Chinese-language periodical,
Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 10, 21 Jun 67,
pp 2-31.]

Note: This is the text of a speech made on
27 February 1957 at the Eleventh Session [En-
larged] of the Supreme State Conference. The
author went over the verbatim record and made
certain additions before its publication in
Jen-min Jih-pao (People's Daily) on 19 June of
the same year.

Our general subject is the correct handling of contra-
dictions among the people. For the sake of convenience, let us
discuss it under twelve sub-headings. Although reference will
be made to contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, this
discussion will center mainly on contradictions among the
people.

1. Two Different Types of Contradictions

Never before has our country been as united as it is
today. The victories of the bourgeois-democratic revolution
and the socialist revolution and our achievements in socialist
construction have rapidly changed the face of old China. A
still brighter future for our motherland lies ahead. The days
of national disunity and chaos which the people detested have
gone, never to return. Led by the working class and the
Communist Party, our six hundred million people, united as one,
are engaged in the great task of building 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. However, this does not mean that contradictions no longer exist in our society. To imagine that none exist is a naive idea which is at variance with objective reality. We are confronted by two types of social contradictions -- those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves. The two are totally different in their nature.

To understand these two different types of contradictions correctly, we must first be clear on what is meant by "the people" and what is meant by "the enemy". The concept of "the people" varies in content in different countries and in different periods of history in the same country. Take our own country for example. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, all those classes, strata and social groups opposing Japanese aggression came within the category of the people, while the Japanese imperialists, the Chinese traitors and the pro-Japanese elements were all enemies of the people. During the War of Liberation, the US imperialists, and their running dogs -- the bureaucrat-capitalists, the landlords and the Kuomintang reactionaries who represented these two classes -- were the enemies of the people, while the other classes, strata and social groups, which opposed these enemies, all came within the category of the people. At the present stage, the period of building socialism, the classes, strata and social groups which favor, support and work for the cause of socialist construction all come within the category of the people, while the social forces and groups which resist the socialist revolution and are hostile to or sabotage socialist construction are all enemies of the people.

The contradictions between ourselves and the enemy are antagonistic contradictions. Within the ranks of the people, the contradictions among the working people are non-antagonistic, while those between the exploited and the exploiting classes have a non-antagonistic aspect in addition to an antagonistic aspect. There have always been contradictions among the people, but their content differs in each period of the revolution and in the period of socialist construction. In the conditions prevailing in China today, the contradictions among the people comprise the contradictions within the working class, the contradictions within the peasantry, the contradictions within the intelligentsia, the contradictions between the working class and the peasantry, the contradictions between the workers and peasants on the one hand and the intellectuals on the other, the contradictions between the working people on the one hand and the national bourgeoisie on the other, and so on. Our People's Government is one that genuinely represents the people's interests, it is a government that serves the people.

Nevertheless, there are still certain contradictions between the government and the people. These include contradictions among the interests of the state, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual; between democracy and centralism; between the leadership and the led; and the contradiction arising from the bureaucratic style of work of certain government workers in their relations with the masses. All these are also contradictions among the people. Generally speaking, the people's basic identity of interests underlies the contradictions among the people.

In our country, the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie belongs to the category of contradictions among the people. By and large, the class struggle between the two is a class struggle within the ranks of the people, because the Chinese national bourgeoisie has a dual character. In the period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, it had both a revolutionary and a conciliationist side to its character. In the period of the socialist revolution, exploitation of the working class for profit constitutes one side of the character of the national bourgeoisie, while its support of the Constitution and its willingness to accept socialist transformation constitute the other. The national bourgeoisie differs from the imperialists, the landlords and the bureaucrat-capitalists. The contradiction between the national bourgeoisie and the working class is one between the exploiter and the exploited, and is by nature antagonistic. But in the concrete conditions of China, this antagonistic class contradiction can, if properly handled, be transformed into a non-antagonistic one and be resolved by peaceful methods. However, it will change into a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy if we do not handle it properly and do not follow the policy of uniting with, criticizing and educating the national bourgeoisie, or if the national bourgeoisie does not accept this policy of ours.

Since they are different in nature, the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and the contradictions among the people must be resolved by different methods. To put it briefly, the former are a matter of drawing a clear distinction between ourselves and the enemy, and the latter a matter of drawing a clear distinction between right and wrong. It is, of course, true that the distinction between ourselves and the enemy is also a matter of right and wrong. For example, the question of who is in the right, we or the domestic and foreign reactionaries, the imperialists, the feudalists and bureaucrat-capitalists, is also a matter of right and wrong, but it is in a different category from questions of right and wrong among the people.

Our state is a people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. What is this dictatorship for? Its first function is to suppress the reactionary classes and elements and those exploiters in our country who resist the socialist revolution, to suppress those who try to wreck our socialist construction, or in other words, to resolve the internal contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. For instance, to arrest, try and sentence certain counter-revolutionaries, and to deprive landlords and bureaucrat-capitalists of their right to vote and their freedom of speech for a specified period of time -- all this comes within the scope of our dictatorship. To maintain public order and safeguard the interests of the people, it is likewise necessary to exercise dictatorship over embezzlers, swindlers, arsonists, murderers, criminal gangs and other scoundrels who seriously disrupt public order. The second function of this dictatorship is to protect our country from subversion and possible aggression by external enemies. In that event, it is the task of this dictatorship to resolve the external contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. The aim of this dictatorship is to protect all our people so that they can devote themselves to peaceful labor and build China into a socialist country with a modern industry, agriculture, science and culture. Who is to exercise this dictatorship? Naturally, the working class and the entire people under its leadership. Dictatorship does not apply within the ranks of the people. The people cannot exercise dictatorship over themselves, nor must one section of the people oppress another. Law-breaking elements among the people will be punished according to law, but this is different in principle from the exercise of dictatorship to suppress enemies of the people. What applies among the people is democratic centralism. Our Constitution lays it down that citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of speech, of the press, assembly, association, procession, demonstration, religious belief, and so on. Our Constitution also provides that the organs of state must practice democratic centralism, that they must rely on the masses and that their personnel must serve the people. Our socialist democracy is democracy in the broadest sense such as is not to be found in any capitalist country. Our dictatorship is the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. That is to say, democracy operates within the ranks of the people, while the working class, uniting with all others enjoying civil rights, and in the first place with the peasantry, enforces dictatorship over the reactionary classes and elements and all those who resist socialist transformation and oppose socialist construction. By civil rights, we mean, politically, the rights of freedom and democracy.

But this freedom is freedom with leadership and this democracy is democracy under centralized guidance, not anarchy. Anarchy does not accord with the interests or wishes of the people.

Certain people in our country were delighted by the events in Hungary. They hoped that something similar would happen in China, that thousands upon thousands of people would demonstrate in the streets against the People's Government. Their hopes ran counter to the interests of the masses and therefore could not possibly win their support. Deceived by domestic and foreign counter-revolutionaries, a section of the people in Hungary made the mistake of resorting to acts of violence against the People's Government, with the result that both the state and the people suffered. The damage done to the country's economy in a few weeks of rioting will take a long time to repair. There are other people in our country who wavered on the question of the Hungarian events because they were ignorant of the real state of affairs in the world. They think that there is too little freedom under our people's democracy and that there is more freedom under Western parliamentary democracy. They ask for a two-party system as in the West, with one party in office and the other out of office. But this so-called two-party system is nothing but a device for maintaining the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; it can never guarantee freedom to the working people. As a matter of fact, freedom and democracy do not exist in the abstract, only in the concrete. In a society rent by class struggle, if there is freedom for the exploiting classes to exploit the working people, there is no freedom for the working people not to be exploited, and if there is democracy for the bourgeoisie, there is no democracy for the proletariat and other working people. The legal existence of the Communist Party is tolerated in some capitalist countries, but only to the extent that it does not endanger the fundamental interests of the bourgeoisie; it is not tolerated beyond that. Those who demand freedom and democracy in the abstract regard democracy as an end and not a means. Democracy sometimes seems to be an end, but it is in fact only a means. Marxism teaches us that democracy is part of the superstructure and belongs to the category of politics. That is to say, in the last analysis, it serves the economic base. The same is true of freedom. Both democracy and freedom are relative, not absolute, and they come into being and develop in specific historical conditions. Within the ranks of the people, democracy is correlative with centralism and freedom with discipline. They are the two opposites of a single entity, contradictory as well as united, and we should not one-sidedly emphasize one to the denial of the other. Within the ranks of the people, we cannot do

without freedom, nor can we do without discipline; we cannot do without democracy, nor can we do without centralism. This unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, constitutes our democratic centralism. Under this system, the people enjoy extensive democracy and freedom, but at the same time they have to keep within the bounds of socialist discipline. All this is well understood by the broad masses of the people.

In advocating freedom with leadership and democracy under centralized guidance, we in no way mean that coercive measures should be taken to settle ideological questions or questions involving the distinction between right and wrong among the people. All attempts to use administrative orders or coercive measures to settle ideological questions or questions of right and wrong are not only ineffective but harmful. We cannot abolish religion by administrative decree or force people not to believe in it. We cannot compel people to give up idealism, any more than we can force them to believe in Marxism. The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature or controversial issues among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression. To be able to carry on their production and studies effectively and to arrange their lives properly, the people want their government and those in charge of production and of cultural and educational organizations to issue appropriate orders of an obligatory nature. It is common sense that the maintenance of public order would be impossible without such administrative regulations. Administrative orders and the method of persuasion and education complement each other in resolving contradictions among the people. Even administrative regulations for the maintenance of public order must be accompanied by persuasion and education, for in many cases regulations alone will not work.

This democratic method of resolving contradictions among the people was epitomized in 1942 in the formula "unity, criticism, unity". To elaborate, it means starting from the desire for unity, resolving contradictions through criticism or struggle and arriving at a new unity on a new basis. In our experience this is the correct method of resolving contradictions among the people. In 1942 we used it to resolve contradictions inside the Communist Party, namely, the contradictions between the dogmatists and the great majority of the membership and between dogmatism and Marxism. The "Left" dogmatists had resorted to the method of "ruthless struggle and merciless blows" in inner-Party struggle. This method was incorrect. In criticizing "Left" dogmatism, we discarded this old method and adopted a new one, that is, one of starting from the desire for unity, distinguishing between right and

wrong through criticism or struggle and arriving at a new unity on a new basis. This was the method used in the rectification movement in 1942. Thus within a few years, by the time the Chinese Communist Party held its Seventh National Congress in 1945, unity was achieved throughout the Party, and as a consequence the great victory of the people's revolution was won. The essential thing is to start from the desire for unity. For without this desire for unity, the struggle is certain to get out of hand. Wouldn't this be the same as "ruthless struggle and merciless blows"? And what Party unity would there be left? It was this very experience that led us to the formula: "unity, criticism, unity". Or, in other words, "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient". We extended this method beyond our Party. We applied it with great success in the anti-Japanese base areas in dealing with the relations between the leadership and the masses, between the army and the people, between officers and men, between the different units of the army, and between the different groups of cadres. The use of this method can be traced back to still earlier times in our Party's history. It has been used ever since the building of our revolutionary armed forces and base areas in the south in 1927 to deal with the relations between the Party and the masses, between the army and the people, between officers and men, and other relations among the people. The only difference is that during the anti-Japanese war, we employed this method with much greater consciousness of purpose. And since the liberation of the whole country, we have employed this same method of "unity, criticism, unity" in our relations with the democratic parties and with industrial and commercial circles. Our task now is to continue to extend and make still better use of this method throughout the ranks of the people; we want all our factories, co-operatives, business establishments, schools, government offices and public organizations, in a word, all our six hundred million people, to use it in resolving contradictions among ourselves.

In ordinary circumstances, contradictions among the people are not antagonistic. But if they are not handled properly, or if we relax our vigilance and lower our guard, antagonism may arise. In a socialist country, a development of this kind is usually only a localized and temporary phenomenon. The reason is that the system of exploitation of man by man has been abolished and the interests of the people are basically the same. The antagonistic actions which took place on a fairly wide scale during the Hungarian events were the result of the operations of both domestic and foreign counter-revolutionary elements. This was a special as well as temporary phenomenon. It was a case of reactionaries inside a socialist

country, in league with the imperialists, attempting to achieve their conspiratorial aims by taking advantage of contradictions among the people to foment dissension and stir up disorder. This lesson of the Hungarian events merits attention.

Many people seem to think that the question of using democratic methods to resolve contradictions among the people is a new one. Actually it is not. Marxists have always held that the cause of the proletariat must depend on the masses of the people and that Communists must use the democratic method of persuasion and education when working among the laboring people and must on no account resort to commandism or coercion. The Chinese Communist Party faithfully adheres to this Marxist-Leninist principle. It has been our consistent view that, under the people's democratic dictatorship, two different methods, one dictatorial and the other democratic, should be used to resolve the two different kinds of contradictions -- those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people. This idea has been explained again and again in our Party documents and in speeches by many responsible Party leaders. In my article "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" written in 1949, I said, "The combination of these two aspects, democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries, is the people's democratic dictatorship." I also pointed out that, in order to settle problems within the ranks of the people, "the method we employ is democratic, the method of persuasion, not of compulsion". Again, in addressing the Second Session of the National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference in June 1950, I said:

The people's democratic dictatorship uses two methods. Towards the enemy, it uses the method of dictatorship, that is, for as long a period of time as is necessary it does not let them take part in political activities and compels them to obey the law of the People's Government and to engage in labor and, through labor, transform themselves into new men. Towards the people, on the contrary, it uses the method not of compulsion but of democracy, that is, it must necessarily let them take part in political activities and does not compel them to do this or that, but uses the method of democracy in educating and persuading them. This education is self-education within the ranks of the people, and the basic method of self-education is criticism and self-criticism.

Thus, on many occasions we have discussed the use of the democratic method for resolving contradictions among the people; furthermore, we have in the main applied it in our work.

and many cadres and many other people are familiar with it in practice. Why then do some people now feel that it is a new issue? Because, in the past, the struggle between ourselves and the enemy, both internal and external, was most acute, and contradictions among the people therefore did not attract as much attention as they do today.

Quite a few people fail to make a clear distinction between these two different types of contradictions -- those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people -- and are prone to confuse the two. It must be admitted that it is sometimes quite easy to do so. We have had instances of such confusion in our work in the past. In the course of suppressing counter-revolutionaries, good people were sometimes mistaken for bad, and such things still happen today. We are able to keep our mistakes within bounds because it has been our policy to draw a sharp line between ourselves and the enemy and to rectify mistakes whenever discovered.

Marxist philosophy holds that the law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. This law operates universally, whether in the natural world, in human society, or in man's thinking. Between the opposites in a contradiction there is at once unity and struggle, and it is this that impels things to move and change. Contradictions exist everywhere, but they differ in accordance with the different nature of different things. In any given phenomenon or thing, the unity of opposites is conditional, temporary and transitory, and hence relative, whereas the struggle of opposites is absolute. Lenin gave a very clear exposition of this law. In our country, a growing number of people have come to understand it. For many people, however, acceptance of this law is one thing, and its application in examining and dealing with problems is quite another. Many dare not openly admit that contradictions still exist among the people of our country, although it is these very contradictions that are pushing our society forward. Many do not admit that contradictions continue to exist in a socialist society, with the result that they are handicapped and passive when confronted with social contradictions; they do not understand that socialist society will grow more united and consolidated through the ceaseless process of the correct handling and resolving of contradictions. For this reason, we need to explain things to our people, and to our cadres in the first place, in order to help them understand the contradictions in a socialist society and learn to use correct methods for handling these contradictions.

Contradictions in a socialist society are fundamentally different from those in the old societies, such as capitalist

society. In capitalist society contradictions find expression in acute antagonisms and conflicts, in sharp class struggle; they cannot be resolved by the capitalist system itself and can only be resolved by socialist revolution. On the contrary, the case is different with contradictions in socialist society, where they are not antagonistic and can be resolved one after another by the socialist system itself.

The basic contradictions in socialist society are still those between the relations of production and productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. However, they are fundamentally different in character and have different features from the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base in the old societies. The present social system of our country is far superior to that of the old days. If it were not so, the old system would not have been overthrown and the new system could not have been established. In saying that socialist relations of production are better suited to the development of the productive forces than are the old relations of production, we mean that they permit the productive forces to develop at a speed unattainable in the old society, so that production can expand steadily to meet the constantly growing needs of the people step by step. Under the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, the productive forces of old China developed very slowly. For more than fifty years before liberation, China produced only a few tens of thousands of tons of steel a year, not counting the output of the north-eastern provinces. If these provinces are included, the peak annual steel output only amounted to just over 900,000 tons. In 1949, national steel output was only a little over 100,000 tons. Yet now, a mere seven years after the liberation of our country, steel output already exceeds four million tons. In old China, there was hardly any machine-building industry, to say nothing of automobile and aviation industries; now, we have all three. When the people overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, many were not clear as to which way China should head -- towards capitalism or towards socialism. Facts have now provided the answer: only socialism can save China. The socialist system has promoted the rapid development of the productive forces of our country; this is a fact even our enemies abroad have had to acknowledge.

But our socialist system has only just been set up; it is not yet fully established or fully consolidated. In joint state-private industrial and commercial enterprises, capitalist still receive a fixed rate of interest on their capital, that

is to say, exploitation still exists. So far as ownership is concerned, these enterprises are not yet completely socialist in character. Some of our agricultural and handicraft producers' co-operatives are still semisocialist, while even in the fully socialist co-operatives certain problems of ownership remain to be solved. Relations between production and exchange in accordance with socialist principles are still being gradually established in various departments of our economy, and more and more appropriate forms are being sought. To decide the proper ratio between accumulation and consumption within each of the two sectors of socialist economy -- that in which the means of production are owned by the whole people and that in which the means of production are collectively owned -- and also between the two sectors themselves is a complicated problem for which it is not easy to work out a perfectly rational solution all at once. To sum up, socialist relations of production have been established and are in harmony with the growth of the productive forces, but they are still far from perfect, and this imperfection stands in contradiction to the growth of the productive forces. Apart from harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the developing productive forces, there is harmony as well as contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base. The superstructure consisting of the state system and laws of the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist ideology guided by Marxism-Leninism plays a positive role in facilitating the victory of socialist transformation and the establishment of the socialist organization of labor; it is suited to the socialist economic base, that is, to socialist relations of production. But survivals of bourgeois ideology, certain bureaucratic ways of doing things in our state organs and defects in certain links in our state institutions are in contradiction with the socialist economic base. We must continue to resolve all such contradictions in the light of our specific conditions. Of course, new problems will emerge as these contradictions are resolved. And further efforts will be required to resolve the new contradictions. For instance, a constant process of readjustment through state planning is needed to deal with the contradiction between production and the needs of society, which will long remain as an objective reality. Every year our country draws up an economic plan in order to establish a proper ratio between accumulation and consumption and achieve a balance between production and needs. Balance is nothing but a temporary, relative unity of opposites. By the end of each year, this balance, taken as a whole, is upset by the struggle of opposites; the unity undergoes a change, balance becomes imbalance, unity becomes disunity, and once again it is necessary to work out a balance and unity for the next year. Herein lies the superiority of our planned

economy. As a matter of fact, this balance, this unity, is partially upset every month or every quarter, and partial readjustments are called for. Sometimes, contradictions arise and the balance is upset because our subjective arrangements do not correspond to objective reality; this is what we call making a mistake. The ceaseless emergence and ceaseless resolution of contradictions is the dialectical law of the development of things.

Today, matters stand as follows. The large-scale and turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of the previous revolutionary periods have in the main ended, but class struggle is by no means entirely over. While welcoming the new system, the broad masses of the people are not yet quite accustomed to it. Government workers are not sufficiently experienced and have to undertake further study and exploration of specific policies. In other words, time is needed for our socialist system to become established and consolidated, for the masses to become accustomed to the new system, and for the government workers to learn and acquire experience. It is therefore imperative at this juncture that we should raise the question of distinguishing contradictions among the people from those between ourselves and the enemy, as well as the question of the correct handling of contradictions among the people, so as to unite the people of all nationalities in our country for a new battle, the battle against nature, to develop our economy and culture, to help the whole nation to traverse this period of transition fairly smoothly, to consolidate our new system and build up our new state.

II. The Question of the Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries

The question of suppressing counter-revolutionaries is one of a struggle between ourselves and the enemy, a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. Among the people, there are some who see this question in a somewhat different light. Two kinds of persons hold views different from ours. Those with a Rightist way of thinking make no distinction between ourselves and the enemy and take the enemy for our own people. They regard as friends the very persons whom the broad masses regard as enemies. Those with a "Left" way of thinking magnify contradictions between ourselves and the enemy to such an extent that they take certain contradictions among the people for contradictions with the enemy and regard as counter-revolutionaries persons who are actually not counter-revolutionaries. Both these views are wrong. Neither can lead to the correct handling of the question of suppressing counter-revolutionaries or to a correct assessment of this work.

To form a correct evaluation of our work in suppressing counter-revolutionaries, let us see what effect the Hungarian events have had in China. After their occurrence there was some unrest among a section of our intellectuals, but there were no squalls. Why? One reason, it must be said, is that we had succeeded in suppressing the counter-revolutionaries quite thoroughly.

Of course, the consolidation of our state is not primarily due to the suppression of counter-revolution. It is due primarily to the fact that we have a Communist Party, a Liberation Army and a working people tempered in decades of revolutionary struggle. Our Party and our armed forces are rooted in the masses; they have been tempered in the flames of a protracted revolution; they have the capacity to fight. Our People's Republic was not built overnight, but developed step by step out of the revolutionary base areas. Some democratic personages have also been tempered in the struggle in varying degrees, and they have gone through troubled times together with us. Some intellectuals were tempered in the struggle against imperialism and reaction; since liberation many of them have gone through a process of ideological remoulding aimed at enabling them to distinguish clearly between ourselves and the enemy. In addition, the consolidation of our state is due to the fact that our economic measures are basically sound, that the people's livelihood is secure and is steadily improving, that our policies towards the national bourgeoisie and other classes are correct, and so on. Nevertheless, our success in suppressing counter-revolutionaries is undoubtedly an important reason for the consolidation of our state. For all these reasons, with few exceptions our college students are patriotic and support socialism, although many of them come from other than working class families; they did not give way to unrest during the Hungarian events. The same was true of the national bourgeoisie, to say nothing of the basic masses -- the workers and peasants.

After liberation, we rooted out a number of counter-revolutionaries. Some were sentenced to death for major crimes. This was absolutely necessary, it was the demand of the broad masses of the people, it was done to free the masses from long years of oppression by the counter-revolutionaries and all kinds of local tyrants; in other words, it was done to liberate the productive forces. If we had not done so, the masses would not have been able to lift their heads. Since 1956, however, there has been a radical change in the situation. In the country as a whole, the bulk of the counter-revolutionaries have been cleared out. Our basic task has changed from unfettering the productive forces to protecting and expanding them in the con-

text of the new relations of production. Because of their failure to understand that our present policy fits the present situation and our past policy fitted the past situation, some people want to make use of the present policy to reverse decisions on past cases and to deny the great success we achieved in suppressing counter-revolution. This is quite wrong, and the masses will not permit it.

Successes were the main thing in our work of suppressing counter-revolutionaries, but there were also mistakes. In some cases there were excesses and in others counter-revolutionaries slipped through our net. Our policy is: "Counter-revolutionaries must be suppressed wherever found, mistakes must be corrected whenever discovered." Our line in the work of suppressing counter-revolution is the mass line. Of course, even with the mass line mistakes may still occur in our work, but they will be fewer and easier to correct. The masses gain experience through struggle. From what is done correctly they learn how things should be done. From what is done wrong they learn useful lessons as to how mistakes should be avoided.

Wherever mistakes have been discovered in the work of suppressing counter-revolutionaries, steps have been or are being taken to correct them. Those not yet discovered will be corrected as soon as they come to light. Decisions on exoneration or rehabilitation should be made known as widely as were the original wrong decisions. I propose that a comprehensive review of the work of suppressing counter-revolutionaries be made this year or next to sum up experience and encourage standing up for what is right and combating what is evil. Nationally, this review should be in the charge of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the Standing Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference, and locally, in the charge of the provincial and municipal people's councils and the committees of the People's Political Consultative Conference. In this review, we must help the large numbers of cadres and activists involved in the work, and not pour cold water on them. It would not be right to dampen their spirits. Nonetheless, wrongs must be righted when they are discovered. This must be righted when they are discovered. This must be the attitude of all the public security organs, the procurators' offices and the judicial departments, prisons and agencies charged with the reform of criminals through labor. We hope that wherever possible members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and of the People's Political Consultative Conference and the people's deputies will take part in this review. This will be of help in perfecting our legal system and in dealing correctly with counter-revolutionaries and other criminals.

The present situation with regard to counter-revolutionaries can be described in these words: There still are counter-revolutionaries, but not many. In the first place, there still are counter-revolutionaries. Some people say that there aren't any more and all is at peace and that we can therefore lay our heads on our pillows and just drop off to sleep. But this is not the way things are. The fact is, there still are counter-revolutionaries (of course, that is not to say you'll find them everywhere and in every organization), and we must continue to fight them. It must be understood that the hidden counter-revolutionaries still at large will not take things lying down, but will certainly seize every opportunity to make trouble. The US imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek clique are constantly sending in secret agents to carry on disruptive activities. Even after all the existing counter-revolutionaries have been combed out, new ones may emerge. If we drop our guard, we shall be badly fooled and shall suffer severely. Counter-revolutionaries must be rooted out with a firm hand wherever they are found making trouble. But, taking the country as a whole, there are certainly not many counter-revolutionaries. It would be wrong to say that there are still large numbers of counter-revolutionaries in China. Acceptance of that view would also end up in a mess.

III. The Question of Agricultural Co-operation

We have a rural population of over five hundred million, so the situation of our peasants has a most important bearing on the development of our economy and the consolidation of our state power. In my view, the situation is basically sound. Agricultural co-operatives have been successfully organized, and this has resolved the great contradiction in our country between socialist industrialization and individual peasant farming. As the cooperative transformation of agriculture was completed so rapidly, some people were worried and wondered whether something untoward might occur. There are indeed some faults but, fortunately, they are not serious, and on the whole the movement is healthy. The peasants are working with a will and last year, despite the worst floods, droughts and typhoons in years, there was an increase in grain output. Now there are people who are stirring up a miniature typhoon: they are grouching that co-operative farming is no good, that it is not superior to individual farming. Is agricultural co-operation superior or not? Among the documents distributed at today's meeting is one about the Wang Kuo-fan Co-operative in Tsunhua County, Hopei Province, which I suggest you read. This co-operative is situated in a hilly region which was very poor in the past and which for a number of years depended on relief grain from the People's Government. When the co-operative was

first set up in 1953, people called it the "paupers' co-op". But it has become better off year by year, and now, after four years of hard struggle, most of its households have reserves of grain. What this co-operative could do, other co-operatives should also be able to do under normal conditions in the same period or slightly longer. Clearly then there are no grounds for saying that something has gone wrong with agricultural co-operation.

It is also clear that it takes hard struggle to build up co-operatives. New things always have to experience difficulties and setbacks as they grow. It is sheer fantasy to imagine that the cause of socialism is all plain sailing and easy success, without difficulties and setbacks or the exertion of tremendous efforts.

Who are the active supporters of the co-operatives? The overwhelming majority of the poor peasants and lower middle peasants, who account for more than 70 percent of the rural population. Most of the rest are also hopeful about the co-operatives. Only a very small minority are really dissatisfied. Failing to analyse this situation, quite a number of persons have taken part of the picture for the whole, without making an overall examination of the achievements and shortcomings of the co-operatives and the causes of these shortcomings; thus a miniature typhoon has started up among some people, who argue that the co-operatives are not superior.

How long will it take to consolidate the co-operatives or end these arguments about their not being superior? Judging from the experience of the development of many co-operatives, it will probably take five years or a little longer. As most of our co-operatives are only a little over a year old, it would be unreasonable to ask too much of them. In my view, we will be doing well enough if the co-operatives can be consolidated during the Second Five-Year Plan after being established in the First.

The co-operatives are now in the process of gradual consolidation. Certain contradictions remain to be resolved, such as those between the state and the co-operatives and those among and within the co-operatives themselves.

We must give constant attention to problems of production and distribution as the way to resolve these contradictions. Take the question of production. The co-operative economy must be subject to the unified economic planning of the state, while retaining a certain leeway and independence of action that are not incompatible with the state's unified plan

or with its policies, laws and regulations. At the same time, every household in a co-operative must comply with the overall plan of the co-operative or production team to which it belongs, apart from any appropriate plans it makes for itself in regard to land allotted for private use and to other economic undertakings left to private management. On the question of the distribution of income, we must take account of the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. We must properly handle the three-way relationship between the state agricultural tax, the co-operative's accumulation fund and the peasants' personal income, and take constant care to make readjustments so as to resolve contradictions between them. Accumulation is essential both for the state and for the co-operative, but in neither case should it be excessive. We should do everything possible to enable the peasants to raise their personal incomes year by year in normal years on the basis of increased production.

Many people say that the peasants lead a hard life. Is this true? In one sense it is. That is to say, because the imperialists and their agents oppressed and exploited us for over a century, ours is an impoverished country and the standard of living not only of our peasants but of our workers and intellectuals is still low. We will need several decades of intensive effort to raise the standard of living of our entire people step by step. In this sense, "hard" is the right word. But in another sense, it is not true. We refer to the allegation that, in the seven years since liberation, improvements have taken place only in the life of the workers and not in that of the peasants. As a matter of fact, with very few exceptions, there has been some improvement in the peasants' life as well as in that of the workers. Since liberation, the peasants have been free from landlord exploitation and their production has increased year by year. Take grain crops. In 1949, the country's output was only something over 210,000 million catties. By 1956, it had risen to something over 360,000 million catties, an increase of nearly 150,000 million catties. The state agricultural tax is not heavy, only amounting to some 30,000 million catties a year. State purchases of grain from the peasants at standard prices only amount to something over 50,000 million catties a year. These two items together total over 80,000 million catties. Furthermore, more than half this grain is sold back to the villages and nearby towns. Obviously no one can say that there has been no improvement in the life of the peasants. We are preparing to stabilize the total annual amount of the grain tax plus the grain purchased by the state at approximately 80,000 million catties in the next few years, so as to help agriculture to develop and the co-operatives to become consolidated. In this

way, the small number of grain-deficient households still found in the countryside will cease to go short, and all peasant households, with the exception of some growing industrial crops, will have grain reserves or at least become self-sufficient; there will be no more poor peasants and the standards of living of the entire peasantry will reach or surpass the middle peasant level. It is not right simply to compare a peasant's average annual income with a worker's and draw the conclusion that one is too low and the other too high. The productivity of the workers is much higher than that of the peasants, while the latter's cost of living is much lower than that of workers in the cities, so the workers cannot be said to have received special favors from the state. However, the wages of a small number of workers and some government personnel are a bit too high, and the peasants have reason to be dissatisfied with this, so it is necessary to make certain appropriate readjustments according to specific circumstances.

IV. The Question of Industrialists and Merchants

With regard to the transformation of our social system, the year 1956 saw the conversion of privately owned industrial and commercial enterprises into joint state-private enterprises, in addition to the organization of co-operatives in agriculture and handicrafts. The speed and smoothness of this conversion were closely related to our treatment of the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie as a contradiction among the people. Has this class contradiction been completely resolved? No, not yet. That will still take a considerable period of time. However, some people say the capitalists have been so remoulded that they are now not much different from the workers and that further remoulding is unnecessary. Others go so far as to say that the capitalists are now even a little better than the workers. Still others ask, if remoulding is necessary, why doesn't the working class undergo remoulding? Are these opinions correct? Of course not.

In the building of a socialist society, everybody needs remoulding -- the exploiters and also the working people. Who says the working class does not need it? Of course, the remoulding of the exploiters is qualitatively different from that of the working people, and the two must not be confused. The working class remoulds the whole of society in class struggle and in the struggle against nature, and at the same time remoulds itself. It must ceaselessly learn in the course of its work and overcome its shortcomings step by step, and must never stop doing so. Take those of us who are present here for example. Many of us make some progress each year;

that is to say, we are being remoulded each year. For myself, I had all sorts of non-Marxist ideas before, and it was only later that I embraced Marxism. I learned a little Marxism from books and so made an initial remoulding of my ideas, but it was mainly through taking part in the class struggle over the years that I came to be remoulded. And I must continue to learn if I am to make further progress, or otherwise, I shall lag behind. Can the capitalists be so good that they need no more remoulding?

Some people contend that the Chinese bourgeoisie no longer has two sides to its character, but only one side. Is this true? No. While members of the bourgeoisie have become administrative personnel in joint state-private enterprises and are being transformed from exploiters into working people living by their own labor, they still receive a fixed rate of interest on their share of capital in the joint enterprises, that is, they have not yet cut themselves loose from the roots of exploitation. Between them and the working class there is still a considerable gap in ideology, sentiments and habits of life. How is it possible to say that they no longer have two sides to their character? Even when they stop receiving their fixed interest payments and the "bourgeois" label is removed, they will still need ideological remoulding for quite some time. If the bourgeoisie no longer had a dual character as these people maintain, then the capitalists would no longer have the task of studying and of remoulding themselves.

It must be said that this view does not tally either with the actual situation of our industrialists and merchants or with what most of them want. During the past few years, most of them have been willing to study and have made marked progress. Their thorough remoulding can be achieved only in the course of work; they should work together with the staff and workers in the enterprises, and regard the enterprises as the chief places in which to remould themselves. But it is also important for them to change some of their old views through study. Such study should be on a voluntary basis. When they return to the enterprises after attending study groups for some weeks, many industrialists and merchants find that they have more of a common language with the workers and representatives of the state shareholdings, and so there are better possibilities for working together. They know from personal experience that it is good for them to keep on studying and remoulding themselves. The idea that study and remoulding are not necessary reflects the views not of the majority of industrialists and merchants but only of a small number.

V. The Question of the Intellectuals

The contradictions within the ranks of the people in our country also find expression among the intellectuals. The several million intellectuals who worked for the old society have come to serve the new society, and the question that now arises is how they can fit in with the needs of the new society, and how we can help them to do so. This, too, is a contradiction among the people.

Most of our intellectuals have made marked progress during the last seven years. They have expressed themselves in favor of the socialist system. Many are diligently studying Marxism, and some have become communists. The latter, though small in number, are steadily growing. Of course, there are still some intellectuals who are sceptical about socialism or who do not approve of it, but they are a minority.

China needs the services of as many intellectuals as possible for the colossal task of socialist construction. We should trust the intellectuals who are really willing to serve the cause of socialism, and should radically improve our relations with them and help them solve any problems requiring solution, so that they can give full play to their talents. Many of our comrades are not good at uniting with intellectuals. They are too crude in dealing with them, lack respect for their work, and interfere in certain matters in scientific and cultural work where interference is unwarranted. We must do away with all such shortcomings.

The mass of intellectuals have made some progress, but they should not be complacent. They must continue to remould themselves, gradually shed their bourgeois world outlook and acquire the proletarian, communist world outlook so that they can fully fit in with the needs of the new society and unite with the workers and peasants. This change in world outlook is something fundamental, and up till now most of our intellectuals cannot be said to have accomplished it. We hope that they will continue to make progress and that, in the course of work and study, they will gradually acquire the communist world outlook, get a better grasp of Marxism-Leninism and become integrated with the workers and peasants. We hope they will not stop halfway, or, what is worse, slip back, for there will be no future for them in going backwards. Since our country's social system has changed and the economic base of bourgeois ideology has in the main been destroyed, not only is it necessary for large numbers of our intellectuals to change their world outlook, but they also have the possibility of doing so. But a thorough change in world outlook takes a

very long time, and we should work patiently and not be impetuous. Actually, there are bound to be some who will always be ideologically reluctant to accept Marxism-Leninism and communism. We should not be too exacting in what we expect of them; as long as they comply with the requirements of the state and engage in legitimate pursuits, we should give them opportunities for suitable work.

Recently, there has been a falling off in ideological and political work among students and intellectuals, and some unhealthy tendencies have appeared. Some people seem to think that there is no longer any need to concern oneself with politics or with the future of the motherland and the ideals of mankind. It seems as if Marxism was once all the rage but is currently not so much in fashion. To counter these tendencies, we must strengthen our ideological and political work. Both students and intellectuals should study hard. In addition to the study of their specialized subjects, they must make progress both ideologically and politically, which means that they should study Marxism, current events and politics. Not to have a correct political point of view is like having no soul. The ideological remoulding carried on in the past was necessary and has yielded positive results. But it was carried on in a somewhat rough and ready fashion and the feelings of some people were hurt -- this was not good. We must avoid such shortcomings in the future. All departments and organizations should shoulder their responsibilities in ideological and political work. This applies to the Communist Party, the Youth League, government departments in charge of this work, and especially to heads of educational institutions and teachers. Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture. We must spread the idea of building our country through diligence and frugality. We must help all our young people to understand that ours is still a very poor country, that we cannot change this situation radically in a short time, and that only through the united efforts of our younger generation and all our people, working with their own hands, can China be made strong and prosperous within a period of several decades. The establishment of our socialist system has opened the road leading to the ideal society of the future, but to translate this ideal into reality needs hard work. Some of our young people think that everything ought to be perfect once a socialist society is established and that they should be able to enjoy a happy life ready-made, without working for it. This is unrealistic.

VI. The Question of the Minority Nationalities

The minority nationalities in our country number more than thirty million people. Although they constitute only six percent of the total population, they inhabit extensive regions which altogether comprise 50 to 60 percent of China's total area. It is imperative to foster good relations between the Han people and the minority nationalities. The key to this question lies in overcoming Han chauvinism. At the same time, efforts should also be made to overcome local nationalism, wherever it exists among the minority nationalities. Both Han chauvinism and local nationalism are harmful to the unity of the nationalities; they represent a specific contradiction among the people which should be overcome. We have already done some work in this sphere. In most areas inhabited by the minority nationalities, there has been a big improvement in relations among the nationalities, but a number of problems remain to be solved. In some areas, both Han chauvinism and local nationalism still exist to a serious degree, and this demands full attention. As a result of the efforts of the people of all nationalities over the last few years, democratic reforms and socialist transformation have in the main been completed in most of the minority nationality areas. Democratic reforms have not yet been carried out in Tibet because conditions are not ripe for them. According to the seventeen-point agreement reached between the Central People's Government and the local government of Tibet, the reform of the social system must be carried out, but the timing can only be decided by the great majority of the people of Tibet and their leading public figures when they consider it practicable, and one should not be impatient. It has now been decided not to proceed with democratic reforms in Tibet during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan. Whether they will be proceeded with in the period of the Third Five-Year Plan can only be decided in the light of the situation at that time.

VII. Overall Planning and Proper Arrangement

By overall planning we mean planning which takes into consideration the interests of the 600 million people of our country. In drawing up plans, handling affairs or thinking over problems, we must proceed from the fact that China has a population of 600 million people, and we must never forget this fact. Why do we make a point of this? Is it possible that there are people who are still unaware that we have a population of 600 million? Yes, everyone knows this, but when it comes to actual practice, some people forget all about it and act as though the fewer the people, the smaller the circle, the better. Those who have this "small circle" mentality resist the idea of

bringing all positive factors into play, of uniting with everyone that can be united with, and of doing everything possible to turn negative factors into positive ones so as to serve the great cause of building a socialist society. I hope these people will take a wider view and really recognize that we have a population of 600 million, that this is an objective fact, and that it is an asset. Our large population is a good thing but of course it also involves certain difficulties. Construction is going ahead vigorously on all fronts and very successfully too, but in the present transitional period of tremendous social change there are still many difficult problems. Progress and at the same time difficulties -- this is a contradiction. However, not only should contradictions be resolved, but they definitely can be. Our guiding principle is overall planning and proper arrangement. Whatever the problem -- whether it concerns food, natural calamities, employment, education, the intellectuals, the united front of all patriotic forces, the minority nationalities, or anything else -- we must always proceed from the standpoint of overall planning which takes the whole people into consideration and must make proper arrangements, after consultation with all circles concerned, in the light of the specific possibilities of the particular time and place. On no account should we complain that there are too many people, that they are backward, that things are troublesome and hard to handle, and so shut the problems out. Does this mean that the government alone must take care of everyone and everything? Of course not. In many cases, they can be left to the care of the public organizations or of the masses directly -- both are quite capable of devising many good ways of handling things. This also comes within the scope of the principle of overall planning and proper arrangement. We should give guidance to the public organizations and the masses of the people everywhere in this respect.

VIII. On "Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom, Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend" and "Long-Term Coexistence and Mutual Supervision"

"Let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend" and "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" -- how did these slogans come to be put forward? They were put forward in the light of China's specific conditions, on the basis of the recognition that various kinds of contradictions still exist in socialist society, and in response to the country's urgent need to speed up its economic and cultural development. Letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend is the policy for promoting the progress of the arts and the sciences and a flourishing

socialist culture in our land. Different forms and styles in art should develop freely and different schools in science should contend freely. We think that it is harmful to the growth of art and science if administrative measures are used to impose one particular style of art or school of thought and to ban another. Questions of right and wrong in the arts and sciences should be settled through free discussion in artistic and scientific circles and through practical work in these fields. They should not be settled in summary fashion. A period of trial is often needed to determine whether something is right or wrong. Throughout history, new and correct things have often failed at the outset to win recognition from the majority of people and have had to develop by twists and turns in struggle. Often correct and good things have first been regarded not as fragrant flowers but as poisonous weeds. Copernicus' theory of the solar system and Darwin's theory of evolution were once dismissed as erroneous and had to win through over bitter opposition. Chinese history offers many similar examples. In a socialist society, conditions for the growth of the new are radically different from and far superior to those in the old society. Nevertheless, it still often happens that new, rising forces are held back and rational proposals constricted. Moreover, the growth of new things may be hindered in the absence of deliberate suppression simply through lack of discernment. It is therefore necessary to be careful about questions of right and wrong in the arts and sciences, to encourage free discussion and avoid hasty conclusions. We believe that such an attitude can help to ensure a relatively smooth development of the arts and sciences.

Marxism, too, has developed through struggle. At the beginning, Marxism was subjected to all kinds of attack and regarded as a poisonous weed. It is still being attacked and is still regarded as a poisonous weed in many parts of the world. In the socialist countries, it enjoys a different position. But non-Marxist and, moreover, anti-Marxist ideologies exist even in these countries. In China, although in the main socialist transformation has been completed with respect to the system of ownership, and although the large-scale and turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of the previous revolutionary periods have in the main come to an end, there are still remnants of the overthrown landlords and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. The class struggle is by no means over. 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. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled. Marxists are still a minority among the entire population as well as among the intellectuals. Therefore, Marxism must still develop through struggle. Marxism can develop only through struggle, and not only is this true of the past and the present, it is necessarily true of the future as well. What is correct invariably develops in the course of struggle with what is wrong. The true, the good and the beautiful always exist by contrast with the false, the evil and the ugly, and grow in struggle with the latter. As soon as a wrong thing is rejected and a particular truth accepted by mankind, new truths begin their struggle with new errors. Such struggles will never end. This is the law of development of truth and, naturally, of Marxism as well.

It will take a fairly long period of time to decide the issue in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country. The reason is that the influence of the bourgeoisie and of the intellectuals who come from the old society will remain in our country for a long time to come, and so will their class ideology. If this is not sufficiently understood, or is not understood at all, the gravest mistakes will be made and the necessity of waging the struggle in the ideological field will be ignored. Ideological struggle is not like other forms of struggle. The only method to be used in this struggle is that of painstaking reasoning and not crude coercion. Today, socialism is in an advantageous position in the ideological struggle. The main power of the state is in the hands of the working people led by the proletariat. The Communist Party is strong and its prestige stands high. Although there are defects and mistakes in our work, every fair-minded person can see that we are loyal to the people, that we are both determined and able to build up our motherland together with them, and that we have already achieved great successes and will achieve still greater ones. The vast majority of the bourgeoisie and intellectuals who come from the old society are patriotic and are willing to serve their flourishing socialist motherland; they know they will be helpless and have no bright future to look forward to if they turn away from the socialist cause and from the working people led by the Communist Party.

People may ask, since Marxism is accepted as the guiding ideology by the majority of the people in our country, can it be criticized? Certainly it can. Marxism is scientific truth

and fears no criticism. If it did, and if it could be overthrown by criticism, it would be worthless. In fact, aren't the idealists criticizing Marxism every day and in every way? Aren't those who harbor bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas and do not wish to change -- aren't they also criticizing Marxism in every way? Marxists should not be afraid of criticism from any quarter. Quite the contrary, they need to temper and develop themselves and win new positions in the teeth of criticism and in the storm and stress of struggle. Fighting against wrong ideas is like being vaccinated -- a man develops greater immunity from disease as a result of vaccination. Plants raised in hot-houses are unlikely to be sturdy. Carrying out the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend will not weaken but strengthen the leading position of Marxism in the ideological field.

What should our policy be towards non-Marxist ideas? As far as unmistakable counter-revolutionaries and saboteurs of the socialist cause are concerned, the matter is easy; we simply deprive them of their freedom of speech. But incorrect ideas among the people are quite a different matter. Will it do to ban such ideas and deny them any opportunity for expression? Certainly not. It is not only futile but very harmful to use summary methods in dealing with ideological questions among the people, with questions concerned with man's mental world. You may ban the expression of wrong ideas, but the ideas will still be there. On the other hand, if correct ideas are pampered in hot-houses without being exposed to the elements or immunized from disease, they will not win out against erroneous ones. Therefore, it is only by employing the method of discussion, criticism and reasoning that we can really foster correct ideas and overcome wrong ones, and that we can really settle issues.

Inevitably, the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie will give expression to their own ideologies. Inevitably, they will stubbornly express themselves on political and ideological questions by every possible means. You cannot expect them to do otherwise. We should not use the method of suppression and prevent them from expressing themselves, but should allow them to do so and at the same time argue with them and direct appropriate criticism at them. We must undoubtedly criticize wrong ideas of every description. It certainly would not be right to refrain from criticism, look on while wrong ideas spread unchecked and allow them to monopolize the field. Mistakes must be criticized and poisonous weeds fought wherever they crop up. However, such criticism should not be dogmatic, and the metaphysical method should not be used, but efforts should be made to apply the dialectical method. What is

needed is scientific analysis and convincing argument. Dogmatic criticism settles nothing. We are against poisonous weeds of any kind, but we must carefully distinguish between what is really a poisonous weed and what is really a fragrant flower. Together with the masses of the people, we must learn to differentiate carefully between the two and to use correct methods to fight the poisonous weeds.

At the same time as we criticize dogmatism, we must direct our attention to criticizing revisionism. Revisionism, or Right opportunism, is a bourgeois trend of thought that is even more dangerous than dogmatism. The revisionists, the Right opportunists, pay lip-service to Marxism; they too attack "dogmatism". But what they are really attacking is the quintessence of Marxism. They oppose or distort materialism and dialectics, oppose or try to weaken the people's democratic dictatorship and the leading role of the Communist Party, and oppose or try to weaken socialist transformation and socialist construction. After the basic victory of the socialist revolution in our country, there are still a number of people who vainly hope to restore the capitalist system and fight the working class on every front, including the ideological one. And their right-hand men in this struggle are the revisionists.

At first glance, the two slogans -- let a hundred flowers blossom and let a hundred schools of thought contend -- have no class character; the proletariat can turn them to account, and so can the bourgeoisie or other people. But different classes, strata and social groups each have their own views on what are fragrant flowers and what are poisonous weeds. What then, from the point of view of the broad masses of the people, should be the criteria today for distinguishing fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds? In the political life of our people, how should right be distinguished from wrong in one's words and actions? On the basis of the principles of our Constitution, the will of the overwhelming majority of our people and the common political positions which have been proclaimed on various occasions by our political parties and groups, we consider that, broadly speaking, the criteria should be as follows:

(1) Words and actions should help to unite, and not divide, the people of our various nationalities.

(2) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to socialist transformation and socialist construction.

(3) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, the people's democratic dictatorship.

(4) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, democratic centralism.

(5) They should help to strengthen, and not discard or weaken, the leadership of the Communist Party.

(6) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to international socialist unity and the unity of the peace-loving people of the world.

Of these six criteria, the most important are the socialist path and the leadership of the Party. These criteria are put forward not to hinder but to foster the free discussion of questions among the people. Those who disapprove of these criteria can still put forward their own views and argue their case. However, since the majority of the people have clearout criteria to go by, criticism and self-criticism can be conducted along proper lines, and the criteria can be applied to people's words and actions to determine whether they are right or wrong, whether they are fragrant flowers or poisonous weeds. These are political criteria. Naturally, in judging the validity of scientific theories or assessing the aesthetic value of works of art, additional pertinent criteria are needed. But these six political criteria are applicable to all activities in the arts and the sciences. In a socialist country like ours, can there possibly be any useful scientific or artistic activity which runs counter to these political criteria?

The views set out above are based on China's specific historical conditions. Conditions vary in different socialist countries and with different Communist Parties. Therefore, we do not maintain that other countries and Parties should or must follow the Chinese way.

The slogan "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" is also a product of China's specific historical conditions. It was not put forward all of a sudden, but had been in the making for several years. The idea of long-term coexistence had been there for a long time. After the socialist system was basically established last year, the slogan was put forward in explicit terms. Why should the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democratic parties be allowed to exist side by side with the party of the working class over a long period of time? Because we have no reason for not adopting the policy of long-term coexistence with all those political parties which are truly devoted to the task of uniting the people for the cause of socialism and which enjoy the trust of the people. As early as June 1950, at the Second Session of the

National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference, I put the matter in this way:

The people and the People's Government have no reason to reject anyone or to deny him the opportunity of making a living and rendering service to the country, provided he is really willing to serve the people, and provided he really helped the people when times were difficult, did good before and keeps on doing good without giving up halfway.

What I was discussing here was the political basis for the long-term coexistence of the various parties. It is the desire as well as the policy of the Communist Party to exist side by side with the various democratic parties for a long time to come. But whether these democratic parties can remain in existence for long depends not merely on the desire of the Communist Party but on how well they acquit themselves and on whether they enjoy the confidence of the people. Mutual supervision among the various parties is also a long-established fact, in the sense that they have long been advising and criticizing each other. Mutual supervision is obviously not a one-sided matter; it means that the Communist Party should exercise supervision over the democratic parties, and vice versa. Why should the democratic parties be allowed to exercise supervision over the Communist Party? Because a party as much as an individual has great need to hear opinions different from its own. We all know that supervision over the Communist Party is mainly exercised by the working people and the Party membership. But the existence of the democratic parties is also to our benefit. Of course, the advice and criticism exchanged by the Communist Party and the democratic parties will play a positive supervisory role only when they conform to the six political criteria given above. Thus, we hope that in order to fit in with the needs of the new society, all the democratic parties will pay attention to ideological remoulding and strive for long-term coexistence with the Communist Party and mutual supervision.

IX. On The Question of Disturbances Created by Small Numbers of People

In 1956, small numbers of workers or students in certain places went on strike. The immediate cause of these disturbances was the failure to satisfy certain of their demands for material benefits, of which some should and could have been met, while others were out of place or excessive and therefore could not be met for the time being. But a more important cause was bureaucracy on the part of the leadership. In some

cases, the responsibility for such bureaucratic mistakes falls on the higher authorities, and those at lower levels are not entirely to blame. Another cause of these disturbances was lack of ideological and political education among the workers and students. In the same year, some members of agricultural co-operatives also created disturbances, and here too the main causes were bureaucracy on the part of the leadership and lack of educational work among the masses.

It should be admitted that some people are prone to pay attention to immediate, partial and personal interests and do not understand, or do not sufficiently understand, long-range, national and collective interests. Because of their lack of political and social experience, quite a number of young people are unable to see the contrast between the old China and the new, and it is not easy for them thoroughly to comprehend the hardships our people went through in the struggle to free themselves from the oppression of the imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries, or the long period of arduous work needed before a happy socialist society can be established. That is why we must constantly carry on lively and effective political education among the masses and should always tell them the truth about the difficulties that crop up and discuss with them how to surmount these difficulties.

We do not approve of disturbances, because contradictions among the people can be resolved in accordance with the formula of "unity, criticism, unity", while disturbances are bound to cause some losses and are not conducive to the advance of socialism. We believe that the masses of the people support socialism, consciously observe discipline and are reasonable, and will certainly not take part in disturbances without due cause. But this does not mean that there is no possibility of disturbances in our country. On this question, we should pay attention to the following:

(1) In order to root out the causes of disturbances, we must stamp out bureaucracy, greatly improve ideological and political education, and deal with all contradictions properly. If this is done, generally speaking there will be no more disturbances.

(2) If disturbances do occur as a result of bad work on our part, then we should guide those involved on to the correct path, make use of the disturbances as a special means for improving our work and educating the cadres and the masses, and work out solutions to those questions which were previously left unsolved. In handling any disturbance, we should work painstakingly and must not use over-simplified methods, or

hastily declare the matter closed. The ringleaders in disturbances should not be summarily removed from their jobs or expelled, except for those who have committed criminal offences or are active counter-revolutionaries and have to be dealt with according to law. In a large country like ours, there is nothing to get alarmed about if small numbers of people create disturbances; on the contrary, such disturbances will help us get rid of bureaucracy.

There are also a small number of people in our society who, disregarding the public interest, wilfully break the law and commit crimes. They are apt to take advantage of our policies and distort them, deliberately put forward unreasonable demands in order to incite the masses, or deliberately spread rumors to create trouble and disrupt public order. We do not propose to let these people have their way. On the contrary, proper legal action must be taken against them. The punishment of such people is the demand of the masses, and it would run counter to the popular will if they were not punished.

X. Can Bad Things Be Turned Into Good Things?

In our society, as I have said, it is bad when some people create disturbances, and we do not approve of it. But when disturbances do occur, they enable us to learn lessons, to overcome bureaucracy and to educate the cadres and the masses. In this sense, bad things can be turned into good things. Disturbances thus have a dual character. Every disturbance can be regarded in this way.

Everybody knows that the Hungarian events were not a good thing. But they too had a dual character. Because our Hungarian comrades took proper action in the course of the events, what was a bad thing has eventually turned into a good one. The Hungarian state is now more firmly established than ever, and all other countries in the socialist camp have also learned a lesson.

Similarly, the world-wide campaign against communism and the people launched in the latter half of 1956 was of course a bad thing. But it educated and tempered the Communist Parties and the working class in all countries, and thus it has turned into a good thing. In the storm and stress of this period, a number of people withdrew from the Communist Party in many countries. Withdrawal from the Party reduces its membership and is, of course, a bad thing. But there is a good side to it, too. Vacillating elements who are unwilling to carry on

have withdrawn, but the great majority of staunch Party members are more firmly united for the struggle. Why isn't this a good thing?

To sum up, we must learn to look at problems all-sidedly, seeing the reverse as well as the obverse side of things. In given conditions, a bad thing can lead to good results and a good thing to bad results. More than two thousand years ago Lao Tsu said: "Good fortune lieth within bad, bad fortune lurketh within good." When the Japanese strode into China, they called this a victory. Huge parts of China's territory were seized, and the Chinese called this a defeat. But China's defeat contained the seeds of victory, while Japan's victory contained the seeds of defeat. Has not history proved this true?

People all over the world are now discussing whether or not a third world war will break out. On this question, too, we must be mentally prepared and do some analysis. We stand firmly for peace and against war. But if the imperialists insist on unleashing another war, we should not be afraid of it. Our attitude on this question is the same as our attitude towards any disturbance: first, we are against it; second, we are not afraid of it. The First World War was followed by the birth of the Soviet Union with a population of 200 million. The Second World War was followed by the emergence of the socialist camp with a combined population of 900 million. If the imperialists insist on launching a third world war, it is certain that several hundred million more will turn to socialism, and then there will not be much room left on earth for the imperialists; it is also likely that the whole structure of imperialism will utterly collapse.

In given conditions, each of the two opposing aspects of a contradiction invariably transforms itself into its opposite as a result of the struggle between them. Here, the conditions are essential. Without the given conditions, neither of the two contradictory aspects can transform itself into its opposite. Of all the classes in the world the proletariat is the one which is most eager to change its position, and next comes the semi-proletariat, for the former possesses nothing at all while the latter is hardly better off. The present situation in which the United States controls a majority in the United Nations and dominates many parts of the world is a temporary one, which will eventually be changed. China's position as a poor country denied her rights in international affairs will also be changed -- the poor country will change into a rich one, the country denied its rights

into one enjoying its rights -- a transformation of things into their opposites. Here, the decisive conditions are the socialist system and the concerted efforts of a united people.

XI. On Practicing Economy

Here I wish to speak briefly on practicing economy. We want to carry on large-scale construction, but our country is still very poor -- herein lies a contradiction. One way of resolving it is to make a sustained effort to practice strict economy in every field.

During the san fan (or three anti's) movement in 1952, we fought against corruption, waste and bureaucracy, with the emphasis on combating corruption. In 1955 we advocated the practice of economy with great success, our emphasis then being on combating the unduly high standards for non-productive projects in capital construction, and on economy in the use of raw materials in industrial production. But at that time economy was not yet applied in earnest as a guiding principle in all branches of the national economy, or in government offices, army units, schools and people's organizations in general. This year we are calling for economy and the elimination of waste in every sphere throughout the country. We still lack experience in the work of construction. During the last few years, great successes have been achieved, but there has also been waste. We must build up a number of large-scale modern enterprises step by step to form the mainstay of our industry, without which we shall not be able to turn our country into a strong modern industrial power within the coming decades. But the majority of our enterprises should not be built on such a scale; we should set up more small and medium enterprises and make full use of the industrial base left over from the old society, so as to effect the greatest economy and do more with less money. Good results have begun to appear in the few months since the principle of practicing strict economy and combating waste was put forward, in more emphatic terms than before, by the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in November 1956. The present economy campaign must be conducted in a thorough and sustained way. Like the criticism of any other faults or mistakes, the fight against waste may be compared to washing one's face. Don't people wash their faces every day? The Chinese Communist Party, the democratic parties, the democrats with no party affiliation, the intellectuals, industrialists and merchants, workers, peasants and handicraftsmen -- in short, all the 600 million people of our country -- must strive for increased production,

and economy, and against extravagance and waste. This is of prime importance not only economically, but politically as well. A dangerous tendency has shown itself of late among many of our personnel -- an unwillingness to share the joys and hardships of the masses, a concern for personal fame and gain. This is very bad. One way of overcoming it is to simplify our organizations in the course of our campaign to increase production and practice economy, and to transfer cadres to lower levels so that a considerable number will return to productive work. We must see to it that all our cadres and all our people constantly bear in mind that ours is a big socialist country but an economically backward and poor one, and that this is a very great contradiction. To make China rich and strong needs several decades of intense effort, which will include, among other things, the effort to practice strict economy and combat waste, i.e., the policy of building up our country through diligence and frugality.

XII. China's Path to Industrialization

In discussing our path to industrialization, I am here concerned principally with the relationship between the growth of heavy industry, light industry and agriculture. It must be affirmed that heavy industry is the core of China's economic construction. At the same time, full attention must be paid to the development of agriculture and light industry.

As China is a large agricultural country, with over 80 percent of her population in the rural areas, industry must develop together with agriculture, for only thus can industry secure raw materials and a market, and only thus is it possible to accumulate fairly large funds for building a powerful heavy industry. Everyone knows that light industry is closely related to agriculture. Without agriculture there can be no light industry. But it is not yet so clearly understood that agriculture provides heavy industry with an important market. This fact, however, will be more readily appreciated as gradual progress in the technical improvement and modernization of agriculture calls for more and more machinery, fertilizer, water conservancy and electric power projects and transport facilities for the farms, as well as fuel and building materials for the rural consumers. During the period of the Second and Third Five-Year Plans, the entire national economy will benefit if we can achieve an even greater growth in our agriculture and thus induce a correspondingly greater development of light industry. As agriculture and light industry develop, heavy industry, assured of its market and funds, will grow faster. Hence what may seem to be a slower pace of industrialization will actually not be so slow, and indeed may even be faster. In three

five-year plans or perhaps a little longer. China's annual steel output can be raised to 20,000,000 tons or more, as compared with the peak pre-liberation output of something over 900,000 tons in 1943. This will gladden the people both in the town and in the countryside.

I do not propose to dwell on economic questions today. With barely seven years of economic construction behind us, we still lack experience and need to accumulate it. We had no experience of revolution either when we first started, and it was only after we had taken a number of tumbles and acquired experience that we won nation-wide victory. What we must demand of ourselves now is to cut down the time needed for gaining experience of economic construction to a shorter period than it took us to gain experience of revolution, and not to pay as high a price for it. Some price we will have to pay, but we hope it will not be as high as that paid during the period of revolution. We must realize that there is a contradiction here -- the contradiction between the objective laws of economic development of a socialist society and our subjective understanding of them -- which needs to be resolved in the course of practice. This contradiction, also manifests itself as a contradiction between different people, that is, a contradiction between those with a relatively accurate understanding of these objective laws and those with a relatively inaccurate understanding of them; this, too, is a contradiction among the people. Every contradiction is an objective reality, and it is our task to understand it and resolve it as correctly as we can.

In order to turn our country into an industrial power, we must learn conscientiously from the advanced experience of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has been building socialism for forty years, and its experience is very valuable to us. Let us ask: Who designed and equipped so many important factories for us? Was it the United States? Or Britain? No, neither of them. Only the Soviet Union was willing to do so, because it is a socialist country and our ally. In addition to the Soviet Union, some East European fraternal countries have also given us some assistance. It is perfectly true that we should learn from the good experience of all countries, socialist or capitalist, and there is no argument about this point. But the main thing is still to learn from the Soviet Union. Now, there are two different attitudes towards learning from others. One is the dogmatic attitude of transplanting everything, whether or not it is suited to our conditions. This is no good. The other attitude is to use our heads and learn those things which suit our conditions, that is, to absorb whatever experience is useful to us. That is the attitude we should adopt.

To strengthen our solidarity with the Soviet Union, to strengthen our solidarity with all the socialist countries -- this is our fundamental policy, this is where our basic interest lies. Then there are the Asian and African countries and all the peace-loving countries and peoples -- we must strengthen and develop our solidarity with them. United with these two forces, we shall not stand alone. As for the imperialist countries, we should unite with their peoples and strive to coexist peacefully with those countries, do business with them and prevent any possible war, but under no circumstances should we harbor any unrealistic notions about them.

CSO: 3530-D

**A THEORETICAL WEAPON FOR MAKING REVOLUTION
UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT**

**-In Commemoration of the 10th Anniversary of the
Publication of Chairman Mao's On the Correct
Handling of Contradictions Among the People-**

**Following is a translation of an editorial in the
Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag),
Peking, No 10, 21 Jun 67, pp 32-39.**

**Chairman Mao's On the Correct Handling of Contradictions
Among the People published ten years ago is a brilliant, epoch-
making document in the history of the development of Marxism.**

**In this brilliant document, Chairman Mao developed
creatively and with genius Marxist-Leninist materialist dialectics
and the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle and the dic-
tatorship of the proletariat. It is a great programme for
making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and
an important landmark signifying that Marxism has developed to
the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.**

**It sums up the historical experience of the dictatorship
of the proletariat both in China and abroad in an all-round
way, and uses the proletarian dialectical materialist world
outlook in observing and solving various problems in socialist
society. For the first time in the history of the development
of Marxism, it provides a scientific, systematic and profound
analysis of contradictions, classes and class struggle in a
socialist society, and an exposition of the laws of class strug-
gle in a socialist society, and puts forward the theory,
principles and policy for distinguishing the contradictions
between the enemy and ourselves on the one hand and those among
the people on the other and for correctly handling both kinds
of contradictions.**

The current great proletarian cultural revolution in China is forging ahead triumphantly and with mighty force. At the present time, the study of this great work of Chairman Mao's, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, in connection with the 16 May 1966 "Circular" and the 8 August 1966 "Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, both drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance, and also in connection with the study of the theory and line, principles and policy concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution advanced by him, has an extremely important bearing on realizing great alliances of proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, on developing all-out criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and on fulfilling the tasks of "struggle-criticism-transformation."

In a socialist society, after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production is completed in the main, the key question that decides the destiny of socialism is whether or not one actually recognizes the continued existence of classes and class struggle; whether or not one recognizes this class struggle as a struggle, in the final analysis, for political power, one between the proletariat which wants to consolidate its dictatorship and the bourgeoisie which wants to overthrow this dictatorship.

The biggest betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by the Khrushchov revisionist clique is that it concocted the "theory" of the "state of the whole people" and the "Party of the entire people." According to this "theory," in a socialist society contradictions vanish, classes and class struggle disappear and the aim is to build "goulash communism." As chief representatives of the new and old bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union, they use this "theory" to deceive the people, attack the proletariat, turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into that of the bourgeoisie, turn the Communist Party of the Soviet Union into a bourgeois political party and restore capitalism in the Soviet Union.

The top person in authority taking the capitalist road in the Chinese Party sings the same tune as the Khrushchovs of the Soviet Union. After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was completed in the main in China, he took a stand diametrically opposed to Comrade Mao Tse-tung's when he advertised the theory of the dying out of class struggle. He claimed: "The domestic enemy has been eliminated in the main"; "domestically, the major class struggle has basically come to an end, or can be said to have been

settled in the main, in other words, the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves by and large have been resolved"; "from now on, there will be no more revolutionary struggles and no more socialist transformation"; "the question of which will win, socialism or capitalism, has now been settled"; and "the most important task of the state is to organize the life of society." This sinister line runs through all his political activities. The aim which he vainly tried to attain was, like that of the Khrushchovs of the Soviet Union, to turn China's dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, turn the Chinese Communist Party into a bourgeois political party and restore capitalism in China.

It was precisely in the course of struggle against international and domestic revisionism that Chairman Mao developed his theory of contradictions, classes and class struggle in a socialist society and of making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

When socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production had just been completed in the main in China, Chairman Mao pointed out in his great work "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" "The class struggle is by no means over. 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. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled." "It will take a fairly long period of time to decide the issue in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country."

Chairman Mao also pointed out: "After the basic victory of the socialist revolution in our country, there are still a number of people who vainly hope to restore the capitalist system and fight the working class on every front, including the ideological one."

The handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are the chief representatives of those who dream of restoring the capitalist system. During the period when our country was hit by three years of natural disasters, in co-ordination with the anti-China chorus of US imperialism and Khrushchov revisionism, they laid their plans and started activities from above to below for an over-all

counter-revolutionary restoration. There appeared one after another such theories as "san zi yi bao,"¹ "san he yi shao"² and "combining two into one: and such anti-Party, anti-socialist works as Hai Jui Dismissed From Office. Ghosts and monsters came out and stirred up the evil winds of "going it alone," of reversing the correct decisions already made, of capitulation and of liberalization.

The two great historic speeches made by Chairman Mao, one at the Working Conference of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Peitaiho in August 1962 and the other at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in September of the same year, were the outcome of the struggle against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. These two speeches rectified the Right opportunist line and held in check this evil wind for a counter-revolutionary capitalist restoration. In these two speeches, Chairman Mao elaborated on the Marxist-Leninist thesis contained in On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People. He clearly pointed out: "Socialist society is a fairly long historical stage. During this historical stage, classes, class contradictions and class struggle continue to exist, the struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism goes on and the danger of a capitalist restoration remains. It is necessary to recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. It is necessary to heighten our vigilance. It is necessary to undertake socialist education. It is necessary to have a correct understanding of the problems of class contradictions and class struggle and to handle them correctly, to distinguish between the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves on the one hand and those among the people on the other and to handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite, it will degenerate, and there will be a come-back. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can have a fairly sober understanding of this question and maintain a Marxist-Leninist line."

¹"San zi yi bao" is the Chinese abbreviation for "the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, the fixing of output quotas based on the household." -Ed.

²"San he yi shao" is the Chinese abbreviation for "the liquidation of struggle in our relations with imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries and reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggle of other peoples." - Ed.

The "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Some Problems in Current Rural Work (Draft)," that is, the first "Ten Points," mapped out under the personal director of Chairman Mao in May 1963, issued the great call for the launching of a socialist education movement. In this extremely important document, Chairman Mao told the whole Party and the entire Chinese people that if the existence of classes and class struggle in socialist society were forgotten, "then it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its color. Comrades, just think of it -- what a dangerous prospect?"

The brilliant Marxist-Leninist document, "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement," or the "Twenty-five-Point Proposal," was published on 14 June 1963. This is a great program for the international communist movement in our era and it is illuminated throughout by the brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. This document, which was drawn up under the personal direction of Chairman Mao, pointed out:

"For a very long historical period after the proletariat takes power, class struggle continues as an objective law independent of man's will, differing only in form from what it was before the taking of power.

"After the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out a number of times that:

"a) The overthrown, exploiters always try in a thousand and one ways to recover the 'paradise' they have been deprived of.

"b) New elements of capitalism are constantly and spontaneously generated in the petty-bourgeois atmosphere.

"c) Political degenerates and new bourgeois elements may emerge in the ranks of the working class and among government functionaries as a result of bourgeois influence and the pervasive, corrupting atmosphere of the petty bourgeoisie.

"d) The external conditions for the continuance of class struggle within a socialist country are encirclement by international capitalism, the imperialists' threat of armed intervention and their subversive activities to accomplish peaceful disintegration.

"Life has confirmed these conclusions of Lenin's.

"For decades or even longer periods after socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization, it will be impossible to say that any socialist country will be free from those elements which Lenin repeatedly denounced, such as bourgeois hangers-on, parasites, speculators, swindlers, idlers, hooligans and embezzlers of state funds; or to say that a socialist country will no longer need to perform or be able to relinquish the task laid down by Lenin of conquering 'this contagion, this plague, this ulcer that socialism has inherited from capitalism.'

"In a socialist country, it takes a very long historical period gradually to settle the question of who will win -- socialism or capitalism. The struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism runs through this whole historical period. This struggle rises and falls in a wave-like manner, at times becoming very fierce, and the forms of the struggle are many and varied.

"The 1957 Declaration rightly states that 'the conquest of power by the working class is only the beginning of the revolution, not its conclusion.'

"To deny the existence of class struggle in the period of dictatorship of the proletariat and the necessity of thoroughly completing the socialist revolution on the economic political and ideological fronts is wrong, does not correspond to objective reality and violates Marxism-Leninism."

In July 1964, our great leader Chairman Mao again taught us that "in the realm of politics and ideology, a very long period of time is needed to decide 'who will win' in the struggle between socialism and capitalism. Several decades won't do it; success requires anywhere from one to several centuries. On the question of duration, it is better to prepare for a longer rather than a shorter period of time. On the question of effort, it is better to regard the task as difficult rather than easy. It will be more advantageous and less harmful to think and act in this way."

It is precisely under the guidance of the great theory advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung that the socialist education movement was carried out on an extensive scale in China's vast countryside and in the cities. This movement made splendid achievements and solved a number of problems in practice, providing valuable experience for making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road used the bourgeois reactionary line of "'Left' in form, Right in essence" to oppose Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line. He negated the essence of the socialist education movement which was a class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and distorted it by characterizing it as a contradiction between "being 'clean' politically, ideologically, organizationally and economically, and being 'unclean' in these respects." He thus shifted the target of struggle and hit hard at many in order to protect a handful, to protect the Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, to protect the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists and to preserve the social basis for the restoration of capitalism. He hawked his revisionist wares everywhere in the country, openly attacked Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and his Marxist-Leninist mass line and method of investigation and study.

"Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas," that is, the "23-article document" drawn up under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao in January 1965, is an extremely important Marxist-Leninist document. This great document smashed the bourgeois reactionary line advanced by China's Khrushchov which is "'Left' in form, Right in essence" and it made a scientific summary of the experience of the socialist education movement, further enriching and developing the theory for making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the "23-article document," Chairman Mao put forward for the first time this very important theory: "The main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road, some act on the stage while the others operate from behind the scenes." Supporting these persons in authority "there are certain people at the higher levels -- at the commune, district, county, prefecture and even at the provincial level and in the central departments -- who are opposed to building socialism."

On the basis of the socialist education movement and in continuing the tit-for-tat struggle against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, our great teacher Chairman Mao has personally initiated and led the great proletarian cultural revolution which has no parallel in history. He has systematically solved in theory and practice problems concerning making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus scaling new heights in the history of the development of Marxism.

On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People laid the theoretical foundation for making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the basis of summarizing the experience of class struggle in the past ten years, especially the great practice of the world-shaking, great proletarian cultural revolution in the past year, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has provided the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat with an all-conquering theoretical weapon, a Marxist-Leninist, proletarian revolutionary line, a whole series of correct principles and policies, and the correct method for carrying out this great revolution.

In the great historic document, the 16 May 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie," and "there are a number of these representatives of the bourgeoisie in the Central Committee and in the Party, government and other departments at the central as well as at the provincial, municipal and autonomous region level."

That means there is a handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie, a handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the framework of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that the masses in their hundreds of millions must be mobilized to make revolution against them. Without such a revolution, it is impossible to overthrow them, to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to effectively prevent a restoration of capitalism. Without such a revolution, there may be a repetition of the usurpation of the leadership of the Party and the state as carried out by the Khrushchov revisionist clique in the Soviet Union.

Ours is a great country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our Party is great, glorious and correct. Over the past 17 years, the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has occupied the dominant position in our Party. It is the dictatorship of the proletariat, not that of the bourgeoisie, that has dominated our country. And this is true as well for recent years. This must be affirmed absolutely. The Party people in authority taking the capitalist road are only a handful. The dictatorship of the proletariat has been turned into that of the bourgeoisie only in certain sectors, definitely not as a whole. Our great proletarian cultural revolution is meant to improve and strengthen the

dictatorship of the proletariat in those sectors. It is wrong for some people to raise the slogan "completely renovate the dictatorship of the proletariat." Certain persons who have ulterior motives intend to negate everything of the past and overthrow everything of the past; what they are aiming at is causing the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and instituting that of the bourgeoisie.

The revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is a revolution under the command of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must use Mao Tse-tung's thought as the criterion for judging which is right and which is wrong about all our words and actions. Chairman Mao's On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People is precisely the sharp theoretical weapon for the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the steering wheel for us to sail the ocean of the great revolution.

In his On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, Chairman Mao lists six political criteria for judging words and actions in the political life of our country. He says:

"Broadly speaking, the criteria should be as follows:

- (1) Words and actions should help to unite, and not divide, the people of our various nationalities.
- (2) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to socialist transformation and socialist construction.
- (3) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, the people's democratic dictatorship.
- (4) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, democratic centralism.
- (5) They should help to strengthen, and not discard or weaken, the leadership of the Communist Party.
- (6) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to international socialist unity and the unity of the peace-loving people of the world."

These six criteria play an important guiding role in the great proletarian cultural revolution; they are also criteria to judge whether one's words and actions are revolutionary in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Of these six criteria, the most important are the socialist path and the leadership of the Party." These two criteria are also the most important ones for the great revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must resolutely uphold the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and overthrow the bourgeois headquarters within the framework of the dictatorship of the proletariat; we must resolutely take the socialist road and overthrow the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Overthrowing the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road means precisely strengthening, and not weakening, the Party leadership. These fellows usurped the name of the Party leadership to defend their own bourgeois rule. This is absolutely impermissible. Only by overthrowing them can be genuinely consolidate the leadership of the Communist Party guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In order to make successful revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a strict distinction must be drawn between the two different types of contradictions and they must be handled correctly. Chairman Mao points out: "We are confronted by two types of social contradictions -- those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves. The two are totally different in their nature." "Since they are different in nature, the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and the contradictions among the people must be resolved by different methods. To put it briefly, the former are a matter of drawing a clear distinction between ourselves and the enemy, and the latter a matter of drawing a clear distinction between right and wrong."

Chairman Mao's theory about the two types of contradictions provides the theoretical basis for the strategic and tactical thinking of the proletariat to defeat the bourgeoisie. Only by drawing a correct distinction between the two different types of contradictions and handling them correctly is it possible gradually to unite more than 95 percent of the masses and more than 95 percent of the cadres, and to isolate the handful of enemies to the maximum and to strike at them. Only in this way is it possible to avoid Right or "Left" mistakes.

The contradictions between ourselves and the enemy are antagonistic. They are life-and-death struggles. The overthrown landlord class and bourgeoisie refuse to take their destruction lying down, but always attempt a comeback. They place their hopes for a come-back on the representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into our Party and the organs of political power. The contradiction between

the proletariat and this handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road is the principal contradiction to be resolved in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This revolution aims precisely to concentrate all forces to strike at the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, to regain for the proletariat the power they have usurped, and to criticize, repudiate and discredit them in a thoroughgoing way politically, ideologically and theoretically. This is the general orientation of the struggle.

The contradictions among the people, generally speaking, are non-antagonistic. The people's basic identity of interests underlies these contradictions. Many of the large numbers of complicated contradictions arising among the people in the great proletarian cultural revolution are, in essence, contradictions between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook, between proletarian ideology and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. In this revolution, certain cadres and certain leading members of mass organizations display individualism, the "small group" mentality and anarchism on a number of questions -- these are all manifestations of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois thinking.

These erroneous ideas impede the grasping of the general orientation of struggle, the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, the struggle to seize power through the revolutionary "three-in-one" combinations, and the directing of the spearhead of struggle at the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

Chairman Mao has criticized people with these ideas who "act as though the fewer the people, the smaller the circle, the better. Those who have this 'small circle' mentality resist the idea of bringing all positive factors into play, of uniting with everyone that can be united with, and of doing everything possible to turn negative factors into positive ones."

Chairman Mao teaches: "Inevitably, the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie will give expression to their own ideologies. Inevitably, they will stubbornly express themselves on political and ideological questions by every possible means."

The status of certain cadres and of leaders of certain mass organizations has changed; from being suppressed they are now in positions of authority. Many of these people continue to work hard and seriously, act in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and earnestly remould their own

ideology. But, some people ignore the question of the seizure of power from the "self-interest" in their own minds and the need for the constant use of proletarian ideology to overcome their own bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. This is very dangerous, because by preserving and even developing bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology they will find it absolutely impossible to implement the proletarian revolutionary line correctly, will inevitably try to transform the world in accordance with their own outlook, and will possibly themselves implement the bourgeois reactionary line.

No matter how complicated, contradictions among the people must be resolved through ideological struggle. This can only be carried out in accordance with the formula "unity, criticism, unity." It is essential, first of all, to start from the desire for unity. In order to overthrow our common enemy, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, we must unite and forge an alliance on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Only by starting from the desire for unity against the enemy can we make criticism based on facts and aimed at helping those criticized, and make serious self-criticism. Only thus can we achieve clarity in ideology, distinguish right from wrong and arrive at a new unity.

Those of the masses who once were members of conservative organizations should firmly draw a line of distinction between themselves and the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, and return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The proletarian revolutionaries ought to carry on meticulous political and ideological work among the masses who were misled into joining the conservative organizations. As for those who were once in conservative organizations and who have corrected or are correcting their mistakes, the proletarian revolutionaries should welcome them, help them, and unite with them in accordance with the principle "early or late, all who make revolution merit the same treatment," and together with them carry out successfully the tasks of struggle, criticism and transformation.

Chairman Mao teaches: "The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature or controversial issues among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression." In handling contradictions among the people, it is necessary to persuade through reasoning; the use of force or repression is absolutely impermissible. The methods of handling contradictions between ourselves and

the enemy absolutely cannot be allowed in this situation. When contradictions occur between revolutionary mass organizations, both sides should first make serious and sincere self-criticism, seek common ground on major issues while reserving their differences on minor points, grasp the general orientation of struggle and unite on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought. They should not revel in "civil war"; they should not attack or revile one another or use physical violence and cause disorder in solving contradictions among the people. If they act in this way the contradictions inevitably will be intensified and this will give the enemy an opportunity of which he can take advantage, thus saddening friends and gladdening enemies. They should realize that the class enemy takes advantage of the contradictions among the people to sow dissension and to stir up trouble in an attempt to carry out his plots. All revolutionaries must take full note of this and not play into his hands.

The fundamental method for resolving the various contradictions among the people is to make a creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, to undertake a rectification campaign to check up on the ranks ideologically and organizationally as well as on their style of work. It is essential to make self-criticism, to eliminate self-interest vigorously and promote utter devotion to the public interest, to remould one's ideology with the proletarian world outlook, to place Mao Tse-tung's thought in command of all and to remould all by means of it.

At present, the development of China's great proletarian cultural revolution is uneven. Therefore, proletarian revolutionaries in various areas and units must study this great work of Chairman Mao, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, with emphasis on points as required by the local situation of struggle and by the major questions existing there; they must sum up work, guide future actions in this light, resolutely bring about and consolidate the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination; they must thoroughly criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, carry out successfully the tasks of struggle, criticism and transformation in their own units and win new victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

CSO: 3530-D



A GREAT STRATEGIC MEASURE

Following is a translation of a Hung-ch'i and Jen-min Jih-pao editorial in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 10, 21 Jun 67, pp 40-43.

On 1 June 1966, our great leader Chairman Mao decided to publicize through press and radio the Marxist-Leninist big-character poster which was the first to appear in China and had been put up in Peking University. This was a great strategic measure.

This great strategic measure was a battle order issued directly to the entire Party and to the people of the whole country. It called on the proletarian revolutionaries and the broad masses of revolutionary people to launch a mass movement from below -- the great proletarian cultural revolution -- to expose and struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, to fight to smash the scheme for a capitalist restoration and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This great strategic measure lit the mighty flame of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Thereafter, the vigorous mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution spread in mighty waves throughout the country.

This great strategic measure clarified for all the people of the country the main target of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the road and method to be followed in the making of that revolution.

In the final analysis, the struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat between the proletariat and the

bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road, is one in which the proletariat wants to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat while the bourgeoisie wants to subvert it. And this finds concentrated expression in the struggle between the proletarian revolutionaries on the one hand and the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road on the other.

The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, who sneaked into leading organs of the Party and organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, usurped the leadership in some areas and departments. They waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, they dooned a cloak of Marxism but carried on revisionist activities, they hung up the signboard of the dictatorship of the proletariat but exercised a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This is precisely what was done by Lu Ping, Sung Shuo, Peng Pei-yun and their like exposed by the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster Peking University. It was also true of the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique and its behind-the-scenes boss, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. The main target of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The great proletarian cultural revolution is directly aimed at making revolution against them, exposing them, seizing power from them and thoroughly defeating them.

The great proletarian cultural revolution means boldly mobilizing the masses to carry on a mass movement, it means carrying out this great revolution by practicing mass democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, freely airing one's views, contending and debating to the fullest extent and publicizing one's views in big-character posters. Only so can we break the bonds of slavishness peddled by the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road; only so can we smash the yoke they imposed on the masses and destroy their reactionary citadel. Only so can we expose this handful of Party persons in authority, big or small, taking the capitalist road to the full light of day and overwhelm them in the mighty ocean of the revolutionary masses.

Chairman Mao's great strategic measure mobilized for action the hundreds of millions of the revolutionary masses in fierce attacks against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This mighty, vigorous mass movement scared them out of their wits. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and his cronies

hastened to cook up a bourgeois reactionary line. They proceeded to suppress the masses, suppress the revolution and stifle mass democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat in an attempt to stamp out the newly arisen mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

At this crucial moment, our great leader Chairman Mao returned to Peking and convened the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party. At this session Chairman Mao made public his big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters," which is of great historic significance. Chairman Mao said in this poster: "This first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster in the whole of China and the commentary on it in Jen-min Jih-pao are really well written! Comrades please read this big-character poster and this commentary again. But in the last fifty days or more some leading comrades from the central right down to the local levels have acted in a contrary direction. Taking a reactionary bourgeois stand, they have exercised a bourgeois dictatorship and suppressed the vigorous movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution. They have called black white and stood the facts on their heads, encircled and attacked the revolutionaries, suppressed opinions differing from their own, and imposed a white terror, and they have done all this with great smugness. They inflated the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and damped down the morale of the proletariat. This is utterly vicious! Associating this with the erroneous tendencies of the Right deviation in 1962 and the apparently 'Left' but actually Right deviation in 1964, shouldn't this awaken people and make them ponder?"

Chairman Mao's big-character poster and the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" drawn up under his personal guidance exposed in a penetrating way the bourgeois reactionary line and the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This big-character poster and decision illuminated the road along which the great proletarian cultural revolution was to advance, and greatly encouraged the proletarian revolutionaries and the broad masses throughout the country. The mass movement went into action on an even greater scale and with a deeper content. The Red Guard movement and the large-scale exchange of revolutionary experience pushed the great proletarian cultural revolution forward to a new upsurge. Carrying further forward the mass democracy of the proletariat, the broad revolutionary masses launched a large-scale mass criticism and repudication of the bourgeois reactionary line and ferreted out of their corners all those persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

On the basis of the mass exposure of the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, our great leader Chairman Mao called upon the proletarian revolutionaries to unfold the struggle to seize power. The storm of the "January Revolution" which first appeared in Shanghai swept the country. Thereafter, the great proletarian cultural revolution entered the stage of the struggle to seize power. The ranks of the proletarian revolutionaries have since swelled. The Chinese People's Liberation Army has made important contributions by actively supporting the great proletarian cultural revolution in the various localities. In places and organizations where a seizure of power is necessary, provisional organs of power, based on a revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, have been established or are in preparation. At the stage of the struggle to seize power, complex contradictions of various kinds remain. But the target of struggle has become more concentrated. It is to capture, one by one, the strongholds in which the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road have entrenched themselves, take those strongholds back into the hands of the proletariat and force the enemy finally to lay down their arms.

A whole year has elapsed since Chairman Mao decided to make public the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster in the country which was put up in Peking University. In that year, the great proletarian cultural revolution has achieved brilliant victories and momentous changes have taken place in the political life of China and the complexion of Chinese society.

In summing up the experiences of the struggle during the last 12 months, every revolutionary comrade and every revolutionary mass organization must study Chairman Mao's directives on the great proletarian cultural revolution, and at all times pay attention to keeping firm hold of the general orientation of the struggle.

Holding to the general orientation of the struggle demands clear recognition of whom the revolution is directed against, the object of the revolution, against whom the spearhead of attack should be directed. Why is the first big-character poster of Peking University described as Marxist-Leninist? It is because it clearly, penetratingly and unequivocally directs the spearhead of attack at the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. If the general orientation is wrong all else will be wrong. A number of unclear, confusing and incorrect slogans were spread on this question. For instance, "all persons classified as 'leading' cadres should step aside," "sweep everything out

from top to bottom," "direct the spearhead upwards" and so forth. All of them are devoid of class analysis and are wrong. If we act in this way, without discriminating between the proletarian and the bourgeois, between the headquarters of the proletariat and that of the bourgeoisie, and without discriminating between the broad masses and the handful of bad elements, then mistakes of orientation will occur.

We must clearly recognize that after one year of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road have been exposed and at the same time, the great majority of our cadres have proved to be good or comparatively good. In those places and departments where a vigorous mass movement was unfolded, generally speaking, the class alignments have been clear or fairly clear. These were the circumstances in which the proletarian revolutionaries' struggle for the seizure of power was carried out. All revolutionary mass organizations should actively respond to Chairman Mao's great call, and unite and complete the task of seizing power from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. During the course of this, the exposed top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and those in authority taking the capitalist road in each unit and area should be overthrown and discredited politically, ideologically and theoretically, and the task of "struggle-criticism-transformation"* should be fulfilled step by step in each unit. It is imperative to realize the revolutionary great alliance through mass criticism and repudiation, and through it raise our level of understanding of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and truly keep power in the hands of the proletariat.

Holding to the general orientation of the struggle is inseparable from the correct understanding and practice of mass democracy. Chairman Mao has taught us "Democracy sometimes seems to be an end, but it is in fact only a means." Why do we use the means of mass democracy in the great proletarian cultural revolution? Who are we dealing with? What is our aim? Our mass democracy is to arouse hundreds of millions of people to open fire at the handful of Party people

*The task of "struggle-criticism-transformation" means the task of struggling against and overthrowing those persons in authority taking the capitalist road, criticizing and repudiating the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and transforming education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base. -Tr.

in authority taking the capitalist road. We use the means of mass democracy precisely to awaken the masses in order to expose and overthrow the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. If we depart from this aim, we will lose our bearings and it is not democracy of the proletariat and the class enemy will take advantage of this. If we take democracy as an end, we will go astray down the bourgeois road.

Holding to the general orientation of the struggle is inseparable from correct understanding and handling of the two types of contradictions which are different in nature. Every revolutionary comrade and revolutionary mass organization must not only learn to handle the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, but must also learn to handle correctly the contradictions among the people. At no time and under no circumstances should the spearhead of struggle be directed against the broad masses and cadres. Also, we should not direct the spearhead of struggle against people who are misled, but should patiently and meticulously do political and ideological work with them, persuade them, educate them and help them cast off their mental burdens, correct their mistakes and return to the side of the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao. The Left, and the Left mass organizations must develop first rate capabilities in doing such work among the masses. It is all the more necessary that the contradictions among Left organizations be settled by the method of democracy and the principle of "unity-criticism-unity." If the spearhead of struggle is not directed against the enemy but against people whose views differ from one's own, and "civil wars" are waged among the Left organizations, the general orientation of the struggle will be shifted and only the class enemy will be happy.

To hold to the general orientation of the struggle, we must creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, carry out rectification campaigns, seize power from the "self-interest" in our own minds and firmly oppose anarchism. No one burdened with many selfish ideas and personal considerations can possibly hold to the general orientation of the struggle. Without overcoming anarchism, no one can hold to the general orientation of the struggle. It is necessary to pay particular attention to this point in the course of the struggle for the seizure of power and after seizing it. Unless selfish ideas and personal considerations are overcome, the proletarian struggle for the seizure of power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road will, in the course of the struggle, turn into a struggle for power and fame for small groups and individuals, and after the seizing of power it will be absolutely impossible to implement Chairman

Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Unless anarchist ideas are overcome, the serious mistake of undermining proletarian revolutionary discipline and the dictatorship of the proletariat will be committed in the course of the struggle for the seizure of power and, after seizing it, various people will build up their own "independent kingdoms." Every revolutionary comrade must be highly vigilant and not be led into wrong ways by "self-interest" and anarchist ideas.

Chairman Mao points out: Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution and it is likewise a question of the first importance for the great cultural revolution. On this first anniversary of the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we should firmly bear this teaching of Chairman Mao's in mind and hold fast to the general orientation of the struggle.

CSO: 3530-D

STOP THE ENCROACHMENT OF BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY

Following is a translation of an article by a Hung-ch'i commentator in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 10, 21 Jun 67, pp 63-64.

The document "Regulations on the earnest reform of the work attitude" of the Shantung provincial revolutionary committee published in this periodical raises high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is a document of great universal importance worthy of study and mastery by all units which have seized power, all revolutionary leading cadres, and all leaders of revolutionary mass organizations.

The seizure of power by the proletarian revolutionaries from the handful of those in authority within the party taking the capitalist road constitutes a great victory and a great change. However, the struggle between the two classes, two roads, and two lines has not yet ended or relaxed; it is developing to greater depths under new conditions. For this reason we should by no means succumb to lethargy or relaxation but should continue the serious struggle.

The revolutionary committees at the various levels are faced with the problems of persisting in Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, correctly distinguishing and handling the contradictions between the enemy and themselves and the contradictions among the people, winning over and uniting with the great majority of cadres and masses, more thoroughly criticizing the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the bad influence created by them, completing the struggle, repudiating and reforming programs within their own units, and consolidating and strengthening the proletarian dictatorship.

To fulfill these tasks it is necessary to let Mao Tse-tung's thought assume absolute authority, creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, get rid of egoism, and prevent inroads by bourgeois ideas.

In 1949, on the eve of the nationwide victory, Chairman Mao taught us: "As a result of the victory there may be tendencies in the party toward haughtiness, toward making oneself the benefactor, relaxing one's efforts to make progress, and seeking personal pleasure to rid oneself of hardship in livelihood. After our victory the people will thank us, and the bourgeoisie will also praise us. The enemy's armed forces cannot defeat us. This is a proven fact. But some unstable members among us may succumb to the praise of the bourgeoisie. Some communists may not have been conquered by the armed enemy, and they are true heroes in the face of this enemy. But they are unable to withstand the attacks of sugarcoated bullets. Under such circumstances they may be defeated. We must prevent this."

Chairman Mao also taught us to insure that all comrades act with modesty, prudence, without arrogance or impetuosity, and continue in the spirit of arduous hard struggle. This was a warning of the authorities in the entire party and army. It was also a warning to the proletarian revolutionaries, to the revolutionary cadres who had fought their way out in the great proletarian cultural revolution, and to the current leaders of revolutionary mass organizations.

A number of those among the handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road who are being unmasked today were evil elements from the beginning who were able to infiltrate the party. Others among them degenerated after the liberation of the whole country. These degenerate elements failed to follow Chairman Mao's teachings and fell victim to haughtiness and the tendency to consider oneself the benefactor. They gave up efforts to make progress, sought personal pleasure and to rid themselves of the hardship in livelihood. They appreciated the praise of the bourgeoisie and were victimized by the latter's sugarcoated bullets. As the saying goes, "Learn from the overturned cart before us." We must not forget such historical lessons.

Today the people thank the revolutionary cadres who have fought their way out in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the leaders of revolutionary mass organizations, and they may also be praised by the bourgeoisie. Under the circumstances should one strive to be a strong and firm proletarian revolutionary or to be an unstable element? This is for us a new severe test.

If one look upon himself as a benefactor and a great man, takes pleasure in being praised for his merits and virtues, appreciates the acclamation of others, and seeks satisfaction for his egoism and popularity, he will most certainly be divorced from the masses and be unable to tolerate different views and criticism, and thereby turn himself into a deaf and blind person. If this continues he will not be able to distinguish between right and wrong and between our side and that of the enemy. He will consider the well-intended criticism of the masses as a personal attack on him by the enemy, and consider the persons who praise him, with ulterior motives, as friends and pals. He will thus step on to a road leading in the opposite direction.

We must soberly realize that the change from being oppressed to seizing power is a great one. If we fail to reform our thought the small amount of egoism that we have will be greatly enlarged. Lenin pointed out: Petty (?production) at all times yields capitalism and the bourgeoisie. This theory is applicable also to the cadres and intellectuals who are of petty bourgeoisie origin and who have failed to undergo reform properly, and to those who still cherish petty bourgeois views. If one fails to seriously reform his ideology and refuses to be supervised by the masses, he is likely to become a bourgeois element after seizing power. As the saying goes, "Prevent a disaster before it happens."

We should exercise high vigilance and review this problem daily. We should match our words and deeds with Mao Tse-tung's thought, retaining those that are correct and in harmony with Mao Tse-tung's thought and correcting those that are incorrect and at variance with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

After realizing this problem the Shantung provincial revolutionary committee advanced a 10-point measure. This measure is very necessary. The regulations are by no means trifles, but important problems of political significance concerning principle. They involve the problem of establishing a proletarian revolutionary leadership and the problem of whether it is possible to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and to retain the original color of the proletariat.

The merit of this document of the Shantung provincial revolutionary committee is that it advances measures to prevent inroads by bourgeois ideas. This problem is worthy of the attention of revolutionary committees at all levels and of the revolutionary cadres and young revolutionaries who have

fought their way in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is necessary for them to use Mao Tse-tung's thought as a guide to study this problem. Similar regulations may be formulated for resolute implementation on the basis of one's own conditions and the conditions of one's own unit.

CSO: 3530-D

NEVER FORGET THE GENERAL ORIENTATION OF THE STRUGGLE

-Once Again on How Proletarian Revolutionaries
Effectively Seize and Utilize Power-

Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 10, 21 Jun 67, pp 66-68.

Editor's note: Wen-hui Pao has carried three consecutive editorials on how the proletarian revolutionaries can do a good job of holding and exercising power.

At present, a major question confronts the revolutionary committees at all levels, that is, to do a good job of holding and exercising power for the proletariat.

This question involves acting resolutely in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and resolutely carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. We must use Mao Tse-tung's thought as our guide, firmly grasp the general orientation of the struggle, correctly understand and handle the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and the contradictions among the people, constantly gain experience and sum up experience so as to keep our revolutionary committees always vital and red.

As for the present situation, the crux of the issue is whether we are holding power for the proletariat or struggling for power and holding power for an individual or for a small group. This is a manifestation of the struggle between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook within the ranks of the people.

So long as we hold power whole-heartedly for the proletariat, we can advance from little experience to much experi-

ence, from inability to ability to work very well; we can learn to do things we were unfamiliar with and advance with big strides along the road of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

But if we struggle for personal power and hold power for a small group, we will turn a deaf ear to what Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee say, we will 'go it alone' arbitrarily, forget about the class enemy and direct our guns at our class brothers. If we go on like this, we will commit errors of line and orientation.

Wen-hui Pao has pointed out: "We absolutely cannot allow anybody to struggle for personal power. Not an iota of this criminal idea can be tolerated. If 'power' is wedded to 'egoism,' if some one thinks only of 'power' for 'my' small group or for 'me,' he might as well blind-fold himself. He will see nothing and will take a tumble.

"Those who are possessed by 'egoism' are liable to brand the other side as 'old conservatives,' 'adverse current' and 'restorationists' once different opinions clash. They will demand another seizure of power indiscriminately. If they go on like this, they will even seize power from the proletarian revolutionaries and direct the spearhead of struggle at the proletarian headquarters."

How profound is this remark and how well expresses! All revolutionary cadres and responsible members of revolutionary mass organizations, irrespective of whether a revolutionary committee has been established where you are or preparations are being made, you must maintain a high vigilance and never let yourselves be entangled by this devilish "egoism."

This is a new and harsh test for people both in the course of the seizing of power by the proletarian revolutionaries and after.

After the seizure of power by the proletarian revolutionaries there is still a question of holding fast to the general orientation in the struggle. Only by holding fast to the general orientation can power be properly held and exercised. After the seizure of power the main contradiction before us remains one between the proletariat and the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road, we must direct the spearhead of struggle at the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road and thoroughly repudiate and discredit them. We must never forget this general orientation in the struggle.

But there are still some comrades in some areas who have failed to see this point. After the seizure of power they have almost forgotten the class enemy and the general orientation of struggle. They are not too interested in struggling against the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

They are easily duped by rumors, zestfully engage in fighting "civil wars," and are even used by the class enemy to exercise pressure on the young revolutionary committees from the right side or the extremely left side, weakening the proletarian dictatorship. Some comrades have even developed to such a dangerous extent that they despise the authority of the proletariat and listen to nobody's advice.

Who gives us the power? It is given by the proletariat and by the people. Since the people have entrusted us proletarian revolutionaries with power, we have the obligation to use this power to completely destroy the old world, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the handful of top people in authority taking the capitalist road, and in the course of the mass criticism and struggle to build a new world, and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. We have no right at all to use this power to suppress our own comrades or to harbor the mountain-stronghold mentality, create splits, and undermine unity.

We must always keep in mind that we are holding power for revolution and for the proletariat, not for a small group of for self-interest. Since we are holding power for revolution we must always think of the duties on our shoulders, always keep in mind what we have been trusted by the proletariat, always study new forms of expression of class struggle, use Mao Tse-tung's thought as a guide to draw a clear-cut line of demarcation between the enemy, ourselves, and our friends, hold fast to the general orientation, and unite with the majority to hit hard at a handful. By so doing, even though contradictions may appear within the ranks of the revolutionaries in the course of holding power, they will be able to solve the by calmly sitting down to conduct meticulous criticism and self-criticism.

To hold fast to the general orientation in the struggle, the correct policy of persisting in principle and strengthening unity must be adhered to by the revolutionaries. The mistaken attitude of creating splits at random must be opposed. At present, to open a fierce fire on the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road is the greatest task. It is also the principle for us to unite under. To

depart from this principle to fight "civil wars" and create splits will only grieve those near and dear to us and gladden the enemy and bring about great losses to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

The revolutionary ranks should be consolidated, expanded, and developed every day. Some people said there will still be wild disorder within the ranks of the revolutionaries. This is a slogan of splittism and a reactionary fallacy. In places where the proletarian revolutionaries have already held and exercised power those who claimed that "there will still be wild disorder" are either ignorant or have ulterior motives. We are convinced that the true proletarian revolutionaries will not do so.

At present the struggle between the two lines has not ended. The great cultural revolution is not yet over. We must maintain a clear mind and hold fast to the general orientation of the struggle. Otherwise, if things go wrong we may fall into the enemy's trap, again commit mistakes in orientation and organization, and even bring about the restoration of capitalism. In this case a revolutionary will become an easy-come easy-go character.

Following the development of the revolutionary situation, the proletarian revolutionaries' task of remolding one's world outlook has become more and more pressing. We should be able to see that the bourgeois and petty bourgeois thinking around us, like poison gas, is always blowing toward us.

If we fail to strengthen our remolding and become a conservative with self-interest in mind, it will not take long for us to lose our bearings and our revolutionary spirit.

Therefore we must continuously make revolution to eliminate self-interest and foster devotion to the public, and attack the concept of self-interest in our minds. Only by so doing can we be able to carry through the revolution along the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao.

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