

# The Inner-Party Bourgeoisie in The Socialist Period

## (On the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie)

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## Translator's Note

This is a rough edition of a very valuable text that is long overdue. As such we are sharing this edition despite the need for further editing that is forthcoming. Except for notes preceded by "Ed" (editor), footnotes are derived from the original source document. While the broadcasts were forced off the air before their completion in October, 1976, it is a source of great hope that the signal has reached us and hopefully many more in the English speaking world now.<sup>1</sup>

May 13, 2023

<sup>1</sup> *For comments, questions, suggestions, or criticisms, contact us at [Wengetranslators@protonmail.com](mailto:Wengetranslators@protonmail.com).*

## Explanatory Note

The Shanghai People's Radio Station's broadcasting script *The Inner-Party Bourgeoisie in The Socialist Period* is an adaption of *On The Inner-Party Bourgeoisie* which was compiled and written by Qin Zhengxian (ed. one of the pen names used by the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee Writing Group, an organization established in 1971 through the recommendation of Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan, and headed by Zhu Yongjia).

The compilation of *On the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie* started in February 1976, and drew on related materials from theoretical seminars held across Beijing, Liaoning, and other places and from *Socialist Political Economy* written and compiled in Shanghai.<sup>2</sup> The first draft was titled *On the Socialist Revolution's Character, Mission, Object, and Prospect*, and the second draft was titled *On the Bourgeoisie in the Socialist Period*. This pamphlet was finalized during the end of September in the same year with the completion of a final proof. The original plan was to publish the document through Shanghai People's Press, but due to the "Smash In One Blow Movement,"<sup>3</sup> the publication did not proceed.

Throughout this period, the Shanghai Municipal Writing Group revised *On the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie* slightly to prepare it for serialized broadcast. The work was divided into eight lectures, and started airing on August 30, 1976 on Shanghai People's Radio Station. Despite suppression<sup>4</sup> following October 6<sup>th</sup>, caused by the Smashing with One Blow Campaign, the broadcasts proceeded, managing to broadcast the fourth session on the ninth of the month, and then airing the fifth session on the 16<sup>th</sup> before being silenced.

During the "Exposing, Criticizing, and Investigating" movement<sup>5</sup> initiated by the counter-revolutionary revisionists in August, 1978, the "Shanghai Municipal Propaganda Office" printed and published the full text of the aforementioned broadcast script in the format of "second-round simplified Chinese characters,"<sup>6</sup> as black material. For research purposes, now all the characters are converted into (*ed.* first-

<sup>2</sup> Ed. also viewed and revised by Zhang Chunqiao et. al, later known as the *Shanghai Textbook*.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Note 一举粉碎 *yiju fensui*, this was the rightists' name for the arrest and persecution of the left immediately after Mao's death, starting with the the arrests of the leaders of the Cultural Revolution, including Jiang Qing, Yao Wenyuan, Zhang Chunqiao, and Yao Wenyuan on October 6, 1976.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. as well as several failed attempts at uprisings by the left.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Jiepicha 揭批查.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. A second round of simplification of Chinese characters was carried out according to a December 20, 1977 report, the first round having according to guidelines specified in 1950.

round) simplified Chinese characters, and the “△△△” marks<sup>7</sup> in the published document have been removed to show what these covered words were.<sup>8</sup> In reference to some of the material from the “Exposing, Criticizing, and Investigating” campaign, footnotes were added to and corrections made on this version of the original document *On the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie*.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. used by the revisionists for censoring certain content they deemed sensitive.

<sup>8</sup> Ed. The censored characters, now restored, mostly bore the name of Deng Xiaoping.

# Lecture One: To Make Socialist Revolution One Needs to Know Where the Bourgeoisie Is<sup>9</sup>

(Aired On August 31, 1976)

In the great struggle of criticizing Deng Xiaoping and the Struggle to Counterattack the Right-Deviationist Reversal-of-Verdicts,<sup>10</sup> a series of Chairman Mao's important directives were published. Chairman Mao's directives profoundly exposed the class essence of the type of capitalist roaders in the Party represented by Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping, and analyzed the character and roots of the inner-party bourgeoisie, and methods to defeat them. The directives are a significant development of Marxism-Leninism. Chairman Mao's directives further indicate directions for continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and are important theoretical weapons for carrying out the struggle against the inner-party bourgeoisie, for opposing and preventing revisionism, and for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. We need to diligently study and deeply comprehend them. Next, the knowledge acquired through our studies will be discussed. The title of my talk is: **"To Make Socialist Revolution One Needs to Know Where the Bourgeoisie Is."** This talk is divided into three questions: Firstly, Chairman Mao's theory on the inner-party bourgeoisie is an significant development of Marxism-Leninism; Secondly, Chairman Mao's directives are powerful theoretical weapons for opposing and preventing revisionism; Thirdly, on eradicating the influences of idealism and metaphysics, and adhering to the method of class analysis.

Now we will first discuss the first topic:

## **Chairman Mao's theory on the inner-party bourgeoisie is a significant development of Marxism-Leninism.**

In socialist society, when the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production generally has been achieved, will the bourgeoisie still exist? Where is the bourgeoisie? Must the proletariat continue revolution? Whom is the revolution

<sup>9</sup> Ed. See "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party—those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road," from "Chairman Mao's Primary Directives," Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Document 4 (1976), Issued by the General Office of the Central Committee <http://www.bannedthought.net/China/MaoEra/GPCR/Chinese/ChairmanMao'sPrimaryDirectives-CCP-CC-1976-Doc4-EngWithNotes.pdf>.

<sup>10</sup> Ed. This mass movement was launched in November 1975 in opposition to the large-scale attack orchestrated by Deng Xiaoping on the core principles and leaders of the Cultural Revolution.

directed at? This is a very important question concerning theory and practice within the International Communist Movement.

On these questions, Marx and Engels had some scientific foresight, but confined by their historical condition, they could not carry out practice in this area, and these questions could not be resolved in a systematic manner. After the October Revolution, Lenin saw that the overthrown bourgeoisie still had much power because of the support from international capital. Meanwhile, Lenin also saw that, in fact, a new bourgeoisie class was emerging among the Soviet personnel and small producers, threatening the dictatorship of the proletariat in a serious way. However, Lenin passed away too early, and he did not have a chance to solve these problems in practice. After Lenin passed away, Stalin inherited Lenin's cause, and carried out a resolute struggle in defense of Marxism-Leninism. But in 1936, the Constitution of the Soviet Union declared that: after the Soviet Union generally achieved the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the bourgeoisie ceased to exist. While under Stalin's leadership the Soviet Union had in fact dealt with a large group of bourgeoisie who infiltrated the Party, represented by figures like Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, Bukharin, and Rykov, it did not infer a correct theoretical conclusion from this, nor it did focus on educating and guiding the great majority of Party members and Soviet people to make clear the question of why a dictatorship should be exercised over the bourgeoisie.

The great leader Chairman Mao scientifically summarized historical experience—foreign and domestic—of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and resolved a series of important questions on the continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus in theory and in practice, inheriting, defending, and developing Marxism-Leninism.

As early as the eve of the whole country's liberation, in the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao stated that the primary contradiction domestically after the proletariat's seizure of power was **“the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie.”** (Chinese from *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, V. 4, p. 1323). Thirteen years later, Chairman Mao again castigated the fallacious theories of the Three Freedoms and One Fixed Quota's<sup>11</sup> “plots for private use, free markets, enterprises free to resume responsibilities for their own profits and losses, and fixing output quotas based on individual households” and “No matter if it's a black cat or white cat, as long as it catches mice, it's a good cat,” frenetically promoted by the Liu Shaoqi -Deng Xiaoping clique. Chairman Mao again raised the question of class struggle, and towards the whole Party and the people of the whole country issued a great call to **“never forget**

<sup>11</sup>Ed. *sanziyibao* (三自一包), a policy approach promoted after the Great Leap Forward (GLF) which was seen later by Mao and the left as a way to transform the party's rectification of mistakes made during the GLF into an attempt to abandon struggle towards communism altogether.

**class and class struggle**” (quoted from the October 1, 1972 *People’s Daily*), which further comprehensively formulated a basic line in the historical stage of socialism for our Party. In the Socialist Education Movement in the Urban and Rural Areas,<sup>12</sup> Chairman Mao also issued directives including that **“The main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road,”**<sup>13</sup> and that **“Management itself is a matter of socialist education.”**<sup>14</sup> During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, in the struggles of criticizing Deng Xiaoping and Counterattack the Right-Deviationist Reversal of Verdicts Trend, Chairman Mao also issued a series of important directives to the whole Party and the people the whole country, which profoundly analyzed the changes in class relations in the socialist period. Chairman Mao clearly pointed out: **“With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire, when it came to the co-operative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party opposed to it [the movement], and when it [now] comes to criticizing bourgeois right, they resent it. You are making socialist revolution, and yet don’t know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party – those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road”** (quoted from *People’s Daily* March 10<sup>th</sup> 1976).

Chairman Mao’s wise inference that in the socialist period the bourgeoisie is right inside the Party is a scientific summary of the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and is a significant development of Marxism-Leninism. This wise inference is a significant component of Marxist theory on continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and it illustrates the direction for continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is of both momentous significance at present and carries profound historical significance. It is a beacon for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration, building socialism, and realizing communism.

<sup>12</sup> Ed., Also known as the Four Cleanups Movement. This movement was a forerunner to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

<sup>13</sup> Ed., From “Decision of the Central Committee of the CCP Concerning the GPCR, ” August 8, 1966: <http://www.massline.org/PekingReview/PR1966/PR1966-33g.htm>

<sup>14</sup> Ed. A related point was made in a comment of Mao’s on a January 1965 report on the Key Points in the Socialist Education Movement written by Chen Zhengren which Mao thought necessary to circulate widely in June, 1976: “Management itself is a matter of socialist education. If the managerial staff do not join the workers on the shop floor, work, study and live with them and modestly learn one or more skills from them, then they will find themselves locked in acute class struggle with the working class all their lives and in the end are bound to be overthrown as bourgeois by the working class. If they don’t learn any technical skills and remain outsiders for a long time, they won’t be able to do management well either. Those in the dark are in no position to light the way for others.”... “The bureaucrat class on the one hand and the working class together with the poor and lower-middle peasants on the other are two classes sharply antagonistic to each other. Those leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road have turned, or are turning, into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers; how can they possibly realize fully the imperative need for socialist revolution? These people are the target of the struggle, the target of the revolution, and we must never rely on them in the socialist education movement. We can rely only on those cadres who are not hostile to the workers and are imbued with revolutionary spirit.”For both quotes see the July 2, 1976 issue of *Peking Review*, “Build the Party in the Course of Struggle,”: <http://www.massline.org/PekingReview/PR1976/PR1976-27.pdf#page=6>). Note that here Mao pointed out that “The bureaucrat class” is the target of the revolution. Chairman Mao changed this terminology to “the inner-Party bourgeoisie/capitalist-roaders during the GPCR.

In the great struggle to thoroughly criticizing Deng Xiaoping and the Counterattack the Right-Deviationist Reversal of Verdicts Trend, it is extremely important that we diligently study and comprehend Chairman Mao's inference that in the socialist period the bourgeoisie is right inside the Communist Party, and make clear this question in theory and in practice. The Inner-Party bourgeoisie are those capitalist roaders in power, they distinctively represent the interests of bourgeoisie old and new. They utilize the power in their hands to promote a revisionist line and restore capitalism from the area of the superstructure to the area of the economic base, and they are way much more grievous and more dangerous than the bourgeoisie outside the Party. Only when we make clear the problem that **"it is right in the Communist Party"** and when we soberly see that the capitalist roaders are the main force that harms the Party and subverts the dictatorship of the proletariat, and when we continuously direct the revolution at the inner-Party bourgeoisie, can we become conscious fighters under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Otherwise in making socialist revolution, without knowing where the bourgeoisie is and who is the main target of the revolution, the revolution cannot hit the target, and we can not be clear-headed revolutionaries. And that is very dangerous.

We have just discussed the first topic: Chairman Mao's theory on the inner-Party bourgeoisie is a significant development of Marxism-Leninism.

Next we will discuss the second topic:

**Chairman Mao's directive is a powerful weapon for opposing and preventing revisionism.**

Recognizing or denying the fact that the bourgeoisie is in the Communist Party in the socialist period is a dividing line to distinguish Marxism from revisionism. All modern revisionists show their true counter-revolutionary colors on this question. Chairman Mao's theory that the bourgeoisie is in the Party is a powerful weapon for us to identify and criticize revisionism.

A common feature of modern revisionism is opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, promoting "the theory of the death of class struggle" and "The theory of productive forces determinism," denying the existence of class, class conflict, and class struggle in the transitional period between capitalism to communism, and denying the bourgeoisie exists within the Communist Party. Lenin pointed out **"Opportunism does not extend recognition of the class struggle to the cardinal point, to the period of transition from capitalism to communism, of the overthrow and the complete abolition of the bourgeoisie,"** (Chinese from *Lenin Selected Works*, Vo.3, p. 200, English See *State and Revolution*, "Chapter 3: The Experience of 1848-1851"). The theory of productive forces determinism denies that class struggle is the driving force for the development

of human societies, and its essence negates taking class struggle as the key link. When our country underwent the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, Liu Shaoqi jumped out and talked the nonsense that “class struggle in general has finished,” “the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has been generally resolved”, and the primary contradiction domestically is “the contradiction between the advanced socialist system and backward social production forces.” At the time, Deng Xiaoping sang the same tune with Liu Shaoqi, saying such nonsense as “Caution should be exercised in investigations in the socialist system, as classes have already been eliminated, hence class struggle should not be emphasized.” This kind of “the theory of the death of class struggle” and “the theory of productive forces determinism”, though criticized by the revolutionary people many times in the past twenty years, are once again being held up and promoted by the revisionists. Deng Xiaoping’s so-called “Take the three directives as the key link” is just this sort of thing.

But is the bourgeoisie really eliminated? Is there really no class struggle? Lies cannot cover facts. Through the practice of struggle, people recognized that: **Don’t [those individuals from] the old bourgeoisie still exist? Hasn’t everyone seen the great numbers of petty bourgeoisie? Are there not many [bourgeois] intellectuals who still have not well remolded? Is the influence of small production, corruption, and speculation not everywhere?** Not only new bourgeoisie are generated one group after another, but the bourgeoisie exist in the Communist Party. The bourgeoisie’s opposition to the proletariat’s struggle is not only protracted, tortuous and also very sharp.<sup>15</sup>

Then, as the bourgeoisie exists objectively, and class contradiction and class struggle exist objectively, why do this group of people-- Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping – insist that there is no bourgeoisie? The reason is they themselves are the bourgeoisie, and they are the bourgeoisie’s commanding figures in the Party. They have felt that with the socialist revolution they themselves are under fire and that big trouble is at hand—what can they do? Henceforth, they started concocting and selling “the theory of the death of class struggle,” claiming loudly that the bourgeoisie has been eliminated and there should be no class struggle. In this way, they paralyze the fighting will of the proletariat and the revolutionary people.

In fact, Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping themselves have never extinguished class struggle, and they do not waste a second to wage struggle against the proletariat. Chairman Mao hit the nail on the head stating: **“Liu Shaoqi promoted the theory that class struggle had died out. In fact he himself had not “died out.” He wanted to protect his bunch of traitors and diehard followers. Lin Biao wanted to bring down the**

<sup>15</sup> Ed. This last phrase is derived from “On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People,” Mao Zedong.

proletariat and staged a coup d'état. So has it died out?" (quoted from the April 6<sup>th</sup> 1976 edition of *People's Daily*). Deng Xiaoping is also of this kind. He verbally speaks of "how can class struggle be mentioned daily?" and in practice he organizes the bourgeoisie's "Homecoming Legions"<sup>16</sup> to launch attacks on the proletariat everyday, and the attacks are fierce, as he can not wait to devour the proletariat revolutionaries in one bite.<sup>17</sup> This shows that their talk about the dying of class struggle is a lie, and they only want other people to stop talking about class struggle. If people believe their stories, and disarm the minds and abandon vigilance against the bourgeoisie's restorative activities, then, they can take advantage and sneak in to wantonly carry out the criminal activities of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism.

It is not strange that the flock of Liu Shaoqi, Liu Biao, and Deng Xiaoping promotes that class struggle has died out, for they themselves are bourgeoisie. The problem is that often in our revolutionary ranks some people cannot tell where the bourgeoisie is. What is the reason? One important reason is that many people **themselves belong to the petty bourgeoisie, and their minds easily go to the right**. The petty bourgeois class is determined by their economic status, and they swing back and forth between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Their worldview is of the bourgeoisie, and therefore they easily receive influence from the bourgeoisie. This especially holds true for the right wing of the petty bourgeoisie, **"Such People very much want to get rich and are devout worshipers of Lord Zhao the Marshal [Translator: The God of Wealth]; while they have no illusions about amassing great fortunes, they invariably desire to climb up into the rank of the middle bourgeoisie"** (Chinese from *The Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, V. 1, pp 5). They are inclined to the bourgeoisie, and therefore they cannot clearly see the bourgeoisie that exists objectively within the Party. Thereby, for these comrades, to make clear the question that the bourgeoisie is right inside the Party, their stance should be changed, and their standpoint moved to the side of the proletariat.<sup>18</sup>

We just discussed the second topic: Chairman Mao's directive is a powerful weapon for opposing and preventing revisionism.

<sup>16</sup> *Huan xiangtuan* (还乡团), This term comes from the groups organized by landlord interests that carried out murderous reprisals against once-liberated villages in China on behalf of the Nationalists during the Civil War.

<sup>17</sup> Ed. This eerily foreshadows the name chosen for the right's "Smash In One Blow" (*yiju fensui* 一举粉碎) revisionist coup, a little more than one month after this broadcast.

<sup>18</sup> Note from Original Chinese Edition: There was another paragraph in the text version of *On the Inner Party Bourgeoisie* here which stated "[as the report to the Ninth National Congress of CCP pointed out "the main reason why the revolutionary masses were repressed was that power was not in the hands of the proletariat in those places"], if one stands with the repressed i.e. the proletariat, it is easier to see clearly how reactionary are the faces of the inner-Party bourgeoisie big shots who are suppressing the proletariat, [and hence easier] to join the proletariat in the struggle against inner-Party bourgeoisie" Cited in "A Sort of Fascist Socialism Left in Form and Right in Essence—Criticism of the Big Poisonous Weed 'On the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie'" by the Criticism Group of the Shanghai Publishing Bureau, printed in the November 1, 1978 issue of *Wenhui Bao*.

Now we discuss the third topic:

**Eradicating the influences of idealism and metaphysics and insisting on the method of class analysis.**

To clarify the problem that in the socialist period the bourgeoisie is right inside the Communist Party on the basis of uniting theory and practice, we must grasp materialism and dialectics, and throw away idealist and metaphysical thought.

We know that classes do not drop from the sky, and are not innate in the mind; it is the product of a certain mode of production and mode of exchange, and a result of social-economic movement. However, economic movement is rather complicated. Marx said: **“In the analysis of economic forms, moreover, neither microscopes nor chemical reagents are of use,”** but **“the force of abstraction must replace both,”** (Chinese from Marx & Engels Collected Works, V. 23, p. 8, English see Marx’s Preface to the first German edition of *Capital*) otherwise only some superficial phenomena can be seen. It is not easy to analyze economic forms, and therefore, in the research of economic forms and the changes of social class relations determined by their movements, more effort needs to be made. In history, people’s cognition of the old bourgeoisie had undergone a long process of a couple of hundreds years. It was only in the 1840s, when Marx and Engels used materialism and dialectic, that the essence of the bourgeoisie was revealed. Today, to study the changes in class relations in the socialist period and to make clear the problem that the bourgeoisie is right inside the Communist Party, we should adhere to materialism and dialectics, and criticize idealism and metaphysics. Only when we liberate our minds from the influence of idealism and metaphysics, can we have a clear mind and bright eyes, and make clear the problem that the bourgeoisie are right inside the Communist Party.

Some of our comrades feel it difficult to understand the problem that the bourgeoisie is right inside the Communist Party. Why? One important cause is associated with idealist and metaphysical ways of thinking.

Marxist Dialectical Materialism tells us that contradiction exists in all the things in the universe from beginning to end, and so too in socialist society. Socialist society is a transitional period between capitalism and communism, in which contradictions exist both between the relations of production and the forces of production, and between the superstructure and economic base. These contradictions after all are expressed as the struggle between the nascent communist elements and dying capitalist traditions and birthmarks. In the field of class relations, they are expressed in the struggle between the proletariat that are growing stronger daily and the bourgeoisie who are fighting for their last gasp. Under the condition that the proletariat hold political power and the old bourgeoisie had been overthrown, due to the existence of class and class struggle, and due to the existence of bourgeoisie right, a new bourgeoisie can still grow on this old

soil. Also because the Communist Party leads the society's political, economic, and cultural lives in all aspects, this type of new bourgeoisie then must be produced within the Party. Thus, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will be manifested more and more explicitly in the Party. Also, the internal members of a proletariat's party are not all alike, and an analysis can be applied to them, and they can be divided into two. In our Communist Party, there is a revolutionary faction who represents the interest of the proletariat, and it is the mainstream; and there are indeed capitalist roaders who represent the interest of the bourgeoisie, and they are the counter-current. The capitalist roaders in the party represent decaying capitalist relations of production, and they are the declining reactionary force. Our Party's public statement of the fact that the bourgeoisie exist in the Party does not deface the glory of our Party. Rather, it demonstrates that our Party has the power, faith, and capability for overcoming the inner-party bourgeoisie. Only making it clear to the people the true face of things and mobilizing the people to carry on inner-party struggle can assure that our Party and country do not change colors, and make our Party greater, more glorious, and more correct.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **“For those charged with directing work, the basic method for knowing conditions is to concentrate on a few cities and villages according to a plan, use the fundamental viewpoint of Marxism, i.e., the method of class analysis, and make a number of thorough investigations. Only thus can we acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge of China's social problems.”** (Chinese from *The Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, V. 3, p. 747, English see Mao's Preface and Postscript to Rural Surveys.” This should also be applied to the question of making clear that the bourgeoisie are right in the Communist Party. Henceforth, in order to see clearly socialist revolution's character, object, mission, and prospect, to make clear that the bourgeoisie are indeed in the the Communist Party, it is of great importance to hold firm the proletarian stance, to use the law of the unity of opposites to observe socialist society, and to adhere to the method of class analysis. Only when the proletariat's stance, viewpoint, and method are grasped, can one consciously adhere to taking up class struggle as the key link throughout the whole historical stage of socialism; can one keep firmly in mind the Party's fundamental principle and basic line; can one establish the thought of fighting a protracted struggle against the inner-party bourgeoisie; can one gradually raise the consciousness of class struggle, two-line struggle, and the continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; can one keep the long-range goal of realizing communism in mind; and can one carry out the socialist revolution through to its victory.

## Lecture Two: The Changes in Classes under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

(Aired on September 7 and September 25, 1976)

Today, we will discuss the changes in class relations in the socialist period and consider our knowledge of this study. Three major topics will be discussed:

Firstly, the socialist period is a period of great social transformation.

Secondly, the new changes in class relations under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Thirdly, the inner-party bourgeoisie is the core force of the entire bourgeoisie.

Now we will discuss the first topic, that:

### **The socialist period is a period of great social transformation.**

To make clear the problem that the inner-party bourgeoisie is right inside the Communist Party, we first need to make clear what kind of society a socialist society is. Marxism-Leninism clearly illustrates that the socialist period is rather a very long phase in history, and it is a transition from capitalism to communism. Marx said: **“Between capitalist and communist society there lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.”** (Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Chinese from *The Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, V. 3, pp 21) Lenin also clearly pointed out: **“Theoretically, there can be no doubt that between capitalism and communism there lies a definite transition period which must combine the features and properties of both these forms of social economy. This transition period has to be period of struggle between dying capitalism and nascent communism—or, in other words, between capitalism which has been defeated but not destroyed and communism which has been born but is still very feeble,”** (“Economics and Politics in The Era of The Dictatorship of the Proletariat,” Chinese from *The Selected Works of Lenin*, V. 4, pp 84). In Marxist theory on the transitional period, we can see that the said transition is the period between capitalism and communism. And, the society in this transitional period is a socialist society, and there is a struggle between growing communism and dying capitalism throughout this society. When reflected in class relations, this struggle is the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and thereby we must adhere to the

revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

In 1957, Chairman Mao instructed us: **“Now we are in a period of great social transformation.”** and **“Overthrowing the old system and establishing the new social system, the socialist system, is a great struggle, a great transformation in the interrelations between the social system and the people”** (“Speech at the Chinese Communist Party’s National Conference on Propaganda Work,” Chinese from *Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Zedong* [Hard Cover Version with Slipcase] p. 501) This period of great social transformation is the transitional period between capitalism and communism. In this period of great social transformation, our country established a socialist society. Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought has become the guiding theory in our country; the working class has become the leading class of the country; the system of public ownership under socialism has been established and developed; Socialist New Things are flourishing and sprouting daily; when one place encounters difficulty, help comes from eight sides, and so on... All these signify that there are communist elements in the socialist society. This is one prominent characteristic of socialist society.

As communist elements develop and grow stronger, the socialist society will inevitably transform into a communist society. But, as Marx said, socialist society **“... emerges from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally, and intellectually, still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it emerges.”** (Marx, *Critique of Gotha Programme*, from *The Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, V. 3, pp 10) The overthrown bourgeoisie still exist, bourgeois right still exists, bourgeois ideology still exists, all these traditions and **birthmarks** of dying capitalism are in contradiction with growing communist elements. This is another prominent characteristic of socialist society. If capitalism’s traditions and **birthmarks** are allowed to spread freely, it is possible that a socialist society will revert again to a capitalist society. These two characteristics of socialist society constitute the two aspects of the substance of the basic contradiction in socialist society. Chairman Mao said: **“... socialist relations of production have been established and are in correspondence with the growth of the productive forces, but these relations are still far from perfect, and these imperfect aspects stand in contradiction to the growth of the productive forces. Apart from correspondence as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the growth of the productive forces, there is correspondence as well as contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base,”** (from “On The Correct Handling of Contradictions among The People,” Chinese from *Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Zedong* [Hard Cover Version with Slipcase], p. 463).[The saying from Chairman Mao] “corresponding while in contradiction” scientifically summarizes the law of movement of the basic contradiction in socialist society. The class expression of socialist society’s basic contradiction is the contradiction and struggle between the proletariat and the

bourgeoisie. Not only those old bourgeoisie who lost control of the means of production are still there, with their ambition not yet dead, but also, due to the existence of bourgeois right—the ground on which capitalism and the bourgeois class emerge in socialist society—a new bourgeoisie will be produced, one group after another. As such the bourgeoisie always goes on existing as a class. Lenin said: “... by overthrowing the landowners and bourgeoisie we cleared the way but we did not build the edifice of socialism. On the ground cleared of one bourgeois generation, new generations continually appear in history, as long as the ground gives rise to them, and it does give rise to any number of bourgeoisie.” (“Session of the All-Russia C.E.C.,” from *Lenin Collected Works*, V. 27, pp 275) Chairman Mao pointed out: “**Lenin said that, ‘small production often, and on a daily basis, spontaneously and massively generates capitalism and bourgeoisie,’ and this situation exists among a segment of the working class and a segment of the Communist Party’s members. Among the proletariat, and among the state personnel, bourgeois trends are also generated.**” (People’s Daily, February 22<sup>nd</sup> 1975) Before entering communism, that advanced phase, as long as bourgeois right exists, the bourgeoisie will not be uprooted, and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue over a long period of time.

Chairman Mao pointed out : “**Throughout the (whole) period of transition there exist class contradictions, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism. If we forget this fundamental theory and fundamental practice of our Party of the past ten years and more, we will go astray,**” (Chinese from *Hongqi*, 1966 V. 13. English see *Peking Review*, Vol Issue 41 “**Forward Along the High Road of Mao Tse-tung’s Thought,**”).<sup>19</sup> In the socialist period, the transitional phase from capitalism to communism, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is still society’s primary contradiction. This contradiction universally exists in all realms of socialist society, and cuts across all phases of socialist society’s development. Who will win and who will lose in this struggle determines whether socialist society will transit from capitalism to communism or regress from socialism to capitalism.

The transitional period is a period of great social transformation, and the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie constitutes the main substance of the complicated class struggle in this period. This encompasses profound changes in class relations. Furthermore, within the struggle between the two classes of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, class relations are still changing. Therefore, the socialist period is a period in which large-scale transformations in social relations occur.

Next we will discuss the second topic:

<sup>19</sup> Ed. <http://www.massline.org/PekingReview/PR1966/PR1966-41.pdf#page=15>.

### **The new changes in class relations under the dictatorship of the proletariat.**

Grasping Marxism's method of class analysis and being adept at researching new changes in class relations have vital importance for guiding the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao said: "... **to understand their interrelations** [the interrelations between different social classes], **to arrive at a correct appraisal of class forces and then to formulate the correct tactics for the struggle, defining which classes constitute the main force in the revolutionary struggle, which classes are to be won over as allies and which classes are to be overthrown,**" (from "Oppose Book Worship," Chinese from *Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Zedong* [Hardcover Version with Slipcase], p. 32). In the process of leading our country's democratic revolution and socialist revolution, and at the critical moment in the development of revolution, Chairman Mao has always placed research on class relations and changes within them at a place of vital importance, carrying out Marxist analysis on class relations in a given historical period, and on the basis of the analysis, formulating a correct line, guiding principle, and policies to direct the revolution to march from one victory to another.<sup>20</sup> In order to comprehend the characteristics and law of class struggle in socialist society we must first diligently study Chairman Mao's theory on changes in class relations within socialist society to analyze, research, and grasp the changes in class relations within socialist society, and distinguish who is our enemy from who is our friend.

In socialist society, the main classes are the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Then, what changes occur in the relationship between these two classes and with other classes? From the standpoint of the situation in our country we see that:

Old China was a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, and the major classes in the society were the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, the landlord class, the national bourgeoisie, the proletariat, the peasantry—whose main body consisted of poor peasants, farm laborers, and middle peasants—and aside from peasants, the petty bourgeois class represented by artisans and others. The establishment of the People's Republic of China marked in general the end of the New Democratic Revolution and the beginning of the socialist revolution. Through confiscating bureaucratic capital, implementing Land Reform, and carrying out the socialist transformation in the area of the ownership of the means of production, the socialist system has been comprehensively established. **"Every revolution, if it is a real revolution, amounts to a class shift,"** ("A Class Shift," Chinese from *Lenin Collected Works*, V. 25, p. 118) The landlord and bourgeoisie had been beaten down. The proletariat has shifted from the oppressed and

<sup>20</sup> In the text *On the Inner-party Bourgeoisie*, there is another quotation: [Lenin:] **"In the age of the dictatorship of the proletariat, classes still exist, and each class has undergone changes, and the interrelations between classes also have undergone transformations. [Under the condition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, class struggles do not disappear but take on other forms],"** (Chinese from *Lenin Selected Works*, V. 4, pp. 91-92). So in such a situation where the relations between classes under socialism and the balance of class forces have undergone change, [Ed. This footnote is cut off at this point].

exploited class in the old society to the ruling and leading class in the new society; The party of the proletariat – the Communist Party has become the ruling party. As socioeconomic structure changed, the nature of the revolution has shifted from a democratic revolution to a socialist revolution, and the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has become the major contradiction in society.

The proletariat, who are in the position of dominance, command the dictatorship of the proletariat—this powerful state apparatus, control the lifelines of the national economy through their own state, form a solid alliance with the collectivized peasants, unite with other laboring masses, and therefore are in a favorable position in class struggle.

The peasant class is the class with the most population in our country. Most of the peasants in our country are members of people’s communes, and on the ground of cooperation, under the leadership of the working class, they have formed a new, solid alliance with the working class to construct socialism together. But the peasants still have a dual character, they are laborers, and they are also small proprietors, and under the condition that the small private economy still exists and the level of collectivization is relatively low, the phenomenon of polarization still occurs [among the peasants]. The proletariat and the bourgeoisie both need to win over the peasants. The poor and lower-middle peasants who occupy the main portion of the peasants population are sturdy and determined to walk along the socialist path, while some of the rich middle peasants have a serious capitalist tendency.

As the socialist revolution more deeply develops, the class position of the bourgeoisie also undergoes significant change. When the proletariat rise to the ruling class from the oppressed class, the bourgeoisie then is shifted from the ruling class to the oppressed class, and becomes the object of the socialist revolution. To realize this transformation, a great struggle must be undertaken. In the socialist revolution on the economic front, the bourgeoisie repeatedly assembled their class ranks to initiate rampant attacks on the proletariat. After such assaults were smashed by the proletariat through “The Movement against The Three Evils” and “The Movement against The Five Evils,” and the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the bourgeoisie assembled its class ranks again, commanded by the head of the bourgeois rightists, the “Zhang-Luo Anti-party Alliance,” and initiated ferocious assaults against the proletariat on the political and intellectual fronts. Through the proletariat’s powerful counter-strike, this attack was also smashed. From then, the old bourgeoisie was held in ill-repute and their troops collapsed. They found it hard to openly assemble in comprehensive battle with the proletariat, to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, or to restore capitalism.

However, in socialist society, due to the existence of the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois right, and bourgeois ideology, bourgeois elements keep on emerging in society. Bourgeois elements, derived from a segment of workers, a segment of peasants, and a segment of party members, are a component of the entire bourgeoisie in the socialist period. This kind of new bourgeoisie generally carry out the activity of sabotaging the socialist economic foundation and restoring capitalist relations of production through corruption and theft, through speculation and profiteering, through bribery, and through embezzling state-owned and collective funds. But these new bourgeois elements are scattered, and within society are notoriously stinky—they can only serve as a special detachment in activities for capitalist restoration. They are unable to play the role of a commanding force in such activities.

Then, in the situation where the relations between social classes under socialism and the contest of class forces have undergone change, where is the core power and the main force of the bourgeoisie? The facts show that the bourgeoisie has arrived into the Communist Party, and the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has gradually and profoundly found its expression within the Party. The inner-party bourgeoisie, aside from some new bourgeois elements who carry out graft and theft as well as speculation, mainly consist of capitalist roaders in power. Among these capitalist roaders, some are traitors, provocateurs, and scabs who sneaked into the party, such as Liu Shaoqi's kind, and some are fellow travelers of the Democratic Revolution.<sup>21</sup> Chairman Mao said: **"After the Democratic Revolution, the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want to carry on revolution. However, a segment of party members did not want to go forward, they went backward and opposed revolution. Why? They became high officials, and they needed to protect the interest of high officials."**(Chinese from *Hongqi*, V. 6, 1976, "The Great Cultural Revolution Will Shine Forever-in Commemoration of the 10th Anniversary of the May 16 , 1966").<sup>22</sup> The type of people like Deng Xiaoping, the unrepentant inner-party capitalist roaders, transform themselves from fellow travelers of the Democratic Revolution into capitalist roaders in the period of socialist revolution. Furthermore, as socialist society develops, new inner-party bourgeois elements are generated. The most significant and basic material of the change in class relations and the re-assembly of the bourgeois ranks under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the emergence of the inner-party bourgeoisie. The inner-party bourgeoisie is the core force of the entire bourgeoisie, and has become the main danger that subverts the dictatorship of the proletariat and restores capitalism. Just now, we have discussed our second topic, the title of which has been: the new changes in class relations under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

<sup>21</sup> In the text *On the Inner-party Bourgeoisie*, they are also described as bourgeois democrats (*zichanjieji minzhupai* 资产阶级民主派).

<sup>22</sup> Ed. [https://www.bannedthought.net/China/Magazines/Hongqi/1976/English/hongqiN61976-joint\\_editorial\\_3.pdf](https://www.bannedthought.net/China/Magazines/Hongqi/1976/English/hongqiN61976-joint_editorial_3.pdf)

Now we will start discussing the third topic:

**The inner-party bourgeoisie is the core force of the entire bourgeoisie.**

Since the first day of the establishment of the Communist Party, within the party, there have been opportunists and revisionists who have acted as the agents of the bourgeoisie in the Communist Party. Chen Duxiu in China, Plekhanov in Russia, and Bernstein and Kautsky in German are all figures of this sort. However, before the proletariat seize the power, the agents of the bourgeoisie who sneak into the proletariat's party, when compared to the entire bourgeoisie, are not its core power, but merely its vassals. At that time, the bourgeoisie has its own public party, and controls all state apparatus and the lifelines of the national economy. Therefore, the bourgeoisie's core power and main force, especially its headquarter and its political representatives, are located outside the Communist Party rather than within the party. Bourgeois proxies who sneak into the proletariat's party, and especially those who sneak into the party's central leading institutions, can inflict great harm on the proletariat's cause of liberation. But these people's position in the entire bourgeoisie are only that of a small detachment sent by a bourgeois headquarter outside the Communist Party. When the opportunist line carried out by these agents who have sneaked into the party undergoes criticism and their class nature is disclosed, they often turn themselves from a hidden small task force into open pawns for the bourgeoisie. Chen Duxiu and Zhang Guotao openly betrayed the party and the revolution, and one became a disgraceful Trotskyist and the other became a shameful Kuomintang's agent, such is living proof.

After the proletariat's seizure of power, the Communist Party becomes the ruling party, and as class relations change, the inner-party bourgeoisie no longer appears as the vassals of a bourgeoisie that exists outside the Communist Party. However, for a period of time after the proletariat's seizure of power, the bourgeoisie outside the party owns the means of production and maintains some power for rallying people around it. It can still organize its own headquarter and promote its own head figures to fight with the proletariat. At this time, the inner-party bourgeoisie still does not appear within the Communist Party as the core force of the entire bourgeoisie, but rather collude with the bourgeoisie outside the party, acting as their reinforcement. As the socialist revolution deepens, the bourgeoisie outside the party loses the means of production and is defeated politically again and again, resulting in an ignominious reputation and a gradual decline in power. From this point onward, the inner-party bourgeoisie then emerges as the core force of the entire bourgeoisie.

Lenin said: **"The dictatorship of the proletariat is not the end of class struggle but its continuation in new forms,"** (from "Forward to 'Deception of the People with Slogans of Freedom and Equality,' *Lenin Collected Works*, V. 29, p. 343). The presence of the inner-party bourgeoisie as the core force of the entire bourgeoisie is the concentrated

manifestation of a new form of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the party of the proletariat has become the ruling party. This party is commissioned by the proletariat and the entire people to control state power in all aspects. The bourgeoisie knows that adopting the Monkey King's strategy of worming the way into the belly of Princess Iron Fan,<sup>23</sup> or usurping the ruling party's power through the inner-party bourgeoisie, is more effective than restoring capitalism through a bourgeoisie outside the party. In the period of Lenin and Stalin's leadership, the bourgeoisie outside the party colluded with fourteen countries to invade the Soviet Republic by force, and Hitler initiated an all-around invasion of the Soviet Union, but all of them were defeated. However, not long after the inner-party bourgeoisie represented by Khrushchev and Brezhnev usurped the highest power in the party and in the country, the red flag fell on the ground, the party turned revisionist, and the country changed its colors. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the seizure [of only] partial power by the inner-party bourgeoisie, and the start of activities for capitalist restoration have a far greater effect than that brought about by the bourgeoisie outside the party. Liu Shaoqi's clique removed 20,000 cooperatives in one slice. Lin Biao got together a few die-hard henchmen in the Second Plenary Session of the 9<sup>th</sup> Central Committee to initiate a failed and never-would-be-successful coup. Deng Xiaoping dished out the "three directives as the key link," swept up the Right-Deviationist Reversal-of-Verdicts Trend across the country, and provoked the counter-revolutionary political incident in Tiananmen Square. We should ask, can the bourgeoisie outside the party have such large extensive capability?

The fact that the inner-party bourgeoisie is able to become the core force of the entire bourgeoisie is also because the inner-party bourgeoisie can still assemble a bourgeois headquarter, promote its own commanding figures, gather old and new bourgeoisie inside and outside the party, and initiate ferocious attacks on the proletariat. The sort of people like Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping are the bourgeoisie inside and outside the party's commanding characters. However, in the Soviet Union, Khrushchev and Brezhnev's conspiracy temporarily accomplished its evil purpose. But in our country, with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and with a powerful dictatorship of the proletariat, the conspiracies for capitalist restoration of Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping have been smashed. But we need to soberly recognize that with the defeat of one of the commanding characters belonging to the bourgeoisie inside and outside the party, a new head figure will emerge. If dealt with badly, the restoration of capitalism is possible at any time. Therefore, we need to have a full recognition that the inner-party bourgeoisie and the capitalist roaders in power in the party present the main danger of restoring capitalism, and are the primary objects of the socialist revolution.

We must establish a thought of protracted battle, intensify our studies, deepen the

<sup>23</sup> Ed. An allegory from the Chinese classic, *Journey to the West*.

criticism against Deng Xiaoping, continue to carry out the struggle to Counterattack the Right-Deviationist Reversal-of-Verdicts Trend, consolidate and develop the victorious achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, enthusiastically support the Socialist New Things, restrict bourgeois right, strengthen our country's dictatorship of the proletariat, and under the leadership of the party's central committee carry out the proletarian revolutionary cause initiated by Chairman Mao to the end!

## Lecture Three: The Economic Foundation for Generating The Inner-Party Bourgeoisie

(Aired on September 28 and October 2, 1976)

In the last lecture, we discussed the issue that accompanied with the changes in class relation during the socialist period, that the inner-party bourgeoisie has formed the core force of the entire bourgeoisie and becomes the main target of the socialist revolution. Then, how is the inner-party bourgeoisie formed? Today, I will talk about my modest understanding of this question, and the title of my lecture is: the economic foundation for generating the inner-party bourgeoisie.

The materialist view of history asserts that **“The existence of class is only associated with a specific historical phase in the development of production.”** (Chinese from *Marx and Engels Collected Works*, V. 4, p. 332) Engels said: **“In every society that emerges historically, the distribution of products and the division of society into classes and hierarchy associated with the distribution are determined by what is produced, how is it produced, and how the products are exchanged.”** (Chinese from *Marx and Engels Collected Works*, V. 3, pp. 424) On the subject of the inner-party bourgeoisie under socialist condition, we also must follow what Engels said, to find out the cause of the generation of the inner-party bourgeoisie in the society’s condition of material life, that is, in the economic relations, namely, the social products’ production, exchange, distribution, and consumption.<sup>24</sup> In socialist society, the socialist system of public ownership has become the sole economic base. Then, how does this type of socialist economic foundation generate the inner-party bourgeoisie? Next, we will discuss this issue in three respects.

Firstly, in socialist society, the problem of the system of ownership has not been completely resolved.

Secondly, the commodity system engenders a new bourgeoisie.

<sup>24</sup> The original text of *On the Inner Party Bourgeoisie* also quoted Lenin’s definition of classes corresponding to the three aspects of the relations of production: **“And what does the “abolition of classes” mean? All those who call themselves socialists recognize this as the ultimate goal of socialism, but by no means all give thought to its significance. Classes are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labor, and, consequently, by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it. Classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labor of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy,”** (English from Lenin’s “A Great Beginning”). Under conditions of socialism, this group capable of appropriating the labor of another group is the inner-party bourgeoisie. It is produced continuously through the gestation of bourgeois right in the course of the movement of socialist relations of production.

Thirdly, the differentiation in distribution must lead to class distinctions.

Now let's discuss the first topic:

**In socialist society, the problem of the system of ownership has not been completely resolved.**

We all know that, in bourgeois society, bourgeois right first and foremost appears as bourgeois ownership of the means of production. The bourgeoisie possess the means of production, while laborers have nothing, and therefore laborers cannot but sell their labor power to capitalists in accordance with "the principle of exchange of equivalent values" to create surplus value for capitalists. Lenin said: "**Bourgeois right' recognizes the means of production as the property of individuals. Socialism converts it into common property. To that extent – and to that extent alone – 'bourgeois right' disappears,**" (Chinese from Lenin Selected Works, *V. 3*, pp. 252). What Lenin is speaking of here is a situation in which the whole society owns the means of production. Our country has not reached this phase. According to Lenin's saying, "**And as soon as equality is achieved for all members of society in relation to ownership of the means of production ... advancing further from formal equality to actual equality ...**" (Chinese from Lenin Selected Works, *V. 3*, pp. 256-257). Not even speaking of the fact that our socialist public ownership of the means of production consists of two forms, ownership by the whole people and the system of collective ownership by the laboring masses, but aside from this there is also a degree of private ownership. This is to say, within the scope of the system of ownership, bourgeois right has not been abolished, and therefore the problem of the system of ownership has not been completely resolved.

The system of ownership is not an object but a social relation of labor. The determination of a sort of system of ownership requires seeing the way in which laborers and the means of production are combined to carry out the activities of production. The different ways of combining laborers and the means of production determine different economic eras and distinguish them from one another. Take capitalist society as an example. In capitalist society, laborers and the means of production are separated from each other, and the two enter the processes of production by combining labor power as a commodity and the means of production as a commodity, and this process is a process of laborers creating surplus value for capitalists. This type of relation within a system of ownership is the relation of the system of capitalist ownership. If one only hoards a large amount of currency but never uses it to purchase labor power or means of production, nor invests the money into the process of production to produce surplus value, then this person is merely a miser, not a capitalist. The bourgeoisie is a class that relies on capital to exploit workers for surplus value. This is precisely what Engels said: "**By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of production and employers of**

**wage labor,**” (Chinese from Marx Engels Selected Works, V. 1, p.250, English can be seen in a footnote to the *The Communist Manifesto*). Then, under the condition of socialism, in which ways are laborers and the means of production combined to advance the movement of production? This is a key question for our research on the generation of the inner-party bourgeoisie.

The establishment of the socialist system of public ownership declares the beginning of the end of the epoch of separation between laborers and the means of production. It opens a new epoch for the unification of laborers and the means of production. Millions of laboring people have emancipated<sup>25</sup> themselves politically and economically and become masters of the country and of the means of production. However, the unification of laborers and the means of production under socialist conditions is still linked up with bourgeois right, and therefore different from the direct association between laborers and the means of production under the condition of communism. In *The State and Revolution*, Lenin said: **“we must not think that having overthrown capitalism people will at once learn to work for society without any rules of law. Besides, the abolition of capitalism does not immediately create the economic prerequisites for such a change,”** (Chinese from *Lenin Selected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 252). This rule of bourgeois right manifests itself in: 1. The need of the laborers to receive products is based on the amount of labor they expend, subtracting the amount of labor expended for social funds; 2. Society still preserves an apparatus that enforces the rule of law on people to organize social labor. Just as Lenin said: **“for law is nothing without an apparatus capable of enforcing the observance of the rules of law.”** (Chinese from *Lenin Selected Works*, Vol.3, pp. 256) This type of apparatus that enforces the observance of rules of law on people is a socialist economic organization established under the leadership of a state, a bourgeois state without bourgeoisie.

Since under the condition of socialism there still exists an apparatus enforcing the observance of the rules of law on people to organize social labor, some representatives must be chosen by the state and the laboring masses to exercise the function of administering and managing social production. In this arrangement, society will have a segment of people mainly carrying out mental labor and another segment of people chiefly performing manual labor. The existence of this type of social division of labor is one of the most important sources of social inequality. **“It is, therefore, the law of division of labor that lies at the basis of the division into classes,”** (Chinese from *Marx Engels Selected Works*, Vol.3, p. 321, English see *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific Part III Historical Materialism*). In the last stage of primitive society, in order to protect the common interest, the primitive commune chose to let specific individual members exercise managerial duties, under the supervision of the whole society. After undergoing certain stages of development, these individual members gradually transformed themselves from originally being public servants of society into being the masters of society, eventually becoming a slave owning class. Engels analyzed this long historical process in *Anti-Dühring*.

Within the relations of the socialist system of ownership, the power of those

<sup>25</sup> Ed. Literally “turned themselves over” (*fanshen* 翻身), a term commonly used in this context during the revolution.

representatives who assume the position of leaders and who manage social production is granted by the people. These representatives are in an apparatus that enforce the observance of the rule of law on people. They organize people to follow the rule of law to labor for society, directed by the overall goal of expanding communist elements within the relations of ownership. This is where the problem lies – though enforcing the observance of the rules of law on people is inevitable under the condition of socialism, it is in essence a function of the bourgeois state and the relations of the bourgeois system of ownership. This functionary duty likely leads to “one-man rule” that exercises “control, blocking, and suppression,”<sup>26</sup> causing representatives who assume leadership and manage social production to be gradually transformed from servants of society into masters of society. It also causes laborers to be separated from the means of production, and gradually become employed laborers. Engels pointed out that: “the management of industry by individuals necessarily implies private property ...” (Chinese from *Marx Engels Selected Works*, V. 1, pp. 217, English see *The Principles of Communism* by Engels). The Soviet Union’s socialist system of public ownership exactly went down this path of “one-man rule” and gradually transformed into bureaucratic-monopoly-capitalist ownership. Even before the Soviet Union’s all around restoration of capitalism, this system of “one-man rule” was gradually developing, and after the all-around restoration “one man rule” spread further and was fixed by law. The Soviet revisionists’ “Ordinance on State-owned Production Enterprises” stipulated that enterprises implement “one-man rule” and that directors of factories and managers control the “power to manage and operate the activities of production.” One manager of an architectural trust within a Soviet revisionist agricultural department confessed with the phrase: “The trust is my home, I am the master, and whatever I want to do I can.” Meanwhile, the broad worker-peasant laboring masses have been completely separated from the means of production and, again, brought down to the position of wage slaves. As disclosed by Soviet revisionist newspapers, in 1970, the industry department alone fired 6,630,000 staff members. In 1974, TASS candidly confessed that in the Soviet Union, 25 million people belonged to “households with economic difficulty,” and these people accounted for 1/5 of the Soviet Union’s urban population, and 1/10 of the Soviet Union’s overall population. The labor income of these households with economic difficulty could not sustain the minimum level of subsistence, and these households were struggling on the edge of starvation. Such is the severe consequence of the restoration of the relations of bourgeois ownership in the Soviet Union.

Chairman Mao attaches great importance to the transformation of the relations of ownership. To limit the bourgeois right that has not been entirely abolished in the area of the relations of ownership, Chairman Mao instructed us more than one time in a series of directives, from the directives on the Socialist Education Movement in 1964 to

<sup>26</sup> The charge leveled by the revolutionary left that the revisionist authorities instituted rules in enterprises that amounted to controlling workers to death, blocking them, and oppressing them.

the instructions on the question of leadership in the First Plenary Session of the 9<sup>th</sup> Central Committee (1969), that “**Management itself is a matter of socialist education.**” Managerial personnel must go to workshop groups to carry out “Three Together” (Eat together, live together, and labor together) and treat the workers as teachers to learn one or more crafts. Otherwise, “[The managerial personnel] then they will find themselves locked in acute class struggle with the working class all their lives and in the end are bound to be overthrown as bourgeois by the working class,”<sup>27</sup> (from *the People’s Daily*, July 1<sup>st</sup> 1971, English see the July 2, 1976 issue of *Peking Review*, “Build the Party in the Course of Struggle”).<sup>28</sup> Chairman Mao explicitly stated that the leadership in factories and enterprises must be firmly held by the hands of real Marxists and of the laboring masses. The series of directives by Chairman Mao illuminates the path for completing and consolidating the socialist system of ownership in the process of struggle, preventing the restoration of relations of bourgeois ownership, and gradually eradicating the economic foundation for generating an inner-party bourgeoisie. At the same time, this also presents a profound critique of “one-man rule.” To adhere to or to oppose this path is a serious struggle between the proletariat and the inner-party bourgeoisie within the arena of the relations of ownership. Almost without exception, the inner-party bourgeoisie is the kind that always opposes this path and defends “one-man rule.” Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao were of this kind, and so is Deng Xiaoping. They talked nonsense like the working class is “a broken chair,” and “unreliable,” and things like “the reliance on workers, peasants, and soldiers is relative.” Putting it bluntly, this is to deny that the working class and poor and middle peasants are the masters in the relation of ownership, and this also means the expansion of bourgeois right in the area of ownership. “On Several Issues on Accelerating Industrial Development,”—the concoction of which was incited by Deng Xiaoping himself—is a shameful example of advocating “one-man rule.” “One-man rule” not only opposes the party’s unified leadership but also represses the working masses, treating the working masses as a sheer labor force. This application totally complies with the framework of bourgeois right in the productive process. This is a process of accelerating the cultivation of the inner-party bourgeoisie and the social foundation for the restoration of capitalism. Only by adhering to the path Chairman Mao has illuminated can the proletariat gradually resolve problems within the area of the relations of ownership and completely triumph over the inner-party bourgeoisie.

We have just discussed the first topic: in socialist society, the problem of ownership has not been entirely resolved. Next, we will discuss the second topic:

<sup>27</sup> Management itself is a matter of socialist education. If the managerial staff do not join the workers on the shop floor, work, study and live with them and modestly learn one or more skills from them, then they will find themselves locked in acute class struggle with the working class all their lives and in the end are bound to be overthrown as bourgeois by the working class. If they don't learn any technical skills and remain outsiders for a long time, they won't be able to do management well either. Those in the dark are in no position to light the way for others.

<sup>28</sup> Ed. <http://www.massline.org/PekingReview/PR1976/PR1976-27.pdf#page=6>

### **The commodity system engenders a new bourgeoisie.**

This problem needs to be broken down into two points, the first point discusses the inner-party bourgeoisie's growth out of the soil of the commodity system; the second point discusses the inner-party bourgeoisie's growth out of the commodity system and its use of the commodity system to cultivate new bourgeois elements. Let's start with the first point: the inner-party bourgeoisie's growth out of this soil of the commodity system.

After our country generally completed the socialist transformation **in the aspect of ownership of means of production, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Relations between production and exchange in accordance with socialist principles are being gradually established within and between all branches of our economy, and more and more appropriate forms are being sought,"** (Chinese from *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, standalone version, 1957: 11-12). Then, under the condition of socialist public ownership, what kind of relations are the relations between production and exchange within and between all branches of the economy? What connection exists between these relations and the generation of new bourgeoisie and the inner-party bourgeoisie? This is the problem we need to analyze deeply.

With the establishment and development of socialist public ownership, what the society produces and the ways in which products are produced and exchanged undergo significant transformation. Before, under the condition of capitalist private ownership, the society's production and ways in which they are produced and exchanged were coordinated by the law of value and dominated by the law of surplus value, and no one could control their own fate. Socialism opens up a new era where people can control their own fate. On the basis of socialist public ownership, the law of developing the country's economy in accordance with plan and proportion starts playing a coordinating role. From then, people can work hard to make plans on what to produce and how to produce and exchange in accordance with the needs of the entire society.

However, under socialism, a commodity system is still practiced. That is to say, the relations between production and exchange within and between all branches of economy, though coordinated by the law of planning, are still linked up with the basic rule of commodity production,<sup>29</sup> the law of value. Of course, the sphere of influence of the law of value under socialism is different than that under capitalism, and [under socialism] it is already possible for people to gradually comprehend and utilize it. But this is an extremely intricate process. Once the product of labor is produced as a commodity, the contradiction between the commodity's use value and its value is inevitable. When people's products are realized in the form of value, they must be measured by the uniform scale of average socially necessary labor time. This use of a

<sup>29</sup> In the original text *On Discussing the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie*, it states "which is the production of value."

unified scale to measure different units of commodity production reflects the formal equality but actual inequality of bourgeois right. Under a commodity system, this bourgeois right exists severely in the relations of production and exchange within the various branches of the economy.

Socialist commodity production, on the one hand, is consciously controlled by people in accordance with plan, and the interrelationship between people should be transparent; on the other hand, **“This I call the Fetishism which attaches itself to the products of labor, so soon as they are produced as commodities,”** (Chinese see *Marx and Engels Collected Works*, V. 23, p.89, English *Capital*, Chapter 1) and the mythical veil of the world of commodities hence blocks people’s vision, making the interrelationship between people in production appear to be vague. In this way, the social relations between people will also be converted into the social relations between things, and human capacity will be converted into the capacity of things. This is because in the process of commodity production what people see on a large scale are the converted forms of value: output value, profit, tax, cost, value, wage, interest, and so on. Furthermore, in socialist society, it is still those values expressed in terms of money, for instance, output value, cost, profit, and so on, that are capable of comprehensively expressing the level of development of the national economy and capable of reflecting the developmental situation of production and operation within one factory or one shop. From the perspective of a commodity’s exchange value, the amount of socially necessary labor of all kinds of commodities negates the specific amount of labor expended in producing all sorts of commodities in each enterprise. Meanwhile, the prices of all kinds of commodities, expressed through money, will inevitably deviate from the value of these commodities. The prices of some commodities are higher than their values, but the prices of other commodities are lower than their value. In this way, in the process of realizing the value of commodities, the summed-up prices of all kinds of commodities expressed by money, or the overall output value, cover up the real situation of specific amounts of labor expended by each enterprise in the production of commodities. Those who expend a larger amount of individual labor won’t necessarily realize more general output value. Likewise in the opposite direction, those who expend a lower amount of individual labor won’t necessarily realize a lower overall output value. Therefore, when a commodity’s overall output value is placed before us, just as with money, there is no rotten smell.<sup>30</sup> In situations in which the expenditure of individual amounts of labor are overall similar overall, it will be easier to achieve the same quote for output value by producing commodities whose prices are higher than their value than it would be if producing commodities whose prices are lower than their value. This trend will drive the leaders of all branches and enterprises in a socialist economy to achieve higher overall output values at a lower expenditure of individual labor by all means. This is in

<sup>30</sup> Ed. I.e. The various individual forms of labor that contribute to a commodity and the oppressive relations of production they exist within are disguised by the surface exchange value, reflecting the “uniform” of the average socially necessary labor required to produce the commodity.

fact what “output value in command, profit in command” is.<sup>31</sup> When this happens, in decisions about what is produced and the ways in which products are produced and exchanged, such leaders will make every effort to abandon coordination from rules of planning, and submit to the coordination of the law of value. These types of leaders are already walking on the capitalist road. In this way, not only is the socialist planned economy sabotaged, but socialist public ownership is also practically divided into the ownership of branches and conglomerates. With more development, it also will become the ownership of bureaucratic monopoly capitalism. The inner-party bourgeoisie is thus generated. Previously we discussed the first point: the inner-party bourgeoisie’s growth out of the soil of the commodity system. Next, we will get into the second point—the inner-party bourgeoisie’s growth out of the soil of the commodity system, and its use of the commodity system to cultivate new bourgeois elements, and get into the third topic: the differentiation in distribution must lead to class distinctions.

Above we have discussed the second topic in this lecture: The commodity system engenders a new bourgeoisie. This topic is divided into two points, and we have already discussed the first one, the inner-party bourgeoisie’s growth out of the soil of the commodity system.

Now we will continue with a discussion of the second point: the inner-party bourgeoisie’s growth out of the commodity system and its use of the commodity system to cultivate new bourgeois elements.

The bourgeoisie in the party, as the capitalist roaders in power, is in the economic position of leading and managing certain departments and enterprises of the national economy. They lead production and management activities onto a path regulated by the law of value, and the social consequences are serious. When production is regulated by the law of value, there will inevitably be a serious shortage of some commodities and a large backlog of some commodities. Once this happens, the law of supply and demand comes into play. The backlog of commodities often has to be dealt with at a reduced price, and their original value cannot be realized; the shortage of commodities will inevitably increase in price, giving speculators an opportunity to seize. Under the conditions of the implementation of planned prices, the rise of commodities in short supply will inevitably appear in the free market, although it generally does not appear immediately on the socialist market. If people want to get those goods that are in short supply, they need to purchase them by paying more than the planned price. Thus, the portion of the money above the planned price falls into private pockets. New bourgeois elements in society are cultivated by the inner-party bourgeoisie through such channels.

<sup>31</sup> In the original text *On the Inner Party Bourgeoisie* it also states here, “if one continues down this road, inevitably one leaves behind the goal of socialist production, and can go so far as to embark on a “mad chase of value.”

The commodity system breeds the inner-party bourgeoisie, and the inner-party bourgeoisie uses the commodity system to cultivate new bourgeois elements in society.<sup>32</sup> This whole process can be seen very clearly in today's Soviet Union.

Under the commodity system, the bourgeoisie within the party had already appeared in the Soviet Union. After the death of Stalin, this class has gained a dominant position in the Soviet Union. It is the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie. Now the Soviet revisionist renegade clique openly declares: "The law of value is the main and absolute regulator of public production", "The category of value is the only economic lever for managing the national economy", and nonsense such as "profit is the only criterion for evaluating enterprises," and so on. In order to pursue profits and earn bonuses, Soviet enterprises are only willing to produce high profit products and are unwilling to produce low profit products, severely damaging the objective proportional relationship between various economic sectors.

Under such circumstances, it is inevitable that corruption, theft, and speculation flourish.

It has become an extremely common phenomenon among Soviet revisionists to obtain rare commodities by opening back doors and other methods, and then sell them at double, triple, or quadruple the price. As a result, the official market has empty shelves and the black market has everything you need. The vast majority of working people have been beaten to the bone by the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie in the production process, and after receiving meager wages, they will be cramped and skinned by society's bourgeois elements. Today's Soviet Union has fully restored the capitalist commodity system. Under this commodity system, on the one hand, a large number of inner-party bourgeoisie are produced, and a large number of bourgeoisie in society are cultivated through the inner-party bourgeoisie, on the other hand, it causes the broad masses of laboring people to be plunged ever deeper into an abyss of misery and oppression. In the interrelationships of production and exchange in the various sectors of the USSR economy, everything revolves around the ruble. "The ruble is the locomotive" has become the motto of the Soviet revisionists. Behind this interrelationship of production and exchange lies the interrelationship of people. Since everything revolves around the ruble the relationships between people will inevitably be submerged in the icy water of egoism and become a naked money relationship. How can there be any shadow of socialism or communism in this? The Soviet bourgeoisie, represented by the Soviet revisionist-traitor clique, are completely vampires who brutally exploit the working people, and are the sworn enemy of the working people of the Soviet Union.

<sup>32</sup> In the original text of *On the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie*, this is stated as: "In the movement of the social economy, on one hand the inner-party bourgeoisie is hatched from within the commodity system, and on the other hand, it uses the commodity system for incubating bourgeois elements.

Chairman Mao outlined our country's practical experience in socialist revolution and the historical lesson of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, pointing out: **“Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, there being the eight-grade wage system, etc. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus it would be quite easy for people like Lin Biao to push the capitalist system if they come to power,”** (from *Hongqi*, Issue 3, 1975, English see *Peking Review*, #9, February 28, 1975). The commodity system is a social and economic relationship including commodity production and currency exchange. Historically, the old bourgeoisie emerged from the commodity system; under socialism, the commodity system will also breed the inner-party bourgeoisie.<sup>33</sup> The commodity system embodies bourgeois right. This is the most important soil for the continued existence of the old bourgeoisie and the continuous emergence of the new bourgeoisie, especially the inner-party bourgeoisie. To restrict the commodity system under the dictatorship of the proletariat is to restrict the bourgeois right embodied in the commodity system. This is a long historical process, full of contradiction and struggle. Liu Shaoqi's emphasis on profits and material incentives, and Deng Xiaoping's advocacy that “it's okay to be in command” in terms of profits all had the aim of expanding the bourgeois right embodied in the commodity system, that is, in vainly attempting to expand bourgeois right in the relationships between people and to dig out the socialist economic base. After the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Criticism of Lin Biao and Confucianism, the criticism of Deng Xiaoping, and Struggle to Counterattack the Right-Deviationist Reversal-of-Verdicts Trend, the masses and cadres of our country have continuously deepened their understanding of the problem of the commodity system under the condition of socialism. The awareness of bourgeois right arising in the commodity system is increasing daily. In its previous issue, the magazine *Study and Criticism*<sup>34</sup> published the advanced achievement of the Shanghai Industrial Glass No. 5 Factory. In order to meet the requirements of the market and of the majority of workers, peasants and soldiers, they mobilized the masses, discovered untapped potential, and carried out technological innovation, hence taking the initiative to undertake and excellently complete the task of producing tea trays. They did so under the conditions in which their labor force per shift increased by 500% while experiencing a drop in the value they produced of 2,000 yuan.<sup>35</sup> In doing so, they not only met the needs of the society, but also fulfilled their plan<sup>36</sup> for output value. On this topic, they have excellently resolved the contradiction between use value and value of commodities. This incident shows that under the condition of

<sup>33</sup> In the original text *On the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie*, here it states, Historically, the old bourgeoisie was hatched in the commodity system; under socialism, it will also hatch the inner-party bourgeoisie, a new capitalist class.

<sup>34</sup> Ed. (*Xuexi Yu Pipan* 学习与批判) Founded in 1973 and published out of Shanghai, this was one of the left's leading theoretical journals up until the rightist coup in 1976, and frequently incorporated investigation of theoretical matters by factory worker study groups.

<sup>35</sup> Ed. In other words, in order to fulfill this important societal need, the factory expended more labor and realized less value, a situation which would not be tolerated under the dominance of bourgeois right and under the slogan of “profit in command.”

<sup>36</sup> Ed. i.e. planned quota for output value.

socialism, as commodity production is the production of value, in the face of exchange value people are often dominated by things and the value form. However, the socialist public ownership system has established the premise that people control things. People are no longer completely powerless in the face of exchange value as they are in capitalist society. Instead, they can act, and exert human subjective initiative to limit the harm caused by the commodity system. This process of consciously restricting the bourgeois right embodied in the commodity system will be a process of continuously shrinking and gradually eradicating the soil that produces the bourgeoisie and new bourgeois elements in the party. It is also a process of unceasing growth of communist elements and unceasing growth of the proletariat's strength.

Above we have discussed the second topic: the commodity system engenders a new bourgeoisie.

Next we will discuss the third topic:

### **The differentiation in distribution must lead to class distinctions.**

Differences in distribution are a significant indication of class differences. The primitive communes dissolved as differences in distribution arose. In *Anti-Duhring*, Engels analyzed the process of the dissolution of the primitive commune, and stating: **“where considerable inequality of distribution among the members of the community sets in, this is an indication that the commune is already beginning to break up,”** and **“along with differences in distribution, class differences emerge”** (*Marx & Engels Selected Works, V. 3*, pp. 87, English see *Anti-Duhring* Chapter 1). The relation of distribution is determined by the system of ownership, however, the relation of distribution also counteracts the system of ownership and even plays a decisive role under certain conditions. Under the conditions of socialism, the generation of the inner-party bourgeoisie is closely associated with bourgeois right within the relations of distribution.

Socialist relations of distribution, like those in other societies, is determined by the system of ownership. Under socialist public ownership, the distribution of individual consumer goods is carried out according to the socialist principle of “from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor.” The notion of each according to his labor follows the principle of commodities exchanged at equal value, that is, a certain amount of labor in a certain form can be exchanged for another amount of labor in another form. This is a sort of formal equality that in actuality is the inequality of bourgeois right. This right is premised on the recognition of laborers' labor as their own personal labor. **“because under the altered circumstances, no one can give anything except his labor, and because, on the other hand,, nothing can pass to the ownership of individuals, except individual means of consumption.”** (*Marx and Engels Selected Work, V. 3*, p. 11, English *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Chapter 1). This

is to say that **“it tacitly recognizes unequal individual endowment, and thus productive capacity, as a natural privilege”** (*Marx & Engels Selected Works*, V. 3, p. 12 English *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Chapter 1). Laborers receive a share of the means of consumption corresponding to the amount of labor they expend less the labor they perform for societal funds. Some laborers have stronger abilities and some have weaker abilities; some have more people to feed while others do not. Under the eight-grade wage scale, regardless of the size of one’s family, one receives the same amount of wage for the same labor. In this way, society experiences a differentiation in wealth among the people, and bourgeois right is still dominant in the sphere of distribution. This is especially evident in the process of exercising the principle of each according to their contribution, a principle that further affirms the differences between simple and complex labor, and between manual labor and mental labor. And in this way, differences in distribution are further widened. In socialist society, some members of the communist party don’t want to advance forward, and some people want to go backward by opposing revolution. Why? This is because they become high officials and they want to defend the privileges of high-ranking officials. They have a good house, car, high salary, and even servants. These powerful officials have their own privileges, and must protect them. This indicates that these high-ranking officials have become revisionists and members of an inner-party bourgeoisie. The inner-party bourgeoisie—in order to defend the privileges of high-ranking officials—must oppose the act of limiting and criticizing bourgeois right, widen the differences in distribution, and maintain their privileges. These differences in distribution to a certain extent reflect the differences in economic status between them and the people. An important component of the inner-party bourgeoisie is derived from the economic position of sharing the interests of high officials. As pointed out by Chairman Mao, some members of the party changed, and some are in the process of changing, some without our vigilance will change too. It is true that many factors contribute to changes among a section of party members. But the change is inseparable from the lure of bourgeois right in the area of distribution.

The inner-party bourgeoisie, the capitalist roaders in power, all do not participate in productive labor. Their wage income under the dictatorship of the proletariat, is derived from the redistribution of the national income obtained from the stockpile provided by the workers and peasants. They are all supported by the workers and peasants, but do not provide any benefit for the workers and peasants. Their possession of the social wealth created by the workers and peasants is actually the exploitation of the workers and peasants. The whole of the problem is not merely the formation of the interests of high ranking officials and the formation of interests of an inner-party bourgeoisie through securing legal salaries in the wage form, based on the division of labor. The exploitative activities of the inner-party bourgeoisie will never stop there. The inner-party bourgeoisie, under the conditions in which they are in power, participate to varying degrees in determining the distribution and

redistribution of national income. Through this distribution and redistribution of the national income, they not only take advantage of their privileges and adopt “legal” and various illegal means to plunder the income for society created by the workers and peasants’ labor and production, , but also plunder a part of the income for the workers and peasants’ own labor, This is the case in the present Soviet Union.

In the Soviet Union, the labor income of workers and peasants is expressed in wages and bonuses.

The bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie of the Soviet Union also carried out extra-economic exploitation of this part of the labor income of workers and peasants. The so-called “Shchekino experiment” carried out in the industry is a typical example. This “experiment” required the enterprise to reduce personnel and dismiss workers by increasing the labor intensity of workers; after the reduction of personnel, all or most of the so-called “surplus” salary fund was retained by the enterprise as an incentive fund. However, this kind of incentive fund is pitifully small for laboring workers, and most of it falls into the pockets of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie. According to the survey material of 704 enterprises in the Soviet Union, in 1968, workers received only 18.1 percent of the incentive fund, and the remaining 81.9 percent was seized by elements of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie. As for the net income created by workers and peasants in the Soviet Union in the form of taxes and corporate profits under socialism, after the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie usurped national power, these taxes and corporate profits were all owned by the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie and used to support the interests of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie. Therefore, these taxes and corporate profits are actually the converted form of surplus value. According to calculations published by the Soviet revisionists, the rate of surplus value in the industrial sectors of the Soviet Union was as high as 200 percent, twice as high as in the Tsarist era. In recent years, about 52% to 55% of the total national income has been embezzled and divided by the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie and its state apparatus.

From this we can see that in the Soviet Union, the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie has become an out-and-out vampire.

Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is of course impossible for the bourgeoisie in the party to rob all the net income created by the workers and peasants for the society as brazenly and freely as they did in the Soviet Union. However, in the places, departments, and enterprises controlled by the inner-party bourgeoisie, they are still able to turn part of the net income created by workers and peasants for society into illegal income<sup>37</sup> and transfer it to their own pockets in large

<sup>37</sup> In the text of “On the Inner Party Bourgeoisie” this is stated as “a large portion is converted into illicit

quantities. And because the bourgeoisie within the party has the function of cultivating new bourgeois elements in society, they actually transfer part of the net income of the state or the collective to the bourgeois elements through market relations. On an individual basis the capitalist-roader may not have taken illegal income during this process, but from the basis of the entire bourgeoisie, in the process they have taken away part of the state and collective net income.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, if we determine whether someone is a capitalist-roader or inner-party bourgeoisie merely by analyzing how much use value and enjoyment a single individual obtains, this is far from enough. Instead we must analyze the capitalist-rovers as a class that revives capitalist production relations. Moreover, if we are satisfied with this superficial analysis of things, we may even leave the Marxist class analysis method and fall into idealism and metaphysics.

This has been the discussion of the third topic: the differentiation in distribution must lead to class distinctions.

We have discussed the economic basis for the formation of the inner-party bourgeoisie from the perspective of the three aspects of the relations of production. To sum up, after the basic realization of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, socialist relations of production become the sole economic basis for our socialist society, but these are immature communist relations of production, which contain both communist elements as well as capitalist traditions and birthmarks. The concentrated expression of these capitalist traditions and birthmarks in socialist relations of production is bourgeois rights. This kind of bourgeois right exists to varying degrees in the three areas of socialist relations of production—in ownership, interrelations, and distribution, and in the four links of production, distribution, exchange and consumption within the movement of the social economy. The inner-party bourgeoisie has been continuously produced through the cultivation of bourgeois right in the movement of socialist relations of production. If we want to fight against the inner-party bourgeoisie, we must constantly limit

income and placed into their purses.”

<sup>38</sup> In the text of “On the Inner Party Bourgeoisie” there is also this analysis: **“In particular, the inner-party bourgeoisie are the same as the old capitalists, they exist as the personification of capital.”** **“But, so far as he is personified capital, it is not values in use and the enjoyment of them, but exchange-value and its augmentation, that spur him into action,”** and **“As such, he shares with the miser the passion for wealth as wealth. But that which in the miser is a mere idiosyncrasy, is, in the capitalist, the effect of the social mechanism, of which he is but one of the wheels,”** (Chinese from *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, V. 23, p. 649, English see *Capital* Chapter 24, “Conversion of Surplus Value into Capital”). Like the capitalists, the capitalist roaders in the party are also a driving force in the social mechanism of capitalist production relations. The difference between the two is that the capitalists are driving the operation of capitalist production relations, while the capitalist roaders in the party are the driving wheels of reviving the operation of capitalist production relations. The functions are the same, but the conditions are different, that’s all. Therefore, if we determine whether someone is a capitalist-roader or inner-party bourgeoisie merely by analyzing how much use value and enjoyment a single individual obtains, this is far from enough. Instead we must analyze the capitalist-rovers as a class that revives capitalist production relations.

bourgeois right within socialist relations of production, gradually eradicate the soil on which the bourgeoisie depends, and create conditions that prevent the bourgeoisie from existing or reproducing, so as to completely bury the inner-party bourgeoisie, this final offspring of the bourgeoisie!

## Lecture Four: The Function of the Superstructure in the Process of the Formation of the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie

Aired on October 5 and October 9, 1976

Comrades, the party center calls on us, carry forward Chairman Mao's unfulfilled work, uphold class struggle as the key link, uphold the party's basic line, and uphold the continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This being the case, throughout the entire socialist period, we have to persevere in our criticism of the bourgeoisie, criticize revisionism, limit bourgeois right, and uphold the struggle against the capitalist roaders in the party. In the last lecture, we discussed how under the dictatorship of the proletariat, bourgeois right produces the primary economic foundation for the inner-party bourgeoisie. That being so, what function does the superstructure perform in the process of the formation of the inner-party bourgeoisie? This time, we have prepared a discussion based on our understanding of this question.

Now we will break it down into four points for discussion:

Firstly, we will discuss the first topic:

### **Politics is the concentrated expression of economics.**

Marxism tells us, politics is in the realm of the superstructure, it is the concentrated expression of economics. The primary part of the political superstructure is the state. Consequently, our clarity on the state is of special significance to gaining clarity on the role the superstructure plays in the process of the formation of the inner party bourgeoisie.

The Marxist theory of the state holds that the state is in fact always an apparatus for the suppression of one class by another. Under the system of capitalism, the state is the **"tool for capital's exploitation of wage labor"** (*Origins of the Family, Property, and the State*, Chinese from *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, V. 4, p. 168), a violent organization that suppresses the working class and the broad laboring masses. **"Not matter what its form, [it] is essentially is a capitalist machine—the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital"** (*Anti-Duhring*, Chinese from *Marx and Engels Selected Works*, V. 3, p. 318) it protects the interests of the capitalist class, it is the concentrated expression of the economic foundation of capitalism. As a result, the proletariat must obtain victory in socialist revolution, and to do so must firstly take-up arms and smash the bourgeois state apparatus and establish a proletarian state apparatus. Then just what sort of state is it that the proletariat establishes?

Chairman Mao clearly states, **"Lenin said they had built a bourgeois state without**

**the bourgeoisie for the preservation of bourgeois right. We ourselves have built such a state, not so different from the old society**” (See “Chairman Mao’s Primary Directives” Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Document 4, 1976,<sup>39</sup> Chinese from *People’s Daily*, May 16, 1976). The socialist state established by the proletariat is a state without capitalists. That is to say, it already is different from all the states of the dictatorships of exploiting classes in history. It is not the state of an exploiters’ class dictatorship, in which the minority, the exploiters, suppress the majority of laborers. Instead, it is the state of a proletarian dictatorship in which the majority of laborers suppress the minority—the exploiters. This is a great historical advance. But, the state established by the proletariat still is a bourgeois state without a bourgeoisie, not so different from the old society. What is the meaning of this? This is to say, this state must still preserve bourgeois right, or in other words, it preserves those systems that are formally equal but which in fact are not equal. The function of this state does not differ much from the function of the capitalist state. The socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has this dual nature, which is in fact the concentrated expression of the dual nature at the foundation of socialist economics. On one hand, through the transformation of the system of ownership, the socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat already no longer is a state in the former sense. On the other hand, due to the preservation of bourgeois right, this state is not so different from the old society. The implication of this sort of contradiction in socialist countries is that the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie must have an intense and long-term development within the state and throughout the superstructure. This struggle profoundly explains that politics is the concentrated expression of economics—this foundational principle of Marxism. This is the result of our study on the first part of the lecture.

Next, the second topic will be discussed:

**Bureaucracy provides the essential condition for the generation of the inner-party bourgeoisie.**

Chairman Mao teaches us: **“All revolutionary struggles in the world are to seize political power, to solidify political power. And those reactionary die-hards who struggle against a revolutionary force all do so to maintain their political rule.”** (From the January 22, 1967 edition of *People’s Daily*). After the proletariat establishes its own state rule, there exists a question of solidifying state political power. All the essential questions of revolution are questions of state political power. At the same time, all the essential questions of counter-revolution are questions of state political power. This is because, after a counter-revolutionary force loses its political power, it always dreams of seizing back its political power. Only by achieving this objective can they completely restore the system of capitalist exploitation. On one hand, the proletariat

<sup>39</sup> Ed. See

<https://www.bannedthought.net/China/MaoEra/GPCR/Chinese/ChairmanMao'sPrimaryDirectives-CCP-CC-1976-Doc4-EngWithNotes.pdf>

seeks to stabilize political rule, construct socialism and in the end realize communism; on the other hand, the bourgeoisie seeks to seize political power, and completely restore capitalism. In this way, there necessarily develops a struggle between a proletariat that seeks to stabilize political power and a bourgeoisie that seeks to seize political power.

Under the condition of proletariat dictatorship, the bourgeoisie seeks to usurp political power anew, and to restore its lost “heavenly palace.” To do so, it generally does this in two ways. One is to blatantly carry out armed counter-revolutionary attacks. The other is to bore inside the proletariat and to promote erosion and corrosion and peaceful evolution, waiting for the opportune moment to suddenly launch a counter-revolutionary coup without changing the name of political rule. Under the [*ed. fake red*] banner it changes the essence of political rule from proletariat to bourgeoisie.

These two methods used by the bourgeoisie to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship tend to be used interchangeably. But in comparison to the second, the first method easily arouses people’s vigilance, and hence does not easily succeed; the latter method does not easily arouse people’s vigilance, and hence is the most dangerous. This sort of danger not only resides in the fact that such a method for overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat is heavily concealed,<sup>40</sup> not easily arousing people’s attention. But furthermore, under the state rule established by the bourgeoisie, apart from the safeguarding of bourgeois right that we spoke of before, there also exists the pernicious bureaucratic practices passed down from the bourgeoisie. For instance, the practices among bourgeois officialdom for the official to be the boss, rigid hierarchy, bad bureaucratic practices, traditionalism, performing tasks with minimum care, and more. These things are existing functions and evil practices of bourgeois rule that exist within the proletariat state’s apparatuses. Although under the guidance of the correct Marxist line they can be gradually restricted and dealt with, this requires undergoing a long period of repeated struggle before being resolved. If their development is tolerated, expands, or gains strength, this will cause proletarian rule to change its essence unconsciously.

After the establishment of the political power in the Soviet Union, Lenin spoke of this problem once, a second time, and then a third time, alerting the Russian proletariat to remain vigilant. He said, **“The tsarist bureaucrats began to join the Soviet institutions and practice their bureaucratic methods, they began to assume the coloring of Communists and, to succeed better in their careers, to procure membership cards of the Russian Communist Party. And so, they have been thrown out of the door but they creep back in through the window,”** (“Report On The Party Programme” from “the

<sup>40</sup> In the original text of *On the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie* the character used here and in the subsequent text for concealed— 荫蔽 (yīn bì, i.e. concealed by foliage) was instead written as 隐蔽 (yīnbì, i.e. hidden).

Eighth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) March 18-23, 1919” Chinese from *Lenin Collected Works*, V. 29, p. 156. In the end of 1922, Lenin put forward, **“It is enough that in five years we have created a new type of state in which the workers are leading the peasants against the bourgeoisie; and in a hostile international environment this in itself is a gigantic achievement. But knowledge of this must on no account blind us to the fact that, in effect we took over the old machinery of state from the tsar and the bourgeoisie and that now, with the onset of peace and the satisfaction of the minimum requirements against famine, all our work must be directed towards improving the administrative machinery.”** “Letter to the Congress,” Chinese from *Lenin Collected Works*, V. 36, p. 619. After a few more days, Lenin also pointed out: the Soviet state apparatus, [ed. was taken] **“from tsarism and slightly anointed with Soviet oil,”** (from “The Question of Nationalities or ‘Autonomisation,’” Chinese from *Lenin Collected Works*, V. 36). This sort of bourgeois evil practice in the socialist state apparatuses is in fact a sort of evil bureaucratic practice. Because the dictatorship of the proletariat maintains both unified leadership and political power for organizing the entire national economy, the evil bureaucratic habits of this political power also tend to provide an important condition for the formation of the inner party bourgeoisie. If it can be said that bourgeois right is the soil which cultivates the inner party bourgeoisie, then such bureaucratic evil practices in the organs of proletarian political power are in fact the climate above this soil that nurtures the inner party bourgeoisie.

Lenin’s instruction at the time that **“All our work must be directed towards improving the administrative machinery,”** did not receive a great deal of attention, and certainly was not diligently acted upon. Consequently, after Lenin’s passing, the bureaucratic evil practices within the organs of Soviet political rule were not gradually eradicated. Furthermore, people at the time did not take to heart Lenin’s teaching that the socialist state is still a bourgeois state without a bourgeoisie. To the contrary, the function of Soviet political power in guaranteeing bourgeois right was strengthened. In this way, within Soviet political power, bureaucratic evil practices in fact developed, resulting in Soviet political power to increasingly be the place for the inner-party bourgeoisie to swarm and take action. Under these conditions, in addition to the widespread existence of bourgeois right in the area of the economic foundation, when the likes of Khrushchev and Brezhnev came to power, it was naturally very easy to promote a capitalist system.

In summing up the correct and incorrect aspects of the international experience of the proletarian dictatorships, Chairman Mao especially emphasized the problems of reform of the superstructure and of the state apparatuses. Chairman Mao said, **“The superstructure, comprising 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 socialist way of organizing labor; it is in correspondence with the socialist economic base, that is, with**

socialist relations of production. But the existence of bourgeois ideology, a certain bureaucratic style of work in our state organs and defects in some of the links in our state institutions are in contradiction with the socialist economic base,” “On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People” (Stand-alone edition, p. 12). The socialist revolution not only must resolve problems of productive relations, but also the problems of the superstructure. The people of our country and the personnel in the state apparatuses adhere to Chairman Mao’s teaching, and unceasingly advance struggle against the bureaucratic tendencies within the state apparatuses. However, due to the disturbance of Liu Shaoqi’s revisionist line, the bureaucratic tendencies within the state apparatuses were not uprooted, and in a portion of the state apparatuses such tendencies were particularly strong. This was to the extent that the bureaucratic tendencies of some were not only not dealt with, but in fact developed to the point that they became capitalist roaders in power. The class of bureaucrats breeds both on the soil of bourgeois right and under the climate of bureaucracy. In 1964, Chairman Mao analyzed the new changes within our country’s class relations, astutely pointing out that, **“The bureaucratic class is a class in sharp opposition to the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants.”** The class of bureaucrats<sup>41</sup> are in fact the capitalist roaders in power, and are in fact the inner-party bourgeoisie that exists during the socialist period. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution destroyed the two headquarters of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao, and in the midst of the movement to Counterattack the Right-Deviationist Reversal-of-Verdicts Trend also smashed the counter-revolutionary political conspiracy in Tiananmen Square incited by the hands of Deng Xiaoping. The mighty Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the present struggles victoriously developing and deepening across the country against Deng, are powerfully striking the inner-party bourgeoisie, and cleaning the state apparatuses of putrid bureaucratic sludge, and lashing out at bureaucratic right. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution saw the inception of the three-in-one committees, combining the elderly, middle-age, and youth. This is an important reform of the state apparatus. Chairman Mao pointed out that, **“The revolutionary committees must put forward unified leadership, break apart overlapping administrative apparatuses, and implement streamlined and efficient administration, and organize a revolutionized leading group connected with the masses ... The most essential element of the reform of state apparatuses is in fact connecting with the masses”** (from the March 30, 1968 edition of *People’s Daily*). Our party and the state’s cadres are common laborers, and are not bosses riding on the backs of the people We should follow the teaching of Chairman Mao, and **wholeheartedly serve the people**, without divorcing ourselves from the masses for a moment, persevere in participating in collective productive labor, follow the path of the May 7<sup>th</sup> Directive, implement the “three together,”<sup>42</sup> line up together with the worker and peasant masses, and consciously limit bourgeois right, and overall prevent **“the transformation of the state and the organs of the state from servants of**

<sup>41</sup> In the original text of *On the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie* it is also stated here that “this class is the epitome of bureaucratic vices.”

<sup>42</sup> Ed. Work together, live together, and eat together with the masses.

**society into masters of society,”** (*Civil War in France*, Chinese from *Marx and Engels Collected Works*, V. 2, p. 335. This is an important factor in prevailing over the inner-party bourgeoisie.

Below we will discuss the third topic:

**The ideology of the exploiting class is the spiritual pillar and theoretical weapon of the inner-party bourgeoisie.**

Along with the transformation of property and the transformation of the essence of state political power, Marxist ideology increasingly becomes the guiding ideology of the whole society. The ideology of the entire decaying exploiting class begins to fall apart day by day. However, the transformation of the old economic foundation reflects old thoughts remaining in the foundation from the old society, and cannot be transformed at once. The way of Confucius and Mencius originally constituted the ideological system of the declining slave-owning class. However, it can also be accepted by the landlord and capitalist class, and be used as a reactionary tool to protect the landlords and capitalists. At the same time, under socialism, this sort of reactionary philosophy can become the spiritual pillars and theoretical weapons to push forward a revisionist line and restore capitalism by the sorts of inner-bourgeoisie as Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping.

Lenin said, **“When the old society perishes, its corpse cannot be nailed up in a coffin and lowered into the grave. It disintegrates in our midst; the corpse rots and infects us,”** (“Joint Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet of Workers’, Peasants’ and Red Army Deputies and the Trade Unions,” Chinese from *Lenin Collected Works*, V. 27, p. 407. The inner party bourgeoisie is in fact like a toadstool, in the process of growing out of the rotten corpse of the old society. Consequently, bourgeois ideology is particularly concentrated in this class, and is particularly stubborn. From the sort of people as Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping, we can see, not only did they completely inherit the ideology of the bourgeoisie, but also completely inherited the ideology of the slave owning and feudal classes. We know, without certain social economic relations, a class cannot be formed —this is correct. But, a certain ideology, for instance capitalist ideology, undergoes meticulous fabrication over a long period of development. Serving as a traditional outlook in the superstructure, a sort of enormous conservative force, it can subdue certain elements from different classes to aspects of its class. This is not uncommon. It is just on the basis of this significance that we say that the presence of bourgeois influence is the source for political thought for the production of elements of the inner-party bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao teaches us, **“To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary**

**first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class.”**

This is the objective law of class struggle. In order to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat, the inner-party bourgeoisie is never relaxed on the ideological front. Through the ideological front, they spread bizarre theories of revisionism, promote the reactionary theoretical trends of the exploiting class, put forward the counter-revolutionary slogans of demagoguery, fabricate sensationalist political rumors, and carry out the preparation of public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. To restore capitalism in the Soviet Union, the traitorous clique of Khrushchev and Brezhnev did a large amount of counter-revolutionary ideological work. The Soviet Union retreated from the socialist road to the capitalist road underneath an evil wind and miasma of counter-revolutionary ideology fomented by this gang of counterrevolutionary traitors. Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping—this group of Soviet revisionist pawns—also conspired to pull China back to the capitalist road according to the route of Soviet Revisionism. In the 17 years before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our country’s education, arts and literature, health—and other areas in the superstructure—had several areas that in fact were still under the hold of the bourgeoisie, and the bourgeoisie still held an advantage. A year of Deng Xiaoping’s renewed work has already confirmed this point. Why during Deng Xiaoping’s fomenting of the Right-Deviationist Reversal-of-Verdicts Trend, was the climate along the fronts of education, science and technology and elsewhere so brutal and so harsh? Why did they need to slander—at the top of their lungs—the positive revolutionary trends, and attach and strangle the Socialist New Things? This not only verifies that the force of the bourgeoisie in these areas is not slight, but furthermore verifies that the bourgeoisie—and the inner party bourgeoisie in particular—particularly emphasizes taking hold of ideology, and to struggle on the theoretical front with the proletariat, making it into a bridgehead for the realizing counter-revolutionary restoration. The “Regarding Several Questions of Science and Technology” (and the “Report Outline”) concocted at the behest of Deng Xiaoping, is in fact a black example of a revisionist vain attempt to oppose the proletariat’s implementation of overall dictatorship over the bourgeoisie throughout the superstructure through “opening a large breach” along the front of science and technology.

Lenin taught us, **“We must overcome resistance from the capitalists in all its forms, not only in the military and the political spheres, but also ideological resistance, which is the most deep-seated and the strongest,”** (“Speech Delivered At An All-Russia Conference Of Political Education Workers Of Gubernia and Uyezd Education Departments” Chinese from *Lenin Selected Works*, V. 4, p. 369). Ideology is the barometer of the class struggle. Through the marks left by the trends in the ideological sphere, by following its traces, and searching out its origin, the true face of the inner-party bourgeoisie will be exposed in front of the people. The proletariat must

completely overcome the inner-party bourgeoisie, and block the road to formation of the inner-party bourgeoisie. It must persist in the long term struggle of the socialist revolution on the ideological front, and persist in implementing overall dictatorship over the bourgeoisie on the ideological front, and at the same time occupy and transform the entire superstructure during the struggle with the inner-party bourgeoisie.

Now, we will discuss the fourth topic:

**The most essential characteristic of the inner-party bourgeoisie is its pursuit of a revisionist line.**

Lenin puts forward, “The most purposeful, most comprehensive and specific expression of the political struggle of classes is the struggle of parties,” (“The Socialist Party and Non-Party Revolutionism,” Chinese from *Lenin Selected Works*, V. 1, p. 660). In states with proletarian dictatorships, the party of the working class—the Communist Party—assumes leadership of the country. Under the condition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the struggles between various political parties still exist. However, because of the gradual transfer of the central and primary force of the bourgeoisie from outside to inside the party, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is most purposeful, most comprehensive and has its most specific expression in the two line struggle within the political party of the proletariat. This being the case, whether one adheres to a Marxist line or pursues a revisionist line becomes the line of demarcation for distinguishing between the proletarian revolutionaries and the capitalist roaders in power.

The inner-party bourgeoisie and capitalist roaders in power are a revisionist political faction concealed within the Communist Party. Their most essential political characteristic is their pursuit of a revisionist line and holding to the capitalist road. Revisionism is produced on top of the economic foundation of bourgeois right. Conversely, the revisionist line also safeguards bourgeois right, and expands the sphere of bourgeois right, producing a grave danger. The inner-party bourgeoisie initially does not take hold of the means of production, and does not directly carry out exploitation. More often, they use the stolen power they snatch to pursue a revisionist line. As long as the revisionist line is followed on down, it inevitably will end up reaching a capitalist conclusion. Even though they continue to carry the banner of the Communist Party, socialism, and of a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in fact they have already tumbled into a capitalist quagmire. The path to capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union also came about this way. Fraudsters of the likes of Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping caused capitalist influence to swell in certain areas and work units by pushing a revisionist line. Consequently, identifying a revisionist line by “following the vine to find the fruit” serves as an especially important way to identify the inner-party bourgeoisie.

The struggle between the proletariat and the inner-party bourgeoisie has a concentrated representation in the two-line struggle. Chairman Mao instructs us to **“act according to established procedures.”** We must be unceasingly victorious in struggle. The most important historical experience is in fact that in any time and any situation we must steadfastly implement Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line and bravely defend Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line. **“The correctness or otherwise of the ideological and political line decides everything.”** As long as we act according to Chairman Mao’s line, we will be all-victorious in our forward march. At present, we must continue and deepen the development of the struggle personally launched by Chairman Mao to criticize Deng Xiaoping, and to oppose the Right-Deviationist Reversal-of-Verdicts Trend. We must consolidate and develop the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and advance forward in our consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

# Lecture Five: The Inner-Party Bourgeoisie Are Even More Ferocious than the Capitalists

Aired on October 12 and October 16, 1976

Comrades, last time we talked about “the function of the superstructure in the formation of the inner-party bourgeoisie.” Today, we will lecture on how “the inner-party bourgeoisie are even more ferocious than the capitalists” and discuss the results of our study on this subject. The lecture is divided into three topics:

1. The inner-party bourgeoisie are quite capable of restoring capitalism;
2. The inner-party bourgeoisie’s particularly malicious oppression of the proletariat;
3. The inner-party bourgeoisie suck the workers’ blood even more voraciously than the capitalists.

Now let’s discuss the first topic:

## **The inner-party bourgeoisie are quite capable of restoring capitalism.**

The strong capability of the inner-party bourgeoisie to carry out the restoration of capitalism is inseparable from their economic and political status within socialist society. The economic base of socialism mainly consists of two types of socialist public ownership. This economic basis determines that the socialist country must be fully responsible for leading and organizing social and economic life. The close integration of state power with the national economy determines the economic and political status of the inner-party bourgeoisie. This differs from that of capitalists in capitalist society. In relation to state power, there is a difference between capitalists in and not in power. The capitalist roaders<sup>43</sup> have the status of being assigned by the state to hold certain positions. The small portion of the capitalists<sup>44</sup> who hold various posts in the state machinery cannot shoulder the

task of leading and organizing social life in an all-around manner given the condition of capitalist private ownership. However, under the condition of socialism, the economic and political status of the inner-party bourgeoisie determines that once it starts carrying out the restoration of capitalism, its influence will not be limited to one

<sup>43</sup> Ed. I.e. In a socialist state.

<sup>44</sup> Ed. I.e. In capitalist society.

enterprise or branch. Instead, it will soon radiate through the life of the whole society and endanger the life of the whole society. This is why the inner-party bourgeoisie are more ferocious than the capitalists.

The total restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union is strong proof of this. As soon as the capitalist roaders in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Khrushchev and Brezhnev, came to power, they used the power they had stolen to issue a series of “regulations” and “statutes” to the whole country under the guise of “economic reforms” to forcibly promote the revisionist Soviet line of running enterprises with “profit in command” and “material stimulation” at the core. The elements of bourgeois right that had been abolished in the sphere of the system of ownership were restored and socialist public ownership was turned into the ownership of the bureaucratic monopoly capitalist class. The relations among the people were transformed into naked monetary relations, and “distribution according to work” became an empty shell,<sup>45</sup> making the broad masses of workers and peasants salaried wages-slaves. The inner-party bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union completed this process of restoring capitalism very quickly. It did not take much time.

In our country, under the direction of the great leader Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line, the inner-party bourgeoisie’s conspiracies to restore capitalism were smashed one after another. However, before the exposure of the inner-party bourgeoisie, their maneuvers to restore capitalism had significant influence. The most unrepentant capitalist roader in the party, Deng Xiaoping, within one year of resuming work, utilized the power he stole to stir up across all fronts the Right-Deviationist Reversal-of-Verdicts Trend. For a while, dark clouds took over the sky and turbid waves surged in the sea. Especially where this black wind blew ferociously, great damage was inflicted on the socialist revolution and socialist construction. This is what the bourgeoisie outside the party always wish to do but have trouble achieving.

Next we discuss the second topic:

### **The inner-party bourgeoisie’s particularly malicious oppression of the proletariat.**

Proletarian state political power is a tool by which the proletariat exercises all-around

dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. But, in places where the inner-party bourgeoisie holds power, state political power will be turned into a tool by which the bourgeoisie exercises dictatorship over the proletariat and carries out the most brutal fascist dictatorship over the proletariat and broad laboring masses.

The biggest capitalist roaders in the party, types like Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng

<sup>45</sup> Ed. I.e. Without socialist content.

Xiaoping, for a time exploited the power they stole—within the areas where they held power—to exercise a fascist dictatorship over the proletariat and the laboring masses. At the very beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the broad masses responded to Chairman Mao’s call of “**It is Right to Rebel against the Reactionaries**” and rose up successively to rebel against Liu Shaoqi and to oppose his bourgeois headquarter. In response, Liu Shaoqi conspired with Deng Xiaoping to promote a bourgeois reactionary line, turning right into wrong, conflating black with white, fanatically encircling and suppressing the revolutionary camp, tossing the revolutionaries masses into the bucket of the so-called “anti-Party elements” and “black gang members,” and exercising a fascist dictatorship over them, in a vain attempt to put out the raging revolutionary fire that already flamed up. In order to accelerate the restoration of capitalism, Lin Biao’s anti-Party clique even organized an anti-revolutionary small “fleet” headed by Lin Liguang and vigorously carried out training for secret agents and related activities, and attempted to murder the great leader Chairman Mao. The clique also murdered comrades who resolutely upheld Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line. Not long after Deng Xiaoping returned to work, he started to fanatically organize “homecoming legions,” reversed the verdict on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, settled accounts over the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, labeled the newly emerged cadres as “reckless elements,” “counter-current elements,” and “three-anti elements,”<sup>46</sup> and single-handedly instigated the anti-revolutionary political incident in Tiananmen Square.

In the Soviet Union, the class of bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie achieved the all-around restoration of capitalism, and its fascist savage rule has been exposed even more thoroughly. Chairman Mao pointed out: “**Now what is implemented in the Soviet Union is a bourgeois dictatorship, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship in the style of German fascism, a dictatorship of the Hitler-kind**” (*People’s Daily*, April 22nd, 1970). The social reality in today’s Soviet Union is that of fake socialism and true social fascism.<sup>47</sup> In today’s Soviet Union, from the [*ed.* party] center to the regional [*ed.* level], from urban to rural, across the areas of politics, economy, military affairs, science, and cultural fields of education, bureaus of secret police exist everywhere and so-called “surveillance posts” are established all over the place to exercise oversight by the secret police over the broad laboring masses. In the name of “strengthening the rule of law and order,” the Soviet traitorous clique also formulated a series of reactionary “ordinances” and “regulations” to drape a “legal” veneer over its fascist criminal activities. These so-called “ordinances” and “regulations” can at will slander acts of resistance by the people as “rabble-rousing” on top of charging them with “crimes against the state.” They exile people, send people to do hard labor, pass

<sup>46</sup> Ed. The “Three-antis” referred to “anti-party, anti-socialism, and anti-Mao Zedong Thought.” Even though Deng’s line was to oppose Mao’s revolutionary line, in the immediate aftermath of the GPCR, the rightists had to adhere to the pretense of continuing the GPCR in order to achieve their ends.

<sup>47</sup> In the original text *On the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie* it also states, “socialism in words, social imperialism in content.”

down heavy sentences on them, and even sentence them to death. The Soviet revisionists' traitorous clique built up not only a great number of jails and "labor camps" but also many so-called "mental institutions." Many people in the Soviet Union are declared by the Soviet revisionist traitorous clique to be "lunatics" and "people with mental disorders," simply because they demonstrated their discontent with the Soviet revisionists' fascist rule. They were sent into "mental institutions" by force and were persecuted and tortured there. These so-called "mental institutions" were directly controlled by the Soviet Union's agency of secret police, the KGB. The so-called "doctors" in "mental institutions" can strike "patients" at will, and they can even forcibly inject poison into patients' bodies. Through such torture, many so-called patients became truly mentally disturbed, and some were even tortured to death. Many bloody facts prove that the fascist dictatorship exercised by the traitorous clique of Khrushchev and Brezhnev are totally cut of the same cloth as a fascist dictatorship of the Hitler-kind.

Once the inner-party bourgeoisie realizes the restoration of capitalism, whether nationwide or partially, it must exercise fascist dictatorship to further ferociously oppress the proletariat and broad laboring masses. This is the pattern. But why does this pattern emerge?

Our era is an era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The bourgeoisie all around the world are in the process of demise. The bourgeoisie in the socialist countries has been overthrown, and are ever closer to their graves. It is against this historical backdrop that the inner-party bourgeoisie emerges on the stage of history as one flank of the entire bourgeoisie in the process of the class's demise. The historical backdrop the inner-party bourgeoisie is situated within determines that the inner-party bourgeoisie represents the whole bourgeoisie's desperate deathbed struggle to block the advance of the wheel of history. Thus the inner-party bourgeoisie is extremely reactionary and fanatic. "Approaching the end of one's days" and "attempting to go against the tide of history" are the best description of the inner-party bourgeoisie. When the bourgeoisie is in the period of its ascendancy, it still can hold up the flag of "democracy" as a fig leaf to cover its dictatorship over the proletariat. However, as capitalism transitions from free competition to monopoly rule, and all the internal contradictions of capitalism are sharpened, the proletariat and laboring masses raise their class consciousness day by day through struggle, and they will use the so-called "democracy"—which the bourgeoisie chants so loudly—to rebel against the bourgeoisie. Under this condition, the bourgeoisie trims the fig leaf called "democracy" smaller and smaller, or even outright rejects it. Chairman Mao pointed out that **"The governments of Hitler, Mussolini, Tojo, Franco and Chiang Kai-shek discarded the veil of democracy for the bourgeoisie or never used it because the class struggle in their countries was extremely intense and they found it advantageous to discard, or not to use, this veil lest the people too should make use of it,"** (from "Why It is Necessary to

Discuss the White Paper,” Chinese from *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, V. 4, p. 1392). Isn't this the case in the Soviet Union today? Under the fascist dictatorship of the Soviet revisionists, not even a piece of a bourgeois “democratic” fig leaf exists. The precisely exposes the tough on the outside, feeble on the inside essence of the Soviet Union's bureaucratic monopoly capitalist class, a reactionary and vulnerable pack of fascist thugs

The inner-party bourgeoisie must exercise fascist dictatorship in places where they achieve power. On the one hand, this reflects a demand by the whole bourgeois class on the eve of its extinction, but it also reflects that the revolutionary people, tempered by socialist revolution, are strengthening their resistance against the inner-party bourgeoisie. The inner-party bourgeoisie is a product of the social conditions of socialism.<sup>48</sup> Though the inner-party bourgeoisie is secretly engaged in the restoration of capitalism, because they want capitalism, they cannot entirely conceal this. Revolutionary people, educated in Marxist education and tempered by the socialist revolution, will eventually always see through the inner-party bourgeoisie's schemes and stand up to rebel against it. The heroic sons and daughters of the October Revolution, educated by Lenin and Stalin, never ceased their struggles against the clique of Soviet revisionist traitors. The broad masses in our country, nurtured by Mao Zedong Thought and tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, have even less tolerance for the bourgeois deeds of the inner-party bourgeoisie. In the past, when the likes of Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping stole a great portion of power and carried out revisionism, the revolutionary masses, armed with Mao Zedong Thought, quickly saw through their tricks and opposed them everywhere. This circumstance forced the inner-party bourgeoisie to exercise the principle of “once power is held, then carry out the decree.” Once the inner-party bourgeoisie has held a certain power, it necessarily exercises counter-revolutionary violence to fanatically repress the masses. However, if the inner-party bourgeoisie act in this way, they will agitate more vigorous resistance from the broad masses, and in the end they will be thoroughly overthrown by the masses.

Lastly, we will discuss the third topic:

**The inner-party bourgeoisie sucks the workers' blood even more voraciously than the bourgeoisie.**

The “vampire” is a wonderful portrayal by the workers and the masses to describe the capitalist and his insatiable extraction of the blood and sweat of the workers. Chairman Mao pointed this out in his analysis of the inner-party bourgeoisie: “**these leaders who take the capitalist road have become or are becoming bourgeois elements that suck the blood of the workers.**” (*People's Daily*, July 1st, 1976). Chairman Mao's

<sup>48</sup>In the original text *On the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie* it states, “the inner-party bourgeoisie is a product of socialist society.

directive profoundly reveals the shared class nature of the inner-party bourgeoisie and the old bourgeoisie, who both suck the workers' blood.

In capitalist society, relying on their possession of the means of production, the capitalists exploit the surplus value created by the workers to fatten themselves up. The inner-party bourgeoisie doesn't have private employees, open up factories, or operate business. They are different from general capitalists. Then, how do they suck the workers' blood? In the lecture, "The Economic Foundation for Generating The Inner-Party Bourgeoisie," we discussed this issue. We mentioned that the activity of the inner-party bourgeoisie is the promotion of the revisionist line and the taking of the capitalist road. Their salary income is an exploitative income, gained without toiling. To further comprehend this problem, let us first understand Marx's view on the so-called labor done by capitalists.

In capitalist society, capitalists need to rack their brains to open factories and administer enterprises. This appears to be a type of labor. But how should this so-called labor by the capitalist be viewed? Marx pointed out: "**As compared with financial capitalists, industrial capitalists are laborers, but laborers as capitalists, that is, laborers as the exploiters of other people's labor. The salary he receives from doing this type of labor equals precisely the amount of labor by other people he possesses**" (Chinese from *Marx & Engels Collected Works*, V. 25, p. 436). The procedure by which the capitalists administer production is a procedure of exploiting the workers and sucking the workers' blood. This is performing the exploitative function of capital, and it has nothing to do with labor. Therefore, the so-called wages capitalists receive are from the beginning the uncompensated appropriation of other people's labor.

The inner-party bourgeoisie's entire work is to promote a revisionist line, to carry out the restoration of capitalism, and to transform the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The energy they invest in this is not small. The more they rack their brains to do so, the more the party and the people are jeopardized. This type of so-called labor of theirs has a common element with that of the capitalists. That is, the wage income of the inner-party bourgeoisie is also an unearned exploitative income, sucked from the blood of the workers and peasants.

Of course, the blood sucked from the workers and peasants by the inner-party bourgeoisie is not limited to their monthly salaries. The greed of the old bourgeoisie develops with their growing accumulation of capital, and as long as the workers still have one drop of blood, one piece of meat, and one tendon on their bodies left, the vampires won't stop. The inner-party bourgeoisie share the same blood-sucking nature with the old bourgeoisie. However, compared with the old bourgeoisie, the inner-party bourgeoisie is greedier. Their motto is: "as long as I can reap a handful, what do I care if I leave parched earth in my path?" Where does this extremely greedy nature of the inner-party bourgeoisie manifest itself? They do everything possible to widen the

differences in wage grades and expand their share of exploitation from their high salaries; they also exploit their right to dispose their gross social income to make up a pretext for transferring public property into private property—through both legal means and through a great deal of illegal methods—resulting in their mega-embezzlement of the fruits of the people’s labor. Unlike the old bourgeoisie, the inner-party bourgeoisie restore capitalism not to take back the means of production they lost, but to seize the means of production they never possessed. Because of this, they can’t wait to swallow the wealth of the whole country’s people in one bite. The types like Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping have all possessed this kind of avarice. They all used the power in their hands to suck the blood of the workers and peasants in large quantities. They were particularly nonplussed with the criticism of bourgeois right. In the upsurge in the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the broad masses strongly demanded the restriction of bourgeois right. But Deng Xiaoping menacingly retorted: “Is even ‘distributing to each according to his work’ now bourgeois right?” And he shouted relentlessly: “To limit bourgeois right, there needs to be a material basis. Not having this, how can it be limited?” His purpose is to protect the interest of these revisionist big officials through the expansion of bourgeois right. Their lives have turned bourgeois completely, rotten to the core.

Under the condition of dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, the inner-party bourgeoisie has only partly stolen state power. As they suck the blood of workers and peasants, they are bound to be severely criticized by the revolutionary people. However, things are different in the Soviet Union. There, the general restoration of capitalism was realized. The bureaucratic monopoly capitalist class headed by Brezhnev, controls state power, and has monopolized the means of production and the distribution of consumption goods. In the disguise of “distribution on the basis of labor,” they rampantly promote high salaries and bonuses as well as all types of individual subsidies, using all kinds of legal and illegal methods to possess the great amount of surplus value created by workers and peasants in the Soviet Union. According to some reports, in the party administrative institutes in the revisionist Soviet Union, the salaries of the minister-level revisionists in power range from 700 to 800 rubles per month to 2,000 rubles per month. Within the military system, the salary of an army commander reaches up to 1,000 rubles, the salary of the commander of the army reaches 1,400 rubles, and the salary of an army’s commander of the front reaches 1,800 rubles. In addition to these salaries, these people also enjoy additional individual subsidies under all sorts of titles. In factories and enterprises, managers, factory directors, and general engineers receive a base salary ranging from 300 to 500 rubles, but with part-time wages, additional salaries and bonuses, their income can exceed 1,000 rubles. In the field of science and education, the academicians of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union receive a basic salary of 1,000 to 1,500 rubles. But they also enjoy a great amount of subsidies of all kinds, for example, degree allowances, part-time subsidies, performance fees, author’s remunerations, and royalties. This

small clique of a bourgeois privileged class possesses an income ten-times and even one hundred-times higher than that of ordinary workers. They suck the people's blood and sweat, spend money as if it were dirt, and live corrupted lives.

The extravagant private lives enjoyed by the Soviet Union's bureaucratic monopoly capitalist class only partially reflects the degree to which the laboring masses in the Soviet Unions are exploited. This is because Soviet revisionist social imperialism, to dominate the world, broadly exercises the militarization of the national economy. Their massive military expenses all come from the blood sucked from the workers and peasants. Based on calculations, the ratio of military expenses to the national income in the USA was 15.9% in 1962 and 10.9% in 1973. However, in the Soviet Union, the ratio was 14% in 1962 and it rose to 18.3% in 1973. The national income of the Soviet Union in 1973 was only 66% of that of the US, but its military expenses were even higher than the military expenses in the US. The Soviet revisionists invest this massive social wealth into the expansion of the military, and for preparation for war. The scale of the Soviet revisionists' militarization has already exceeded that of the formerly fascist Germany. On the eve of Hitler's initiation of war during the invasions in 1938 and 1939, military expenses in Germany accounted for only 12% of national income. The huge military expenditures of Soviet revisionist social imperialism has brought an ever heavier burden to the working people of the Soviet Union. In 1960, the average share of military expenses was 89 rubles per resident in the Soviet Union, increasing to 205 rubles per resident in 1970, and 273 rubles per resident in 1974.

Lenin, in his analysis of capitalist imperialism, pointed out that: **“Production becomes social, but appropriation remains private. The social means of production remain the private property of a few. The general framework of formally recognized free competition remains, and the yoke of a few monopolists on the rest of the population becomes a hundred times heavier, more burdensome and intolerable,”** (from *Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Chapter 1, Chinese from *Lenin Selected Works*, V. 2, p. 748). This analysis is fully applicable to Soviet social-imperialism. But, where there is oppression, there is resistance. The dark rule and cruel exploitation by the Soviet revisionist bureaucratic monopoly capitalist class is sparking and has sparked different forms of resistance from the broad laboring people of the Soviet Union. Absenteeism and sabotage by the masses of workers and peasants grows. According to the Soviet revisionist press, in 1972 alone, the industrial sector lost 59,000,000 working days due to absenteeism and sabotage. This number was greater than the lost days caused by strikes in the US and the UK combined (the US lost 26 million days, and the UK lost 23.9 million working days, for a total of 49.9 million working days). The Soviet revisionist bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie is a group of insatiable vampires. The obstructing and destructive effect they have on socialized production fully exposes that social imperialism, just like capitalist imperialism, is a monopolistic, parasitic, and dying capitalism—the night before the proletarian socialist

revolution. This clique of vampires is the mortal enemy of the broad laboring masses in the Soviet Union. The vast majority of the Soviet people, Communist Party members and cadres want a revolution, and the dying days of the Soviet Union's monopoly capitalist class will not last for long.

## Lecture Six: The Pattern of the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie's Activities

(Unaired)

This special discussion of the “Inner-Party Bourgeoisie in the Socialist Period,” has already spanned five lectures. Today we will talk about the sixth lecture: The Pattern of the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie's Activities

Our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao stated, **“The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road.”** This is a profound summary of the basic pattern governing bourgeois activity within the party throughout the entire socialist period. According to the basic rule that “capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road,” in our study and criticism, we have summed up the specific pattern of the activity of the inner-party bourgeoisie according to five aspects. That is to say, when pursuing activities for capitalist restoration, the inner-party bourgeoisie always 1. disseminates the theoretical smoke screens of the dying out of class struggle and productive forces determinism; 2. utilizes the method of waving the red flag to oppose the red flag; 3. uses the strategy of the charade of “purifying the ranks around the emperor”<sup>4</sup>. maintains and expands bourgeois right; 5. goes from class capitulationism to national capitulationism.

Next, we analyze the specific pattern of the inner-party bourgeoisie's activity according to these five aspects. First we will discuss the first topic:

### **The dissemination of the theoretical smoke screens of the dying out of class struggle and productive forces determinism.**

In order to restore capitalism, the inner-party bourgeoisie that emerges under the dictatorship of the proletariat always advocates the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces determinism. These are the two smoke bombs it unleashes in the course of its anti-party activities. This was true of the inner-party bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union, and it is also true of the inner-party bourgeoisie in the Chinese party. In order to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union, Trotsky repeatedly advocated that after the nationalization or collectivization of the means of production, “there would no longer be a propertied class”; he also said that “Marxism comes from technological development”, and the proletariat's program should “come first from the laws of production.” Nikolai Voznesensky, another big capitalist-roader in the Soviet Union, advocated in the early 1930s that in the Soviet Union “the question of ‘whether socialism or capitalism’ would win had already been resolved,” and that the main contradiction in society was between the “advanced socialist production relations and the backward productive forces,” saying such

nonsense as “improving the developmental level of the productive forces” is “the content of heroic struggle in the transitional period,” and so on. It was under the cover of these two smoke bombs that Khrushchev and Brezhnev restored capitalism in the Soviet Union. Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping also picked up these two smoke bombs and rampantly promoted activities for the restoration of capitalism.

After our country achieved the basic socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, Liu Shaoqi tried his best to promote the theory of the dying out of class struggle, and together with Chen Boda picked up Voznesensky's black goods, advocating that the main contradiction in our society was between the “advanced socialist system and the backward social productive forces.” During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao spread the fallacy that traitors, spies, and capitalist roaders had all been caught, and that the main task after the Ninth National Congress would be to develop production. As soon as Deng Xiaoping returned to work, he hollered the nonsense of “how can class struggle be talked about everyday” and also put forward the revisionist program of the “three directives as the key link,” denying class struggle as the key link.<sup>49</sup> On a surface level, the methods and language of such capitalist-roaders in the party appear to differ. However, a black thread runs between them all, that of the theory of the dying out of class struggle and productive forces determinism.

The essential point of the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces determinism is to deny the existence of classes, class contradictions, and class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The theory of the dying out of class struggle serves as the theoretical foundation for idealism. Deng Xiaoping promoted the fallacious so-called “everything for the four modernizations” theory. This is but a new specimen of the theory of productive forces determinism. Under the signboard of “everything for the four modernizations” he overthrows the socialist system of our country's proletarian dictatorship.<sup>50</sup> Chairman Mao perceived everything, and promptly exposed Deng Xiaoping's conspiracy, astutely pointing out, **“that person of his does not grasp class struggle, he has never put forward that [key] link. Still it's 'no matter if it's a white cat or a black cat,' it doesn't matter if it's imperialism or if it's Marxism.”**<sup>51</sup> In Tiananmen Square, the counter-revolutionary elements who made trouble, rampantly hollering out, “we are not afraid to lay down our lives, [for the] day of the four modernizations we will absolutely pray to the heavens” expose the ferocious face of the inner-party bourgeoisie's loud advocacy of “productive forces determinism.” In the course of struggling against the inner-party bourgeoisie, we must pay attention to the capitalist roaders' promotion of the theory of

<sup>49</sup> In the original text *On the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie*, it adds “this link of jettisoning the class struggle—the jettisoning of the dictatorship of the proletariat.”

<sup>50</sup> In the original text *On the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie*, it adds “This is using the illusion of a jewel-bedecked palace in a futile attempt to again send the laboring peoples into a living hell.

<sup>51</sup> Ed. i.e. Deng is still putting forward these ideas.

the dying out of class struggle and the new mutations of the theory of productive forces determinism. We must further our grasp of such patterns of activity among the inner-party bourgeoisie.

Now we will discuss the second topic:

**The inner-party bourgeoisie's two-faced method of waving the red flag to oppose the red flag.**

The inner-party bourgeoisie emerges under the condition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Of course there are those counter-revolutionary elements who openly oppose Marxism and the banner of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But as soon as they raise their heads, the dictatorship of the proletariat immediately beats them down. The inner-party bourgeoisie is in fact a wily old fox. It is utterly fearful of the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also wants to restore capitalism. So what is to be done? Lin Biao said, "rebellious while waving the red flag makes it hard to pin people down." It is just this statement that reveals the secret of the inner-party bourgeoisie's two-faced method of waving the red flag to oppose the red flag.

In all times, the two-faced counter-revolutionaries in fact have one single face. The inner-party bourgeoisie are also like this. Their party membership is one sort of facade, and the appearance of their waving of the red flag is but a screen. In fact their essence is none other than that of their capitalist attributes, their objective is none other than to oppose the red flag. Using the coat of a party member to cover the true face of a capitalist, using the "red flag" to screen their restorationist activities, such are the ways the inner-party bourgeoisie prepares for its success. However, when it comes to counter-revolution, they cannot completely hide their true form, a telltale sign will show itself more or less clearly, and sooner or later, they will be revealed. A classic example of "waving the red flag to oppose the red flag" is seen in the dark program of Deng Xiaoping's "three directives." The three directives are all Chairman Mao's directives, but these directives really are not equivalent, they are led by the key link of class struggle. Deng Xiaoping referred to all the directives as "key links," in reality denying that class struggle is the key link. This sort of practice of eclecticism, this conspiracy of waving the red flag to oppose the red flag, was quickly discovered by Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao put forward, "What is 'take the three directives as the key link,' stability and unity is not to say don't have class struggle, class struggle is the key link, after this everything else is supplementary," (February 24, 1976, *People's Daily*). The inner-party bourgeoisie has unbridled ambition, but such is not matched by their ability. This is because they do not have the truth, and don't have the masses. Instead they can only rely on intrigue and plots. They must pass their days by double-dealing. Afterwards, when their representative figures carry out activities of capitalist restoration, they must continue to use such methods of double-dealing. We must increase our vigilance, and see through their conspiracies in time.

Now, we will discuss the topic of the third aspect:

**The inner-party bourgeoisie's charade of putting forward the policy of “purifying the ranks around the emperor.”**

When in the area of politics the inner-party bourgeoisie promotes revisionism, organizationally it must promote splitting, splitting the political party, splitting the revolutionary ranks. They are just what Lenin called **“The most malicious elements always promoting splits,”** (“Worker's Unity and Elections,” Chinese from *Lenin's Collected Works*, V. 36, p. 178). The method they use is the charade of the counter-revolutionary policy “purifying the ranks around the emperor .”

Hu Feng's counterrevolutionary clique used the tactic of “killing Chao Cuo to purify the ranks around the emperor” to plot to split the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao saw through the plot, astutely remarking, **“Since Liu Bi, prince of the state of Wu, invented the famous tactic of calling for the killing of Chao Cuo (chief strategist of Emperor Jing of the Han Dynasty) to purify the ranks around the emperor, many careerists regard it as a priceless treasure . The Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique has also taken over this mantel,”** (*Hongqi Magazine*, #6, 1976).<sup>52</sup> The sort of schemers such as Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping have continued this legacy. The so-called “purifying the ranks around the emperor” is the splitting of the party through intrigue and plots, in particular the party's central leading apparatus. Lin Biao had a counter-revolutionary saying, that of “waving Chairman Mao's banner, and striking at Chairman Mao's power.” Where does the root of these political rumors lie? The root lies in “Deng's Rumor Company.”<sup>53</sup> The inner-party bourgeoisie's use of this base method completely demonstrates that politically they have already completely degenerated, and will never again possess any truth. When criticizing opportunism, Lenin remarked they are “incapable of arguing with us straightforwardly ... resorting to intrigues, double-dealing, baseness,” (“Letter to Inessa Armand,” *Lenin Collected Works*, Progress Publishers, 1976, Moscow, V. 35, pages 259-261, Chinese from *Lenin Collected Works*, V. 35 p. 249). This is also a portrayal of the sort of counter-revolutionary tactic of “purifying the ranks around the emperor” pursued by the inner-party bourgeoisie.

As the inner-party bourgeoisie on one hand purifies the ranks around the emperor, on the other hand it must gather up cronies, and promote factionalism. These two aspects can not be separated. Liu Shaoqi's protection of his heap of traitors and die-hards, Lin Biao's organization of his counter-revolutionary “big little fleet,” Deng Xiaoping cobbling-together his “homecoming legions,” all are examples of gathering up

<sup>52</sup> See English translation at [https://www.bannedthought.net/China/Magazines/Hongqi/1976/English/hongqiN61976\\_2\\_articles.pdf](https://www.bannedthought.net/China/Magazines/Hongqi/1976/English/hongqiN61976_2_articles.pdf).

<sup>53</sup> Ed. (邓记谣言公司 Dengji yaoyan gongsi) This is a reference to the so-called “Policy Research Office,” (政研室 *zhengyan shi*) founded in July 1975 by Deng Xiaoping as an outpost for rightist maneuvering and intrigue.

cronies and promoting factionalism. The political line determines the organizational line. This is so with any class. The inner-party bourgeoisie's political line is that of restoring capitalism. As such this determines that they must promote factional activity, gathering a group of cronies on one hand and attacking another group on the other to form a regiment for capitalist restoration, for seizing political power from all levels of the party and state.

The inner-party bourgeoisie's attempt to usurp power from all levels of the party and state through its revisionist organizational line of purifying the ranks around the emperor and gathering up cronies requires a response of utmost vigilance. Consequently, it is very important for all levels of the state and party's leading power to be in the firm grasp of true Marxist-Leninists and the masses of workers and peasants, who are vigilant against characters of the likes of Khrushchev usurping power from all levels of the party and state. As long as a Khrushchev-like character emerges, we must fight him resolutely. Not only must we fight, but also further dig out the life-root of the inner-party bourgeoisie, and form conditions under which the inner-party bourgeoisie cannot exist nor regenerate. Next we will discuss the fourth aspect of the topic:

#### **The inevitable defense of and expansion of bourgeois right by the inner-party bourgeoisie.**

In 1958 after our country achieved a basic victory in the socialist transformation of the means of production, Chairman Mao immediately put forward the question of further limiting bourgeois right and criticizing the philosophy of bourgeois right in all aspects of the relations of production. At the time, on the foundation of the great victories of the Rectification Campaign and the Anti-Rightist Campaign, there arose a large number of "New Things" in the course of Restricting Bourgeois Right. The People's Commune, like a red sun, slowly rising on the eastern horizon was a prominent example. But in the course of this favorable situation, the inner-party bourgeoisie's representative Peng Dehuai jumped out and slandered the mass movement to criticize and restrict bourgeois right as a movement of "petty-bourgeois fanaticism." At the time of the Cooperatization Movement, Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping were opposed, and then hacked away at the agricultural production cooperatives. In the period of the three-years of natural disasters, they once again cast forward their contraband, the "Three Freedoms and One Fixed Quota" policy, plotting to restore the portion of bourgeois right that had already been abolished in the area of the system of ownership. Having undergone the urban and rural Socialist Education Movement, and in particular the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, having criticized Liu Shaoqi's revisionist line, exposing his sinister conspiracy to maintain and strengthen bourgeois right, the broad ranks of cadres and the masses have experienced a great increase in socialist consciousness, and consciousness of line struggle. A large number of Socialist New Things, conducive to narrowing the "Three Major Gaps," and

to restricting bourgeois right, sprouted vigorously like mushrooms after a rain. This time, Lin Biao and his gang jumped out yet again, attacking cadres entering the “May 7th Cadre Schools” as “disguised unemployment,” the intellectual youth going up to the mountains and down to the countryside as “disguised labor reform” the narrowing of differences in distribution as “exploitation in disguise,” thus attempting to block the victory of the Socialist New Things. Deng Xiaoping initially was Liu Shaoqi’s partner, the leading figure opposing the restriction of bourgeois right. When he returned to work, he had a thirst for blood, and cast forward a heap of fallacious theories for opposing the restriction of bourgeois right. On the fronts of education, science and technology, health, and the economy, he unleashed a series of maneuvers for expanding bourgeois right. He viciously attacked the Socialist New Things, slandering the restriction of bourgeois rights as “lacking a material basis.” Not stopping there, he even prohibited criticism of bourgeois right, and tried his best to strengthen and expand bourgeois right.

As the last bourgeois dynasty, the inner-party bourgeoisie has inherited the past few hundreds of years of counter-revolutionary experience accumulated by the bourgeoisie in its struggles against the proletariat. It is very foxy. They are as good at waging illegal struggles as they are at legal ones. Their maintenance and expansion of bourgeois right is a striking manifestation of their legal struggle. They know that under the condition of proletariat dictatorship, bourgeois right has a certain legal status, and can be quickly abolished. Thus under the cover of this legal cloak, the inner-party bourgeoisie strengthens and expands bourgeois right, and restores capitalism in the name of socialism. Through its strengthening and expansion of bourgeois right, the inner-party bourgeoisie not only protects the old bourgeoisie, but also cultivates a new bourgeoisie. Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, Deng Xiaoping and others have advocated “technology first,” “expert management in factories,” and that “white”<sup>54</sup> specialists are good for the People’s Republic of China, and more. They have opposed the self-transformation of the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants on the basis of culture and science. They have tried to maintain or restore the rule of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals, and to maintain the power of these people to exploit and oppress the worker and peasant masses. They advocate the “Three Freedoms and One Fixed Quota,” and “profit in command,” in order to allow capitalism to flourish freely, degenerate socialist ownership, and create conditions for the emergence of new bourgeois elements. They make a big deal of “material incentives” and “bonuses in command” in order to corrupt the masses of workers and peasants, transforming a portion of the workers and a portion of cadres through putrefaction. They oppose the reform of state organs, oppose the combination of old, middle-aged and young people, oppose the implementation of “three-in-one” established through sending cadres down to labor and unite with the workers and peasants. They try their best to widen class differences in order to promote the

<sup>54</sup> Ed. As opposed to “red.”

bourgeois style of life among cadres, and turn some people into bourgeois officials who suck the blood of the workers and peasants.

They oppose the revolution in education and the revolution in arts and literature, and do not allow the criticism of the “private ownership of knowledge” or “intellectualism first.” They advocate “reading to become an official,” and oppose the intellectual youths going up to the mountains and down to the countryside. They do this to contend with the proletariat for the youth, and to cultivate bourgeois successors among the youth. In this way, with the inner-party bourgeoisie as the core, through maintaining and expanding bourgeois right, they can unite the power of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the party to work in concert, forming a force for restoration to resist the socialist revolution and overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat, a social force of revisionism. As a result, it is a mission of utmost importance for the proletariat and the broad masses to recognize the patterns of the inner-party bourgeoisie's activities for strengthening and expanding bourgeois right; to research their counter-revolutionary tactics in legal struggles; to see through their plots in time; and to carry out the struggle for the restriction of bourgeois right to the end.

Now we will discuss the fifth aspect of the question:

#### **From class capitulationism, to national capitulationism.**

Among the inner-party bourgeoisie, except for those traitors, special agents, and alien class elements who infiltrated the party, the majority of them were not originally bourgeois, but during the process of revolutionary transformation surrendered to the bourgeoisie, split off from the revolutionary ranks and degenerated. These sorts of elements of class capitulationism, especially in China's historical context, certainly will become elements of national capitulationism. Thus, the moving from class capitulationism to national capitulationism is yet another pattern of the inner-party bourgeoisie's activities.

Chairman Mao put forward that “**Class capitulationism is actually the reserve force of national capitulationism...**” (“The Situation And Tasks In The Anti-japanese War After The Fall Of Shanghai And Taiyuan,” Chinese from *Selected Works of Chairman Mao*, V. 2, p. 366).

China's bourgeoisie has suffered from weakness ever since in the womb, a defect that has determined that in every sort of circumstance they would capitulate to foreign imperialism, and drag China down the old road of semi-colonialism semi-feudalism. As the last of the bourgeoisie's descendants, the inner-party bourgeoisie cannot shake this weakness, and must capitulate to foreign imperialism, especially to social imperialism. Chairman Mao pointed out that under China's historical conditions, those who stubbornly want to take the capitalist road, “**are actually ready to capitulate to**

**imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism,**”(“Speech At The Chinese Communist Party's National Conference On Propaganda Work”).

Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, Deng Xiaoping and others are all experts on capitulation and betrayal. Liu Shaoqi wanted to be a “red comprador” and Lin Biao begged for the “nuclear umbrella” of Soviet revisionism. They were all running dogs of imperialism and social-imperialism. Deng Xiaoping inherited their mantle, more than ever. Not long after he resumed work, he cast forward a foreignly slavish,<sup>55</sup> compradorish, traitorously capitulationist “great policy” and concocted his “Regulations.” The content of this “great policy” and his “Regulations” is to advocate that to realize the “four modernizations,” we can only rely on “the introduction of foreign technology and equipment” to “accelerate industrial technological transformation and increase labor productivity.” For this reason, it is necessary to “conclude long-term contracts” with foreign countries, to have foreign countries supply “the latest and best equipment,” and to “repay” them with the mineral products produced by our country. That is to say, let foreign monopoly capitalists provide money and equipment, and China provide manpower, allow imperialism to violate our sovereignty, plunder our resources, squeeze the blood and sweat of our people, and turn China into a raw material supplier, commodity dumping market and place for investment. This is exactly the same as the traitors of the westernization movement [of the late Qing Dynasty, ed.] Zhang Zhidong and Li Hongzhang, who fawned over the foreign powers!

The national capitulationism of the inner-party bourgeoisie always reverberates with on the international level by imperialism and social imperialism, and it always receives their support. After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin once pointed out that under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie has not been eliminated, **“They still have an international base in the form of international capital, of which they are a branch,”** (“Economics And Politics In The Era Of The Dictatorship Of The Proletariat,” *Selected Works of Lenin*, V. IV, pp. 107-117, Chinese *Selected Works of Lenin*, p. 92). In particular, the Soviet revisionists have an undying desire to subjugate us. They also dream of overthrowing the socialist system of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. In the eyes of the Soviet revisionists, the inner-party bourgeoisie is a so-called “healthy force”, that is, a force to restore capitalism. The Soviet revisionists have always pinned their anti-China hopes on this force for restoration. When the bourgeoisie in our party attacked the proletariat frantically, the Soviet revisionists clapped their hands and applauded; when the bourgeoisie in our party was met by resolute counterattacks from the proletariat, the Soviet revisionists grieved like a fox mourns over the death of a hare. From this spiritual affinity between the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and our country's inner-party bourgeoisie, we

<sup>55</sup> In the original text *On the Inner Bourgeoisie* it also adds the Chinese idiom 崇洋媚外 (*chongyang meiwai*) to worship and have blind faith in foreign things.

can see that domestically, the capitalist-roaders go over to capitalism, and internationally to imperialism, especially to Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. The capitalist-roaders are both class capitulationists and national capitulationists. This is a pattern. They will never violate this pattern.

Above, we have analyzed the particular pattern of the inner-party bourgeoisie's activities. We have done this through describing its dissemination of the theory of the dying out of class struggle, and the theory of productive forces determinism; through its double-faced tactics of waving the red flag to oppose the red flag; using the counter-revolutionary strategy of making a charade of “purifying the ranks around the emperor;” its expansion of bourgeois right; and its path of capitulationist national betrayal. The pattern of their activity is based on the reactionary logic of making trouble—failing—making trouble again—failing again until they perish. In response to the trouble whipped up by the inner-party bourgeoisie, the revolutionary people are firstly opposed, and secondly, unafraid. We must carry on Chairman Mao's unfulfilled life's work, uphold class struggle as the key link, uphold the party's basic line, uphold the continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, closely watch the inner-party bourgeoisie's activities, unceasingly recognize the pattern of activities of **“the capitalist roaders still on the capitalist road”** and against the inner-party bourgeoisie fight to the end.

# Lecture Seven: Methods for Defeating the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie

(Parts 1 and 2)

(Unaired)

Part 1

Last time, we discussed Lecture 6 “The Pattern of the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie's Activities .” Today, we continue with a discussion of Lecture 7, “Methods for Defeating the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie.” This lecture is divided into four topics:

First, using the party's basic line to arm the masses.

Second, restricting bourgeois right, supporting Socialist New Things.

Third, dare to struggle, and struggle well

Fourth, exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

This segment has a lot of material to cover. As such, it is divided into two lectures. Today we will discuss the first and second topics.

Below, we discuss the first topic:

## **Using the party's basic line to arm the masses.**

The target of the socialist revolution is the bourgeoisie, with a focus on the capitalist roaders in power in the party. While the inner-party bourgeoisie exists throughout the long period of socialism, they can be defeated. The decisive factor in defeating the inner-party bourgeoisie is allowing the broad masses of the people to grasp the Marxist line and defeat the revisionist line.

**“The correctness or otherwise of the ideological and political line decides everything,”** (December 1, 1971 *People's Daily*, English see Mao Zedong, “Talks With Responsible Comrades At Various Places During Provincial Tour”). When the broad masses grasp the Marxist line, they will be able to form an invincible and undefeatable army for opposing revisionism and guarding against revisionism, forming an indestructible Great Wall of

Steel. To grasp this line, the most essential thing is mastering the basic line formulated by Chairman Mao for our party throughout the entire socialist period. This line is **“Socialism is a very long historical period. During the socialist stage, classes, class contradictions and class struggle still exist. There is a struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads. There is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the long and complicated nature of this struggle; improve our vigilance; conduct socialist education; and correctly understand and handle class contradictions and questions of class struggle, and correctly distinguish and handle contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and contradictions among the people. Otherwise, this sort of socialist country of ours will go in the other direction, deteriorate, and restoration will occur. From now on, we must discuss this day after day, month after month, and year after year, in order to allow us to gain relative clarity over this matter, to have a Marxist-Leninist line.”**(From *Hongqi*, Issue 10, 1976). This basic line is the lifeline of our party and country, it is the sole correct Marxist line under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the proletariat's mighty ideological weapon for recognizing and defeating the inner-party bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes.

Chairman Mao has always attached great importance to arming the broad masses of the people with the party's program, line, principles and policies. In the process of leading our country's new democratic revolution, Chairman Mao taught us time and again **“Our policy is not only that we must cause the leaders to know, and the cadres to know, we must also cause the broad masses to know,”**(“Discussion, Editors of the *Jinsui Daily*”, Chinese from *Selected Works of Chairman Mao*, V. 4 p. 1213). The broad masses grasped the basic line of our party's new democratic revolution, overcame the three great mountains, and obtained revolutionary victory. In the process of leading our country's socialist revolution, Chairman Mao taught us multiple times, **“Historical experience is worth paying attention to. A line, and a sort of outlook must be discussed repeatedly. If it is only left to a few people to discuss it won't do. The broad revolutionary masses must be made aware,”**(November 25, 1968, *People's Daily*). In the midst of his instructions regarding theoretical questions, Chairman Mao also said, **“Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation,”**(February 22, 1975, *People's Daily*, English see Zhang Chunqiao's “On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie). When putting forward his important instructions when evaluating *Water Margin*, “The good in the book *Water Margin* is in the surrender [of the rebels]. This serves as education by negative example, allowing people to understand the capitulators,”(From *People's Daily*, September 4, 1975, English see “Directives from Chairman Mao's Commentary on the *Water Margin* and His Critique of Capitulationists<sup>56</sup>). Chairman's Mao's instructions repeatedly emphasize that the entire country's people must grasp the Marxist line. This has a great far-reaching

<sup>56</sup> [https://www.bannedthought.net/China/Individuals/MaoZedong/Other/WaterMargins\\_post.pdf](https://www.bannedthought.net/China/Individuals/MaoZedong/Other/WaterMargins_post.pdf)

significance.

Personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao--The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution; the campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Confucianism; the struggle to criticize Deng and the struggle to Counterattack the Right-Deviationist Reversal-of-Verdicts Trend all were great practice by the people of the whole country, under the unified leadership of the party, grasping the basic line of the party, struggling against the revisionist lines of Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping. Practice has proved that once the broad masses of people grasp the party's basic line, they have a standard for distinguishing what is correct and incorrect. They can see through the inner-party bourgeoisie's promotion of a revisionist line in time. And they can, with the brilliance of Mao Zedong Thought, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, hold high the banner of **"It's Right To Rebel Against Reactionaries,"** (June 29, 1967, *People's Daily*), utilizing the weapon of the four freedoms: speaking out freely; airing views fully; holding great debates; and writing big-character posters,<sup>57</sup> launching vibrant revolutionary mass movements, plunging the inner-party bourgeoisie into the vast ocean of the mass movement, making it difficult for their plots for restoration to succeed. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, during the Criticize Lin Biao Criticize Confucius Campaign and the struggle against the Right-Deviationist Reversal-of-Verdicts Trend, the broad masses of the people, armed with the basic line of the party, used the weapon of the "four freedoms" to destroy the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao, and beat down the the unrepentant capitalist-roader Deng Xiaoping.

Along with the development of the revolutionary mass movement, in the course of the struggle the broad masses will more and more consciously carry forward the party's basic line. In this way, the inner-party bourgeoisie's activities for restoration will encounter greater and greater difficulties. If the party's basic line is not grasped by the broad masses, it is very dangerous.

There are comrades who believe that when we struggle with the inner-party bourgeoisie, as long as we seize the power of the capitalist roaders, all problems will be resolved. Is this really true? No! Practical experience tells us that if the the line is not provided to the masses, if the inner-party bourgeoisie is not thoroughly criticized on the basis of the ideological and political line, if the power of only a few capitalist roaders are seized, then we cannot say that the inner-party bourgeoisie has been defeated. If the residual poison of revisionism has not been eradicated, the inner-party bourgeoisie will wait for the chance to counterattack as soon as there is the slightest disturbance.<sup>58</sup> Why was capitalism able to be restored in the Soviet Union? Looking for the reason from the side of the proletariat, there is the big problem of whether the

<sup>57</sup> Ed. These four freedoms were added to the 1975 constitution of the People's Republic of China. They were removed in the 1978 constitution following the rightist coup.

<sup>58</sup> Ed. Literally "At the mere rustle of leaves in the wind."

broad masses could grasp the Marxist line or not, and if they could recognize a revisionist line or not. In the period of Stalin's leadership, the Soviet Union had purged a group of capitalist roaders in power in the party, including Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, Bukharin, Rykov, Voznesensky, and others. However, after these people were purged, the entire country's people were not mobilized to criticize and be made aware of their revisionist theories, programs, and lines. As a result, the bourgeoisie in the party, such as Khrushchev and his like, were still able to use these revisionist theories to promote a revisionist line and restore capitalism. Take for example, Voznesensky, originally a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik), the first vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the chairman of the Soviet State Planning Commission. In the early 1930s, this person preached that the problem of "who will win, socialism or capitalism" was resolved, the "channels for the generation of class and capital had been blocked" and "the possibility for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet state had been ruled out." He preached that the main contradiction in the country was already "the contradiction between advanced socialist production relations and backward productive forces." He proposed that the "unilateral side" of economic development was "strengthening the one-management system," "strict labor discipline," "strengthening ruble supervision," "relying on material incentives," "completely implementing the progressive piecework wage and bonus system," and so on. In 1950, he was purged. However, the broad masses of the Soviet Union were not mobilized to criticize his revisionist theories and line. Thus, after Khrushchev and Brezhnev usurped the supreme power of the party and the country, they could still formulate an intensified revisionist line based on his revisionist theory. With the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union they reversed the verdict on him, crowning him "an outstanding activist of the party and state" and "an outstanding organizer of socialist planning." In addition, they renamed the Leningrad Institute of Finance and Economics the Voznesensky Institute of Finance and Economics. Please understand, Voznesensky was purged, his power already ceased to be, but his revisionist theory and line live on, and they are doing harm to the Soviet people. From this it can be seen that if the revisionist line is not thoroughly criticized and if the entire country's people are not made aware of the question of line then at every opportunity the revisionist line will resurface even to the point of gaining dominance. Lin Biao misrepresented the Cultural Revolution as a revolution of "dismissing officials," his purpose being to prevent the revolutionary masses from criticizing the revisionist line so that he could usurp the leadership of the party and the country at all levels amid the cry to "dismiss officials." When facing the revisionists' struggle against power seizures, we must not only regain the power usurped by bourgeoisie in the party such as Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping, but also criticize the bourgeoisie in the party on the basis of ideological and political line, and eliminate their poison. If we repeatedly do this, and continue to do so, then it won't be easy for the inner-party bourgeoisie to restore capitalism in our country.

Theory is the foundation of political line. If the broad masses of people are to grasp the party's basic line, then the broad masses of people must be enabled to grasp Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought. This is of great importance to correctly delineating a correct line from an incorrect one. For instance, when Deng Xiaoping hurled forward his revisionist program of the "Three Directives as the key link," many comrades who had diligently studied Marxism were able right away to identify the anti-Marxist essence of this line, to point out its eclecticism in its philosophical aspect, its advocacy of productive forces determinism in its political-economic aspect, and its denial of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the aspect of scientific socialism. As a result, these comrades elevated their hatred of revisionism from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge, and thus when criticizing Deng's revisionist line did so more deeply and more forcefully. Hence, to **"Read and Study Hard, Grasp Marxism,"**(April 9, 1971, *People's Daily*), serves as our fundamental guarantee for distinguishing between correct and incorrect lines. Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the extensive and persistent study of Marxism, Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought by all nationalities of the people has become a general trend. Today, Chairman Mao has passed away. In order to inherit and pass on Chairman Mao's unfinished legacy, and to mourn Chairman Mao with the best practical action, the broad numbers of Communist Party members, the masses of peasants, workers and soldiers, and revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals are working hard to study the brilliant works and primary directives of Chairman Mao. If the people of all nationalities in our country are truly armed with Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and truly grasp the basic line of the Party, this will accelerate the work of defeating the inner-party bourgeoisie.

Above we have discussed the first topic: The use of the party's basic line to arm the masses. Next we will discuss the second topic:

### **The restriction of bourgeois right and supporting Socialist New Things.**

Bourgeois right is a primary economic foundation for the production of the inner-party bourgeoisie. To defeat the inner-party bourgeoisie, bourgeois right must be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat, "**creating conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise,**" ("The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government" discussed by the Party Central Committee on April 26, 1918, Chinese from *Selected Works of Lenin*, V. 3, p. 498).

Bourgeois right is the lifeline of the inner-party bourgeoisie. To restrict and then ultimately abolish bourgeois right is the equivalent of going after the bourgeoisie's blood. As a result, in the process of restricting bourgeois right, the proletariat most certainly will meet with fierce resistance from the inner-party bourgeoisie and the

bourgeoisie outside the party. Restriction and opposition to restriction, this is an important form of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a long and arduous struggle. In a certain sense, the proletariat's mission to abolish bourgeois right is far more difficult than the overthrow of the old regime.

This is how the great revolutionary teacher Lenin posed the question.

In the fall of 1887, Lenin started his studies at Kazan University. In December of that year, for participating in a student protest meeting opposing the university's police system, he was expelled, and sent away to the village of Kokushkino near Kazan. On the way to exile, the tsarist police officer who escorted Lenin said to him, "young man, what is the good of rebelling, are you not but hitting a stone wall?" Lenin resolutely and resoundingly replied, "**Yes, but it is a rotten wall, hit it and it will collapse.**" And this was on the mark, the reactionary political power of the tsarist power was in fact very great, but in the eyes of proletarian revolutionaries, the decayed tsarist regime was nothing more than "**a rotten wall.**" Thirty years later, it was completely overthrown by the proletariat led by Lenin.

After the October Revolution, in order to consolidate the political power of the Soviet working class, the workers of the branch of Moscow-Kazan railway took the lead in initiating the Socialist New Thing of providing voluntary labor on "communist Saturdays."<sup>59</sup> This was called by Lenin a "**great beginning**", and "**as the actual beginning of communism,**" ("A Great Beginning Heroism Of The Workers In The Rear 'Communist subbotniks," *Lenin Collected Works* V. 29, 409-434, Chinese *Lenin's Collected Works* V. 4, p. 16). Under Lenin's enthusiastic support and energetic promotion, by the time of May Day in the second year, this day of voluntary labor on Saturdays had expanded all over Russia. On the second day of voluntary labor Saturdays across all of Russia, on May 2nd, Lenin wrote an essay, giving a high evaluation of this revolutionary activity that "**swept away old social relations and the old economic relations,**" that is to say a revolutionary act of restricting bourgeois right. At the same time, Lenin put forward, "**For hundreds of years, free trade and free exchange was held up by millions of people as the golden rule of economics, and formed the firm habit of millions upon millions of people.**" As a result, "**in front of us has an incomparable bigger mountain, this mountain is the continuation of the old ways, foolishly and ignorantly persisting with "free trade" and persisting with the equation of labor with other commodities, to be "freely" bought and sold,**" (*Lenin Collected Works*, V. 31, pages 104-105).

Lenin compared the Tsarist regime to a "**rotten wall**" and in comparison characterized the old social and economic relations as well as bourgeois right and bourgeois ideology as "**an even bigger mountain**" thus descriptively telling us that the

<sup>59</sup> Ed. "Communist *subbotniks*"

resolution of the latter mission is far more difficult than the resolution of the previous one. Chairman Mao told us on the eve of the liberation of the entire country, **“To win countrywide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li”** (“Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China,” **Chinese from Selected Works of Mao Zedong**, V. IV, p. 1329). Looking back on the course of the struggles following 1949, this certainly was the case. Since the establishment of the country, the proletariat has gradually limited bourgeois right, while the inner-party bourgeoisie has done its best to protect, strengthen, and expand it. In evading restriction, and the implementation and limitation of restrictions, both parties have already struggled for 20 years. With the constant deepening of the socialist revolution, it still is necessary to continue the struggle, this is to say that the complete abolition of bourgeois right is arduous indeed.

Why is it so difficult to complete the objective of completely abolishing bourgeois right? Lenin said, **“No, the working class is not separated by a Chinese wall from the old bourgeois society. And when a revolution takes place, it does not happen as in the case of the death of an individual, when the deceased is simply removed,”** (“Joint Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet of Workers’, Peasants’ and Red Army Deputies and the Trade Unions” June 4, 1918,” Chinese from *Lenin Collected Works*, V. 27, p. 407). The “corpse” of the old society includes the sum of old social and economic relations. It cannot be put into a coffin and buried in a grave. Regarding bourgeois right under socialist relations of production, they can't be treated in the manner of bureaucratic capital, confiscated through the issuing of an order. Nor can they be treated in the way of the enterprises of the national bourgeoisie, redeeming them according to policy regulations. To the contrary, throughout the entire socialist period, they will also coexist with socialist relations of production. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, we have abolished a portion of bourgeois right associated with the private ownership of the means of production. However we still cannot abolish the commodity system and the division of labor which both embody bourgeois right. To the contrary, these are also guaranteed by the state under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and can only be increasingly restricted under the proletarian dictatorship. In this way, the capitalist roaders within the party who promote a revisionist line have a certain social basis for strengthening and expanding bourgeois right, praising and promoting the ideology of bourgeois right, and for fighting against the proletariat. For a long period of time, people have lived under the economic relations of bourgeois right, and the inner-party bourgeoisie has used bourgeois right to deceive and seduce them. This causes people without high consciousness and who can't bear to part from bourgeois right to be deceived and follow them,<sup>60</sup> making it even more difficult to limit bourgeois right.

**“The more varied the exploiters’ attempts to uphold the old, the sooner will the**

<sup>60</sup> Ed. I.e. to follow the inner-party bourgeoisie.

**proletariat learn to ferret out its enemies from their last nook and corner, to pull up the roots of their domination, and cut the very ground which could (and had to) breed wage-slavery, mass poverty and the profiteering and effrontery of the money-bags,”** (“Fear Of The Collapse Of The Old And The Fight For The New,” December 24-27, 1917, Chinese from *Lenin Collected Works*, V. 26, p. 377). The more the inner-party bourgeoisie oppose the criticism of and restriction of bourgeois right, the more we must meet them head-on.”

Under the condition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the fundamental way to gradually restrict—and even abolish—bourgeois right is to vigorously support and develop Socialist New Things. The “new” in Socialist New Things comes from the germs of communism they contain. The vibrant growth of Socialist New Things signifies the vibrant growth of the elements of communism. It vigorously limits bourgeois right from the economic base to all levels of the superstructure, washing away the fetid waters of capitalism. Consequently, the process of unceasing growth of Socialist New Things is also a process of unceasing increases in communist elements, and a process of unceasing limitation of bourgeois right. The victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Criticize Lin, Criticize Confucius Campaign, and the struggle to Counterattack the Right-Deviationist Reversal-of-Verdicts Trend have provided a broad opening for the path of Socialist New Things.

Socialist New Things continuously grow strong in the course of struggle. From the perspective of economic relations, in the course of the mass movement of Agriculture Learns from Dazhai, out of the three levels of collective owners in our country's village people's communes, the commune level and the brigade level have shown a daily strong growth in the collective economy. This will strongly help promote the basic construction of large developments and the mechanization of agriculture, providing a path for collective wealth for socialist national enterprises and for the collective economy. The construction and strengthening of the leading groups of the three-in-one committee in the socialist national enterprises and in the people's communes will provide more energy for the worker and peasant masses to participate in the leadership and management of socialist enterprises. Already it has become a widespread trend for participation of cadre in labor, the entry of managers into the workshops to take part in the “three together,”<sup>61</sup> greeting the workers as teachers, and diligently studying a craft or several crafts. The relations between leadership and the masses in enterprises has progressively improved. Among the large group of new workers, the framework of the eight-grade wage scale has already started to be broken through, the lower and middle peasants have been promoted as new cadre to leading positions, and still carry with them their original salary and work points, “to be an official but not resemble an official.” These all further restrict bourgeois right in the areas of ownership, interrelations, and distribution. In parts of the superstructures such

<sup>61</sup> Ed. Referring to the cadres and intellectuals eating with, living with, and laboring with the workers and peasants.

as education, science and technology, literature and art, and health care, a large number of New Things limiting bourgeois right have also emerged. For example: worker propaganda teams sent into and stationed in schools and other parts of the superstructure; cadres entering the May 7th Cadre Schools, the intellectual youth going up to the mountains and down to the countryside; the intellectuals lining up as equals with the workers and peasants; the barefoot doctors in villages; the development of cooperative healthcare; the growth of worker peasant soldier Marxist theory teams, and more. Although from the perspective of limiting and abolishing bourgeois right these are simply the first step of a Long March, they already have aroused a great fear and hatred among the capitalist roaders in the party. They slandered experienced teams carrying out basic inspections as “blowing the communist wind” and as<sup>62</sup> “returning to a period whose time has expired;” slandered the national enterprises supporting the village communes' establishment of commune enterprises as “muddying the boundary between two systems of ownership” and as “regressing from ownership by the whole people to collective ownership;” slandering the restriction of bourgeois right in the area of ownership as so-called “engaging in complete egalitarianism.” They do everything in their might to oppose Socialist New Things, however the New Things cannot be defied. **“It is always so in the world, the new displacing the old, the old being superseded by the new, the old being eliminated to make way for the new, and the new emerging out of the old,”** (“On Contradiction” Chinese from *Mao's Selected Works*, V. 1, p. 299).

The plots of Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping to oppose the Socialist New Things have consecutively been ruined. “Thousands of sails pass by the side of a shipwreck, and 10,000 saplings shoot forth beyond a withered tree.” Socialist New Things are even more lush and thriving. The old things of capitalism certainly will be abolished, Socialist New Things certainly will thrive. This is inevitable, and without doubt. This is because **“The supersession of the old by the new is a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe,”** (“On Contradiction,” Chinese from *Mao's Selected Works*, V. 1, p. 297 “On Contradiction.”

(Part 2)

Last time, we discussed methods for defeating the inner-party bourgeoisie. The first way is to use the party's basic line to arm the masses, the second is to limit bourgeois right and to support Socialist New Things. Today, we will continue to discuss the third and fourth problems: Dare to struggle, struggle well, and exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. Here we discuss the third problem:

### **Dare to struggle and struggle well.**

To defeat the inner-party bourgeoisie, we must dare to struggle, and carry forward

<sup>62</sup> Note in the original text “this can be stated as ‘wanting.’”

the revolutionary spirit of going against the tide.

Since the inner-party bourgeoisie has a certain amount of power in their hands, they are very fierce and vigorous in their pursuit of a revisionist line. When a revisionist line arrives with the force of a tidal wave, whether one dares to go against the tide or not becomes a severe test for every communist party member, communist youth league member, revolutionary cadres, and member of the revolutionary masses.

Chairman Mao said, **“Going Against the Tide is a Marxist-Leninist Principle,”**(September 1, 1973 *People's Daily*). Chairman Mao also stated, **“Without struggle there is no progress.” “With a population of eight-hundred million, can it be OK not to struggle?!”** (May 16, 1976 *People's Daily*). All the victories we have obtained have come about through struggle. We must dare to struggle in order to defeat the capitalist roaders in the party, we must dare to go against the tide in order to overcome the revisionist line. During the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, these capitalist roaders in the party, occupying a reactionary capitalist position, promoted a reactionary capitalist line, reversed right and wrong, confused black and white, encircled and suppressed the revolutionaries, carried out white terror, and labeled the revolutionary rebels, fighters, and red guards as “rightists,” “anti-party elements,” and “monsters and demons.” However, the revolutionary rebel fighters and red guard young generals received Chairman Mao's glowing praise and support. Precisely under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao, the broad number of proletarian revolutionaries, revolutionary masses, and revolutionary cadres united, stood to their guns, heroically struggled, finally annihilating the two capitalist headquarters presided over by Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao [*ed. (respectively)*], securing the great victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Around the summer of 1975, Deng Xiaoping swept up the Right-Deviationist Reversal-of-Verdicts Trend. Many revolutionary cadres, workers, peasants and soldiers all over the country dared to adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, dared to set sail, and resolutely met Deng Xiaoping head-on. Role-models for going against the tide include include Su Xiaoqin, Secretary of the Party Committee of the Chaihe Lead-Zinc Mine in Liaoning, Lu Xinmin, a young worker at the Shanghai Xinghuo Parts Factory, the members of the theory team at the Wuzhou Optical Instrument Factory in Guangxi, and more. It is precisely because the broad masses of revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres carried forward the revolutionary spirit of going against the tide that Deng Xiaoping—despite at a time being aggressive and seemingly very powerful—was in the end a paper tiger, impaled with a single poke. At Chairman Mao's command, the entire country's people struggled to counterattack and also obtained a great victory in the criticism of Deng Xiaoping and in the struggle to Counterattack the Right-Deviationist Reversal-of-Verdicts Trend. Throughout the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the movement to criticize Lin and Deng, and the Counterattack the Right-Deviationist Reversal-of-

Verdicts Trend, a large number of revolutionary fighters daring to go against the tide have emerged, and the ranks of proletarian revolutionaries have grown stronger and stronger. This is an important sign that Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought are deeply rooted in the hearts of the people, and our party and our revolutionary cause are thriving.

**“He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor.”**<sup>63</sup>  
The struggle between us and the inner-party bourgeoisie is definitely no feud between individuals, but rather is the life-and-death struggle between two large antagonistic classes. **“Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice,”** (“To Serve the People,” Chinese from *Mao’s Selected Works*, V. 3. p. 906). In the process of fighting against the inner-party bourgeoisie, we must act out of the public interest and carry forward the revolutionary spirit of the **“five unafraids”** of not being afraid of being dismissed from office, expelled from the party, imprisoned, beheaded or divorced. One must be selfless to be fearless. Only with Marxism’s world outlook of transforming the world and by consciously implementing the two **“most radical ruptures”**<sup>64</sup> can we dare to struggle; persist in struggle; and increase our consciousness and courage in our struggle with the capitalist roaders. When struggling with the inner-party bourgeoisie, not only must we dare to struggle, furthermore we must struggle well. **“In order to attack the forces of the counter-revolution, what the revolutionary forces need today is to organize millions upon millions of the masses and move a mighty revolutionary army into action,”** (“On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism,” Chinese from *Selected Works of Chairman Mao* V. 1, p. 141). Consequently, to unite the majority and correctly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions is an important principle in the struggle between the proletariat and the inner-party bourgeoisie. The proletariat is the greatest class in human history. It not only seeks to overthrow the landlord and capitalists, but also abolishes all classes and class distinctions, and finally realizes communism. To accomplish this noble enterprise, we must constantly strengthen the revolutionary unity of the proletariat, unify all those who can be united, and advance the common struggle. **“The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities—these are the basic guarantees for the sure triumph of our cause,”** (Mao Zedong, “On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People,” Chinese from “Five Works on Philosophy from Chairman Mao,” p. 116).

The great leaders of the proletariat have always placed heavy emphasis on

<sup>63</sup> Ed., Mao quoted this saying at the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee Chinese Communist Party on November 15, 1956, stating “If great democracy is now to be practiced again, I am for it. You are afraid of the masses taking to the streets, I am not, not even if hundreds of thousands should do so. “He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor.” This was a saying of a character in a classical Chinese novel [*ed. Dream of Red Chamber*], Wang Xifeng, otherwise called Sister Feng. She it was who said this. The great democracy set in motion by the proletariat is directed against class enemies.”

<sup>64</sup> Ed. see the *Communist Manifesto* “The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involved the most radical rupture with traditional ideas”

revolutionary unity. In *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels solemnly proclaimed, **“Workers of the World Unite!”** The historical experience of the international communist movement for more than one hundred years has vividly proved that the struggle of the proletariat and the revolutionary people based on a Marxist foundation of unity is a powerful force for defeating the bourgeoisie, revisionism, and all class enemies, and it is the fundamental guarantee for the continuous victory of the proletarian revolutionary cause. Our party's 50 plus years of history also proves this truth. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, regardless of whether during the period of the democratic revolution or socialist revolution, it was only with the reliance by our party on the great unity of the people of the whole country led by proletariat leadership that we were able to overcome every sort of difficulty and obstacle, and constantly achieved new victories.

Chairman Mao instructed us: **“Who are our enemies? “ Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution”** (“Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society,” Chinese from *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, V. 1, p. 3). In the historic period of the socialist revolution, the masses and cadres who occupy over 95% of the population—small officials, students, workers, peasants, and soldiers—desire revolution. They cannot tolerate the exploitation and oppression by the inner-party bourgeoisie. Internally, they do not have a fundamental conflict of interest. By unifying the broad masses and cadres under the leadership of the working class, and correctly handling two qualitatively different types of contradictions, the inner-party bourgeoisie will be rendered utterly isolated.

The broad numbers of revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres should unite. In order to defeat the enemy, they must also be good at using the party's policies and tactics, and make concrete analyzes of specific situations in the process of fighting against the inner-party bourgeoisie. Just like all things, the capitalist roaders in the party are divisible. Those chieftains who have concocted revisionist lines and those unrepentant capitalist roaders must be completely exposed and criticized. Presently, our firepower must be concentrated on criticizing Deng [Xiaoping], and we must firmly grasp the general direction of the struggle. In the midst of the struggle to criticize Deng, achieve unity with more than 95% of the masses and cadres, including with those cadres who have made mistakes but are willing to rectify. As for those who commit the errors of capitalist-roaders, follow Chairman Mao's teaching: **“Permit them to reform themselves and redeem their mistakes by making contributions, as long as they are not anti-party and anti-socialist elements who stubbornly refuse to correct their mistakes in spite of repeated exhortations,”** (Mao's quote derived from the English version of Mao's *Selected Works*, V. 9, Kranti Publications, Secunderabad, and Sramikavarga Prachuranalu, Hyderabad, “Directives Regarding Cultural Revolution,” Chinese from *Hongqi*, 1967 V. 4 discussion on “The Necessity of Correctly Treating the Cadre,”). The party's policy is to learn **from past mistakes to avoid future**

**ones, cure the sickness to save the patient.** As long as those who have committed capitalist roader errors are willing to correct their mistakes, we must welcome them, and encourage and help them to correct their mistakes in the course of actual work, by redeeming wrongs through positive service.

The uniting of the majority is a process of fomenting struggle against the inner-party bourgeoisie's conduct of wrecking revolutionary unity and splitting the revolutionary ranks. It is not smooth-sailing. The inner-party bourgeoisie knows it, the greatest obstacle to their overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the strong unity of the entire party, army, and country's people on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. As a result they must try to wreck by any means possible. The anti-party alliance of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi, Peng Dehuai's counter-revolutionary military club, Liu Shaoqi's recruitment of deserters and traitors to form a clique to pursue selfish interests, Lin Biao's cobbling together of his small counter-revolutionary "fleet" in an attempt to create another center, Deng Xiaoping's organization of the "homecoming legions," plotting to split the central committee headed by Chairman Mao, the common goal of them all is to plot to ruin the unity of the party and revolutionary ranks to create the conditions for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism. We must be highly vigilant of the inner-party bourgeoisie's conspiracies to wreck revolutionary unity, and must not take the matter lightly. We must uphold Chairman Mao's exhortation to **"Practice Marxism, not revisionism; unite, don't split; be open and aboveboard, don't intrigue and conspire,"** these three cardinal principles (English see "Talks With Responsible Comrades At Various Places During Provincial Tour," V.. 9, Kranti Publications, Secunderabad, and Sramikavarga Prachuranalu, Hyderabad Chinese from *Hongqi*, 1972, Issue 4,) These three central principles are a vital standard for correctly distinguishing correct from incorrect lines. We must carry out a resolute struggle against revisionism, attempts at splits, plots and conspiracies of the inner-party bourgeoisie. Under the leadership of the party's central committee, we must carry out the proletarian revolutionary cause initiated by Chairman Mao to the end.

Above we discussed the third topic, dare to struggle, and to struggle well.

Next we discuss the fourth topic:

### **Exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.**

Without doubt the methods for defeating the inner-party bourgeoisie increase along with the deepening of the socialist revolution and the development of mass struggle. However, in the final analysis, all must persist in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

Marx once provided the most simple of outlines of the proletarian dictatorships:

“What I did that was new was to prove: (1) that the existence of classes<sup>65</sup> is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society,” (“Marx to J. Weydemeyer in New York,” March 5, 1852, Chinese Selections from Marx and Engels, V. 4, pp. 332-333). Marx in this elaboration clearly expresses the entire task of the proletarian dictatorship and its actual content. Socialism must abolish classes, and arrive at a classless society—communist society. In *The Class Struggles in France 1848 to 1850*, Marx stated more specifically that the proletarian revolution is: **The abolition of class distinctions generally; The abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest; The abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production; The revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations.**<sup>66</sup> Marx's exposition allows us to clearly see, if we want to defeat the inner-party bourgeoisie, then we must constantly strengthen the all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. There is no other way.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the exercise of all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in all areas, and in all periods of revolutionary development. There is certainly a bourgeoisie within the party. **A portion of party members have already transformed, some are in the process of transforming, some also will transform if there is no vigilance.** Towards those who have already transformed, we must give full play to the force of proletarian dictatorship, and activate exposure, criticism, and struggle by the broad masses. If they want to carry out counter-revolutionary coups, and provoke counter-revolutionary riots like the Tiananmen Square Incident, then they must be crushed by the iron fist of proletarian revolution.<sup>67</sup> For those who are in the course of transforming, we must help with criticism. For the majority of party members and cadre, it is necessary to continue to carry out education on the party's basic line, guard against corruption from the bourgeoisie, and do one's utmost to prevent them from evolving into the inner-party bourgeoisie.

In the process of fighting against the inner-party bourgeoisie, the proletariat must also eliminate capitalist relations of production relations represented by the inner-party bourgeoisie, limit, narrow and eventually eliminate the bourgeois right that produces the bourgeoisie, and criticize the idea of bourgeois right and the ideology of all exploiting classes, and carry the socialist revolution to the end in both the economic base and superstructure. In terms of the economic base, we must adhere to class struggle as the key link, continuously consolidate and develop socialist public ownership, and ensure that the leadership in enterprises under ownership by the whole

<sup>65</sup> Ed. These underlines are from the source text.

<sup>66</sup> Ed. English translation of the “Four Alls” from *Marx Engels Collected Works, The Class Struggles in France*.

<sup>67</sup> In the original text *On the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie*, this is written as “they must be smashed to pieces by the iron fist of revolution.”

people and those under collective ownership units be controlled by authentic—not in name only—Marxists, in the hands of the majority of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants, and adhere to the direction of socialism, adhere to the policy of **“grasping revolution and promoting production,”** and constantly consolidate the economic base of the proletarian dictatorship; reform small production; carry out education on the party's basic line; instill socialist ideas, criticize the spontaneous tendencies of capitalism; rely on the poor peasants, unite with the middle peasants; resolutely fight against capitalist forces; restrict bourgeois right; narrow the three major differences,<sup>68</sup> actively foster and enthusiastically support Socialist New Things, and fight for the ultimate **“creation of conditions under which the bourgeoisie can neither exist nor regenerate.”**

In the superstructure, we must reinforce and develop the great accomplishments of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and constantly reform all parts of the superstructure that are not in accord with a socialist foundation. In order to continuously overcome the defects in the nodes of the state system, cadre must implement the “three together” with the workers, overcome bureaucracy, resist the invasion of bourgeois ideology, keep close ties with the masses, accept the supervision of the masses, and build state organs into revolutionary organizations for the people to prevent capitalist roaders from using the power—given by the people—to restore capitalism; they must carry out extensive, in-depth, and sustained mass movements among the masses to study Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought, criticize revisionism, and criticize capitalism, criticize the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius and the ideology of all exploiting classes, and gradually eliminate the political and ideological conditions that produce capitalism and the new bourgeoisie; we must further carry out the educational revolution, the literary and artistic revolution, and the health revolution, and use Mao Zedong Thought to occupy all cultural fronts. Overall, **“the proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including in all cultural fields,”** (*Hongqi*, 1976, Issue 7). The ideology of the bourgeoisie, revisionists and the decadent declining classes of all kinds certainly must not be allowed to spread freely.

Chairman Mao put forward: **“The present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future. The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time in the future. All party members and the people of the entire country cannot think that with one, two, three or four Cultural Revolutions then all will be well. They must always be on the alert and must never relax their vigilance,”** (English see *Selected Works of Chairman Mao*, V. 9, Kranti Publications, Secunderabad, and Sramikavarga Prachuranalu, Hyderabad, “Directives Regarding the Cultural Revolution” 1966-1969,

<sup>68</sup> Ed. I.e. the differences between town and country, worker and peasant, and mental and manual labor.

Chinese from the May 23 issue of *People's Daily*). We must pay close attention to constantly summing up our experience in the struggle against the inner-party bourgeoisie, learn methods of struggle against the inner-party bourgeoisie, and be vigilant against the danger of capitalist restoration. In all areas and in all stages of the development of the revolution, we must always persist with all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, pay special attention to the struggle against the inner-party bourgeoisie, and gradually eradicate the soil and conditions for the formation of the inner-party bourgeoisie.

“Virtue is one foot tall, the devil ten foot.” The emergence of the inner-party bourgeoisie, on a surface level seems to have force and power, brandishing fangs and claws. In fact it does not have any sort of impressive power. They blow the “western wind” of the capitalists, ride the “emaciated horse” of restorative reversal, ride on the “ancient road” of capitalism, this is completely to turn back the wheel of history. They are extremely weak and isolated when standing in front of the broad numbers of proletariat, people, and masses armed with the weapons of Marxism-Leninism Mao-Zedong Thought. They are paper tigers, and the revolutionary peoples can utterly defeat them. Through our struggles with capitalist roaders in the party of the sort of Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping we have strengthened our confidence in completely defeating the inner-party bourgeoisie. We firmly believe that although there will be twists and reversals in the course of struggle, the final victory certainly will belong to the proletariat.

## Lecture Eight: The Future is Bright, The Road is Tortuous

(Unaired)

Last time we discussed “Methods for Defeating the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie,” and today we will discuss the final lecture, the subject being “The Future is Bright, The Road is Tortuous,” altogether divided into three parts: The first part discussing the emergence, development, and demise of the bourgeoisie as an objective law, the second part discussing how the inner-party bourgeoisie is both a real tiger and a paper tiger, ; the third part discussing the “Internationale” shall certainly be realized.<sup>69</sup> Now we will discuss the first topic:

### **The emergence, development, and demise of the bourgeoisie as an objective law.**

During the entire historical period of socialism there has always been capitalism and the bourgeoisie, there has always been an inner-party bourgeoisie, and the capitalist-roaders have always been on the capitalist road. What then is the future of socialism? Can the bourgeoisie, including the inner-party bourgeoisie be eliminated in the end?

We believe that the capitalists, just like all things in the universe, have a process of emergence, development, and demise. This process is closely intertwined with the emergence, development, and demise of capitalist relations of productions. The bourgeoisie is a product of capitalist relations of production. The historical emergence of capitalist relations of production has had a history of over 300 years. At the time of the emergence of these relations of production, the bourgeoisie representing these sorts of relations of production were still very young. They wrestled fiercely with the feudal relations of production, at the time represented by the landlord class. At that time, the bourgeoisie united the masses of workers and peasants to fight, and on the basis of overthrowing the decadent feudal system, the capitalist production relations developed and entered its golden age. However, with the transition from capitalism to imperialism, the contradiction between capitalist relations of production and the growing social productive forces has become more and more intense. This is reflected in class relations, namely in the intensified contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Capitalist relations of production have entered a stage of demise, while the proletariat, the gravedigger of the capitalist system, is growing stronger day by day. The process of the reproduction of capital is in fact a process of the maturing

<sup>69</sup> Ed. This phrase is also the last line in the verse of the Chinese version of the “Internationale:” “This is the final struggle / Unite together towards tomorrow / The Internationale / Shall certainly be realized.” The Chinese used in the verse and this text for “Internationale” (英特纳雄耐尔 ying-te-na-xiong-nai-er) is a transliteration.

of the subjective and objective factors for the demise of capitalism and the bourgeoisie. And the process of the emergence, development and demise of capitalist relations of production and the bourgeoisie is in fact an inevitable historical process, not transformable by man's will.

The bourgeoisie has a historical process of development. In the beginning, it is a free capitalist class,<sup>70</sup> but with the development of the period of imperialism, it transforms into a monopoly capitalist class. At this time, the bourgeoisie is already dying. Having undergone the proletarian socialist revolution and the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat, the inner-party bourgeoisie emerges in a socialist society in which bourgeoisie rule has been overturned, and becomes the final faction to emerge in the period of the entire bourgeoisie's demise.<sup>71</sup> Regardless of which period it passes through in the course of historical development, the bourgeoisie's common characteristic is always that it represents capitalist relations of production. Before the basic realization of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the bourgeoisie strives to defend and develop capitalist relations of production; after the basic realization of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, it strives to strengthen and expand bourgeois right within the socialist relations of production and to restore capitalist relations of production.

Serving as the final faction of a bourgeoisie moving towards its demise,<sup>72</sup> the inner-party bourgeoisie has its own process of emergence, development, and demise. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the emergence, development and demise of the inner-party bourgeoisie unfolds through the process of its contradictions and struggles with the proletariat. The primary aspect in this process is no longer capitalist relations of production represented by the bourgeoisie in capitalist society, but the socialist relations of production represented by the proletariat. This determines the inner-party bourgeoisie's inevitable demise. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialist reproduction is not only the reproduction of labor products, but also the reproduction of relations of production. Since socialist relations of production do not only contain growing communist elements, but also the declining traditions or birthmarks of capitalism concentrated in the form of bourgeois right, in the process of socialist reproduction on one hand there is on one hand an unceasing reproduction of communist elements, and the ceaseless growth of all sorts of New Things containing communist elements. On the other hand there must be the ceaseless reproduction of bourgeois right, and the reproduction of capitalist elements on this old soil of bourgeois right. However, socialist reproduction is not simple reproduction. In the

<sup>70</sup> In the original text *On the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie*, it is written as, "the bourgeoisie first appears on the stage of history as the free capitalist class."

<sup>71</sup> In the original text *On the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie*, it is written as, "the final form."

<sup>72</sup> In the original text *On the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie*, it is written as, "the final form."

process of socialist reproduction, the reproduction of relations of production has a general trend of forward development from low to high. This is to say that the degree of public ownership of socialist ownership is gradually increasing, the differences between workers and peasants, between urban and rural areas, and between mental and manual labor shrinks daily, and the element of distribution according to need in the distribution of individual consumer goods gradually increases. In short, it is the communist elements that show growth, while capitalist traditions or birthmarks show a movement in the opposite direction, showing a tendency to weaken and die out. The new bourgeoisie, including the inner-party bourgeoisie, mainly emerged out of the commodity system, that old soil that bore capitalism and the bourgeoisie. However, in the process of the development of socialist reproduction, there is a daily increase in communist elements, and a gradual narrowing of the three major differences, and the gradual weakening of bourgeois right in all aspects of relations of production. In this way, the conditions for the existence of the commodity system inevitably become increasingly weak, and the commodity exchange relations under the socialist system will gradually make the shift toward the direct distribution of products. That is to say that the economic base from which the inner-party bourgeoisie emerges inevitably gets weaker by the day. When capitalism's traditions or birthmarks in the socialist relations of production are completely eliminated, and when the historical task of transforming socialist relations of production into communist relations of production is finally accomplished, all exploiting classes, including the bourgeoisie within the party, will not be able to exist, nor to arise.

The objective law of historical development determines that the bourgeoisie, including the inner-party bourgeoisie, will inevitably perish. It is on the basis of understanding the objective laws of social development that the proletariat builds the confidence of revolutionary optimism and establishes a strategic contempt for the inner-party bourgeoisie. However, historical developments are tortuous. In socialist society, the danger of the inner-party bourgeoisie restoring capitalism is real. Didn't the bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union fully restore capitalism under the historical conditions of the Soviet Union? However, as the class struggle between this reactionary class and the Soviet proletariat and the working people intensifies day by day, the demise of this class is also inevitable. In view of the lessons of the Soviet Union, we must be vigilant and take seriously the inner-party bourgeoisie's conspiracies for restoration. Marx in the first preface to *Capital* states, **“And even when a society has got upon the right track for the discovery of the natural laws of its movement ... it can neither clear by bold leaps, nor remove by legal enactments, the obstacles offered by the successive phases of its normal development. But it can shorten and lessen the birth-pangs.”** Chairman Mao has explored for us the laws<sup>73</sup> of the activities of the inner-party bourgeoisie during the period of socialism. Although

<sup>73</sup> Ed., The Chinese term here 规律 (guīlǜ), i.e. “law,” can also be understood as “pattern,” which was how the term was translated in the title of lecture six.

we cannot command these laws to be abolished, our understanding of the law of movement of the inner-party bourgeoisie may prevent it running roughshod over the heads of the people again as in the Soviet Union. “On the General Program” the concoction of which was dished out by Deng Xiaoping himself, is a political manifesto for the inner-party bourgeoisie's restoration of capitalism. However, as long as we are armed with Chairman Mao's theory of the inner-party bourgeoisie, we can recognize the reactionary essence of “On the General Program.” Its reactionary nature is to remove the evidence of the inner-party bourgeoisie's existence, and point the finger at the so-called “anti-Marxist class enemy,” that is, the proletariat and its vanguard, which completely exposed Deng Xiaoping's ferocious face. Therefore, we must not forget the inner-party bourgeoisie, the primary target of the continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, no matter when, no matter what work we do. To forget it is to forget the class struggle, to forget the party's basic line, and thus to go astray. We must earnestly study Chairman Mao's theory on the inner-party bourgeoisie, identify the inner-party bourgeoisie, and defeat the inner-party bourgeoisie.

Now we will have reached the discussion of the second topic:

**The inner-party bourgeoisie is both a real tiger and a paper tiger.**

Chairman Mao when analyzing the nature of imperialism and reactionaries once put forward, **“Just as there is not a single thing in the world without a dual nature (this is the law of the unity of opposites), so imperialism and all reactionaries have a dual nature—they are real tigers and paper tigers at the same time.”** This analysis of Chairman Mao's completely applies to the inner-party bourgeoisie. Like imperialism and reactionaries, the inner-party bourgeoisie are both real tigers and paper tigers.

To say that the inner-party bourgeoisie is a real tiger is to say that it is very ominous in its restoration of capitalism, possessing an extreme counter-revolutionary madness. This madness reflects the death struggle of the entire bourgeoisie when it is perishing. The maxim of Hitler—the running dog of monopoly capitalism—was “ruthlessness! cruelty!” Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping, and other inner-party bourgeoisie completely have inherited this sort of fascist counter-revolutionary madness. As soon as they gain power, they must eat people. What they demand politically is by no means democracy, but fascism. Just take a glimpse at the bloody “Project 571”<sup>74</sup> or at the counter-revolutionary incident at Tiananmen Square, and you will understand. In China, it has only been because under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line the entire country's people firmly grasped class struggle as the key link, and held forth the iron fist of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Doing so, when the inner-party bourgeoisie bore its long and sharp teeth, preparing to eat people, its backbone was broken in time, preventing the realization of its cannibalistic conspiracy.

<sup>74</sup> Ed., The codename for Lin Biao's failed coup.

However, in the Soviet Union, after the bourgeoisie in the Soviet Party headed by Khrushchev and Brezhnev usurped the power of the Party and government, their cannibalistic plot temporarily succeeded. The people are eaten by the millions and tens of millions, unjust prisons fill the country, traitors rejoice; concentration camps are everywhere, “insane asylums” open in all places; secret police operate beyond the law, corrupt officials smash [*ed.* the people's] bones and suck the marrow, and the heroic boys and girls of the October Revolution groan within the prison's dark abyss.

This madness with which the inner-party bourgeoisie persecutes the revolutionary people fully demonstrates that they are ferocious enemies of the proletariat and the working people. They bear their teeth and claws quite formidably. They are real tigers, and they can eat people. From this, going forward we must establish strategic and tactical thinking, attach importance to the enemy, and adopt necessary forms of struggle to isolate and destroy the enemy step by step.

However, from a strategic point of view, in essence, the inner-party bourgeoisie is a paper tiger. This is because it represents the historically decayed relations of production of capitalism, and is a reactionary force in the stage of its demise. Under the condition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie moved its headquarters to the Communist Party. It neither dared to display an open banner, nor did it dare to engage in open political struggle. Instead, it hid itself under the cloak of Marxism, and relied on dealings in splitting, intrigue, and revisionism. This has well exposed the inner-party bourgeoisie's paper-tiger nature. Although it looks powerful, its nature is extremely weak, tough outside but brittle inside. In the Soviet Union, the inner-party bourgeoisie has achieved a comprehensive restoration, and seems to be invincible. It cruelly exploits internally, plunders externally, brandishes its teeth and claws, and tries to dominate the world. It is a vicious fiend. However, its days do not go well. Today's Soviet Union looks like a colossal and menacing monster, but it is actually like a big tree that rots day by day. For more than two decades, the growth rate of industrial production in the Soviet Union has continued to decline, and civilian industry is very backward. Large amounts of technical equipment and industrial consumer goods must be imported. Agriculture is a mess, and food production is greatly reduced. It is financially strapped, with domestic debts of 34.4 billion rubles and external debts reaching tens of billions of dollars. It is hurrying to beg in all quarters, becoming one of the largest debtor countries in the world. The Soviet revisionists have fallen into internal and external difficulties, and are in a desperate situation. **“The revisionist Soviet Union is also a paper tiger,”** (“Quotations of Chairman Mao:” from the April 22, 1970 *People's Daily*). At present, the Soviet people's struggle against violent repression is in the ascendant. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique seems to be sitting on the crater of a volcano, not so far away from the day of demise.

In our country, Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, Deng Xiaoping and other capitalist roaders in

power in the party are also very weak. Lin Biao and his gang yelled “set fire to our own boat!”, and at the same time declared: “Everything is but a flash in the pan, don't take things so seriously.” The blowhards for the right-leaning overturning the verdict trend swept up by Deng Xiaoping yelled: “Risk your old hides” and “Don't be afraid of being overthrown”, while also crying out: “We've seen through the folly of man, it doesn't matter.” The desperate wailing of their declining class deeply reflects that the bourgeoisie as a class has already arrived at the end of its history. “Withered vines; old trees; a crow at dusk,” “an ancient road; the western wind; an emaciated horse,” these are the forms of a dying and declining class, and are the true portraits of the inner-party bourgeoisie.

If we say that the slave-owning class, the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie in history were once vibrant and revolutionary before and after they gained ruling power, then, the inner-party bourgeoisie emerged under the historical condition in which the bourgeoisie's rule had already been overthrown. It is a poisonous weed that grows on a garbage heap left over from the old society—reactionary and decadent. This determines that compared with the exploiting classes of history, the inner-party bourgeoisie's nature as a paper tiger is even more exposed.

**“The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history,”** (from Mao Zedong “On Coalition Government,” Chinese from *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Renmin Chubanshe, 1967, p. 932). The masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadre, and revolutionary intellectuals want revolution, and support socialism. They don't like big revisionist characters oppressing them, and it is in their fundamental interest to take the socialist road. The masses of the people will never agree to the restoration of capitalism. Chairman Mao put forward, **“If the Rightists stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 per cent of the population ... The conclusion is still the two familiar comments: The future is bright; the road is tortuous,”** (Mao Zedong's “Letter to Comrade Jiang Qing,” July 8, 1966,<sup>75</sup> Chinese from the March 1, 1975 *People's Daily*). The dual nature of the bourgeoisie in the party as real tigers and paper tigers tells us that tactically we must attach importance to them and take them seriously. They are real tigers, live tigers, and they want to eat people. There is indeed a danger of restoration existing in a socialist country. Essentially, from a long-term perspective, and from a strategic perspective, we must truthfully regard them as paper tigers, tofu tigers, which have little power, and the inner-party bourgeoisie can be completely defeated.

Now we will discuss the final topic:

<sup>75</sup> Ed. see: <https://www.bannedthought.net/China/Individuals/MaoZedong/Letters/Mao%27sLetterToJiangQing-660708-Alt3.pdf>

### **The Internationale shall certainly be realized.**

The basic program of the Communist Party of China is to completely overthrow the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes, replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat, defeat capitalism with socialism, and finally realize communism. Our struggle against the inner-party bourgeoisie is most importantly composed of adherence to the party's basic program, implementation of the party's basic line, and realization of the party's ultimate goal.

The Communist Party of China is a great, glorious, and correct party, a party armed with Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought, and it is the supreme headquarters that leads the proletariat in fighting against the inner-party bourgeoisie and against all exploiting classes. Our party was created by the great leader and mentor Chairman Mao himself. We have the invincible Mao Zedong Thought; Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line to guide the voyage; the strong leadership of the Party Central Committee; and the vast number of party members who insist on continuing the revolution and opposing restoration and retrogression. The party is worthy of serving as the leadership core of the entire Chinese people, and worthy of serving as the mainstay for the cause of socialism. We have exposed the inner-party bourgeoisie in the party, precisely the proper manner of a thorough materialist. This truly shows that we have strength, confidence, and ability to defeat the inner-party bourgeoisie, and thus completely defeat the entire bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao asserted, **"There is hope in this party of ours."**<sup>76</sup>

In the most difficult years of the War of Liberation, Chairman Mao once pointed out to the whole party, the whole army and the people of the whole country with great foresight: **"The Communist Party of China, having made a clear-headed appraisal of the international and domestic situation on the basis of the science of Marxism-Leninism, recognized that all attacks by the reactionaries at home and abroad had to be defeated and could be defeated. When dark clouds appeared in the sky, we pointed out that 'they were only temporary, that the darkness would soon pass and the sun would break through,'"**(see Mao Zedong, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks").

Today, the superior conditions we have in the class struggle cannot be compared to those during the War of Liberation. Mao Zedong Thought shines brightly, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is deeply rooted in the hearts of the people, and the cause of the proletarian revolution initiated by Chairman Mao will be followed by successors. **The correctness or otherwise of the ideological and political line decides everything.** Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is the lifeline of our party and our country. In the past, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the people of our country achieved great victories in the new-democratic revolution and in the socialist

<sup>76</sup> Ed. Cited in Zhou Enlai's "Report at the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China," and in the September 1, 1973 issue of *People's Daily*.

revolution, especially in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, in the campaign to Criticize Lin Biao, Criticize Confucius, and Criticize Deng, and the struggle to Counterattack the Right-Deviationist Reversal-of-Verdicts Trend. From now on, as long as we adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the attacks of the inner-party bourgeoisie will be completely defeated, and we will surely win successive victories in the continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the long river of human history, the emergence of the inner-party bourgeoisie is but a tiny countercurrent. After the long-term struggle of our people, the sun of communism has risen on the vast horizon of our country. Communism is brought about through struggle, and every victory in the struggle is a step forward towards communism. With each struggle, communist elements develop further and the soil and foundation of capitalism are further weakened. Communism is gradually realized in such long-term and repeated struggles. As long as we continue to work hard, persevere, carry forward the spirit of "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains," and continue fighting from generation to generation, the cause of communism will definitely be realized.

Chairman Mao instructed us, **"The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past."**The era in which we live is still an era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. A socialist country that upholds the dictatorship of the proletariat stands firm. The anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, and anti-hegemonial armies of the third world are getting stronger as they fight. The international united-front against hegemony continually strengthens and expands. Countries wanting independence, nations wanting liberation, and people wanting revolution has become an irresistible historical trend. The two superpowers have been surrounded by the world's hundreds of millions of people. In particular, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is plotting a new world war, trying in vain to dominate the world by launching a war of aggression. The "no evil is too much" Soviet revisionist bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie has committed every possible wrong and scandalous thing in the world. The people of the world will never forgive them. **"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,"**(Mao Zedong, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People").

Taking a wide view of the world and looking around the globe we are full of pride and confidence: The dawn of a new world without imperialism, capitalism, and exploitation is just ahead, and the death knell of the bourgeoisie at home and abroad,

inside and outside the party, has already sounded.

**"The future belongs solely to the rising proletariat!"<sup>77</sup>**

The bright red sun must shine all over the globe, the Internationale shall certainly be realized!

<sup>77</sup> Ed. From Lu Xun's Preface to "Two Hearts."