

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE GREAT  
PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

[Following is a translation of an article by Wang Li (3769 0500), Chia I-hsueh (6328 0001 1331), and Li Hsin (2621 9387) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 15, 13 December 1966, pages 17-24.]

We are now in a new era of the world revolution, an era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing toward victory throughout the world. Sharp class struggles in diverse forms are going on like raging fires in the international arena and within various countries, in both the capitalist world and the socialist world. The struggles among different classes and political forces are intricate and complex. In the final analysis, the central issue of these struggles is that of state power.

Lenin said that the basic question of every revolution is that of state power. He also said that those who recognize only class struggle are not yet Marxists. A Marxist is one who extends his recognition of class struggle to recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that in socialist society there exist contradictions, contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and contradictions among the people. These two types of contradictions are different in nature. In given conditions, these two types



of contradictions can be transformed into their opposite. Only by recognizing the existence of these two types of contradictions and correctly understanding and handling them is it possible to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat constantly and push forward the cause of socialist revolution and construction.

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

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

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

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

"The tree may prefer calm, but the wind will not subside" is a saying Comrade Mao Tse-tung often uses to tell people that class struggle is an objective fact, independent of the subjective of people. You want to avoid it, but it cannot be done. If you don't struggle with him, he will struggle with you; if you don't eliminate him, he will eliminate

you. Marxist-Leninists must in no way deny or avoid class struggle. They should lead the proletariat, guide it properly in the given circumstances according to the laws of class struggle, carry the socialist revolution through to the end on the political, economic, ideological and cultural fronts, smash the bourgeois plot for restoration, and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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

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

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

The current great proletarian cultural revolution is the most profound class struggle history has ever witnessed. The struggle between the two lines within the Party, as its reflection, is likewise the most profound struggle in the history of our Party. The tiny handful of people who are bent on following the bourgeois reactionary line, are, through all channels, shifting the struggle between the two lines within the Party onto society to be interwoven with the class struggle in society.

Every step the great cultural revolution takes is the result of sharp struggle, of efforts to overcome various forms of resistance in society and in the Party. In the past few months the revolutionary masses have been profoundly exposing and criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line. This great debate on the two lines is on the largest scale ever. As a result of this great debate, the masses and the reactionary cadres have heightened their class consciousness and ideological level, and are still more conscientiously supporting and implementing the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. Although a tiny handful of people who stubbornly insist on following the bourgeois

reactionary line constantly change their methods and resort to new ways and means to counter Chairman Mao's correct line, the bourgeois reactionary line constantly meets with bankruptcy and failure as the irresistible mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution forges ahead.

In a matter of six months, the turbulent stream of the revolutionary mass movement has been washing away the filth left by the old society, producing in China a change that shakes heaven and earth. This is a truly great revolution under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is giving rise to great changes in class relations and touches people to their very souls. Countless new things have appeared on the horizon, dazzling the eyes of some people. Nevertheless, if one grasps the struggle between the two classes and the two roads in socialist society as the key link, one can see clearly the great significance and chief characteristics of the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country.

First, Our Country's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Is an Inevitable Development of the Class Struggle at Home, an Inevitable Development of the Socialist Revolution, and a New Higher Stage of the Proletarian Revolution

The proletariat of our country, having come into political power, carried out the socialist revolution on the economic front and basically changed the capitalist ownership of the means of production. Following this, it smashed the frantic attacks of the bourgeois rightists on the Party and Socialism and proceeded with the socialist revolution on the political front. Along with the penetrating development of the socialist revolution and with the spread of the socialist education campaign in town and country, the class struggle has been brought increasingly to the fore in the ideological domain.

The overthrown exploiting class makes use of the superiority they still have in the ideological and cultural spheres and makes use of the old ideology and the force of old habits to corrode the masses, deceive the masses, seduce man, enlarge their position and shape public opinion in favor of restoration.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that public opinion must be shaped and ideological work must be done before overthrowing a political power. As it is with the revolutionary class so it is with the counter-revolutionary class. Practice has proved that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's judgment is entirely correct.

The great proletarian cultural revolution will solve the question of who wins in the struggle between socialism and capitalism in the ideological domain.



This is the continuation and development of the struggle between two classes and between two roads and is a new stage of more penetrating and extensive development of the socialist revolution.

Second, Our Country's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Is the Most Extensive, Most Penetrating and the Biggest Revolutionary Mass Movement in History

Our country's great proletarian cultural revolution is an extremely sharp, acute and complicated class struggle, is a great revolution for transforming the soul of man and promoting revolutionization of man's mind, and is bound to involve the political, economic and cultural domains of the whole society. Only by relying on the conscious action of millions can such a great revolution be carried out penetratingly, thoroughly and to the end.

The characteristic of our country's great proletarian cultural revolution is that the thought of Mao Tse-tung has entered deep into the minds of people and has really aroused millions upon millions of people.

Putting faith in the masses, relying on the masses, freely setting the masses in motion and respecting the initiative of the masses run through the revolutionary line of the proletariat represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

On the other hand, the reactionary line of the bourgeoisie opposes the masses, opposes revolution and opposes and represses the revolutionary mass movement.

By waging an unremitting struggle against the reactionary line of the bourgeoisie the waves of the mass movement will be raised higher and higher.

Many new things of great historical significance have appeared in the great proletarian cultural revolution. The sagacity and courage of the proletarian revolutionaries lies in giving strong support to these new things at their budding stage.

The Red Guards is such a new thing. With Comrade Mao Tse-tung's far-seeing support, a small group of Red Guards have developed fast in all schools, many factories and the rural districts and grown into exceedingly great revolutionary ranks of the masses. They dare to think, speak, act, struggle and make revolution. They have done great things that startle the universe.

The revolutionary masses are masters of the great proletarian cultural revolution. With the masses firmly allowed to educate and liberate themselves and to make revolution themselves, there has appeared a revolutionary mass movement which is powerful and irresistible and has a great host of soldiers.

Third, Our Country's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Is a Struggle to Prevent the Counter-Revolutionary Revisionism from Usurping the Leadership and Is a Struggle of the Proletariat to Prevent Restoration of Capitalism

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the masses have consciously gone into action to destroy the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits of the exploiting class, and to establish the new ideas, new culture, new customs and habits of the proletariat. They are changing the mental outlook of the whole society and digging out the root of revisionism.

This great proletarian cultural revolution in our country is dealing blow mainly at a handful of those in power within the Party who take the capitalist road. These representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the Party, government, army and cultural domain are a group of counter-revolutionary revisionists, are bad eggs of the Khrushchev type and are time bombs planted within our Party. When the time comes they will explode and will stage a coup of the Khrushchev type.

In this great revolution, a handful of those in power within the Party who take the capitalist road are engulfed in the ocean of the mass movement. They are exposed and are combatted with their reputation dragged in the dust. This deals a strong blow to the scheme of the counter-revolutionary revisionists to stage a capitalist comeback.

Our country's great proletarian cultural revolution is a life-and-death struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road and a struggle between one side which will consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the other side which will change the proletarian dictatorship into the bourgeois dictatorship. It is an extremely violent, acute and penetrating class struggle.

Fourth, Our Country's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Has Created New Experience of Extensive Democracy under the System of Proletarian Dictatorship and New Experience in Democratic Centralism

The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the action guide to the great proletarian cultural revolution. Our country's great proletarian cultural revolution is a movement for extensive democracy under the command of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In the great cultural revolution our Party supports the creative endeavors of the revolutionary masses, supports the revolutionary masses in extensively adopting such forms of extensive democracy as blooming, contending, big-character posters, big debate and establishment of



revolutionary ties. The masses have the right to conduct criticism and make proposals with regard to every policy of the Party and the State and every link of the state apparatus. Leading cadres of all levels, whatever their meritorious service, position and seniority, may be criticized by the masses. As to the power apparatuses leading the cultural revolution, the system of general election is to be enforced without exception according to the principle of the Paris Commune. The masses have the right to re-elect and recall the elected personnel any time. Between the masses and between the mass organizations, extensive democracy must also be practiced and the methods of contending, blooming, big-character poster and big debate must be used to unify understanding and thought, raise consciousness and master Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. This extensive democracy is the best method of educating the masses by themselves.

The extensive democracy introduced by us in extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat, is a high-degree and real proletarian democracy unprecedented in human history, and is a new development of Chairman Mao's mass line in the socialist revolution.

The historical experience of the proletarian dictatorship tells us that without fully enforcing the democratic system of the proletariat there can be no real democratic centralism of the proletariat. Without the extensive democracy of the proletariat, it will be impossible to realize the great revolution in one's heart, and impossible to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution penetratingly and thoroughly and it will be impossible to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without such extensive democracy and without millions upon millions of people interesting themselves in the national affairs, supervising the Party and state apparatuses and supervising the leading cadres of various levels, it will be impossible to prevent the counter-revolutionary revisionists from usurping the leadership of the Party and the State and impossible to prevent the proletarian dictatorship from becoming the bourgeois dictatorship.

At the same time, the dictatorship of the proletariat is a guarantee for extensive democracy. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat there can be no extensive democracy for the masses of the people. It is precisely because our dictatorship of the proletariat is stable that we dare to and can introduce such extensive democracy.

A political situation promoted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, which is marked by centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom, unified will and personal happiness and activity, is taking shape in our country.



Fifth, China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution  
Has Laid the Foundation for Training and Bringing Up  
A Contingent of Intellectuals of the Working Class

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

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

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

Many revolutionary cadres and young people are striving to temper themselves into reliable successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat on the basis of the five criteria set by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Under the leadership of our Party, the whole country should be turned into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought, while their main activity is in their own trades. The workers, peasants, soldiers, students, commercial workers, and functionaries should at the same time study other things, so as gradually to be able to take part in both civilian and military affairs, in industry and agriculture, and become laborers with communist consciousness and culture.

Sixth, China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution  
Is a Powerful Motive Force for the Development of the  
Social Productive Forces in the Country

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "It is man's social being that determines his thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world."

Matter is transformed into consciousness, and consciousness is transformed into matter. The great proletarian cultural revolution is vigorously promoting the revolutionization of people's thinking. It is

breaking down all unreasonable old conventions, abrogating all out-of-date regulations and bad habits, further emancipating the social productive forces and bringing into fuller play the enthusiasm and initiative of the worker-peasant masses and scientific and technical research personnel. It has thus created new favorable conditions for extensive advances in industry, agriculture and scientific research.

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

The great proletarian cultural revolution will insure that China's construction work goes forward in great strides in the direction of socialism and communism.

Seventh, China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution  
Is Also a Struggle Against Imperialism Headed by the  
US and Against Modern Revisionism with the Leadership  
of the Soviet Communist Party as Its Center

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

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

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

By putting proletarian politics in the forefront and promoting the revolutionization of people's thinking, the present great cultural revolution is the most fundamental preparation for frustrating aggressive war of US imperialism and its lackeys. The masses of revolutionary Red Guards and young revolutionaries are an important reserve force for the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

As a result of the great proletarian cultural revolution, socialist China which will never change color will carry on even more effectively the struggle against imperialism headed by the US and modern revisionism centered on the leadership of the CPSU, will support even more virorously the Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people all over the world so as to fulfill even better our glorious proletarian internationalist obligations.

Eighth, China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Has Promoted the Tremendous Development of Marxism-Leninism

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

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

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

The revolutionary people throughout the world unanimously praise China's great proletarian cultural revolution, while Brezhnev, Kosygin, Shelepin and other traitors like them, in collusion with imperialists like Johnson and Rush, grind their teeth and scream imprecations against it. Turning on all their propaganda machines, and using the most vicious language. They have stirred up an anti-China hysteria wantonly to attack China's great cultural revolution. Why is it that the reactionaries are so incensed? It is precisely because the prairie fire of China's great proletarian cultural revolution inevitably will spread among the people of the world, will exercise a tremendous influence on the revolutionary struggle of the people of all countries, will pound against and shake the tottering rule of imperialism and modern revisionism. China's great

proletarian cultural revolution, which has no parallel in history, has even more loudly sounded the death knell of imperialism and modern revisionism.

The new chieftains of the Soviet revisionist group have now all come out into the open and thus torn aside the masks with which they once tried to deceive people. Thus they have revealed themselves more openly as of the same stripe as Khrushchev, or even worse. And this will inevitably arouse the Soviet people still further to rise and oppose them. They themselves are speeding up their march toward the same end as Khrushchev's.

In the history of Marxism's development, whether at the time it was born or when it achieved historic victory and developed to a new stage, the devils and monsters of the whole world collaborated in launching fierce counter-attacks on it.

When Marxism first appeared in Europe and was beginning to be mustered by the working class, the enemies immediately sensed a great threat. At that time, all the reactionary forces in Europe joined together in a "holy alliance" against Marxism, vainly attempting to exercise this "spectre" that had appeared in Europe. When Marxism developed to the stage of Leninism, and achieved epoch-making victory in the October Revolution, all the imperialists who were then strangling each other, the revisionist "heroes" of the second international who served the imperialists, scabs and traitors of all countries, again joined together in a "holy alliance" against Leninism and conducted ferocious attacks against it from all sides. Now, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way, raising it to a completely new stage. The imperialists headed by the United States, the modern revisionists with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as their center, all reactionaries, all old and new scabs and traitors, once again have joined forces in knocking together a "holy alliance" against Mao Tse-tung's thought. They vainly attempt to resist the dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's thought to the whole world and obstruct the grasping of Mao Tse-tung's thought -- an invincible ideological weapon -- by the oppressed people and nations.

Those past "heroes" who were against Marxism and Leninism were thrown on to the dust heap of history, one after another. Today's "heroes" who are against Mao Tse-tung's thought will meet still sadder defeat. Their clamoring is no more than a frantic death-bed struggle.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the Chinese people, responding actively to the call of Comrade Lin Biao, are carrying forward the mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works to a new stage. The arming of the Chinese people with Mao Tse-tung's

thought is the most reliable and fundamental guarantee for the prevention of revisionism and capitalist restoration and for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And the arming of the Chinese people with Mao Tse-tung's thought is also of great significance for, and will exert far-reaching influence on, the international communist movement and the revolutionary cause of the people of the whole world.

CSO: 3530-D