

INNER-PARTY BOURGEOISIE IN SOCIALISM

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Introduction

This book, *Inner-Party Bourgeoisie in Socialism*, was written in Shanghai, the bastion of Chinese proletarian revolutionaries, and finished in the last days of the existence of Socialist China before the counter-revolutionary coup d'état of October 6, 1976.

As the last systematic theoretical document that was written in a socialist country, this book carries a special importance. It is able to give an all-round and brief overview of the Chinese Maoist (then called Mao Zedong Thought) conception of the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in all three fields of philosophy, political economy, and scientific socialism. Written and edited by the famous Shanghai Municipal Committee Writing Group – its members hand-picked by Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan – this book provides an interesting perspective on the ideology of the left wing of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in the highest and the last moment of the 1st Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR).

Long lost and scattered after the confusions after 1976, this book was finally completely collected, edited and digitalized in October 2021 by a group of researchers. An English translation is subsequently finished in November 2021. As translators, we hope that this book would provide much needed clarity to the English-speaking world on the historical context and process of the GPCR, which, unfortunately, has been sorely lacking even today. Many confusions have arisen, even from established Parties and organizations, as a direct result of this. We hope the translation of this book would help with answering at least a few questions.

Throughout the book, intriguing explanations are made concerning the formation, development, and features of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, a concept proposed by Chairman Mao Zedong and one yet to be thoroughly investigated by the International Communist Movement (ICM), from the concrete experience of the authors in taking part in the highest point of the World Revolution. Especially worthy of note, is its revolutionary fervor: the book announces forcefully that revolution is the main trend in the world, all defeats are temporary, and that “in the next 50 to 100 years”, imperialism, revisionism, and all reaction will be swept off from the face of the earth.

However, this book still has some weaknesses. The gravest weakness is the lack of mention of the military and organizational lines, which reflected a lack of thorough understanding of the proletarian revolutionary

line and theory, the central problem of political power, and the place of the highest form of struggle, violence. This is an error that would also be reflected in the actions of the Left of the CPC, one that was proven fatal. This is a somber lesson for Chinese revolutionaries today, and it should not be forgotten that it was Dr. Abimael Guzmán, who, in Peru in the 1980s, went against the tide, upheld and defended the Maoist principle of revolutionary violence, which is the method through which power is conquered and defended. He defended the thesis of Mao Zedong that power is conquered and defended through violence, that “if the center has revisionism, localities must rebel against it;” a quote forgotten in the hesitancy, indecision, and capitulation of October 1976.

Like a song goes, the past is sealed, and the present is still being written. We have decided to add the 2016 declaration, “Celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution with People’s War until communism!” as an appendix, as an interesting peak of the views of some international forces with regard to the GPCR, as well as the similarity in understanding between it and the content of this book. We hope that it could bring new understandings to both those who are familiar with the statement and those who aren’t.

Translators
November 2021

Preface to the 2021 Chinese Edition

Shanghai People's Radio Station's broadcasting material *Inner-Party Bourgeoisie in Socialism* was adapted from *Let's Talk About the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie* edited and authored by Qin Zhengxian ([name assumed by] Shanghai Municipal Committee Writing Group).

Let's Talk About the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie has been compiled since February 1976, using relevant materials from theoretical seminars in Beijing, Liaoning and other places and the book *Socialist Political Economy* compiled in Shanghai. The first draft was titled *Let's Talk About the Character, Task, Target and Prospects of the Socialist Revolution*, and the second draft was titled *On the Bourgeoisie in the Socialist Period*, the book was finalized in September of the same year and readied for printing, originally planned to be issued by People's Publishing House in October, but failed because of the "smashing of the Gang of Four".

At the same time, the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee's writing team also slightly adapted *Let's Talk About the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie* into an eight-lecture broadcast lecture, which began to be broadcasted on Shanghai People's Broadcasting Station on August 31, 1976. After October 6, the broadcast continued until the fifth lecture on October 16.

During the "Reveal, Criticize, Investigate" campaign in August 1978, the "Office of the Propaganda Department of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee" printed and distributed the full text of the above-mentioned radio speech as black material in "Second Round of Simplified Chinese Characters". They have been changed to simplified characters and the omitted names in the form of "△△△" in the original book are restored for the sake of research.

I. In Order to Made Socialist Revolution, We Must Know Where the Bourgeoisie Is

Broadcasted on August 31, 1976

In the great struggle of criticizing Deng Xiaoping and counterattack the Right-Deviationist Reversal-of-Verdicts Trend, a series of important instructions by Chairman Mao were released. The instructions of Chairman Mao profoundly exposed the class nature of Inner-Party bourgeoisie of the likes of Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping, analyzed the characteristics of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, their source and ways of defeating them, constituted a great development of Marxism-Leninism. The instructions of Chairman Mao further pointed out the way for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, is the powerful ideological weapon for waging struggle against the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, combating and preventing revisionism, and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. The title of my speech is, *In Order to Made Socialist Revolution, We Must Know Where the Bourgeoisie Is*. This speech can be divided into three issue: 1) Chairman Mao's theory regarding the Inner-Party bourgeoisie is a major development for Marxism-Leninism; 2) Chairman Mao's instructions are a powerful ideological weapon to combat and prevent revisionism; 3) free ourselves from the influence of idealism and metaphysics, affirm the method of class analysis.

Let's begin with the first issue:

Chairman Mao's theory regarding the Inner-Party bourgeoisie is a major development for Marxism-Leninism

In socialist society, after the socialist transformation that has in general realized the public ownership of the means of production, will there still be bourgeoisie? Where will the bourgeoisie be? Should the proletariat continue the revolution? Revolution against whom? This is a great theoretical and practical issue in the International Communist Movement (ICM).

On this issue, Marx-Engels had some scientific predictions, but due to the historical conditions, without this kind of practice, they couldn't solve it systematically. Lenin, after the October Revolution, saw that the overthrown bourgeoisie, due to the help from international capital, was still very powerful; at the same time, they also saw that new bourgeois are in reality being produced among the ranks of Soviet functionaries and the ranks of

small producers, severely threatening the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, Lenin passed away early and was unable to solve these issues. Stalin continued Lenin's cause after they passed away and waged resolute struggle in defense of Marxism-Leninism. However, in 1936, the Soviet Constitution declared: that the bourgeoisie ceased to exist after Soviet Union underwent socialist transformation that has in general realized the public ownership of the means of production. Although a large group of representatives of the bourgeoisie that infiltrated the Party, like Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, Bukharin, Rykov, etc., was in fact neutralized in Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership, no correct theoretical conclusions were reached from it, and no focus was placed on educating and guiding the broad Communists and Soviet people to figure out the issue of why a need is there to apply dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

Great Leader Chairman Mao scientifically synthesized the historical experience of the dictatorship of proletariat both in China and internationally, solved from theory and practice a series of major issues on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism.

Right before the liberation of the whole country, on the II Plenum of the VII Congress of the Party, Chairman Mao established that the primary contradiction in the country after the proletariat takes power will be **“contradiction between the working class and the capitalist class.”** (Selected Works, Vol.4, pp. 1323) Thirteen years later, Chairman Mao severely criticized the ilk of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping for fanatically advocating for fallacies like “three self and one guarantee” and “It doesn't matter whether a cat is black or white, as long as it catches mice.”, brought up the issue of class struggle again, raised the great call of **“never forget class struggle”** to the whole Party and the people of the whole country (from People's Daily, October 1, 1972), more comprehensively drafted up a general line of the entire socialist historical epoch. In the Socialist Education Movement in cities and the countryside, Chairman Mao also gave instructions like **“the focus of the movement is to defeat these capitalist-roaders in authority inside the Party”** and **“management is also socialist education”**. During the Cultural Revolution, in the struggle to criticize Deng Xiaoping and counterattack the Right-Deviationist Reversal-of-Verdicts Trend, Chairman Mao again gave a series of important instructions to the whole Party and the people of the whole country, analyzed the change in class relations in socialism in depth. Chairman Mao pointed out with clarity, that **“At the time of the co-operative transformation of agriculture there were people in the**

Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois right, they resent it. 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 People's Daily, March 10, 1976)

Chairman Mao's wise thesis on the bourgeoisie being inside the Communist Party in the socialist period, is the scientific synthesis of the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is a great development of Marxism-Leninism. This wise thesis, an important component part of the Marxist theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, has extremely important concrete significance and profound historical significance, is a guiding light in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration, constructing socialism and realizing communism.

In the great struggle to criticize Deng Xiaoping and counterattack the Right-Deviationist Reversal-of-Verdicts Trend, we study and comprehend the thesis that the bourgeoisie is inside the Communist Party in the socialist period seriously: it is extremely important to figure out this question from the combination of theory and practice. The Inner-Party bourgeoisie is those in power taking the capitalist road, intensively representing the interests of the old and new bourgeoisie, who use their power to implement the revisionist line and massively restoring capitalism from the superstructure to the economic base. They are much more powerful than the bourgeoisie outside of the Party. Only when we figure out the issue that the bourgeoisie is “right in the Communist Party”, soberly see that those in power taking the capitalist road is the main force in threatening the Party and overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat, keep waging the revolution against the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, can we become a conscious fighter in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. If not, waging Socialist Revolution without knowing where the bourgeoisie is, without knowing who is the main target of revolution, the revolution will not hit the key link, and will not make oneself a sober proletarian revolutionary, this is very dangerous.

Just now we talked about the first issue: Chairman Mao's theory regarding the Inner-Party bourgeoisie is a major development for Marxism-Leninism.

Now let's proceed to the second issue:

Chairman Mao's instructions are a powerful ideological weapon to combat and prevent revisionism

Whether acknowledge the issue that the bourgeoisie is inside the Community Party during the socialist period the mark separating Marxism and revisionism. All modern revisionists reveal their counter-revolutionary true form on this major issue. Chairman Mao's theory that the bourgeoisie is inside the Communist Party is a powerful ideological weapon for us to identify and criticize revisionism.

Modern revisionism has a common feature, which is against the dictatorship of the proletariat and against the continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, advocating for the "theory of the dying out of class struggle" and "productive force theory", deny that classes, class contradictions and the class struggle exist in the transitional period from capitalism to communism, denying the existence of the bourgeoisie inside 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."** (Lenin Selected Works, Vol. 3, pp. 200) Productive forces theory is denying class struggle as the motor force of the development of human society, its essence is denying taking class struggle as the key link. When our country was undergoing the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production, Liu Shaoqi jumped out and babbled that "class struggle is in the main over", "contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is in the main solved", the primary contradiction in the country is "contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the obsolete productive forces of the society". At that time, Deng Xiaoping joined the symphony with Liu Shaoqi, babbling that "regarding the socialist system we need to pay attention to investigate, classes have already been eliminated, so we shouldn't still put the focus on class struggle." Although this kind of "theory of the dying out of class struggle" and "productive force theory" has been repeatedly criticized by the revolutionary people in close to twenty years, it is still propagated by revisionists again and again. Deng Xiaoping's so-called "taking the three instructions as the key link" is this type of thing.

Is the bourgeoisie actually eliminated? Is there really no more class struggle? Lies cannot cover the truth. People realized in the practice of struggle: doesn't the old bourgeoisie still exist? Didn't everyone see the large amount of the petit-bourgeoisie? Aren't a large amount of unremolded intellectuals everywhere? The influence of small production, corruption and

embezzlement, speculating and profiteering, aren't they everywhere? Not only are new capitalist elements being produced waves after waves, but the bourgeoisie also even exists inside the Communist Party. The struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat is not only protracted, torturous, but also very intense.

Since the bourgeoisie objectively exists, class contradictions and class struggle objectively exist, why does the type of Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping insist that they don't exist? The reason is that they themselves are the bourgeoisie, are the chief figures of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, they feel like that the revolution started to target them and their end is near, what would they do? And like that they manufactured the "theory of the dying out of class struggle", screaming: the bourgeoisie is eliminated, class struggle is no more. They use this to paralyze the fighting spirit of the proletariat and the revolutionary people.

In reality, Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping themselves never let class struggle die out, they have never stopped the struggle against the proletariat even for a second. Chairman Mao hit the nail on the head: **"Liu Shaoqi talks about the dying out of class struggle, but they doesn't make it die out himself, they wants to protect their bunch of renegades, partisans. Lin Biao wants to defeat the proletariat and launch their coup d'état. Did class struggle die out then?"** (from People's Daily, April 6, 1976) Deng Xiaoping is like this too. they talks about "we can't talk about class struggle all the time", but in practice they organizes bourgeois "homecoming legions", launching attacks on the proletariat daily in an extremely ferocious manner, can't wait to swallow proletarian revolutionaries in one big gulp. We can tell they are lying when they talk about the dying out of class struggle, in reality they only want others to not talk about class struggle. If people buy into their whole thing and put down their guards, losing their alertness for the restoration activities of the bourgeoisie, these capitalists will exploit this opportunity and more blatantly carry out their criminal activities of overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, Deng Xiaoping and the like are they themselves part of the bourgeoisie, therefore it's not strange for them to say that class struggle has died out. The issue is, some people within our revolutionary ranks are still unable to see where the bourgeoisie is. Why is this? An important reason is that they belong to the petit-bourgeoisie themselves and their mind is prone to rightist ideas. The petit-bourgeoisie, decided by their own economic status, often waver between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Their worldview is that of the bourgeoisie and it is the easiest for them

to receive influence from the bourgeoisie, especially the right-wing of the petit-bourgeoisie. **“Such people very much want to get rich and are devout worshippers of Marshal Chao; while they have no illusions about amassing great fortunes, they invariably desire to climb up into the middle bourgeoisie.”** (Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol. 1, pp. 5) They are attracted to the bourgeoisie, and of course it is often hard for them to see the objectively existing Inner-Party bourgeoisie. Therefore, for these comrades, to understand the class struggle in the socialist period, to understand the issue of the bourgeoisie being inside the Communist Party, they would have to change their stances and change their foothold over to the side of the proletariat.

We have talked about the second question above: Chairman Mao’s instructions are a powerful ideological weapon for combat and prevent revisionism.

Now let’s talk about the third issue: get rid of the influence of idealism and metaphysics, and firmly adhere to the class analysis method.

On combining theory and practice, to clarify the issue of the bourgeoisie in the Communist Party during the socialist period, we must also master materialism and dialectics, and get rid of idealism and metaphysics.

We know that class does not fall from the sky, nor does it arise in people’s heads. It is the product of a certain social mode of production and exchange, and the result of social economic movements. However, the economic movement is more complicated. Marx said: **“To analyze economic forms, neither microscopes nor chemical reagents can be used.”** Instead, **“abstraction must be used instead.”** (Collected Works of Marx/Engels, Vol. 23, pp. 8) Otherwise, we can only see some superficial phenomena. It is not easy to analyze the economic form. Then, to study the changes in social class relations determined by the economic form and its movements, of course, takes more effort. In history, people’s understanding of the old bourgeoisie has gone through a long process for hundreds of years. It was only in the 1840s that Marx/Engels used materialism and dialectics to reveal the nature of the bourgeoisie. Today, when we study the changes in class relations during the socialist period, we must clarify the issues of the bourgeoisie inside the Communist Party. We must also adhere to materialism and dialectics, and criticize idealism and metaphysics. Only by liberating our minds from the influence of idealism and metaphysics can we have a clear-sighted mind and can truly solve the issue of the bourgeoisie in the Communist Party.

Some of our comrades find it difficult to understand the fact that the bourgeoisie is inside the Communist Party. Why? An important reason is that this is related to idealism and metaphysical methods of thinking.

Marxist materialist dialectics tells us that there are contradictions in all things in the universe from beginning to end, and the same is true of socialist society. A socialist society is a transitional period from capitalism to communism. There are contradictions between the relations of production and productive forces, and between the superstructure and the economic base. In the final analysis, this kind of contradiction is manifested in the struggle between the growing communist elements and the declining capitalist tradition or remnants. In the class relations, it will inevitably be manifested in the struggle between the growing proletariat and the dying bourgeoisie. Under the condition that the proletariat is in power and the old bourgeoisie has been overthrown, because classes and class struggles still exist, bourgeois rights still exist, bourgeois ideology still exists, and the new bourgeoisie will still be produced from this old soil. And because the Communist Party leads the political, economic, and cultural life of the society in an all-round manner, this new bourgeoisie will inevitably arise within the Party. Therefore, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will become more and more prominent within the Party. The members of the proletarian Party are not all members, they can be analyzed, and they are divided into two. Within our Communist Party, there are revolutionaries who represent the interests of the proletariat, which is the mainstream; there are indeed capitalist-roaders who represent the interests of the bourgeoisie, which is a countercurrent. The capitalist-roaders within the Party represent the decadent capitalist relations of production and are a declining reactionary force. Our Party publicly affirms the fact that there is a Inner-Party bourgeoisie. This not only does not harm the glory of our Party, but also shows that our Party has the strength, confidence, and ability to defeat the Inner-Party bourgeoisie. Only by clarifying the original appearance of things to the people and mobilizing people to persevere in the struggle within the Party can we ensure that our Party and the country will not change its colors and make our Party greater, more glorious, and more correct.

Chairman Mao taught 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 issues.”** (Selected Works of Mao Zedong,

Vol. 3, pp. 747) The same should also be used in understanding the issues of the bourgeoisie inside the Communist Party. Therefore, adhere to the proletarian position, observe the socialist society by using the law of the unity of opposites, adhere to the class analysis method, grasp the changes in class relations in the socialist period, recognize the nature, objects, tasks, and future of the Socialist Revolution, and understand the issue that the bourgeoisie is inside the Communist Party – these are very important. Only by mastering the proletariat's stand, viewpoints, and methods can we consciously adhere to class struggle throughout the entire historical stage of socialism, keep in mind the Party's general program and general line, establish a long-term ideology for fighting capitalist-roaders within the Party, and continuously raise our consciousness of waging class struggle, waging line struggles, and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the goal of communism in mind, and carrying the Socialist Revolution through to the end.

II. Class changes under the dictatorship of the proletariat

Broadcasted on September 7 and September 25

Today, we are going to talk about our learning experience around the issue of changes in class relations during the socialist period. We will be mainly talking about three issues:

1. The socialist period is a period of great social changes;
2. New changes in class relations under the dictatorship of the proletariat;
3. The Inner-Party bourgeoisie has become the core force of the entire bourgeoisie.

Let me talk about the first issue first. The socialist period is a period of great social changes.

To clarify the issue that the bourgeoisie was in the Communist Party during the socialist period, we must first understand what kind of society a socialist society is.

Marxism-Leninism pointed out very clearly that the socialist period is a fairly long historical stage, a society in which the transition from capitalism to communism took place. Marx said: **“Between capitalist and communist society there lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the 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.”** (“Critique of the Gotha Program”, Selected Works of Marx/Engels, Vol. 3, pp. 21) Lenin also clearly pointed out: **“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 a 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.”** (“Economy and Politics in the Era of Proletarian Dictatorship”, Lenin’s Selected Works, Vol. 4, No. Pp. 84) From the Marxist theory on the transition period, we can see that the so-called transition period is the transition period from capitalism to communism. And this transitional society is a socialist society, and this society has struggled between growing communism and declining capitalism from beginning to end. This kind of

struggle is reflected in the class relationship as the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, so the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat must be upheld.

In 1957, Chairman Mao taught us: **“We are living in a period of great social change.” “Overthrowing the old social system and establishing a new one, the system of socialism, means a great struggle, a great change in the social system and in men's relations with each other.”** (“Speech on the National Propaganda Work Conference of the Communist Party of China”. “Selected Readings of Mao Zedong’s Works” (Class A), pp. 501) This period of great social change is the period of transition from capitalism to communism. Our country has established a socialist society during this great social change. Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought have become our country’s guiding ideology, the working class has become the country’s leading class, socialist public ownership has been established and developed, and new things in socialism have flourished and flourished. When someone has difficulties, everyone comes to support. And so on... All of these indicate that there are communist elements in a socialist society. This is an important feature of socialist society.

With the development and growth of communist elements, a socialist society will inevitably be transformed into a communist society. However, as Marx said, the socialist society **“just as it 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.”** (“Critique of the Gotha Program.” “Selected Works of Marx/Engels, Vol. III, pp. 10) The overthrown bourgeoisie still exists, bourgeois rights still exist, and bourgeois ideology still exists. These declining tradition or traces of capitalism is in contradiction with the growing communist element. This is another important feature of socialist society. If the traditions or traces of capitalism are allowed to overflow freely, socialist society may also regress to capitalist society. The two characteristics of a socialist society constitute the content of the basic contradictions in a 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 this imperfection stands 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.”** (“On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among

the People". Selected Readings of Mao Zedong's Works "(Class A), pp. 463) There is correspondence as well as contradiction, this scientifically summarizes the laws of the movement of basic contradictions in socialist society. The class manifestation of the basic contradictions in a socialist society is the contradiction and struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Not only the old bourgeoisie who lost their means of production are still there, but their ambitions are not dead either. Moreover, since there are still bourgeois rights in a socialist society, which is the soil for the production of capitalism and the bourgeoisie, new bourgeoisie will emerge one after another. The bourgeoisie will always exist as a class. Lenin said: **"We overthrew the landlords and the bourgeoisie and cleared the way, but we have not yet built a socialist edifice. The old generation has been eliminated, and new generations will continue to emerge on this soil because of this. Lumps of soil have been produced in the past and are still producing many bourgeoisie."** ("Meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee". "Collected Works of Lenin" Vol. 27, pp. 275) Chairman Mao pointed out: **"Lenin said, 'Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.' This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life."** (People's Daily, February 22, 1975) Before entering the advanced stage of communism, as long as bourgeois rights exist, the bourgeoisie will not break off, and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue for a long time.

Chairman Mao pointed out: **"There are class contradictions, class struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie during the transition period, and there are two road struggles between socialism and capitalism. Forget this basic theory and basic practice of our Party for more than ten years will lead to a deviating path."** (Red Flag Magazine, No. 13, 1968) Under socialism, during the transition from capitalism to communism, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will always be the main contradiction in society. This contradiction is universal in all fields of socialist society and runs through all stages of the development of socialist society. Who wins or loses in this struggle determines whether a socialist society will transition from capitalism to communism or regress from socialism to capitalism.

The transition period is a period of great social changes, and the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie constitutes the main

content of the complex class struggle in this period. This involves profound changes in class relations. In the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class relationship is constantly changing. Therefore, the socialist period is a period of great changes in social relations.

Let us now turn to the second issue: the new changes in class relations under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Mastering the Marxist class analysis method and being good at studying new changes in class relations are extremely important for guiding the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao said: **"Our chief method of investigation must be to dissect the different social classes, the ultimate purpose being to understand their interrelations, 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."** ("Oppose Book Worship". "Selected Readings of Mao Zedong's Works" (Class A), pp. 32) Chairman Mao, in the process of leading our country's democratic and Socialist Revolutions, at the critical moments for the development of the revolution, always put the study of class relations and their changes in an extremely important position, made a Marxist analysis of class relations in a specific historical period, and formulated a correct line, correct principles, and correct policies for our Party on this basis, guiding the revolution from victory to victory continuously. We must earnestly study Chairman Mao's expositions on the changes in class relations in socialist society, analyze, study, and master the changes in class relations in socialist society, and distinguish who are our enemies and who are our friends, so that we can truly understand the characteristics and laws of class struggle in socialist society.

In a socialist society, the main classes are the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Then, what changes have taken place in the relationship between these two classes and their relationship with other classes? Judging from the situation in our country:

Old China was a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. The main classes in this society were the bureaucrat bourgeoisie, the landlord class, the national bourgeoisie, the proletariat, the peasantry, principally the poor, hired and middle peasants, and artisans and other petty bourgeoisie who are not peasants. The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the basic end of the New Democratic Revolution and the beginning of the Socialist Revolution. After the confiscation of bureaucratic capital, land reform, and socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production,

the socialist system was fully established. **“Every revolution, if it is a real revolution, amounts to a class shift.”** (“A Class Shift”, The Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 25, pp. 118) The landlords and bourgeoisie have been overthrown. The proletariat has transformed from an oppressed and exploited class in the old society into the ruling and leading class of the new society; the proletarian Party, the Communist Party, has become the ruling Party. With the changes in the social and economic structure, the nature of the revolution has changed from a democratic revolution to a Socialist Revolution, and the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has become the main contradiction in society.

The ruling proletariat controls the powerful state machinery of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and controls the lifeline of the national economy through its own state. It forms a solid alliance with the collective peasants and unites with other working people, thus in the class struggle. China is in a favorable position.

The peasantry is the largest class in our country. The vast majority of the peasants in our country are members of people’s communes. On the basis of co-operation and under the leadership of the working class, they have formed a new and consolidated alliance with the working class to jointly build socialism. But farmers still have duality. They are both laborers and small private owners. Under the circumstances that small private economy still exists and the degree of collectivization is relatively low, polarization will still occur. Both the proletariat and the bourgeoisie compete for the peasants. The poor and lower-middle peasants, who account for the vast majority of the peasants, are determined to take the socialist road, while some of the rich middle peasants have serious capitalist tendencies.

With the in-depth development of the Socialist Revolution, the class status of the bourgeoisie has also undergone major changes. When the proletariat transforms from the ruling class to the ruled class, the bourgeoisie transforms from the ruling class to the ruled class and becomes the target of the Socialist Revolution. This transformation was achieved after a major struggle. In the process of the Socialist Revolution on the economic front, the bourgeoisie has repeatedly assembled its class ranks to launch a wild attack on the proletariat. After this offensive was crushed by the proletariat through the “Three Antis”, “Five Antis” and the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the bourgeoisie gathered its own class contingents, commanded by bourgeois rightist heads “Zhang-Luo Alliance”, launched a frenzied attack on the proletariat on the political and ideological fronts. This offensive was also shattered after a powerful

counterattack by the proletariat. Since then, the old bourgeoisie has become infamous and defeated. It is very difficult for the old bourgeoisie to gather openly to compete with the proletariat, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, and restore capitalism.

However, in a socialist society, due to the existence of the bourgeoisie, the existence of bourgeois rights, and the existence of bourgeois ideology, new bourgeois elements will continue to be produced in society. The bourgeois elements separated from the workers, the peasants, and the Party members are a component of the entire bourgeoisie in the socialist period. This type of new bourgeois element generally engages in activities that undermine the socialist economic base and restore capitalist relations of production through corruption, theft, speculation, bribery, and embezzlement of state and collective wealth. However, this type of new bourgeois element is scattered and stinky in society. They can only serve as a special detachment for bourgeois restoration activities and cannot be the commanding force of bourgeois restoration activities.

Then, in the context of changes in the class relations and the balance of class forces in socialist society, where has the core strength and main force of the bourgeoisie gone? Facts have proven that the bourgeoisie has made its way inside the Communist Party, and the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has become more and more profoundly and prominently manifested in the Communist Party. The Inner-Party bourgeoisie, except for some new bourgeois elements such as corruption, theft and speculation, are mainly those in power who take the capitalist road. Some of these in power who took the capitalist road were renegades, agents, and scabs who had mixed into the Communist Party, such as Liu Shaoqi and his likes. Some were fellow-travelers of the Party during the democratic revolution. Chairman Mao said: **“After the democratic revolution, the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants have not stopped. They want to make a revolution. However, some Party members do not want to move forward. Some have retreated and oppose the revolution. Why? They became high officials, and they must protect the interests of high officials.”** (Red Flag Magazine, Issue 6, 1976) The unrepenting capitalist-roaders in the Party such as Deng Xiaoping have changed from fellow-travelers of the Party during the democratic revolution to capitalist-roaders during the Socialist Revolution. Moreover, as the socialist society develops, new members of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie will continue to emerge. The emergence of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie is one of the most important and basic content of the changes in class relations and the reorganization of the

bourgeois ranks under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The capitalist-road-ers within the Party have become the core force of the entire bourgeoisie and have become the main danger for subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. I just talked about the second issue, the title is: New changes in class relations under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Now let's turn to the third issue: The Inner-Party bourgeoisie has become the core force of the entire bourgeoisie.

Since the first day of the founding of the Communist Party, there have been opportunists and revisionists in the Party, acting as agents of the bourgeoisie in the Communist Party. Chen Duxiu of China, Plekhanov of Russia, Bernstein and Kautsky of Germany, etc., are such figures. However, before the proletariat took power, the bourgeois agents who mixed into the proletarian Party were not its core force for the entire bourgeoisie, but only its vassal. At that time, the bourgeoisie had its own public Party, which controlled the entire state apparatus and the lifeline of the national economy. Therefore, the core and main force of the bourgeoisie, its headquarters, and its main political representatives were outside the Communist Party rather than in the Communist Party. Infiltrating the proletarian Party, especially the bourgeois agents of the Party's central leadership, can cause great harm to the cause of the emancipation of the proletariat. However, the status of these people in the entire bourgeoisie is only equivalent to a special detachment sent by the bourgeoisie outside the Communist Party. When the opportunist line of these bourgeois agents who have mixed into the Party is criticized and their class nature has been exposed, the special detachments sent by the class headquarters often turn from hidden detachments into open bourgeois pawns. After Chen Duxiu and Zhang Guotao were criticized within the Party, they openly rebelled against the Party, rebelled against the revolution, and became shameful Trotskyists and Kuomintang agents.

After the proletariat gains power, the Communist Party became the ruling Party. With the changes in class relations, the Inner-Party bourgeoisie no longer appeared as a vassal of the bourgeoisie outside the Party. However, for a period of time after the proletariat gained power, when the non-Party bourgeoisie possessed the means of production and had a certain appeal, the non-Party bourgeoisie could still organize its own headquarters, promote its own leading figures, and contest with the proletariat. At this time, the Inner-Party bourgeoisie has not yet appeared in the Party as the core force of the entire bourgeoisie, but has colluded with the non-Party bourgeoisie and served as the backing of the non-Party bourgeoisie. With the deepening of the Socialist Revolution, the non-Party bourgeoisie lost its means of

production, suffered repeated failures on the political and ideological front, its reputation was bad, and its strength gradually weakened. From this moment on, the Inner-Party bourgeoisie has emerged as the core force of the entire Inner-Party bourgeoisie.

Lenin said: **“The dictatorship of the proletariat is not the end of class struggle but the continuation of class struggle in new forms.”** (Preface to the publication of “Deception of the People with Slogans of Freedom and Equality”. Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 29, pp. 343) The emergence of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie as the core force of the entire Inner-Party bourgeoisie is a concentrated expression of the new form of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletarian Party has become the ruling Party. This Party is entrusted by the proletariat and the entire people and holds all state power. The bourgeoisie understands that using the Monkey King’s tactics to get into the belly of Princess Iron Fan, that is, to usurp the power of the ruling Party through the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, will play a much greater role than the activities of the bourgeoisie outside the Party to restore capitalism. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the non-Party bourgeoisie colluded with 14 countries to invade the Soviet Republic, and Hitler launched an all-out war of aggression against the Soviet Union, all of which were defeated. However, after the Inner-Party bourgeoisie headed by Khrushchov and Brezhnev usurped the supreme power of the Party and the country, it didn’t take long for the red flag to fall, the Party changed and the country changed its color. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, even if the Inner-Party bourgeoisie [only] usurped part of its power and started restoration activities, its effect would be much greater than that of the non-Party bourgeoisie. Liu Shaoqi and their team cut off 200,000 cooperatives with one slash. Lin Biao gathered a few hardcore loyalists at the Second Plenum of the Ninth Central Committee to launch a counter-revolutionary coup that was unsuccessful. Deng Xiaoping advocated for “taking the three instructions as the key link” to spread in the whole country. A right-deviationist reverse-of-verdict trend arose, provoking a counter-revolutionary political incident in Tiananmen Square. Let me ask, does the non-Party bourgeoisie have such a big role?

The Inner-Party bourgeoisie can become the core force of the entire bourgeoisie because it can piece together a bourgeois headquarters and launch its own leaders, gather new and old bourgeois inside and outside the Party, and launch a rampant attack on the proletariat. Khrushchov, Brezhnev, Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping are all leaders of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party. However, in the Soviet Union, Khrushchov and

Brezhnev's conspiracy to restore capitalism temporarily succeeded. In our country, due to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the powerful dictatorship of the proletariat, Liu, Lin, and Deng's conspiracy to restore capitalism are all shattered. But we must be soberly aware that the proletariat's defeat of a bourgeois figure inside and outside the Party is just a victory in a battle, and new figures will appear. If it is not done well, the restoration of capitalism will be possible at any time. Therefore, we must fully understand that the Inner-Party bourgeoisie and those in power who are taking the capitalist road are the main danger to the restoration of capitalism and the main targets of the Socialist Revolution.

We must establish the idea of protracted struggle, strengthen our studies, criticize Deng in-depth, continue to counterattack the right-deviationist reverse-of-verdict trend, consolidate and develop the victory of the proletarian cultural revolution, enthusiastically support new things in socialism, restrict bourgeois rights, and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, will carry through to the end the revolutionary cause of the proletariat initiated by Chairman Mao!

III. The economic base for the Inner-Party bourgeoisie

Broadcasted on September 28 and October 2

In the last lecture, we have already talked about the issue that with the changes in class relations during the socialist period, the Inner-Party bourgeoisie has become the core force of the entire bourgeoisie and the main target of the Socialist Revolution. Then, how did the Inner-Party bourgeoisie form? Today I will talk about a little bit of my own experience on this issue. The topic I am talking about is: the economic basis for the creation of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie.

The historical materialism holds that **“the existence of classes is only related to a certain historical stage of the development of production.”** (Selected Works of Marx/Engels, Vol. 4, pp. 332) Engels said: **“In every historically emerging society, the distribution of products and the division of the society that accompanies it into classes or hierarchies is determined by what is produced, how it is produced, and how products are exchanged.”** (Selected Works of Marx/Engels, Vol. 3, pp. 424) For the Inner-Party bourgeoisie under socialist conditions, we must also follow Engels’s words, look for the reasons for their appearance from the material living conditions of society, from the economic relations of production, exchange, distribution, and consumption of social products. In a socialist society, if socialist public ownership has become the only economic base, then, how did this socialist economic base produce the Inner-Party bourgeoisie? We will talk about this issue below from three aspects:

First, in a socialist society, the issue of system of ownership has not yet been completely resolved;

Second, the commodity system breeds a new bourgeoisie;

Third, differences in distribution inevitably lead to differences in class.

Now let’s talk about the first question: In a socialist society, the issue of system of ownership has not yet been completely resolved.

We know that in a capitalist society, bourgeois rights are first and foremost expressed as capitalist ownership of the means of production. Capitalists own the means of production, and workers have nothing. They can only sell labor to capitalists in accordance with the principle of equivalent exchange, and create surplus value for capitalists. Lenin said: **“The**

‘bourgeois rights’ recognize that the means of production are private property of individuals. Socialism turns the means of production into public property. Within this scope, and only within this scope, can “bourgeois rights” stop to exist.” (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 3, pp. 252) Lenin is talking about the situation where the whole society owns all means of production. Our socialist country today has obviously not reached this point. According to Lenin, even **“once the equality of all members of society in the possession of the means of production is achieved”, “there must be a further step, from formal equality to de facto equality.”** (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 3, pp. 256-257) What’s more, our current socialist public ownership of the means of production still exists in two forms: ownership by the whole people and collective ownership by the working people, in addition to partial private ownership. This means that within the scope of system of ownership, bourgeois rights have not been completely abolished, and the issue of ownership has not been completely resolved.

Ownership is not a thing, but a type of social relation of labor. Judging a system of ownership depends on how laborers and means of production are combined to carry out production activities. The different combinations of labor and means of production determine and distinguish different economic periods. In capitalist society, laborer and means of production are separated. The two enter the production process by combining labor power as a commodity and means of production as a commodity. This is a process by which laborers create surplus value for capitalists. Such an ownership relation is the capitalist ownership relation. If a person owns a large amount of money, but they neither buys labor power, nor does they buy the means of production, and does not put them into the production process to create surplus value, then they is just a miser, not a capitalist. Bourgeoisie are a class that relies on capital to exploit workers’ surplus value. As Engels said: **“The bourgeoisie refers to the modern capitalist class that owns the means of production in society and uses wage labor.”** (Selected Works of Marx/Engels, Vol. 1, pp. 250) Then, under socialist conditions, how are laborers and means of production combined in carrying out the production movement? This is a key issue in our study of the emergence of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie.

The establishment of socialist public ownership announced that the era of separation of laborer and means of production in history has passed, opening up a new era of the combination of laborers and means of production. Millions of working people have turned themselves around politically and economically and have become masters of the country and the means of

production. However, the combination of laborers and means of production under socialist conditions is still linked to relations of bourgeois rights, and is different from the direct combination of laborers and means of production under communist conditions. Lenin said in "State and Revolution": **"It cannot be assumed that after the overthrow of capitalism, people can immediately learn to work for society without any standards of rights, and the abolition of capitalism cannot immediately create economic preconditions for such changes."** ("Selected Works of Lenin", Vol. 3, pp. 252) Those standards of bourgeois rights are manifested in: (1) Laborers must use the amount of labor provided by themselves, after deducting their labor made for social funds, to receive an equivalent amount of products; (2) The society also needs to have an apparatus that forces people to abide by the standards of rights to organize social labor. As Lenin said: **"right is nothing without an apparatus capable of enforcing the observance of the standards of right."** (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 3, pp. 256) This kind of apparatus that forces people to obey the standards of rights is a bourgeois state without the bourgeoisie, and the socialist economic organization established under the leadership of this state. In this way, the socialist relations of ownership shown in the combination of laborers and means of production has a dual nature: it has both communist elements and bourgeois rights. This kind of ownership relation cannot fail to have the characteristics or traits of the two forms of relations of ownership, communism, and capitalism.

Since under socialist conditions there is still an apparatus that forces people to abide by the standards of rights to organize social labor, it is inevitably necessary for the state or the working masses to select some representatives to exercise the functions of leading and managing social production. In this way, some people in society are mainly engaged in mental labor, while another section of people are mainly engaged in physical labor. The existence of this social division of labor is one of the most important sources of social inequality. **"The law of division of labor is the basis for class division."** (Selected Works of Marx/Engels, Vol. 3, pp. 321) At the end of primitive society, in order to maintain a certain common interest, the primitive commune, under the supervision of the whole society, had individual members to perform management functions. After a certain stage of development, these individual members gradually changed from the original servants of the society to the masters of the society, and eventually became the slave-owning class. Engels once analyzed this long historical process in "Anti-Duhring".

Under the socialist relations of ownership, power of those representatives appointed to lead and manage social production is given by the working people. They are in an apparatus that forces people to abide by standards of rights. Under the general goal of strengthening the communist element in relations of ownership, they organize people to abide by standards of rights for social labor. And here is the issue, forcing people to abide by standards of rights – although inevitable under socialist conditions – is still essentially a function of the bourgeois state and capitalist relations of ownership. This kind of function can easily lead to the “one-man management”, the implementation of “control, restraint, and repress”, so that the representative responsible for leading and managing social production gradually changes from the servants of the society to the master of the society, as well as separates laborers from the means of production, changing them gradually into wage laborers. Engels pointed out: **“The inevitable consequence of personal management of industry is private ownership.”** (Selected Works of Marx/Engels, vol. 1, pp. 217) The socialist public ownership of the Soviet Union gradually evolved into a system of ownership of the bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie through this road of “one-man management”. This kind of “one-man management” was already gradually developed before the capitalist system was completely restored in the Soviet Union; and after the Soviet Union completely restored the capitalist system, it became more widespread and was consolidated in the law. The “Regulations on State-owned Production Enterprises” of the Soviet revisionists stipulated that enterprises must implement “one-man management”, and factory directors and managers have “powers related to production and business activities.” The manager of the construction trust of the Ministry of Agriculture of the Soviet revisionists had a confession: “The trust is my home, and I am the master. I can do whatever I want.” The broad working masses of workers and peasants have been completely separated from the means of production, again becoming wage slaves. According to Soviet revisionist newspapers, in 1970, the industrial sector alone dismissed 6.63 million workers. In 1974, the Soviet TASS News Agency confessed that 25 million people in the Soviet Union were members of “economically disadvantaged families”, accounting for one-fifth of the urban population of the Soviet Union and one-tenth of the country’s population. The labor income of these economically disadvantaged families is not enough to maintain a minimum standard of living, and they are struggling on the line of hunger. This is the serious consequence of the restoration of the Soviet capitalist relations of ownership.

Chairman Mao attaches great importance to changing the relations of ownership. In order to limit bourgeois rights that have not been completely abolished in the field of relations of ownership, Chairman Mao, in a series of instructions like the instruction on the socialist education movement in 1964 and the talk on the issue of leadership at the First Plenum of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party, has repeatedly taught us, **“Management is also socialist education.”** Managers have to go to the workshop teams to engage in “three withs”, become apprentices to learn one or several crafts. Otherwise, **“they will be in a state of acute class struggle with the working class their whole life, and in the end they will be inevitably overthrown by the working class as the bourgeoisie.”** (Quoted from People’s Daily, July 1, 1976). Chairman Mao also made it clear that the leadership of factories and enterprises should be in the hands of real Marxists and the masses of workers. Chairman Mao’s series of instructions have pointed the way for the continuous improvement and consolidation of socialist relations of ownership in the struggle, to prevent the restoration of capitalist relations of ownership, and to gradually eradicate the economic base that gave rise to the Inner-Party bourgeoisie. At the same time, this is also a deep critique of the “one-man management”. Whether to uphold or to oppose this path is a serious struggle between the proletariat and the Inner-Party bourgeoisie in terms of relations of ownership. There are almost no exceptions. The Inner-Party bourgeoisie always opposes this road and supports “one-man management”. This is true of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao, and so is Deng Xiaoping. They say that the working class is a “broken chair” and “unreliable”, and “relying on workers, peasants and soldiers is relative”. To put it directly, they deny that the working class and the poor, lower and middle peasants are the masters of the ownership relation. They want to expand the bourgeoisie in terms of ownership. Legal rights. The document “Several Issues Concerning Accelerating Industrial Development”, which Deng Xiaoping himself instructed to concoct, is a black specimen advocating “one-man management”. “One-man management” not only opposes the unified leadership of the Party, but also suppresses the masses of workers. It treats workers as only the labor force and uses them in the production process in full accordance with the standards of bourgeois rights. This is a process of accelerating the cultivation of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie and the social foundation for the restoration of capitalism. Only by sticking to the path laid out by Chairman Mao can the proletariat gradually solve the issues of relations of ownership and thoroughly defeat the Inner-Party bourgeoisie.

The above is the first issue: in a socialist society, the issue of ownership has not been completely resolved. Next, let's talk about the second issue: The commodity system breeds a new bourgeoisie. This question is divided into two points. The first point is that the Inner-Party bourgeoisie emerged from the soil of the commodity system; the second point is that the Inner-Party bourgeoisie emerged from the commodity system and uses the commodity system to cultivate new bourgeois elements. Let me talk about the first point first: the Inner-Party bourgeoisie emerged from the soil of the commodity system.

After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in our country was basically completed, 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.”** (“On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People”, separate edition, 1957, pages 11-12) Then, under the conditions of socialist public ownership, what kind of relations are the relations between production and exchange in all branches of our economy? What connection does it have with the creation of a new bourgeoisie and the Inner-Party bourgeoisie? This is exactly what we need to analyze in depth.

With the establishment and development of socialist public ownership, great changes have taken place in what society produces, how it produces and how to exchange products. It turns out that under the conditions of capitalist private ownership, what society produces, how to produce and how to exchange products are completely regulated by the law of value there, governed by the law of surplus value, and no one can control their own destiny. Socialism has opened up a new era in which people are in control of their own destiny. On the basis of socialist public ownership, the law of planned and proportional development of the national economy has begun to take effect. From then on, people can work hard to plan what to produce, how to produce, and how to exchange products in accordance with the needs of the entire society.

However, under socialist conditions, the commodity system is still in place. That is to say, the relations between production and exchange in all branches of economy, under the regulation of the law of planning, are still connected with the function of the basic law of commodity production, that is, the law of value. Of course, the scope of the law of value under socialist conditions is already different from that under capitalist conditions, and it is already possible for people to gradually understand and consciously use it.

However, this is a very complicated process. Once the product of labor is produced as a commodity, the contradiction between the use value and the value of the commodity is inevitable. The production conditions of each unit of commodity production are always different, and their individual labor time consumption is also different. But when their products are to be realized as value, they can only be measured on the unified measurement of the average necessary labor time in society. This use of a unified measurement to measure different units of commodity production reflects bourgeois rights that are equal in form but unequal in essence. Under the conditions of the commodity system being in place, this bourgeois right exists in a very serious degree in the relations between production and exchange in all branches of economy.

Socialist commodity production, on the one hand, is controlled by people consciously and in a planned way, the relations between people in production should be clear at a glance; but on the other hand, **“This I call the Fetishism which attaches itself to the products of labour, so soon as they are produced as commodities, and which is therefore inseparable from the production of commodities.”** (Collected Works of Marx/Engels, Vol. 23, pp. 89) The mysterious veil in the world of commodities will obscure people’s sight and blur the relations between people in production. In this way, the social relations between people will be transformed into the social relations between things, and the power of people will be transformed into the power of things. This is because that in the process of commodity production, people see a lot of transformed forms of value, such as output value, profit, tax, cost, value, wage, interest, and so on. Moreover, in a socialist society, what can comprehensively reflect the level of national economic development and the development of production and operation of a factory or a store is also the values reflected by money, such as output value, cost, profit, and so on. This series of widely existing relations of value are, in the final analysis, relations of bourgeois rights. In the face of the exchange value of commodities, the amount of socially necessary labor for various commodities negates the individual labor for each enterprise to produce various commodities. At the same time, the prices of various commodities expressed in money inevitably deviate from the value of commodities. The price of some commodities is higher than its value, and the price of some commodities is lower than its value. In this way, when realizing the value of commodities, the total price of various commodities expressed in money, which is the total output value, conceals the actual consumption of labor of individual production of commodities by each enterprise. Those who invest

a lot of individual labor in the production of commodities may not necessarily achieve more total output value. At the same time, those who invest little individual labor in the production of commodities may not necessarily achieve less total output value. Therefore, in the face of the total output value of commodities, as in the face of money, there is no filthy smell. Under the condition that roughly the same amount of individual labor can be spent, it would be much easier to produce commodities whose prices are higher than value than to produce commodities whose prices are lower than value when completing the total quota for output value. In this way, it will drive some leaders of socialist economic branches and enterprises to find ways to obtain a higher total output value with less individual labor consumption. This is putting the output value and profits in command. At this time, what to produce, how to produce, and how to exchange products will inevitably be rid of the regulation of the law of planning, and allow the law of value to regulate. Such leaders have actually embarked on the road of capitalism. In this way, not only is it undermining the socialist planned economy, but it is actually dividing up the socialist ownership of the whole people into ownership by a branch or enterprises. If it develops, it will become an ownership of the bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie. This is how the Inner-Party bourgeoisie emerged. The above is the first point: the Inner-Party bourgeoisie emerged from the soil of the commodity system. Next time, I will talk about the second point of this question: the Inner-Party bourgeoisie emerged from the commodity system and used the commodity system to cultivate new bourgeois elements, and the third issue of this talk: differences in distribution inevitably lead to class differences.

Last time we talked about the second issue of this lecture: the commodity system breeds a new bourgeoisie. This question is divided into two points, the first of which has already been mentioned, that is, the Inner-Party bourgeoisie emerged from the soil of the commodity system. Today we will go on and talk about the second point: The Inner-Party bourgeoisie emerged from the commodity system and used the commodity system to cultivate new bourgeois elements.

As those in power taking the capitalist road, the Inner-Party bourgeoisie is in an economic position that leads and manages some sectors of the national economy and some enterprises. They have led production and business activities on the road regulated by the law of value, and the social consequences caused by them are serious. If 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 will inevitably take effect. The backlog of commodities often has to be dealt with at price cuts and cannot realize its original value; the shortage of commodities will inevitably increase in price, giving speculators a chance to take advantage of it. Under the conditions of the implementation of planned prices, although the increase in shortage of goods is generally not immediately manifested in the socialist market, it will inevitably be manifested in the free market. If people want to get the goods that are in short supply, they have to buy them at a price higher than the planned price. In this way, the part of the money that is higher than the planned price falls into the pockets of private individuals. The new bourgeois elements in society are cultivated by the Inner-Party bourgeoisie through this way.

The commodity system breeds the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, and the Inner-Party bourgeoisie uses the commodity system to cultivate new bourgeois elements in society. This whole process can be seen very clearly in today's Soviet Union.

Under the commodity system, the Inner-Party bourgeoisie has long appeared in the Soviet Union. After Stalin's death, this class has achieved a dominant position in the Soviet Union, and it is the bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie. Now the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has openly declared: "The law of value is the main and absolute regulator of public production" and also said: "The category of value is the only economic lever for managing the national economy", and things like "profit is the only criterion for evaluating enterprises" and many more. In order to chase profits and earn bonuses, Soviet enterprises were only willing to produce high-profit products and were unwilling to produce low-profit products, which severely damaged the objective proportional relations between the different branches of economy. Under such circumstances, corruption, theft, and speculation are inevitable. Using various methods such as opening the back door to obtain rare goods, and then sell them at twice, three, or four times the high price, this has become an extremely common phenomenon under Soviet revisionism. As a result, the official store shelves are empty and everything is available on the black market. In the production process, the vast majority of working people are knocked on their bones by the bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie, and after receiving meagre wages, they will be cramped and skinned by bourgeois elements in society. The Soviet Union today has completely restored the capitalist commodity system. Under this commodity system, on the one hand, a large number of Inner-Party bourgeoisie was produced, and a large number of bourgeoisie in society was cultivated through the Inner-Party bourgeoisie; on the other hand, the broad working people

were increasingly subjected to heavy exploitation and oppression, plunged into the abyss of suffering. The relations between production and exchange in the different branches of economy of the Soviet Union is centered on the ruble. “The ruble is the locomotive” has become the motto of Soviet revisionism. Behind these relations between production and exchange is the relations between people. Since everything is centered on the ruble, the relations between people will inevitably be submerged in the ice water of egoism and become a naked money relationship. Is there a trace of socialism and communism left in this place? The Soviet bourgeoisie, represented by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, is a vampire who cruelly exploits the working people and is the mortal enemy of the vast working people of the Soviet Union.

Chairman Mao summed up the practical experience of our country’s Socialist Revolution and the historical lessons of restoration in the Soviet Union, and pointed out: **“Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Biao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system.”** (quoted from the third issue of “Red Flag” magazine in 1975) Commodity system is a type of economic relations of society that includes commodity production and money exchange. Historically, the old bourgeoisie was born out of the commodity system; under socialist conditions, the commodity system will also breed the Inner-Party bourgeoisie. The commodity system embodies bourgeois rights. This is the most important soil where the old bourgeoisie can continue to exist and the new bourgeoisie, especially the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, can continue to emerge. To restrict the commodity system under the dictatorship of the proletariat is to restrict bourgeois rights embodied in the commodity system. This is a long historical process, full of contradictions and struggles. Liu Shaoqi used “profit in command” and material stimulus. Deng Xiaoping advocated that “it’s okay to put profit in some commanding positions”, both of their goals are to expand bourgeois rights embodied in the commodity system, that is, to expand bourgeois rights in the relations between people and dismantle the economic basis of socialism. After the struggle of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the movement of criticizing Lin and Confucius, criticizing Deng Xiaoping, and counterattack the Right-Deviationist Reversal-of-Verdicts Trend, the broad masses and cadres of our country have continuously deepened their understanding of the commodity system under socialist conditions and have become more conscious

in limiting bourgeois rights reflected in the commodity system day by day. In the previous period, in the “Study and Critique” magazine, the advanced deeds of the Shanghai 5th Industrial Glass Factory were published. In order to meet the needs of the market and the majority of workers, peasants and soldiers, they – under the condition that labor force in each shift must be increased by five times and the output value must be reduced by nearly 2,000 yuan – took the initiative to undertake and successfully completed the production task of saucers, and by mobilizing the masses, tapping the potential, and making great progress in technological innovation, the output value plan was also completed. They not only met the needs of the society, but also completed the output value plan. On this issue, they solved the contradiction between the use value and value of commodities. This event shows that under socialist conditions, although commodity production is the production of value, people are often dominated by things and forms of value in the face of exchange value. However, the socialist system of public ownership has established the recondition for people to dominate things. In the face of exchange value, people are no longer completely powerless like in capitalist society. Instead, they can make a difference. They can unleash their subjective initiative, limit the harm caused by the commodity system. This process of consciously restricting bourgeois rights embodied in the commodity system will be a process of continuously shrinking and gradually eradicating the soil that produces the Party bourgeois and new bourgeois elements. It is also a process of continuous growth of communist elements and the process of the continuous growth of proletarian power.

We just talked about the second issue: the commodity system breeds a new bourgeoisie. Let’s talk about the third issue: differences in distribution will inevitably lead to class differences.

The difference in distribution is an important sign of class differences. The primitive commune disintegrated with differences in distribution. Engels once analyzed the process of the disintegration of the primitive commune in “Anti-Duhring”. He said: **“here considerable inequality of distribution among the members of the community sets in, this is an indication that the community is already beginning to break up.”** **“But with the differences in distribution, class differences emerge.”** (Selected Works of Marx/Engels, Vol. 3, pp. 187) The relations of distribution are determined by the relations of ownership, but the relations of distribution has a countereffect on the ownership, and plays a decisive role under certain conditions. The emergence of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie under socialist

conditions is closely related to bourgeois rights in the relations of distribution.

Socialist relations of distribution, like other societies, are determined by relations of ownership. Under the conditions of socialist public ownership, the distribution of personal consumer goods is based on the socialist principle of “from each according to their abilities, to each according to their needs”. Distribution according to work follows the principle of equivalent exchange of commodities, that is, a certain amount of labor in one form can be exchanged for the same amount of labor in another form. This is a bourgeois right that is equal in form but unequal in fact. Its premise is to recognize that the labor of the laborer as one’s own 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.”** (Selected Works of Marx/Engels, Vol. 3, pp. 11) This is **“tacitly recognizes unequal individual endowment, and thus productive capacity, as a natural privilege.”** (Selected Works of Marx/Engels, Vol. 3, pp. 12) After deducting the labor they had done for the social fund, the laborer got back a considerable amount of consumption data. However, the specific situation of each laborer is different. Some laborers are more capable, some are less capable; some support a larger family, and some support a smaller family. With the eight-grade wage scale, no matter if you have fewer family members or more family members, you will get the same wages for the same labor. In this way, there will be differences in the degree of wealth in the society, and bourgeois rights still occupy a dominant position in the distribution. In particular, in its practice, the principle of distribution according to work has further recognized the differences between simple labor and complex labor, physical labor and mental labor. In this way, the differences in distribution have been expanded. In a socialist society, some Party members no longer want to advance, and some retreat and oppose the revolution. why? Because they are high officials, they must protect the interests of high officials. They have a good house, a car, a high salary, and a house helper. High officials have their own special interests, and they must protect them. This shows that these high-ranking officials have become revisionist high-ranking officials and the Inner-Party bourgeoisie. If the Inner-Party bourgeoisie wants to protect the interests of high officials, it will inevitably oppose criticizing and restricting bourgeois rights, widen the differences in distribution, and safeguard its own privileges. This difference in people’s distribution reflects to a certain extent the difference in people’s economic status. An important part of the Inner-

Party bourgeoisie is transformed from its economic position in the interests of high officials. As Chairman Mao pointed out, some of the Party members have changed, some are changing, and some will change if they are not vigilant. There are various reasons why some Party members may change, but they are inseparable from the temptation of bourgeois right of distribution.

The Inner-Party bourgeoisie, that is, those in power who take the capitalist road, do not participate in labor for production. Their wage income, under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is obtained through the redistribution of national income from the accumulation provided by workers and peasants for society. They are all supported by workers and peasants, but they do not seek benefits for workers and peasants. Their possession of this part of the social wealth created by workers and peasants is actually an exploitation of workers and peasants. It's just that they obtain legal income in the form of wages through distribution according to work, forming the interests of revisionist officials and the interests of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, but this is not the whole of the issue. The exploitative activities of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie will never end here. The Inner-Party bourgeoisie, under the conditions that they are in power, participates to various degrees in determining the distribution and redistribution of national income. Through this distribution and redistribution of national income, they not only take advantage of their privileges and adopt "legal" and various illegal means to rob workers and peasants of the income created by social labor, but also rob some of the income created by workers and peasants for their own labor. This is the situation in the Soviet Union today.

In the Soviet Union, the labor income of workers and peasants is expressed in wages and bonuses. The Soviet bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie will also perform super-economic exploitation of this part of the labor income of workers and peasants. The so-called "Shekino Experiment" implemented in industry is a typical example. This "experiment" requires companies to lay off staff and dismiss workers by increasing the labor intensity of workers. After the number of staff is reduced, all or most of the so-called "surplus" wage fund will be left to the enterprise's control and used as a reward fund. However, this kind of reward fund was pitifully small for workers, and most of them fell into the pockets of the bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class. According to the survey data of 704 enterprises in the Soviet Union, in 1968, only 18.1% of the reward fund was obtained by the workers, and the remaining 81.9% was taken away by the bureaucrat monopoly capitalists. As for the pure income of Soviet workers and peasants originally created for society in the form of taxes and corporate profits under socialist

conditions, after the bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie usurped state power, these taxes and corporate profits are all owned by the bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie, serving the interests of the bureaucrat monopoly of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, these taxes and corporate profits are actually a transformed form of surplus value. According to calculations published by Soviet revisionists, the rate of surplus value in the industrial sector in the Soviet Union is as high as 200%, which is twice the rate of surplus value in the Tsarist era. In recent years, about 52 to 55 percent of all national income has been embezzled and divided by the bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie and its state machinery.

This shows that in the Soviet Union, the bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie has become an out-and-out vampire.

Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, of course, cannot blatantly and do whatever it wants to grab all the net income created by the workers and peasants for society as in the Soviet Union. However, in places, departments, and enterprises controlled by the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, they can still turn part of the net income created by workers and peasants for society into illegal income and transfer a large amount of it to their own pockets. Moreover, because the Inner-Party bourgeoisie has the function of cultivating new bourgeois elements in society, they actually transfer part of the state or collective net income into the hands of bourgeois elements through market relations. From an individual perspective, the capitalist-roaders may not take away illegal income in this process, but from the perspective of the entire bourgeoisie, they have taken away part of the state and collective net income in this process. Therefore, if we don't analyze capitalist-roaders as a class which plays the role of resurrecting capitalist relations of production, if we stop at analyzing how much use value and enjoyment a single person has obtained to determine whether they is a capitalist roader or not, it would be far from enough to determine if they are a capitalist-roader, if they are Inner-Party bourgeoisie. Moreover, being satisfied with this kind of superficial analysis of things may even depart from the Marxist method of class analysis and fall into idealism and metaphysics. This is the third issue: differences in distribution inevitably lead to class differences.

We have discussed above the economic basis of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie from the three aspects of relations of production. In a nutshell, after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production is basically realized, socialist relations of production have become the only economic base of our socialist society, but it is an immature form

communist relations of production that contains both communist elements and traditions or traces of capitalism. The concentrated expression of capitalist traditions or traces in socialist relations of production is bourgeois rights. This kind of bourgeois rights exist to varying degrees in the three aspects of ownership, interrelations, and distribution of socialist relations of production, and in the four links of production, distribution, exchange, and consumption in social economic movements. The Inner-Party bourgeoisie is continuously produced through the cultivation of bourgeois rights in the movement of socialist relations of production. To fight against the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, we must constantly restrict bourgeois rights in socialist relations of production, gradually eradicate the soil on which the bourgeoisie depends, and create conditions that make the bourgeoisie neither exist nor reproduce. So as to completely bury the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, the last descendants of the bourgeoisie!

IV. The role of the superstructure in the formation of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie

Broadcasted on October 5 and October 9

Comrades, the Central Committee of the Party calls on us to inherit Chairman Mao's legacy, adhere to class struggle as the key link, adhere to the general line of the Party, and adhere to continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. For this reason, throughout the socialist period, we must persist in criticizing the bourgeoisie, criticizing revisionism, restricting bourgeois rights, and persisting in the struggle against capitalist-roaders within the Party. In the last lecture, we said that under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the legal power of the bourgeoisie is an important economic basis for the creation of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie. Then, what role does the superstructure play in forming the Inner-Party bourgeoisie? This time, we are going to talk about our learning experience on this issue. Now it is divided into four aspects:

Let me talk about the first issue first: Politics is a concentrated expression of economy.

Marxism tells us that politics is the category of the superstructure, it is the concentrated expression of the economy. The main part of the political superstructure is the state. Therefore, our understanding of question of the state is of particular importance for understanding the role of the political superstructure in the formation of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie.

The Marxist theory of state holds that the state has always been a machine for one class to suppress another. Under the capitalist system, the state is **"a tool for capital to exploit wage labor"** ("The Origin of the Family, Private Ownership, and the State", "Selected Works of Marx/Engels", Vol. 4, pp. 168). It is violent apparatus for the bourgeoisie to suppress the working class and the broad working masses. **"Regardless of its form, it is essentially a capitalist machine, a capitalist's country, and an ideal total capitalist."** ("Anti-Duhring", "Selected Works of Marx/Engels, Vol. 3, pp. 318) It defends the interests of the bourgeoisie, is a concentrated expression of the economic base of capitalism. Therefore, to win the victory of the Socialist Revolution, the proletariat must first take up arms, destroy the bourgeois state apparatus, and establish the proletarian state apparatus. Then, what kind of state is the state established by the proletariat?

Chairman Mao clearly pointed out: **“Lenin said to build a bourgeois state without the bourgeoisie in order to protect bourgeois rights. We ourselves have built such a country, which is similar to the old society.”** (quoted from May 16, 1976” People’s Daily) The socialist state established by the proletariat is a state without the bourgeoisie. That is to say, it is different from all states under the dictatorship of the exploiting classes in history. It is not a state of the dictatorship of the exploiting classes in which a minority of exploiters suppresses the exploiting class, but a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat where the majority of laborers suppresses a minority of exploiters. This is a huge historical leap. However, the state established by the proletariat is still a bourgeois state without the bourgeoisie, similar to the old society. What is the reason for this? This means that this state also needs to protect bourgeois rights, that is, to protect systems that are equal in form and unequal in fact. The function of this state is not much different from that of a bourgeois state. This duality of the socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat is precisely the concentrated expression of the duality of the socialist economic base. On the one hand, due to changes in the ownership system, the socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer a state in its original sense. On the other hand, because of the need to protect bourgeois rights, this state is similar to the old society. This contradiction in a socialist state means that the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will inevitably unfold violently and over a long period of time in the state and the entire field of superstructure. This struggle has profoundly demonstrated the basic Marxist principle that politics is the concentrated expression of economy. This is the first point of our studying experience.

Let’s talk about the second issue: bureaucratism is an important condition for the growth of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao taught us: **“All revolutionary struggles in the world are for the seizure of political power and to consolidate the political power, and desperate struggle of counter-revolutionaries against the revolutionary forces is also for the sustenance of their political power.”** (quoted from January 22, 1967 Japan’s People’s Daily) After the proletariat established its own state power, there has always been a issue of consolidating state power. The fundamental issue of all revolutions is the issue of state power. Similarly, the fundamental issue of all counter-revolutionaries is also a issue of state power. Because the counter-revolutionary forces always dream of regaining their power after losing their power. Only by achieving this goal can they fully restore the capitalist system of

exploitation. On the one hand, the proletariat must consolidate power, build socialism, and finally realize communism; on the other hand, the bourgeoisie must seize power and restore capitalism in an all-round way. In this way, it will inevitably develop into a struggle between the proletariat in consolidating power and the bourgeoisie in seizing power.

Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there are generally two ways for the bourgeoisie to usurp power again and restore the “paradise” they have lost. One is to launch counter-revolutionary armed offensives with open flames. The other is to dive into the proletarian regime to corrode and disintegrate, to evolve peacefully, to wait for the opportunity, to suddenly launch a counter-revolutionary coup, and to change the proletarian nature of the state to a bourgeois nature without changing the name and banner of the state.

The two methods used by the bourgeoisie to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat are often used interchangeably. However, in comparison, the former method is easy to arouse people’s alertness and therefore is not easy to succeed; the latter method is not easy to arouse people’s alertness, so it is the most dangerous. This danger lies not only in the fact that the bourgeoisie’s method of subverting the proletarian power is so obscure and difficult to detect, but also in the state power established by the proletariat, in addition to the protection of bourgeois rights as we mentioned earlier, also contains bureaucratic vices left over from the bourgeois state. For example, the kind, hierarchical, bureaucratic, conservative, perfunctory, etc. behaviors in the bourgeois court. Although the functions and vices of the bourgeois government that exist in the proletarian state organs can be gradually restricted and overcome under the guidance of the correct Marxist line, they can only be resolved after long and repeated struggles. If it is allowed to develop, or if it is expanded or strengthened, it will unknowingly change the color of the proletarian power.

After the establishment of the Soviet power, Lenin talked about this issue again and again, reminding the Russian proletariat to remain vigilant. they said: **“The tsarist bureaucrats began to join the Soviet machineries 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.”** (“The Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)”, “Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. 29, pp. 156) At the end of 1922, Lenin pointed out: **“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”, Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 36, pp. 619) A few days later, Lenin pointed out that the Soviet state machinery is one that **“we took over from tsarism and slightly anointed with Soviet oil.”** (“The question of nationality or “autonomization”, Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 36, pp. 629) This vice of bourgeois power in socialist state organs is a bureaucratic vice. Since the proletarian state is at the same time the state that unifies the leadership and organization of the entire national economy, the bureaucratic vices of this regime are often an important condition for the formation of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie. If bourgeois rights are the soil for the emergence of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, then the bureaucratic vices of the proletarian power machineries are cultivating the bourgeois climate within the Party from this soil.

“all our work must be directed towards improving the administrative machinery.” Lenin’s instruction at the time did not attract high attention in the Soviet Union, and of course it was not implemented seriously. Therefore, after Lenin’s death, bureaucratic vices in the Soviet state were not gradually eradicated. Moreover, people did not seriously accept Lenin’s teaching that a socialist state is still a bourgeois state without bourgeoisie. On the contrary, it strengthened the Soviet state’s function of safeguarding bourgeois rights. In this way, in the Soviet state, bureaucratic vices have in reality been developed, making the Soviet state an increasingly gathering place for the Inner-Party bourgeoisie. With this condition, coupled with a large number of bourgeois rights in the economic base, once Khrushchov and Brezhnev come to power, it is naturally easy to build a capitalist system.

Chairman Mao summarized the pros and cons of the international dictatorship of the proletariat, and attached great importance to the reform of the superstructure and the reform of state organs. 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 labour; 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" pamphlet, pp. 12) The Socialist Revolution must not only solve the issue of relations of production, but also solve the issue of superstructure. Following Chairman Mao's teachings, the people of our country and the staff of state apparatuses have waged a constant struggle against the bureaucratic style of work of state organs. However, before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, due to the interference of Liu Shaoqi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, the bureaucratic style of work in state organs was far from eradicated, and it was still quite serious in some state organs, so that the bureaucratic style of work of some was not only not overcome, but even was developed, and they have become those in power walking on the capitalist road. The bureaucratist class was born both on the soil of bourgeois rights and in the bureaucratic climate. In 1964, Chairman Mao analyzed the new changes in class relations in our country, and sharply pointed out: **"The bureaucratist class and the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants are two sharply opposed classes."** The bureaucratist class is those in power walking on the capitalist road, is the bourgeoisie that exists inside the Party in the socialist period. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution destroyed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao, and in the counterattack the Right-Deviationist Reversal-of-Verdicts Trend, it also shattered the counter-revolutionary political incident in Tiananmen Square provoked by Deng Xiaoping. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the in-depth struggle against Deng that is currently being victoriously carried out throughout the country have vigorously attacked the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, washed away the filthy waters of bureaucracy in state organs, and impacted bourgeois rights. The "three-in-one" Revolutionary Committee of the old, middle-aged, and the youth, which was born in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, was a major reform of the state organs. Chairman Mao pointed out: **"The Revolutionary Committee must implement unified leadership, break overlapping administrative machineries, streamline its troops and simplify administration, and organize a revolutionary leadership team that connects with the masses."** **"The most fundamental thing in the reform of state organs is to connect with the masses."** (Quoted from "People's Daily" on March 30, 1968) The cadres of our Party and the country are ordinary laborers, not masters riding on the heads of the people. We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings,

serve the people wholeheartedly, never divorce from the masses, insist on participating in collective production and labor, follow the May 7th road, implement “three withs”, equate themselves with the workers and peasants, and consciously restrict bourgeois rights. In short, it is necessary to prevent the state and state organs to **“transform themselves from the servants of society into the masters of society.”** (“Civil War in France”, “Selected Works of Marx/Engels, Vol. 2, pp. 335) This is an important condition for defeating the Inner-Party bourgeoisie.

Let’s talk about the third question: The ideology of the exploiting class is the spiritual pillar and ideological arm of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie.

With the changes in ownership and the nature of state power, the Marxist ideology has increasingly become the guiding ideology of the entire society, and the ideologies of all decadent exploiting classes have begun to disintegrate day by day. However, the old economic base has changed, and the old ideas left over from the old era that reflect this foundation cannot be changed all at once. The Tao of Confucius and Mencius was originally the ideological system of the declining slave-owning class, but it can also be accepted by the landlord and bourgeoisie and used as a tool to maintain the reactionary rule of the landlord and bourgeoisie. Similarly, under socialist conditions, this reactionary ideological system can also become a spiritual pillar and ideological weapon for the Inner-Party bourgeoisie such as Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping to pursue a revisionist line and restore capitalism.

Lenin said: **“When the old society perishes, you cannot nail the corpse of bourgeois society into a coffin and lower it into the grave. It disintegrates in our midst; the corpse rots and poisons us.”** (Speech at a Joint Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, The Moscow Soviet and All-Russia Trade Union Congress, Collective Works of Lenin, Vol. 27, pp. 407) The Inner-Party bourgeoisie grew like a poison in the process of the rotting and poisoning of the “corpse” of the old society. Therefore, the bourgeois ideology is particularly concentrated and pervasive on this class. From figures like Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping, we can see that they not only inherited the ideology of the bourgeoisie, but also the ideology of the slave-owner class and the feudal landlord class. We know that without a certain socio-economic relationship, a class cannot be formed. This is correct. However, when an ideology, such as bourgeois ideology, undergoes comprehensive and detailed processing in the long-term development process, as a traditional concept of the superstructure, a huge conservative force, it can conquer certain elements of other classes to join its class,

this is not uncommon. It is in this sense that we say that the existence of bourgeois influence is the political and ideological root of the bourgeois elements in the Party.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **“Anything to overthrow a political power must first create public opinion and always do ideological work. This is true for revolutionary classes and the same is true for counter-revolutionary classes.”** This is the objective law of class struggle. In order to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Inner-Party bourgeoisie will never relax its ideological position. It is through the ideological front that they spread revisionist bizarre theories, advocated reactionary trends of the exploiting class, put forward deceptive counter-revolutionary slogans, produced sensational political rumors, and prepared public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. In order to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union, the Khrushchov and Brezhnev renegade clique did a lot of counter-revolutionary ideological work. Soviet society regressed from the socialist road to the capitalist road in the mist of counter-revolutionary ideology raised by this group of traitors. The Soviet revisionists Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping also tried to follow the Soviet revisionist path and pull China back to the capitalist road. In the seventeen years before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the superstructure of our country, such as education, literature and art, and public health, was basically the bourgeoisie dominating the proletarian politics. After the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the proletariat occupied all areas of the superstructure and achieved great victories. However, the struggle has not stopped. In all areas of the superstructure, some aspects are actually still being dominated by the bourgeoisie, and the bourgeoisie still has an advantage. This has been proved in the year when Deng Xiaoping returned to work. Why, when Deng Xiaoping started to blow the right-deviationist reversal-of-verdict wind, he blew it so hard and fierce on the fronts of education and technology? Why do they desperately slander the excellent revolutionary situation in the field of superstructure, attack and stifle the new things in socialism? This not only proves that the power of the bourgeoisie is not small in these areas, but also proves that the bourgeoisie, especially the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, attaches great importance to grasping ideology, competes with the proletariat for ideological positions, and uses it as a bridgehead for counter-revolutionary restoration. The “Several Issues Concerning Scientific and Technological Work” (the “Report Outline”) formulated under the direction of Deng Xiaoping was a black specimen of revisionism of the attempt to “open a big opening” on the

scientific and technological fronts and oppose the proletariat's all-round dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the entire field superstructure.

Lenin taught us: **"Our task is to defeat all resistance of the capitalists, not only military and political resistance, but also the deepest and strongest ideological resistance."** ("Speech at the Working Meeting of the Political Education Committee of the Office", Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 4, pp. 369) Ideology is a barometer of class struggle. With ideological deviant winds, tracking and pursuing them, searching for the source of the trend, the face of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie will be exposed to the people. If the proletariat is to thoroughly defeat the Inner-Party bourgeoisie and block the way to form the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, it must persist in the Socialist Revolution on the ideological front for a long time, insist on the all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie on the ideological front, occupy and renovate the entire superstructure in the struggle against the Inner-Party bourgeoisie.

Now, let's talk about the fourth issue: The implementation of the revisionist line is the most essential political feature of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie.

Lenin pointed out: **"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" Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 1, pp. 660) In a state under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party, the Party of the working class, is responsible for the leadership of the country. Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the struggle between the various parties still exists. However, because the core and main force of the bourgeoisie gradually shifted from outside the Party to inside the Party, herefore, the most purposeful, comprehensive, and most specific expression of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the struggle between the two lines within the proletarian Party. In this way, whether to adhere to the Marxist line or to pursue the revisionist line becomes a watershed that distinguishes the proletarian revolutionaries from those in power taking the capitalist road.

The Inner-Party bourgeoisie and those in power taking the capitalist road are a revisionist political faction hiding in the Communist Party. Their most essential political feature is to pursue a revisionist line and stick to the capitalist road. The revisionist line was born on the economic basis of bourgeois rights. In contrast, the revisionist line has caused great harm in safeguarding and expanding bourgeois rights. The Inner-Party bourgeoisie

originally did not own the means of production and did not directly hire workers for exploitation. They wanted to achieve the goal of changing socialist ownership into capitalist ownership and exploiting the working people. What they do more is to use the power they had usurped to pursue a revisionist line. As long as you follow the revisionist line, you will inevitably reach the other side of capitalism. Even if you continue to use the banner of the Communist Party, socialism, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, you have actually rolled into the quagmire of capitalism. This is how the Soviet Union came to restore capitalism. Liars like Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping have also used revisionist lines to spread capitalist forces in some areas and units of our country. Therefore, identifying the revisionist line and “following the vine” has become a very important way to identify the Inner-Party bourgeoisie.

The struggle between the proletariat and the Inner-Party bourgeoisie is intensively manifested as the two-line struggle. Chairman Mao instructed us: **“Act according to the principles laid down.”** The most important historical experience for us to continuously achieve victories in the struggle is to firmly implement Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line and bravely defend Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line at any time and under any circumstances. **“The correctness of the ideological and political line decides everything.”** As long as we follow Chairman Mao’s line, we will be invincible. At present, the struggle to criticize Deng Xiaoping and counter the trend of rightist reversal initiated by Chairman Mao himself must continue to be carried out in depth, consolidate and develop the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

V. The Inner-Party bourgeoisie is worse than the capitalists

Broadcasted on October 12 and October 16

Comrades: Last time, we talked about “the role of the superstructure in the formation of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie.” Today I will be talking about “The Inner-Party bourgeoisie is worse than the capitalists.” Let me talk about my own learning experience. This lecture is divided into three issues:

The first issue: the Inner-Party bourgeoisie has a lot of energy for capitalist restoration;

The second issue: The Inner-Party bourgeoisie oppresses the proletariat especially fiercely;

The third issue: The Inner-Party bourgeoisie sucks the blood of workers more greedy than the capitalists.

Let me talk about the first question first: the Inner-Party bourgeoisie has a lot of energy for capitalist restoration.

The Inner-Party bourgeoisie has great energy for capitalist restoration, which is inseparable from the economic and political status of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie in a socialist society. The economic base of socialism is mainly two kinds of socialist public ownership. This economic base determines that the socialist country must be fully responsible for leading and organizing social and economic life. This feature of the close integration of state power with the national economy determines the economic and political status of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, which is different from the capitalists in a capitalist society. In relation to state power, capitalists are divided into those in power and those not in power, but all capitalist-roads have the status of being appointed by the state to hold certain positions; a small part of capitalists, even if they hold various positions in state organs, it is impossible for them to undertake the task of leading and organizing social life in an all-round way under conditions of individual ownership. Under socialist conditions, the economic and political status of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie determines that they will initiate the restoration of capitalism. As far as it is concerned, it is not just a issue of an enterprise or a department, but will quickly affect the life of the entire society and cause great harm to the entire social life. This is where capitalist-roads are more powerful than capitalists.

The complete restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union is a powerful proof. As soon as the capitalist-roaders Khrushchov and Brezhnev in the Soviet Party came to power, they used the power they had stolen to issue a series of “regulations” and “constitutions” to the whole country under the guise of “economic reform”, forcibly implement the revisionist line of making business with “profits in command” and “material stimulus” as the core, so that bourgeois rights that have been abolished in the ownership system are restored, and the socialist public ownership is transformed into a bureaucratic monopoly of bourgeois ownership. The relations between people have become naked relations of money, turning “distribution according to work” into only a shell, turning the masses of workers and peasants into wage slaves. The Inner-Party bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union completed this process of capitalist restoration very quickly and did not take much time.

Under the command of the proletarian revolutionary line of the Great Leader Chairman Mao in our country, the bourgeoisie’s conspiracy within the Party to restore capitalism has been shattered one by one. However, before the Inner-Party bourgeoisie was exposed, the impact of their capitalist restoration activities was not small. Deng Xiaoping, the largest capitalist-roader in the Party who refused to repent, used the power he had stolen when resumed work in less than a year to create a right-deviationist reversal-of-verdict wind on all fronts. For a time, dark clouds filled the sky and black waves are everywhere. Especially in places where this black wind blows fiercely, it has caused serious harm to the Socialist Revolution and socialist construction. This is something that the non-Party bourgeoisie wants to do but is difficult to do.

Let’s talk about the second question: The Inner-Party bourgeoisie oppresses the proletariat especially fiercely.

The state power of the proletariat is a tool for the proletariat to exercise full dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. However, where the Inner-Party bourgeoisie holds power, it will turn it into a tool of the bourgeoisie’s dictatorship over the proletariat, and the most barbaric fascist dictatorship will be imposed on the proletariat and the working people.

Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, Deng Xiaoping, and others, the largest capitalist-roaders in the Party, used the power they had stolen to exercise fascist dictatorship over the proletariat and working people within the limits of their power. At the beginning of the proletarian cultural revolution, when the broad revolutionary masses responded to Chairman Mao’s call for **“it is right to rebel against the reactionaries”** and rose up to rebel against Liu Shaoqi’s Bourgeois Headquarters, Liu Shaoqi immediately joined Deng

Xiaoping to promote a bourgeois reactionary line and reverse it, tried to reverse right and wrong, confuse black and white, frantically encircled and suppressed the revolutionaries, labelled the revolutionary masses as so-called “anti-Party elements” and “gangsters”, and imposed fascist dictatorship over them in an attempt to extinguish the raging revolutionary fire. In order to speed up the restoration of capitalism, the Lin Biao Anti-Party Group organized a small counter-revolutionary “fleet” headed by Lin Ligu, engaged in spy training and spy activities, in a vain attempt to murder the Great Leader Chairman Mao, and to comrades who firmly implemented Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line. Kill. Soon after Deng Xiaoping resumed work, he frantically organized a “return to the hometown”, overturned the Cultural Revolution’s case, counted the accounts of the Cultural Revolution, and classified the new cadres who emerged from the Cultural Revolution into the so-called “zealous elements”, “against-the-tide elements”, and the “Three-Anti elements” and single-handedly provoked the counter-revolutionary political incident in Tiananmen Square.

In the Soviet Union, the bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie has achieved the full restoration of capitalism, and the brutal fascist rule has been more thoroughly exposed. Chairman Mao pointed out: **“The Soviet Union today is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a fascist German dictatorship, and a Hitlerite dictatorship.”** (quoted from People’s Daily, April 22, 1970) Fake socialism, real social fascism, is the reality of Soviet society today. In today’s Soviet Union, from the center to the localities, from the cities to the countryside, from politics, economy, military, scientific research, and cultural education, there are spy agencies everywhere, and so-called “supervisory posts” have been set up everywhere to monitor the working people. . In the name of “strengthening the legal system and order”, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique also concocted a series of reactionary “decrees” and “regulations” to put a “legal” cloak on their fascist criminal activities. These so-called “laws” and “regulations” can arbitrarily slander the people’s resistance as “assembling crowds for riots”, add “crimes concerning state affairs”, and sentence them to exile, hard labor, severe punishment and even the death penalty. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique not only established a large number of prisons and “labour camps”, but they have also opened many so-called “psychiatric hospitals.” Many Soviet people simply expressed dissatisfaction with the Soviet revisionist fascist rule and were declared by the Soviet revisionist traitor group as “lunatics” and “mentally ill”, and were forcibly placed in “psychiatric hospitals” for persecution and torture. These so-called

“psychiatric hospitals” are under the direct control of the Soviet revisionist secret service “KGB”. The so-called “doctors” in the “hospitals” can not only torture the “patients” at will, they can also inject poisons forcibly. After such torture, many so-called patients actually became mentally ill, and some even died from being tortured alive. Countless facts have proved that the fascist dictatorship implemented by the Khrushchov and Brezhnev renegade clique is exactly the same as the Hitlerite fascist dictatorship!

Whenever the Inner-Party bourgeoisie realizes the restoration of capitalism on a national or local scale, it must implement a fascist dictatorship and oppress the proletariat and the working people even more fiercely. This is a rule. Why does this rule appear?

The era we are now living in is the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The bourgeoisie of the world is in the process of going to extinction. The bourgeoisie in the socialist countries has been overthrown and closer to their grave. The Inner-Party bourgeoisie appeared on the stage of history as a wing in the process of the demise of the entire bourgeoisie under this historical background. The historical background of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie determines that it must represent the entire bourgeoisie in its dying struggle and block the advancement of the wheel of history. Therefore, they are especially reactionary and deranged. This perverseness is the exact portrayal of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie. When the bourgeoisie was in the ascendant stage, they also held up the flag of the so-called “democracy” as a *fig leaf* for their dictatorship over the proletariat. However, as capitalism transitioned from free competition to monopoly rule, all contradictions within capitalism became increasingly acute, and the class consciousness of the proletariat and the working people in the struggle was increasing. They also took advantage of the so-called “democracy” shouted by the bourgeoisie to rebel against the bourgeoisie. Under such circumstances, the bourgeoisie cuts this *fig leaf* of “democratic” smaller and smaller, or even discards it altogether. Chairman Mao pointed out: **“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.”** (Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol. 4, pp. 1392) Isn’t that the case in the Soviet Union today? Under the Soviet fascist dictatorship, there was no even a piece of veil of the bourgeois “democracy”, this only exposed the reactionary and weak nature of the Soviet bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie, a group of fascist thugs who are fierce on the outside and weak on the inside.

The Inner-Party bourgeoisie must set up a fascist dictatorship where its power can be reached. This is because, on the one hand, it reflects the needs of the entire bourgeoisie on the eve of its extinction, and on the other hand, it also reflects those who have been tempered by the Socialist Revolution. The revolutionary people have intensified their resistance to the Inner-Party bourgeoisie. The Inner-Party bourgeoisie is a product of socialist social conditions. Although they are engaged in the restoration of capitalism, even though they are hidden, they cannot be completely hidden since they want to engage in capitalism. The revolutionary people who have been educated in Marxism and trained in the Socialist Revolution will always see through their conspiracies and will always rise up to resist. The heroic sons and daughters of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union, educated by Lenin and Stalin, have never stopped fighting against the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. The broad masses of the Chinese people who have been nurtured by Mao Zedong Thought and tempered by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution cannot tolerate the Inner-Party bourgeoisie to commit capitalism. In the past, Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, Deng Xiaoping and the like stole a large part of their power. When they were engaged in revisionism, the revolutionary masses were armed with Mao Zedong Thought. They quickly saw through their conspiracies and resisted one after another. This situation of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie also forces them to “make orders once they have power in their hands.” Once they have a certain amount of power, they will inevitably use counter-revolutionary violence to madly suppress the masses of the people. But in this way, it will only arouse more fierce resistance from the broad masses of people, and ultimately be completely overthrown by the people!

Finally, let's talk about the third issue: The Inner-Party bourgeoisie sucks the blood of workers greedier than the capitalists.

Vampires, this is a wonderful name the working masses had given to the capitalists who were insatiably squeezing the blood and sweat of the workers. In analyzing the capitalist-roaders in the Party, Chairman Mao pointed out: **“These leaders who follow the capitalist road are bourgeois elements who have become or are becoming blood suckers of the workers.”** (Quoted from People's Daily, July 1, 1976) Chairman Mao's instructions profoundly exposed the common class nature of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie and the old bourgeoisie which is that they suck the blood of workers.

In a capitalist society, capitalists exploit the surplus value created by the workers by possessing the means of production and nourish themselves. The Inner-Party bourgeoisie does not have private employees or have

set up factories and have done business, unlike ordinary capitalists. How do they then suck the blood of workers? We have already mentioned this issue in the lecture “The economic base for the Inner-Party bourgeoisie”. We have mentioned that the activities of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie are to pursue the revisionist line and follow the capitalist road. Their wage income is just a kind of income from exploitation, without having putting in the labor. In order to clarify this issue further, let us first understand how Marx viewed the so-called labor of capitalists.

In a capitalist society, when capitalists open factories and manage enterprises, they also have to think a lot about it and rack their brains. This seems to be a kind of labor. But how should we look at this so-called labor of capitalists? Marx pointed out: **“In contrast to the monetary capitalist, the industrial capitalist is a laborer, but a laborer as a capitalist, that is, a laborer as an exploiter of other people’s labor. The wages they requires and earns for this kind of labor happens to be equal to the amount of other people’s labor they possesses.”** (Collected Works of Marx/Engels, Vol. 25, pp. 435) The process of capitalist management of production is the process of exploiting and sucking workers’ blood. This is to perform the exploiting function of capital, and there is no labor at all. Therefore, the so-called wages they get are the total unpaid possession of other people’s labor.

The entire work of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie is to implement a revisionist line, to restore capitalism, and to transform the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The energy they spend on this is indeed not small, but the more they rack their brains in this regard, the greater the harm to the Party to the people. Their so-called “labor” has something in common with the so-called “labor” of the capitalists. In other words, the wage income of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie is also unearned exploitation income and sucks the blood of workers and peasants.

The Inner-Party bourgeoisie’s way of sucking the blood of the workers and peasants, of course, is by no means limited to their monthly wage share. The greed of the old capitalists develops with the growth of capital accumulation. As long as there is a drop of blood, a piece of flesh, and a tendon on the workers, these vampires will never give up. The Inner-Party bourgeoisie has the same blood-sucking nature as the old capitalists, but the Inner-Party bourgeoisie is greedier than the old capitalists. Their motto is: “As long as I can make a profit, I don’t care about anything else.” Where is the particularly greedy nature of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie? They do everything possible to expand the difference in wage levels and expand their

share of exploitation from high wages: they also use their power to control the net income of the society, through legal and a large number of illegal methods, cleverly establish ways, turn what's public into private, and embezzle the fruit of people's labor in large quantities. The Inner-Party bourgeoisie restores capitalism not like the old bourgeoisie who wants to regain the means of production that it has lost, but to seize the means of production that they have never had before, and they can't wait to swallow the wealth of the people of the whole country. Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping all have this kind of greed. They all use their power to suck the blood of workers and peasants in large quantities. They are particularly dissatisfied with the critiques of bourgeois rights. In the upsurge of studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the broad masses of the people strongly demanded to restrict bourgeois rights, but Deng Xiaoping loudly asked: "Is distribution according to work also bourgeois rights?" and shouted: "Limiting bourgeois rights? , There must be a material basis, if not, how to restrict it?" their purpose is to protect the special interests of these revisionist officials by expanding the bourgeois legal power. Their lives have been completely bourgeois, and they are rotten to the core.

Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, the Inner-Party bourgeoisie has only partially stolen state power. They suck the blood of workers and peasants and must be severely criticized by the revolutionary people. However, it was different in the Soviet Union. The restoration of capitalism has been fully realized there. The bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie headed by Brezhnev has controlled the state power, monopolized the most basic means of production, and monopolized the power of distribution of consumer goods. Under the guise of "distribution according to work", they ran high wages and bonuses, as well as a wide range of personal allowances, and used all kinds of legal and a large number of illegal methods to occupy the huge surplus value created by Soviet workers and peasants. According to reports, in Soviet revisionist Party and government agencies, the monthly salary of ministers in power ranges from 700 to 800 rubles to 2,000 rubles. The monthly salary of the military system is 1,000 rubles for the commander of the army, 1,400 rubles for the commander of the army group, and 1,800 rubles for the commander of the army front. In addition to their wages, they also receive a large number of various personal supplementary allowances. In factories and enterprises, the basic salary of managers, factory directors, and chief engineers is 300 to 500 rubles, plus part-time salary and additional salary, and bonuses can reach more than one thousand rubles. In the field of science, technology, culture and education,

the basic monthly salary of the director of a research institute with the title of academician of the Academy of Sciences is more than 1,000 to 1,500 rubles. In addition, there are a large number of other allowances, such as degree allowances, part-time allowances, as well as performance fees, manuscript fees, and royalties. and many more. This small group of bourgeois privileged members has an income that is dozens or even hundreds of times higher than that of ordinary workers. They suck the blood and sweat of the people, spend money like dirt, and lead a corrupt life.

The extravagant and desperate private life of the Soviet bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie still cannot fully reflect the depth of exploitation of the working people in the Soviet Union, because the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists, in order to dominate the world, are militarizing the national economy, they spend huge amounts of military expenditure they use also came from sucking the blood of workers and peasants. According to calculations, the U.S. military expenditure accounted for 15.9% of national income in 1962 and 10.9% in 1973; while the Soviet Union was 10% in 1962. Fourth, it rose to 18.3% in 1973. In 1973, the national income of the Soviet Union was only 66% of that of the United States, and the amount of military expenditure was even higher than that of the United States. Soviet revisionist investment of such a large amount of social wealth into military expansion and war preparations has far exceeded that of Fascist Germany back then. On the eve of Hitler's war of aggression from 1938 to 1939, Germany's military expenditure only accounted for 12% of the national income that year. The huge military expenditures of Soviet revisionist social-imperialists have brought an increasingly heavier burden to the working people of the Soviet Union. In 1960, the average military expenditure per person in the Soviet Union was 89 rubles. Two hundred and five rubles, increased to 273 rubles in 1974.

Lenin pointed out when analyzing capital imperialism: **“Production has been socialized, but possession is still private. The socialized means of production are still private property of a few people. On the surface, the generally accepted framework of free competition still exists. However, the oppression of the remaining residents by a few monopolists has become a hundred times heavier, more pronounced, and unbearable.”** (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 2, pp. 748) This analysis is fully applicable to Soviet social-imperialism. However, where there is oppression, there is resistance. The dark rule and cruel exploitation of the Soviet revisionist bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie have and are inciting various forms of resistance from the vast working people in the Soviet Union. Absenteeism and

sabotage among workers and peasants are developing day by day. According to Su Xiu newspapers, in 1972, the industrial sector alone lost 59 million working days due to absenteeism and sabotage. This number is more than the total number of working days lost due to strikes in the United States and Britain in the same year (26 million working days lost in the United States and 23.9 million working days lost in the United Kingdom, for a total loss of 4,990. 10,000 working days). The Soviet revisionist bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie is a group of insatiable vampires. Their obstructive and destructive effect on social production fully exposes that social-imperialism, like capital imperialism, is monopolistic, parasitic, and dying capitalism. It is the proletariat. The eve of the Socialist Revolution. This group of vampires is the mortal enemy of the vast working people of the Soviet Union. The vast number of people, Party members and cadres of the Soviet Union want revolution. The Soviet revisionist monopoly bourgeoisie will not last long.

VI. The law of movement of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie

Not broadcasted

“Inner-Party Bourgeoisie in Socialism” has already covered five lectures. Today, I will go on with the sixth lecture: the law of movement of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie.

Our Great Leader and mentor Chairman Mao pointed out: “**The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road.**” This is a profound summary of the basic laws governing the activities of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie during the socialist period. Under the basic law of “**the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road**”, we have summarized the five specific laws of activities of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie in our study and criticism. In other words, when capitalist-roaders engage in capitalist restoration activities, they always: (1) spread the smokescreen of the theory of extinction of class struggle and the theory of productive forces; (2) adopt the double dealer approach of carrying the red flag to fight the red flag; (3) play with the strategy of “rid the emperor of evil ministers”; (4) maintain and expand bourgeois rights; (5) go from engaging in class capitulation to engaging in national capitulation.

Below we analyze the specific laws of bourgeois activities within the Party from these five aspects. Let me talk about the first issue first: spreading the smokescreen of the theory of the extinction of class struggle and the theory of productive forces.

The Inner-Party bourgeoisie that emerged under the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to restore capitalism, always advocated the theory of the extinction of class struggle and the theory of productive forces. This is true of the bourgeoisie in the Soviet Party, and so is the bourgeoisie in the Chinese Party. Back then, in order to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union, Trotsky repeatedly advocated that after the nationalization or collectivization of the means of production, “there is no longer a propertied class”; they also said that “Marxism comes from the development of technology.” The program should “first come from the law of production.” In the early 1930s, Voznesensky, another big capitalist roader in the Soviet Union, preached that the Soviet Union “the issue of ‘who defeats whom’ between socialism and capitalism has been resolved.” The main social contradiction is already “the contradiction between the advanced socialist relations of production

and the backward productive forces”, that “improving the level of development of the productive forces” is “the content of the heroic struggle in the transitional period”, etc. Khrushchov and Brezhnev completely restored capitalism in the Soviet Union under the cover of these two smokescreens; Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping also picked up these two smokescreens and carried out frantically restoring capitalism. After our country basically realized the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, Liu Shaoqi tried his best to promote the theory of the extinction of class struggle, and together with Chen Boda, they picked up the black fruits from Voznesensky, advocating that the main contradiction of our society is “advanced.” The contradiction between the socialist system and the backward social productive forces”. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao spread the fallacies that traitors, spies, and capitalist-roaders have been “all defeated”; that after the Ninth National Congress the main task would be to develop production, among other fallacies. Once Deng Xiaoping resumed his work, they would cry out “How can class struggle be discussed every day?” and put forward the revisionist program of the so-called “three directives as the key”, denying class struggle as the key. These capitalist-roaders in the Party, despite their wording and the language they use are superficially different, the black lines running through it are the same: it is the theory of extinction of class struggle and the theory of productive forces.

The basic points of the theory of the extinction of class struggle and the theory of productive forces advocated by the Inner-Party bourgeoisie all deny the existence of classes, class contradictions, and class struggles under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The theory of extinction of class struggle is based on the theory of productive forces only. The so-called “all for the four modernizations” fallacy advocated by Deng Xiaoping is a new specimen of the theory of productive forces only. they tried in vain to subvert the socialist system of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country under the guise of “all for the four modernizations.” Chairman Mao had an insight into everything, exposing Deng Xiaoping’s conspiracy in time, and pointedly pointed out: **“He doesn’t grasp class struggle and never mentioned this key link. It is still all the “white cat, black cat’, not caring if it’s imperialism or Marxism.”** The counter-revolutionaries rioting in Tiananmen Square clamored rampantly, “We are not afraid to part ways with our heads and shed our blood. On the day the four modernizations are realized, we will definitely pay a heavy tribute [to those that died for it].” This exposed the ugly face of the theory of productive forces propagated by the Inner-Party

bourgeoisie. We, in the course of the struggle against the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, must pay attention to the new variants of the theory of extinction of class struggle and the theory of productive forces that are advocated by the capitalist-roaders, and further master this law of movement of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie.

Now, let's talk about the second aspect: they adopt the double dealer approach of carrying the red flag to fight the red flag.

The Inner-Party bourgeoisie emerged under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. There are, of course, counter-revolutionaries who are openly fighting with arms and openly flaunting the banner of opposing Marxism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, but as soon as they show up, the proletariat will beat them down immediately. But the Inner-Party bourgeoisie is a gang of old treacherous personalities. They are afraid of the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but they want to restore capitalism. What should they do? Lin Biao said: "Rebelling with a red flag, so the others wouldn't see through us." This phrase reveals the secret of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie's double dealer approach of carrying the red flag to fight the red flag.

The counter-revolutionary double dealers in the past are actually "single dealers". The same is true for the Inner-Party bourgeoisie. Their status as Communist Party members is an illusion, and their red flag is just a cover; their bourgeois attributes are the essence, and their opposition to the red flag is their goal. To cover up the true colors of the bourgeoisie with the coat of Party members and to cover up restoration activities with "red flags" is what the Inner-Party bourgeoisie thinks it can do. However, in order to wage counter-revolution, it is impossible to completely hide the truth. A fox can't hide its tail, because sooner or later it will always be exposed. Deng Xiaoping's black program of "taking the three instructions as the key link" is a typical example of carrying the red flag to fight the red flag. The three instructions are all Chairman Mao's instructions, but these three instructions are not parallel. They are commanded by the key link of class struggle. Deng Xiaoping elevated all three instructions to the status of "key link", which actually denied class struggle as the key link. This eclectic approach, this conspiracy of carrying the red flag to fight the red flag was quickly discovered by Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao pointed out: **"What is 'taking the three directives as the key link'? Stability and unity are not about avoiding class struggle, class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it."** (Quoted from People's Daily on February 24, 1976) Many line-conscious workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, PLA fighters, and

grassroots cadres also saw through Deng Xiaoping's tricks in time. The Inner-Party bourgeoisie is very ambitious but powerless, because they have no truth and no masses, so they have to rely on conspiracy and double-faced tricks to live their lives. In the future, their representatives will continue to use this double dealer approach to restore capitalism. We must be highly vigilant and see through their conspiracies in time.

Now, let's talk about the third aspect: the Inner-Party bourgeoisie is playing with the strategy of "rid the emperor of evil ministers".

The Inner-Party bourgeoisie engages in revisionism in politics, and it is bound to engage in splitism in organization, split the proletarian Party, and split the revolutionary ranks. They are what Lenin said: **"Always the most vicious separatists."** ("Workers' Unity and Election", "The Collected Works of Lenin", Vol. 36, pp. 178) Their methods are often to play with the counter-revolutionary strategy of "rid the emperor of evil ministers".

The Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique once adopted the strategy of "please punish Chao Cuo and rid the emperor of evil ministers" in an attempt to split the Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao pointed out this treason sharply: **"Since Prince of Wu during the Han Dynasty – Liu Bi – invented the famous strategy of 'please punish Chao Cuo (the main advisor of Emperor Jing) and rid the emperor of evil ministers', many careerists have regarded it as a treasure. The Hu Feng clique also inherited this mantle."** (quoted from the sixth issue of "Red Flag" magazine in 1976) Careerists such as Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping also inherited this mantle. The so-called "rid the emperor of evil ministers" is to split the Party, especially the Party's central leadership, through conspiracy and trickery. Lin Biao has a counter-revolutionary slogan called "Fighting Chairman Mao's forces under the banner of Chairman Mao." Where are the roots of these political rumors? The root lies in the "Mr. Deng's Rumor Co.". The use of such despicable methods by the Inner-Party bourgeoisie fully proves that they have completely fallen politically and there is no longer any truth. Lenin said when criticizing opportunists: **"They are not capable of confronting us face to face, so they have to use tricks, conspiracy, and act shamelessly."** ("To Inessa Armand", "Collected Works of Lenin", No. 35 Vol. 249) This is also a portrayal of the counter-revolutionary strategy of "ridding the emperor of evil ministers" of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie.

On the one hand, the Inner-Party bourgeoisie is trying to rid the emperor of evil ministers, but on the other hand, it is bound to form factions and sects. These two aspects are inseparable. Liu Shaoqi protects their bunch

of traitors and buddies; Lin Biao organizes counter-revolutionary “great and small fleets”, and Deng Xiaoping pieced together the “homecoming legions”, all of which are friends and sectarians. The political line determines the organizational line. This is true for any class. The political line of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie is to restore capitalism. This determines that they must engage in sectarian activities, attract some people, and attack some people, in order to form a preliminary team for restoration, to seize power at all levels of the Party and the state.

The Inner-Party bourgeoisie uses revisionist organizational lines such as ridding the emperor of evil ministers and making friends to usurp the power of the Party and the country at all levels. This requires us to have vigilance a hundred times greater. Therefore, it is very important to firmly control the leadership of the Party and the country at all levels in the hands of the real Marxists and the workers and peasants, and to guard against Khrushchov-style figures usurping the leadership of the Party and the country at all levels. As long as a Khrushchov-style character appears, we must resolutely fight against him. Not only fighting, but also further digging out the lifeblood of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, creating conditions that would prevent the bourgeoisie from existing or regenerating. Next, we will talk about the fourth aspect: the Inner-Party bourgeoisie always maintains and expands bourgeois rights.

In 1958, after the basic victory of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in our country, Chairman Mao promptly raised the issue of further restricting bourgeois rights and criticizing bourgeois rights in all aspects of relations of production. At that time, on the basis of the great victories of the Rectification Movement and the Anti-Rightist Struggle, a large number of new things appeared that restricted bourgeois rights: the People’s Commune that was rising like a red sun on the eastern horizon was one of the outstanding ones. However, under these favorable situations, Peng Dehuai, the representative of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, jumped out and slandered the mass movement that criticized and restricted bourgeois rights as a “petty bourgeois fanatic movement.” Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping opposed the co-operation process and cut down on agricultural production cooperatives. During the three-year period of natural disasters, they also threw out the black product of “three freedoms, one fixed quotas” (the freedom of having plots for private use, the freedom of free markets, the freedom of setting up small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas on the basis of individual households) in an attempt to restore the part of bourgeois

rights in terms of ownership that has already been abolished. After the Urban and Rural Socialist Education Movement, especially the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Liu Shaoqi's revisionist line was criticized, and their criminal conspiracy to safeguard and strengthen bourgeois rights was exposed, and the socialist consciousness and line struggle consciousness of the broad masses of cadres and the masses were greatly improved. A large number of new things in socialism that are conducive to narrowing the three distinctions and restricting bourgeois rights have sprung up like bamboo shoots after a rain. At this time, Lin Biao and their gang jumped out again, attacking cadres entering the "May 7th Cadre School" as "unemployment in disguise", intellectual youth going to the countryside to the countryside is "forced labor in disguise", and narrowing the distribution gap is "exploitation in disguise" ... etc., In a vain attempt to block the triumphant advancement of new things in socialism. Deng Xiaoping was originally Liu Shaoqi's accomplice and the vanguard in opposing the restriction of bourgeois rights. After he resumed his work, he became even more murderous, throwing out a series of fallacies against restricting bourgeois rights, and engaged in a series of activities to expand bourgeois rights on the fronts of education, science and technology, health, and economics. he attacked new things in socialism with evil words, slandering that restricting bourgeois rights has no material basis. He even put on a bully posture, not allowing anyone to talk about criticizing bourgeois rights, and strived to strengthen and expand bourgeois rights.

As the last descendants of the bourgeoisie, the Inner-Party bourgeoisie has inherited the counter-revolutionary experience of the bourgeoisie in the struggle against the proletariat accumulated over the past few hundred years. It is very cunning. They are good at fighting illegally and even better at fighting legally. Their maintenance and expansion of bourgeois rights is an outstanding manifestation of the legal struggle. They know that under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, bourgeois rights still have a certain legal status, and the proletariat can only restrict it and cannot quickly abolish it. Therefore, under the cover of this legal cloak, the Inner-Party bourgeoisie strengthened and expanded bourgeois rights, in the name of socialism, to restore capitalism. The Inner-Party bourgeoisie can protect the old bourgeoisie and cultivate a new bourgeoisie by strengthening and expanding bourgeois rights. Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping advocated "technology first", "experts rule the factory", "white experts are good for the People's Republic of China", etc. They opposed the workers, poor and lower-middle peasants turning their lives around in the fields of culture and science in an attempt to maintain or again restore the rule of the

bourgeoisie and bourgeois intellectuals, as well as safeguard the rights of these people to exploit and oppress the masses of workers and peasants. They advocated the “three freedoms, one fixed quotas” and “profits in command” to allow capitalism to overflow, degenerate and deform the socialist ownership, and create conditions for the creation of new bourgeois elements. They are engaged in “material stimulus” and “bonus in command” in order to corrupt the masses of workers and peasants and corrupt part of the workers and part of the Party members. They oppose the reform of the state organs, the “three-in-one” of the old, middle and young people, sending cadres to work and their “three withs” with the workers and peasants, use everything to try to widen the difference in ranks, the purpose of all of this is to encourage the bourgeois style of life among the cadres and turn some people into bourgeois officials who sucks the blood of the workers and peasants.

They oppose the educational revolution and the art revolution. They don’t allow the criticism of “private ownership of knowledge” and “intellectual education first”, advocate “study to be an official”, and oppose educated young people going to the mountains and going to the countryside, in order to compete with the proletariat for the youth and to cultivate successors for the bourgeoisie among the youth. In this way, with the Inner-Party bourgeoisie at the core, and by maintaining and expanding bourgeois rights, they can unite the forces of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and respond from top to bottom to form a force for restoration that opposes the Socialist Revolution and subverts the dictatorship of the proletariat and a social force for revisionism. Therefore, for the proletariat and the working people, it is a very important task to grasp the law of movement of the bourgeoisie in strengthening and expanding bourgeois rights in the Party, to study their counter-revolutionary strategies for legal struggles, to see through their conspiracies in time, and to carry to the end the struggle to restrict bourgeois rights.

Now let’s talk about the fifth aspect: from class capitulation to national capitulation.

Among the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, except for some traitors, secret agents, and class aliens who were originally mixed into the Party, most of them were not bourgeois, but in the process of revolutionary transformation, those metamorphized and deformed elements who capitulated to the bourgeoisie and separated from the revolutionary ranks. Such class capitulators, especially under the historical conditions of China, will inevitably become national capitulators. Therefore, from class capitulation to national capitulation is another law of movement of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao pointed out: “Class capitulationism is actually a reserve army for national capitulationism.” (“The Situation and Tasks of the War of Resistance Against Japan after the Fall of Taiyuan and Shanghai”, “Selected Works of Mao Zedong”, Vol. 2, pp. 366).

The Chinese bourgeoisie got a weakness from their mother’s womb, which determined that they would capitulate to foreign imperialism under various conditions and drag China back to the old road of semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism. As the last descendant of the bourgeoisie, the Inner-Party bourgeoisie cannot get rid of this kind of weakness. It will inevitably take refuge in imperialism, especially social-imperialism. Chairman Mao pointed out that under China’s historical conditions, those who stubbornly follow the capitalist line, **“are actually preparing to capitulate to imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism.”** (“Speech at the National Propaganda Work Conference of the Communist Party of China”)

Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping are experts in capitulation and country-selling. Liu Shaoqi wanted to be a “red comprador”, and Lin Biao begged the Soviet revisionists for the “nuclear umbrella”. They are all running dogs of imperialism and social-imperialism. Deng Xiaoping inherited their mantle. Soon after he resumed work, he threw out a “grand policy” of serving as slaves for foreigners, capitulating and country-selling, and manufactured some “Regulations”. The content of this “grand policy” and the “Regulations” is to promote the realization of the “four modernizations” and only rely on “introduction of foreign technology and equipment” to “accelerate industrial technological transformation and increase labor productivity.” To this end, it is necessary to “realize long-term contracts” with foreign countries, and foreign capitalists will supply “the latest and greatest equipment”, and be “repaid” with mineral products produced in our country. That is to say, let foreign monopoly capitalists give money and equipment and China give the manpower, allowing imperialism to infringe on our sovereignty, plunder our country’s resources, squeeze our people’s blood and sweat, and turn China into an source of raw materials for the imperialists, a dumping ground for products, and a place for investment. This is completely the same as the foreigner-worshipping Westernization Faction of Zhang Zhi-dong and Li Hongzhang in the early modern history of our country!

The national capitulation activities of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie always correspond to international imperialism and social-imperialism, and they are always supported by the latter. 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.”

(“Economy and Politics in the Era of Dictatorship of the Proletariat”, Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, pp. 92) The Inner-Party bourgeoisie is a branch of international capital. In particular, the Soviet revisionists, who always want to destroy us, dream of subverting our country’s socialist system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the eyes of Soviet revisionism, the bourgeoisie in our Party is a so-called “healthy force”, that is, a force to restore capitalism. Soviet revisionists has always pinned their anti-China hopes on this force of restoration. When our Inner-Party bourgeoisie aggressively attacked the proletariat, Soviet revisionists clapped their hands and cheered; when our Inner-Party bourgeoisie was resolutely counterattacked by the proletariat, Soviet revisionists fell in sorrow. From the relationship between the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and the bourgeoisie in our Party, we can see that when at home, capitalist-roaders go to capitalism; when on the international level, they go to imperialism, and particularly to Soviet social-imperialism. The capitalist-roaders are both class capitulators and national capitulators. This is a law. They will never go against this law.

Above, we started from the Inner-Party bourgeoisie’s spread of the theory of the extinction of class struggle and the theory of productive forces, to the double dealer tactics of carrying the red flag to fight the red flag, playing with the counter-revolutionary strategy of “rid the emperor of evil ministers”, and expanding bourgeois right to capitulate to and sell out the country, analyzed specific routines of the activities of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie. These laws of their activities are based on a reactionary logic of making trouble—fail—make trouble again—fail again, until their doom. With regard to the troubles caused by the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, the revolutionary people firstly oppose it, and secondly, they are not afraid. We must inherit Chairman Mao’s legacy, adhere to class struggle as the key link, adhere to the general line of the Party, adhere to continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, keep a close watch on the activities of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, and constantly grasp the law of movement of “the capitalist-roaders are still walking on the capitalist road” and fight to the end with the Inner-Party bourgeoisie.

VII. Methods of defeating the Inner-Party bourgeoisie (I & II)

Not broadcasted

I

Last time, we talked about the sixth lecture “The Law of movement of the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie.” Today, we will continue with the seventh lecture: “Methods of Defeating the Inner-Party Bourgeoisie.” This lecture is divided into four issues:

1. Arm the masses with the general line of the Party.
2. Restrict bourgeois rights and support new things in socialism.
3. Dare to struggle and be good at struggling.
4. To implement an all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

This part contains a lot of content and is divided into two parts. Today I will talk about the first and second issues.

Next, let’s talk about the first issue: Arming the masses with the general line of the Party.

The target of the Socialist Revolution is the bourgeoisie, and the focus is on those in power within the Party taking the capitalist road. Although the Inner-Party bourgeoisie has existed for a long time throughout the socialist period, they can be defeated. The decisive thing in defeating the Inner-Party bourgeoisie is to let the broad masses of the people grasp the Marxist line and defeat the revisionist line.

“The correctness of the ideological and political line decides everything.” (Quoted from People’s Daily on December 1, 1971) If the broad masses of the people master the Marxist line, they can form an invincible and invincible army to combat and prevent revisionism and build an indestructible Great Wall of Steel. In order to master the line, the most fundamental thing is to master the general line in the historical stage of socialism formulated by Chairman Mao for our Party. This line is: **“Socialist society is a fairly long historical stage. In this historical stage of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions, and class struggles. There is a struggle between socialism and capitalism. We must understand the danger of capitalist restoration. We must understand the protracted nature and complexity of this struggle. We must be more vigilant. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle the issues of class contradictions and class struggle, and correctly**

distinguish and handle contradictions between us and the enemy and internal contradictions among the people. Otherwise, a socialist country like ours will go to the opposite side, degenerate, and restoration will happen. From now on, we must talk about it year by year, month by month, and day by day, so that we can have a more sober understanding of this issue, and there is a Marxist-Leninist line." (quoted from "Red Flag" magazine, 1976 No. 10) This general line is the lifeline of our Party and the country, and is the only correct Marxist line under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a powerful ideological weapon for the proletariat to identify and defeat 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 repeatedly taught us: **"Our policy must be made known not only to the leaders and to the cadres but also to the broad masses."** ("Talk to the editors of the Shansi-Suiyuan Daily", Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol. 4, pp. 1213) The broad masses have grasped the general line of New Democratic Revolution of our Party, overthrew three mountains, and won the victory of the revolution. In the process of leading the Socialist Revolution in our country, Chairman Mao taught us many times: **"The historical experience is worth noting. One line and one point of view must be frequently and repeatedly stated. It is not enough to speak to a few people, but to make all the broad revolutionary masses know."** (Quoted from People's Daily on November 25, 1968) In their instructions on theoretical issues, Chairman Mao said: **"Why Lenin said to exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie should be clarified. If this question is not clarified, it will become revisionist. The whole country should know."** (quoted from People's Daily on February 22, 1975) Chairman Mao also pointed out in their important instructions on commenting on the "Water Margin": **"This book, 'Water Margin' is good exactly because it talks about capitulation, and serving as negative teaching materials, so that the people will know the capitulators."** (quoted from People's Daily on September 4, 1975) Chairman Mao's series of instructions repeatedly emphasized that the people of the whole country should be Mastering the Marxist line here has extremely far-reaching significance.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the movement to criticize Lin and Confucius, to criticize Deng, and to counterattack the right-deviationist reversal-of-verdict trend, initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself, is the great practice of the people of the whole country of waging

struggle against the revisionist line of Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping under the unified leadership of the Party and grasping the general line of the Party. Practice has proved that once the broad masses of the people have mastered the general line of the Party, they will be able to tell right from wrong, and can promptly see through the revisionist line promoted by the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, under the guidance of the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao, uphold the banner of **“it is right to rebel against the reactionaries”**, (quoted from the “People’s Daily” on June 29, 1967) use the “four bigs” weapons of big criticizing, big opening, big character posters, big debates, launch a vigorous mass revolutionary movement has plunged the Inner-Party bourgeoisie into the vast sea of mass movements, make it difficult for their restoration conspiracy to succeed. In the struggle of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Criticize Lin and Confucius, and counterattack the right-deviationist reversal-of-verdict trend, the broad masses of the people were armed with the general line of the Party and used the “four major” weapons to destroy the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao. The capitalist-roader Deng Xiaoping who refused to repent. The revolutionary mass movement is a process of adhering to the general line of the Party and criticizing the revisionist line, and it is also a process of further raising the consciousness of the broad masses of the people’s line struggle. With the development of the revolutionary mass movement, the broad masses will more and more consciously implement the general line of the Party in the struggle. In this way, the restoration activities of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie will become increasingly difficult. If the general line of the Party is not controlled by the broad masses, it is very dangerous.

Some comrades believe that when we are fighting against the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, as long as we seize the power from the capitalist-roaders, all issues will be solved. Is this really true? No! Experience from practice tells us that if we do not hand over the line to the masses, do not thoroughly criticize the Inner-Party bourgeoisie from the ideological and political line, and only seize the power of a few capitalist-roaders, we cannot say that we have defeated the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, because the lingering poison of revisionism has not yet been eliminated, and whenever there is a turmoil, they will wait for an opportunity to counterattack. Why can capitalism be restored in the Soviet Union? Looking at the reasons from the side of the proletariat, there was a big issue, of whether the broad masses grasp the Marxist line or not, and whether they recognize the revisionist line or not. During the period under Stalin’s leadership, the Soviet Union had purged a group of those in power who took the capitalist road, such as Trotsky,

Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, Bukharin, Rykov, and Voznesensky, etc. However, after these people were purged, the whole Party and the people of the whole country were not mobilized to criticize their revisionist theories, programs, and lines, and it was not made known to the whole country. As a result, the later Inner-Party bourgeoisie, such as Khrushchov and others, were still able to use these revisionist theories to promote the revisionist line and restore capitalism. For example, Voznesensky, he used to be a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), the first vice chairman of the Council of Commissars, and the chairman of the State Planning Commission of the Soviet Union. In the early 1930s, this man trumpeted that the issue of “who defeated who between socialism or capitalism” was resolved, and “the channels for the generation of classes and capital was blocked” and “the possibility of restoring capitalism in the Soviet state was ruled out”, the main domestic contradiction is already “the contradiction between the advanced socialist relations of production and the backward productive forces.” The “sole prescription” that he proposed for economic development is “strengthen one-man management”, “enforce labor discipline”, “strengthen the supervision of rubles”, “rely on material stimulus”, “completely implement the piece-rate progressive wage and bonus system”, and so on. In 1950, he was purged. However, the masses of the Soviet people were not mobilized to criticize his revisionist theory and line. Therefore, after Khrushchov and Brezhnev usurped the supreme power of the Party and the state, they could still formulate a rule based on his revisionist theory. The intensified revisionist line restored capitalism in the Soviet Union and reversed the case for him, giving him titles such as “outstanding activist of the Party and the state” and “excellent organizer of socialist projects”. The School of Finance and Economics of Leningrad was renamed the Voznesensky School of Finance and Economics. Please see, Voznesensky has been purged, and his powers are gone, but his revisionist theory and line are still alive, and they are doing harm to the Soviet people. It can be seen from this that if the revisionist line is not thoroughly criticized and the people of the whole country are not aware of the issue of the line, then the revisionist line will rise up at every opportunity and even gain a dominant position. Lin Biao distorted the Cultural Revolution as a “dismissal” revolution in order to prevent the revolutionary masses from criticizing the revisionist line, so that they usurped the leadership of the Party and the state at all levels amidst the sound of “dismissals”. In the face of the revisionists’ struggle to seize power, we must not only take back the power usurped by the Inner-Party bourgeoisie such as Liu Shaoqi, Lin

Biao and Deng Xiaoping, but also criticize the Inner-Party bourgeoisie from the ideological and political line and eliminate its poison. If this is repeated and persisted, it will not be easy for the Inner-Party bourgeoisie to restore capitalism in our country.

Theory is the foundation of the political line. To enable the broad masses of the people to master the general line of the Party, it is necessary for the broad masses of the people to master Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought. This has a great bearing on distinguishing the correct line from the wrong line. For example, when Deng Xiaoping put forward the revisionist program of “taking the three instructions as the key link”, many comrades who seriously studied Marxism saw through the anti-Marxist essence of this line in time and pointed out that it was advocating eclecticism in the aspect of philosophy, advocating the theory of productive forces in the aspect of political economy, and denies the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the aspect of scientific socialism. In this way, these comrades raised their hatred of revisionism from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge, and thus criticized Deng Xiaoping’s revisionist line more profoundly and more powerfully. Therefore, **“seriously read and study, and get acquainted with Marxism”** (quoted from People’s Daily on April 9, 1971) is our fundamental guarantee for distinguishing between the correct line and the wrong line. Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, people of all nationalities in our country have been studying Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought extensively and consistently. Today, Chairman Mao passed away. The broad Communist Party members, masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, in order to inherit Chairman Mao’s legacy and mourn Chairman Mao with the best practical actions, are working hard to study Chairman Mao’s brilliant works and important instructions. The people of all nationalities in our country are truly armed with Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought, and truly mastering the general line of the Party, which will greatly accelerate our work to defeat the Inner-Party bourgeoisie.

The above is the first issue: arming the masses with the general line of the Party. Next, let’s talk about the second question: restricting bourgeois rights and supporting new things in socialism.

Bourgeois right is an important economic basis for the creation of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie. To defeat the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, it is necessary to restrict bourgeois rights under the dictatorship of the proletariat, **“creating conditions that make the bourgeoisie neither exist nor reproduce.”** (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 3, pp. 498)

Bourgeois rights are the lifeblood of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie. Limiting and eventually eliminating bourgeois rights is tantamount to killing the bourgeoisie. Therefore, in the process of restricting bourgeois rights, the proletariat will definitely encounter fierce resistance from the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party. Restriction and anti-restriction are an important form of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a long and arduous struggle. In a certain sense, it is much more difficult for the proletariat to complete the task of eliminating bourgeois rights than to overthrow the old regime.

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

In the autumn of 1887, Lenin entered Kazan University to study. In December of the same year, they participated in a student protest meeting against the police system in the university. As a result, he was expelled from school and exiled to the village of Kokushkino near Kazan. On the way to exile, the czarist police officer who escorted Lenin said to him: “Young man, what good is the rebellion? Didn’t you hit a stone wall?” Lenin replied firmly and resoundingly: **“Yes, but this is a rotten wall. A wall that will crumble with a single kick.”** It’s not wrong at all. The reactionary regime of the Russian czar does seem to be powerful, but in the eyes of the proletarian revolutionaries, the decaying czarist dictatorship was just “a rotten wall”. Thirty years later, it was completely overthrown by the Russian proletariat led by Lenin

After the October Revolution, in order to consolidate Soviet power, the working class of the Soviet Union – pioneered by the workers of the Moscow-Kazan Railway Branch – in May 1919 created the new thing of “communist subbotniks”. Lenin once called it a “great beginning”, “the actual beginning of communism”. (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 4, pp. 16) With Lenin’s enthusiastic support and active promotion, by the May 1st Festival of the next year, it has developed into an all-Russian voluntary labor on Saturdays. Lenin wrote an article on the second day of all-Russian subbotniks, May 2, highly praising their revolutionary actions. At the same time Lenin pointed out: **“For hundreds of years, the freedom of trade and exchange has been regarded as the golden rule of economics by millions of people, and it has become a deep-rooted habit of hundreds of millions of people.”** Therefore, **“there is a mountain of incomparable weight in front of us. This mountain is the conservative and ignorant insistence of ‘free trade’ and insistence of treating labor as any other commodity, ‘free’ to buy and sell.”** (The Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 31, pp. 104-105)

Lenin compared the czarist reactionary regime to a “**rotten wall**”, and compared the old social and economic relations, namely, bourgeois rights and bourgeois ideology, to “**a mountain of incomparable weight**”. This vividly told us, solving the latter task is much more difficult than solving the previous task. Chairman Mao warned us on the eve of the national liberation: “**To win victory in the whole country is just the first step in the Long March.**” (Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol. 4, Pp. 1329) Looking back on the course of battle since 1949, it is indeed so. Since the founding of the People’s Republic of China, the proletariat has gradually restricted bourgeois rights, while the Inner-Party bourgeoisie has tried its best to maintain, strengthen and expand bourgeois rights. The two sides have been fighting over restrictions and anti-restrictions for 27 years; as the Socialist Revolution continues to deepen, the struggle will continue. This also shows, that how hard it is to complete the task of eliminating bourgeois rights!

Why is it so difficult to complete the task of eliminating bourgeois rights? Lenin said: “**Ay, the working class is not severed 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 person is simply removed.**” (Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 27, pp. 407) The “**corpse**” of the old society, including the sum of the old social and economic relations, cannot be put in a coffin or buried in a grave. Regarding bourgeois rights in socialist relations of production, neither can it be ordered to confiscate all of it under the same order as bureaucratic capital; nor can it be bought in accordance with policy regulations as it does with enterprises of the national bourgeoisie. On the contrary, during the entire historical period of socialism, it has to coexist with socialist relations of production. Since the founding of the People’s Republic of China, we have basically abolished the part of bourgeois rights associated with the private ownership of the means of production. However, we still cannot abolish the commodity system and distribution according to work that embody bourgeois rights. On the contrary, these countries are subject to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The protection of the country can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this way, the capitalist-roaders within the Party pursue a revisionist line, strengthen and expand bourgeois rights, praise and promote bourgeois rights, and fight against the proletariat, and have a certain social foundation. People have lived in an economic relationship such as bourgeois rights for a long period of time. In addition, the Inner-Party bourgeoisie uses bourgeois rights to deceive and seduce people, which

will make some people feel less conscious and nostalgic. People with bourgeois rights are deceived and follow them, which adds to the difficulty of restricting bourgeois rights.

“The more the exploiters do their best to safeguard the old things, the faster the proletariat will learn to drive away its class enemies from the last corner, dig out the roots of their rule, and eradicate the fertile soil that can produce (and will produce) wage slavery, poverty of the masses, and unreasonable wealth of the rich.” (Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 26, pp. 377) The more the Inner-Party bourgeoisie opposes criticism and restriction of bourgeois rights, the more we must work against them.

Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the fundamental way to gradually restrict and even eliminate bourgeois rights is to vigorously support and develop new things in socialism. What is new in socialism is that it contains the young shoots of communism. The growth of new things in socialism means the growth of communist elements. It will effectively restrict bourgeois rights from all aspects of the economic base and the superstructure, and clean up the muddy waters of capitalism. Therefore, the process of the continuous growth of new things in socialism is the process of the continuous growth of communist elements and the continuous restriction of bourgeois rights. The victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the movement to Criticize Lin and Confucius, and the counter-attack of the right-deviationist reversal-of-verdict trend have opened up a broad path for the growth of new things in socialism. New things in socialism have continued to grow and develop in the struggle. From the perspective of economic relations, in the mass movement to learn from Dazhai in agriculture, the collective economy at the commune level and the brigade level in the three-level collective ownership of rural people’s communes in our country is growing, which will effectively promote the development of basic farmland infrastructure and agricultural mechanization, enabling the collective economy to take the road of common prosperity; the establishment and consolidation of the three-in-one leading groups of socialist state-owned enterprises and rural people’s communes has enabled the workers and peasants to participate more effectively in the leadership and management of socialist enterprises; cadres participate in labor and management. It has become a common practice for personnel to go to the workshop team to engage in “three withs”, ask the workers to be their teachers, and earnestly learn one or a few crafts. The relationship between the leaders and the masses in enterprises has gradually improved; among the large number of

new workers, the eight-grade wage system has begun to break up. A large number of new cadres who have been promoted to leadership positions from workers and poor and lower-middle peasants still receive their original wages or work points, “being officials but don’t look like officials”. All of these are further restrictions on bourgeois rights in terms of system of ownership, relations, and distribution. In the fields of education, science and technology, literature and art, health and other fields of the superstructure, a large number of new things that restrict bourgeois rights have also emerged. For example, workers’ propaganda teams stationed in schools and other superstructure units; cadres entered the “May 7th” cadre school for re-education; intellectual youth went to the countryside; intellectuals were equated with workers and peasants; rural barefoot doctors and the development of cooperative medical care; growth of the ranks of workers, peasants and soldiers grasping Marxist theory, and so on. Although from the perspective of the entire process of restricting and eliminating bourgeois rights, these are only the first steps in the Long March, but they have aroused great fear and hatred among the capitalist-roaders in the Party. They slandered the brigade with mature conditions for implementing the basic accounting of the brigade as “communist wind” and “must go back within given time”; they slandered state-owned enterprises for supporting rural people’s communes to run community- and brigade-owned enterprises as “blending the boundaries between the two systems of ownership” and “ownership by the whole people retreating to collective ownership”; slandered the restriction of bourgeois rights in distribution as “absolute equalitarianism”. They have used all their best to oppose the new things in socialism, but the new things are irresistible. **“The world always replaces the old with the new, and it’s always metabolizing the old, or introducing the new.”** (Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol. 1, pp. 299) The conspiracy of Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping to oppose new things has gone bankrupt. “Thousands of sails pass by the side of the sunken boat, and thousands of plants bloom in front of the diseased tree.” New things in socialism are lusher and thriving. The obsolete things of capitalism must perish, and the new things of socialism must grow. This is inevitable and beyond doubt. Because, **“Metabolism is a universal and irresistible law in the universe.”** (Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol. 1, pp. 297)

II

Last time, we talked about ways to defeat the Inner-Party bourgeoisie. The first is to arm the masses with the general line of the Party. The

second is to restrict bourgeois rights and support new things in socialism. Today, we will continue to talk about the third and fourth issues: dare to fight, be good at fighting, and exercise total dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

Let's talk about the third issue: Dare to struggle and be good at struggling.

To defeat the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, we must dare to struggle and carry forward the revolutionary spirit against the tide.

Because the capitalist-roaders within the Party have certain power in their hands, the momentum of their revisionist line is very fierce. When a revisionist line comes like the tide, we do dare to go against the tide? This is a serious test for every Communist, Communist Youth League member, revolutionary cadre, and revolutionary masses.

Chairman Mao said: **"Going against the tide is a principle of Marxism-Leninism."** (quoted from "People's Daily" on September 1, 1973) Chairman Mao also pointed out: **"There can be no progress without struggle."** **"A population of 800 million, how can we not struggle?!"** (quoted from People's Daily, May 16, 1976) The victories we have already achieved are all from struggles. Only by daring to struggle can we defeat the capitalist-roaders in the Party; only by daring to go against the tide can we reverse the revisionist line. In the early days of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, and other capital-travelers within the Party, stood on the standpoint of the reactionary bourgeoisie, pursued a bourgeois reactionary line, reversed right and wrong, confused black and white, encircled and suppressed the revolutionaries, carried out white terror, and labelled a number of revolutionary rebel fighters and young Red Guards as "right-ists", "anti-Party elements", and "Cow demons and snake spirits". However, the revolutionary rebel fighters and the young Red Guards received warm praise and support from Chairman Mao. It was precisely under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao that the broad masses of proletarian revolutionaries, revolutionary masses, and revolutionary cadres united in an unyielding and heroic struggle and finally destroyed the two bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao and conquered the great victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Around the summer of 1975, Deng Xiaoping started a right-wing reversal-of-verdict trend. Many revolutionary cadres, workers, peasants, and soldiers across the country dared to adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, dared to open sailboats, and resolutely confronted Deng Xiaoping. Su Xiaoqin, Party secretary of Chaihe Lead-Zinc Mine in Liaoning, Lu Xinmin, a young worker from Spark Parts Factory in Shanghai, and members of the theoretical team of Wuzhou Optical

Instrument Factory in Guangxi, are all good examples of going against the wind. Precisely because the broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres carried forward the revolutionary spirit of going against the tide, even though Deng Xiaoping was fierce and mighty for a while, he was a paper tiger in the end. Chairman Mao gave an order, and the people of the whole country fought back and won great victories in criticizing Deng Xiaoping and counterattacking the right-deviationist reversal-of-verdict trend. Through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the movement to criticize Lin and Deng, and the counterattack against the right-deviationist reversal-of-verdict trend, a large number of revolutionary fighters who dared to go against the tide emerged, and the ranks of the proletarian revolutionaries grew even stronger. This is an important sign that Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought are deeply rooted in the hearts of the people, and that our Party and our revolutionary cause are prosperous.

“He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor.” Our struggle against the Inner-Party bourgeoisie is by no means a confrontation between individuals, but a life-and-death struggle between the two antagonistic classes. **“If you want to struggle, there will be sacrifices.”** (Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol. 3, pp. 906). In the process of fighting against the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, we must stand up out from the interest of the public and promote that we are not afraid of dismissal, not afraid of expulsion from the Party, not afraid of going to jail, not afraid of losing our heads, not afraid of divorce, the revolutionary spirit of “Five not afraid of”. Only by being selfless can we be fearless. Only by using Marxism to transform our worldview and consciously carrying out the two **“most thorough ruptures”** can we dare to struggle, persist in the struggle, and improve our consciousness in fighting against capitalist-roaders and strengthen our courage to struggle.

In the struggle against the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, we must not only dare to struggle, but also be good at struggling. **“In order to attack the forces of the counter-revolution, what the revolutionary forces need to-day is to organize millions upon millions of the masses and move a mighty revolutionary army into action.”** (Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol. 1, pp. 141) Therefore, unite the majority and correctly distinguish between the two types of contradictions of different natures are an important strategic principle for the proletariat to fight against the Inner-Party bourgeoisie. The proletariat is the greatest class in human history. It will not only overthrow the rule of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, but also eliminate all classes and class differences, and finally realize communism. To realize

this noble cause, it is necessary to continuously strengthen the revolutionary unity of the proletariat and unite all those who can be united in a 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.”** (“Five Philosophical Works of Chairman Mao” pp. 116)

The Great Leaders of the proletariat have always attached great importance to revolutionary unity. In *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx and Engels solemnly declared: **“Proletarians of all countries, unite!”** The historical experience of the International Communist Movement for more than one hundred years has vividly proved that the unity of proletariat and the revolutionary people based on Marxism is a powerful force to defeat the bourgeoisie, revisionism, and all class enemies, and is the fundamental guarantee for the continuous victories of the cause of the proletarian revolution. The history of our Party for more than 50 years has also proved this truth. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, whether in the period of the democratic revolution or the period of the Socialist Revolution, our Party relied on the national unity of the people led by the working class to defeat class enemies at home and abroad and inside and outside the Party, overcoming all kinds of difficulties and obstacles and continuously winning new victories.

Chairman Mao taught us: **“Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution.”** (Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol. 1, pp. 3) In the historical epoch of the Socialist Revolution, the masses and cadres, petty officials, students, workers, peasants, and soldiers who account for more than 95% of the population want revolution, and they cannot tolerate the exploitation and oppression of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie. Among them, there is no fundamental conflict of interest. Under the leadership of the working class, unite the broad masses and cadres to correctly handle two types of contradictions of different nature, and the Inner-Party bourgeoisie will be completely isolated.

In the process of fighting against the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, the broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres must unite in order to defeat the enemy, they must also be good at applying the Party’s policies and tactics and conducting concrete analyses of concrete situations. As with all things, capitalist-roaders within the Party can also be divided up. It is necessary to thoroughly expose and criticize the head who fabricated the revisionist line and the capitalist-roaders who are unwilling to repent. At present, we must concentrate our firepower to criticize Deng and firmly

grasp the general direction of the struggle. In the struggle against Deng, we should unite more than 95% of the masses and cadres, including cadres who have made mistakes and are willing to make corrections. For those who commit capitalist-roader mistakes, they must follow Chairman Mao's teachings: **"As long as they are not anti-Party and anti-socialists who insist on not reforming and repeat their teachings, they must be allowed to correct and encourage them to redeem their merits."** (Quoted from the fourth issue of "Red Flag" magazine, 1967, "The Cadres Must Be Treated Correctly") The Party's policy is to cure the sickness and save the patient. As long as those who have made capitalist-roader mistakes are willing to correct their mistakes, we must take a welcoming attitude, encourage and help them correct their mistakes in actual work, and make up for their mistakes.

The process of uniting the majority is a process of fighting against the actions of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie to undermine revolutionary unity and split the revolutionary ranks, and it is not a calm process. The Inner-Party bourgeoisie understands that the strong unity established by the entire Party, the entire army, and the people of the whole country on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is the biggest obstacle to their subversion of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, they always have to do everything possible to destroy. Gao Gang and Rao Shushi organized an anti-Party coalition, Peng Dehuai organized a counter-revolutionary military club, Liu Shaoqi recruited rebels, dreamed of forming another CC for private gains, Lin Biao pieced together a small counter-revolutionary "fleet" in an attempt to establish a separate central government, and Deng Xiaoping organized "homecoming legions" in an attempt to split the CC led by Chairman Mao. Their common purpose is to vainly attempt to undermine the unity of the Party and the revolutionary ranks and create conditions for them to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. We must be highly vigilant against the conspiracy of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie to undermine the revolutionary unity, and we must never take it lightly. We must adhere the three key principles Chairman Mao raised, that **"we must practice in Marxism, not revisionism; we must unite and not split; we must be sincere and open and do not resort to plotting and conspiracy."** (quoted from the fourth issue of "Red Flag" magazine, 1972). These three key principles are important signs that distinguish the correct line from the wrong line. We must wage a resolute struggle with the Inner-Party bourgeoisie who engages in revisionism, splits, and conspiracies. Under the leadership of the CC of the Party, carry through the proletarian revolutionary cause established by Chairman Mao to the end.

What I talked about above is the third issue, dare to struggle and be good at struggling. Next, let's talk about the fourth issue: the implementation of an all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

There is no doubt that there will be more and more ways to defeat the Inner-Party bourgeoisie as the Socialist Revolution deepens and as the mass struggle develops. However, in the final analysis, we must insist on the all-round dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Marx once made a simple summary of the dictatorship of the proletariat: **"My own contribution was (1) to show that the existence of classes is merely bound up with certain historical phases in the development of production; (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; [and] (3) that this dictatorship, itself, constitutes no more than a transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society."** (Selected Works of Marx/Engels, Vol. 4, pp. 332-333) This statement of Marx covered all the tasks and concrete content of the dictatorship of the proletariat extremely clearly. Socialism is about eliminating classes and transitioning to a classless society, that is, a communist society. In the book *Class Struggle in France from 1848 to 1850*, Marx further specified that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the **"abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations."** Marx's exposition made us clearly see that if we want to defeat the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, we must constantly strengthen the all-round dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and there is no second way.

Dictatorship of the proletariat means that the proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in all fields and at all stages of revolutionary development. There is indeed a Inner-Party bourgeoisie. Some of the Party members have changed, some are changing, and some will change if they are not vigilant. For those that have changed, the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat must be used to mobilize the broad masses to expose, criticize, and struggle against them. If they want to launch a counter-revolutionary coup and provoke a counter-revolutionary riot similar to the Tiananmen Square incident, then the iron fist of the dictatorship of the proletariat will crush them. We must criticize and help what is changing so that we can quickly recognize the mistakes and promptly return to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line from the edge of the revisionist quagmire. For the majority of Party members and cadres, we must continue to

educate on the general line of the Party, guard against the corruption of the bourgeoisie, and prevent them from evolving toward the Inner-Party bourgeoisie as much as possible.

In the process of fighting against the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, the proletariat must eliminate the capitalist relations of production represented by the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, restrict, reduce and finally eliminate bourgeois rights that produced the bourgeoisie, and criticize bourgeois rights and ideologies of all exploiting classes, to carry the Socialist Revolution through to the end in both the economic base and the superstructure.

In terms of the economic base, we must persist in taking class struggle as the key link, and constantly consolidate and develop the socialist system of public ownership. We must ensure that the leadership of units owned by the whole people and collectively owned units is not in name but in fact controlled by real Marxists, controlled by the broad masses of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants, adhere to the socialist direction, adhere to the policy of **“grasping the revolution and promoting production”**, and constantly consolidate the economic base of the proletarian dictatorship; it is necessary to reform small production and deepen education on the general line of the Party, instilling socialist ideas, criticizing the spontaneous tendencies of capitalism, relying on poor peasants, uniting middle peasants, and fighting resolutely against capitalist forces; limiting bourgeois rights, narrowing the three distinctions, and actively fostering and enthusiastically supporting new things in socialism. Fight for the eventual **“creating conditions that will make the bourgeoisie neither exist nor reproduce.”**

With regard to the superstructure, we must further consolidate and develop the great achievements of the Cultural Revolution, and continuously reform all superstructures that do not fit the socialist economic base. We must constantly overcome the shortcomings in certain links in the state system. Cadres and workers must implement the “three withs”, overcome bureaucracy, resist the invasion of bourgeois ideology, keep close contact with the masses, accept supervision from the masses, and turn state organs into revolutionary organisms fighting for the interest of the people, prevent capitalist-roaders from using the power given by the people to carry out the restoration of capitalism; the mass movement to study Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought must be carried out extensively, deeply and persistently among the masses, criticizing revisionism and criticizing capitalism, criticizing Confucianism and the ideologies of all exploiting classes, and gradually eliminating the political and ideological conditions that give rise to capitalism and a new bourgeoisie; it is necessary to further the educational

revolution, literary and art revolution, and health revolution, and use Mao Zedong Thought to conquer all cultural positions. In short, **“the proletariat must exercise an all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all cultural fields.”** The ideology of all decadent and declining classes is overflowing with freedom.

Chairman Mao pointed out: **“The current Cultural Revolution is only the first time, and it will inevitably be carried out many times in the future. Whoever wins and loses in the revolution can only be resolved within a long historical period. If it is not done well, restoration of capitalism will be possible at any time. All Party members, people of the whole country, do not think that after one, two, three or four cultural revolutions everything will be peaceful. Be careful and never lose your vigilance.”** (Quoted from 19 People’s Daily, May 23, 1967) We must pay great attention to constantly sum up the experience of fighting against the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, learn the methods of fighting against the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, and be alert to the danger of capitalist restoration. In all fields and at all stages of the development of the revolution, we must always adhere to the all-round dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, pay special attention to fighting against the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, and gradually eliminate the soil and conditions that produce the Inner-Party bourgeoisie.

“Mastering the stick, but aiming for the yard”. The emergence of a Inner-Party bourgeoisie looks powerful and powerful on the surface, but in fact it does not have any great power. They are blowing the “westerly wind” of the bourgeoisie, riding on the “skinny horse” of restoration and retreat, and walking the “old road” of capitalism, which is completely regressive. They are extremely weak and isolated in front of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. They are paper tigers, and the revolutionary people can completely defeat them. We have strengthened our confidence in thoroughly defeating the Inner-Party bourgeoisie through the struggle against capitalist-roaders in the Party such as Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping. We firmly believe that although there will be twists and turns in the struggle, the final victory must belong to the proletariat.

VIII. The prospects are bright, the road has twists and turns

Not broadcasted

Last time we talked about “Methods of defeating the Inner-Party bourgeoisie”, today we will talk about the last lecture, the title is: “The prospects are bright, the road has twists and turns.” The first part tells the emergence, development, and demise of the bourgeoisie is an objective law; the second part tells that the Inner-Party bourgeoisie is both a real tiger and a paper tiger; the third part tells that the Internationale will be the human race. Now let’s talk about the first issue: the emergence, development, and demise of the bourgeoisie is an objective law.

Throughout the historical stage of socialism, capitalism and the bourgeoisie have always existed, the Inner-Party bourgeoisie has always existed, and capitalist-roads have always been on the move. Then, what is the future of the Socialist Revolution? Can the bourgeoisie, including the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, be finally eliminated?

We believe that the bourgeoisie, like everything in the universe, has its own process of emergence, development, and demise. This process is closely linked to the process of the emergence, development and demise of capitalist relations of production. The bourgeoisie is a product of capitalist relations of production. Capitalist relations of production have appeared in history and have a history of more than 300 years. When this kind of relations of production came into being, the bourgeoisie, which represented this kind of relations of production, was still very young, and it fought fiercely with the feudal relations of production represented by the landlord class. At that time, the bourgeoisie united the broad masses of workers and peasants to fight, and on the basis of overthrowing the decadent feudal system, the capitalist relations of production developed and entered its golden age. However, with the transition of capitalism into imperialism, the contradiction between capitalist relations of production and the increasingly developed socialized productive forces has become more and more intensified. It is manifested in the class relationship that the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat has become more and more intensified. The capitalist relations of production have entered the stage of destruction, and the proletariat, the grave digger of the capitalist system, has grown stronger day by day. The process of capitalist reproduction is a process in which the

subjective and objective conditions for the demise of capitalism and the bourgeoisie are becoming increasingly mature. The process of capitalist relations of production and the emergence, development, and demise of the bourgeoisie is such a historically inevitable process that does not depend on people's will.

The bourgeoisie has a process of development in history. At the beginning, it was the liberal bourgeoisie, but when it developed to the stage of imperialism, it transformed into a monopoly bourgeoisie. At this time, the bourgeoisie is already in the dying stage. After the proletarian Socialist Revolution, the bourgeoisie was overthrown by the proletariat, and the Inner-Party bourgeoisie was born in a socialist society where the rule of the bourgeoisie has been overthrown. It has become the last faction that emerged in the era of the destruction of the entire bourgeoisie. No matter what stage the bourgeoisie has gone through in the course of historical development, their common characteristics are the relations of production that represent capitalism. The Inner-Party bourgeoisie tried to protect and develop capitalist relations of production before the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was basically realized; after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was basically realized, it tried to strengthen and expand bourgeois rights in the socialist relations of production, restoring capitalist relations of production.

The Inner-Party bourgeoisie, as the last faction of the bourgeoisie to perish, also 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 were unfolded in the process of contradictions and struggles with the proletariat. The main aspect of the contradiction in this process is not the bourgeoisie and the capitalist relations of production it represents, as in capitalist society, but the proletariat and the socialist relations of production it represents. This determines the destiny of the inevitable demise of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie. 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 have not only the growing communist element, but also the tradition or traces of capitalism which is concentrated in the decline and decay of bourgeois rights, in the process of socialist reproduction, on the one hand, communist elements are continuously reproduced, and various new things containing communist elements have continuously grown; on the other hand, bourgeois rights must be continuously regenerated, and new bourgeois elements will be regenerated on the old soil of bourgeois rights.

However, socialist reproduction is not simple reproduction. In the process of socialist reproduction, the general trend of reproduction of relations of production is to move forward from low to high. This is: the degree of the socialist system of public ownership has gradually increased, the worker-peasant distinction, urban-rural distinction, mental labor-physical labor distinction are shrinking, and the distribution of personal consumer goods according to needs has gradually increased. In short, it is the communist factor that has shown growth. While the traditions or traces of capitalism show a movement in the opposite direction, showing a tendency to weaken and die out day by day. The new bourgeoisie, including the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, was mainly produced on the old soil of the commodity system, which breeds capitalism and the bourgeoisie. However, in the development of socialist reproduction, there is an increasing number of communist elements. With the gradual narrowing of the three distinctions and the ever-weakening of bourgeois rights in all aspects of relations of production, the conditions under which the commodity system depends will be increasingly weakened, and the commodity exchange relations under the socialist system will gradually move towards the direct distribution of products. The direction of the transition. This means that the economic basis for generating the Inner-Party bourgeoisie will inevitably weaken day by day. When the tradition or traces of capitalism in socialist relations of production have been completely wiped out and the historical task of transforming socialist relations of production into communist relations of production is finally realized, all the exploiting classes, including the Inner-Party bourgeoisie can no longer exist nor reproduce.

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 has built up the confidence of revolutionary optimism and the idea of strategically defying the Inner-Party bourgeoisie. However, the development of history is tortuous. In a socialist society, the danger of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie restoring capitalism actually exists. Hasn't the Inner-Party bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union completely restored capitalism under the historical conditions of the Soviet Union? However, as the class struggle between this reactionary class and the Soviet proletariat and the broad working people intensified, the demise of this class is also inevitable. In view of the lessons of the Soviet Union, we must be more vigilant and take seriously the restoration conspiracy of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie. Marx said in the preface of the first edition of *The Capital*: “**And even when**

a society has got upon the right track for the discovery of the natural laws of its movement — and it is the ultimate aim of this work, to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society — 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 law of movement of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie during the socialist period. Although we cannot order this law to be cancelled, we understand the law of movement of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie and it is possible to prevent it from being like the Soviet Union. Ride on the people’s head again. The “General Outline”, which Deng Xiaoping himself instructed and concocted, is a political manifesto of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie to restore capitalism. However, as long as we are armed with Chairman Mao’s theory on the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, we can recognize the reactionary nature of the “General Outline”. Its reactionary nature is to obliterate the existence of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, and point the finger at the so-called “anti-Marxist class enemy” that is, the proletariat and its vanguard, which thoroughly exposed Deng Xiaoping’s hideous features. Therefore, we must not forget the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, the main target of the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, no matter what time or what we do. To forget it is to forget the class struggle, forget the general line of the Party, and 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.

Let us now proceed to the second question: the Inner-Party bourgeoisie is both a real tiger and a paper tiger.

When analyzing the nature of imperialism and reactionaries, Chairman Mao once pointed out: **“Like everything in the world has a dual nature (that is, the law of the unity of opposites), imperialism and reactionaries also have a dual nature. They are both real tigers and paper tigers.”** The analysis is fully applicable to the Inner-Party bourgeoisie. Same as imperialism and reactionaries, the Inner-Party bourgeoisie is both a real tiger and a paper tiger.

To say that the Inner-Party bourgeoisie is a real tiger is to say that it is very fierce to restore capitalism and is extremely counter-revolutionary. This madness reflects the dying struggle of the entire bourgeoisie when it is perishing. The “motto” of Hitler, the running dog of the monopoly bourgeoisie, is “Be cruel! Be cruel!” The Inner-Party bourgeoisie, Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping have completely inherited the fascist counter-

revolutionary craziness. Once they gain power, they will eat people. What they demanded politically was definitely not democracy, but fascism. Just take a look at the bloody “Project 571 Minutes” and the counter-revolutionary political incident that took place in Tiananmen Square to understand. In China, it is only because under the guidance of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line that the people of the whole country firmly grasped the program of class struggle and held the iron fist of the dictatorship of the proletariat, who broke their backbones when they showed their fangs and were getting ready to eat people, so that their cannibalistic conspiracy could not succeed.

However, in the Soviet Union, after the Inner-Party bourgeoisie headed by Khrushchov and Brezhnev usurped the Party and government power, their cannibalistic conspiracy temporarily succeeded. They eat by millions of people, and the injustices are all over the country, and the traitors celebrate among themselves; concentration camps are everywhere, “lunatic asylums” are opened everywhere; spies run rampant and lawless, corrupt officials beat people on their bones and suck out their marrows, and the heroic sons and daughters of the October Revolution groan amidst the dark hell.

The madness of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie in its persecution of the revolutionary people fully shows that they are the vicious enemies of the proletariat and the broad working people. Their teeth and claws are still very powerful. They are real tigers made of iron, and they can eat people. From this point, we must establish strategic and tactical thinking, attach importance to the enemy, and adopt the necessary forms of struggle to isolate and destroy the enemy step by step.

However, from a strategic point of view, from a fundamental point of view, the Inner-Party bourgeoisie is also a paper tiger. This is because it represents the decayed capitalist relations of production in history, and it is a reactionary force in the stage of destruction. Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie moved its headquarters to the Communist Party. It dared not play the banner of openness, nor did it dare to engage in open political struggles. Instead, it was dressed in the cloak of Marxism and relied on splitting and conspiracy, carrying out revisionist activities. This just exposed the nature of the paper tiger of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie. Although it looks powerful, it is extremely weak in nature, being strong outside and doing it in the middle. In the Soviet Union, the Inner-Party bourgeoisie has achieved a complete restoration, as if it were inexhaustible. It cruelly exploited internally, plundered arbitrarily externally, spread its teeth and wielded its claws, and tried to dominate the world.

However, its life is very difficult. Today's Soviet Union looks like a giant and aggressive, but in fact it is like a big tree that has been decayed, decaying day by day. For more than two decades, the industrial production growth rate in the Soviet Union has been declining, and the civilian industry is very backward. It has to import a large number of technical equipment and industrial consumer goods. Agriculture is even more a mess, and grain production has been drastically reduced. Financially strained, the domestic debt owed is 34.4 billion rubles, the foreign debt has reached tens of billions of dollars, and it is stepping up begging to become one of the largest debtor countries in the world. Soviet revisionism has fallen into a situation of domestic and foreign difficulties and desperation. **"The revisionist Soviet Union is also a paper tiger."** (Quotations from Chairman Mao: quoted from People's Daily, April 22, 1970) At present, the Soviet people's anti-tyranny struggle is in the ascendant. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is like sitting on a volcanic crater, and it will not be too far away from the day of extinction.

In our country, Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping are also very weak in the Party in power who are following the capitalist road. Lin Biao and their gang screamed "no retreat", and declared: "Everything is short-lived, don't take it too seriously." Advocates of the right-deviationist reversal-of-verdict wind blown by Deng Xiaoping screamed "let's give our lives" and "we are not afraid of being overthrown." they also threatened: "we've seen through the meaning of life, it doesn't matter to us." The desperate wailing of their declining class deeply reflects that the bourgeoisie as a class has come to the end of its own history. "Withered vines, old trees and faint crows", "old road, westerly wind and skinny horse", this is the image of the dying class, and it is also a true portrayal of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie.

If we say that the slave-owning class, feudal landlord class, and bourgeoisie in history were vibrant and revolutionary before and for a period of time after they gained ruling power, then, the Inner-Party bourgeoisie was born under the historical conditions that the rule of the bourgeoisie has been overthrown. It is a poisonous weed that grows on the garbage dumps left over from the old society. It is not at all revolutionary anymore, and what it has is just reaction and decadency through and through. This determines that the nature of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie as a paper tiger is more exposed than the exploiting classes in history.

"The people, and the people alone, are the motor force in the making of world history." ("On the Coalition Government", Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol. 3, People's Publishing House, 1967 Horizontal

Edition, pp. 932.) The broad masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres, and revolutionary intellectuals want revolution and support socialism. They don't like revisionist figures to suppress them, and it is their fundamental interest to follow the socialist road. The masses of the people will never agree to the restoration of capitalism. Chairman Mao pointed out: **"If an anti-communist rightist coup occurs in China, I conclude that they will also be uneasy. It is likely to be short-lived, because all revolutionaries representing the interests of more than 90% of the people will not tolerate it."** **"In conclusion: the prospects are bright, the road has twists and turns, it's the same two old sayings."** (quoted from People's Daily, March 1, 1975) The dual nature of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie, which is both a real tiger and a paper tiger, tells us that in terms of tactics, we must take them seriously and pay attention to them. They are real tigers, live tigers, and they want to eat people. Socialist countries do exist in the danger of restoration. Anything that is taken lightly to the Inner-Party bourgeoisie will cause huge losses and even risk the Party and the country; but from the point of view of their essence, from a long-term and strategic point of view, they must be regarded as paper tigers and tofu tigers. They are powerless, the Inner-Party bourgeoisie can be completely defeated.

Now let's talk about the last question: the Internationale will be the human race.

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, use socialism to defeat capitalism, and finally realize communism. Our struggle against the Inner-Party bourgeoisie is to uphold the Party's basic program, implement the general line of the Party, and realize the most important part of the Party's ultimate goal.

The Communist Party of China is a great, glorious, and correct Party. It is a Party armed with Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought. It is the general staff that leads the proletariat in the struggle against the Inner-Party bourgeoisie and 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 course, the strong leadership of the Central Committee of the Party, and the broad Party members who insist on continuing the revolution and opposing restoration. It is worthy of being the core of leadership of the entire Chinese people and the mainstay of the cause of socialism. We expose the Inner-Party bourgeoisie. This is exactly the attitude of a thorough materialist.

This shows that we have the strength, confidence, and ability to defeat the Inner-Party bourgeoisie and thus thoroughly defeat the entire bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao asserted: **“Our Party has hope.”**

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 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 not only had to be defeated but could be defeated. When dark clouds appeared in the sky, we pointed out that this was only temporary, that the darkness would soon pass and the sun break through.”** (“The Present Situation and our Tasks”)

Today, the superior conditions that we have in the class struggle are no longer comparable to those of the War of Liberation. Mao Zedong thought is brilliant and shining, Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line is deeply rooted in the hearts of the people, and the proletarian revolutionary cause initiated by Chairman Mao has successors. Whether the ideological and political line is correct or not is 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, our people won the great victory of the New Democratic Revolution, the great victory of the Socialist Revolution, especially the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, criticizing Lin and Confucius, criticizing Deng, and counterattacking the right-deviationist reverse-of-verdict trend. The great victory of the right-wing overturning the case. In the future, as long as we adhere to Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, the offensive of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie can be completely defeated, and we will continue to win the dictatorship of the proletariat [Part 2] and continue the revolution. In the long river of human history, the emergence of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie is a small countercurrent. After the long-term struggle of our people, the sunrise of communism has risen over the vast horizon of our country. Communism is a struggle, and every victory in a struggle is a step towards communism. After every struggle, the communist factor is further developed, and the soil and foundation of capitalism are further weakened. Communism was gradually realized in such a long and repeated struggle. As long as we make persistent efforts, persevere, carry forward the spirit of **“Foolish Old Man Who Removed Mountains”**, and fight generation after generation, the cause of communism must be realized.

Chairman Mao taught 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 we are now in is still the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The socialist country that upholds the dictatorship of the proletariat stands tall. The anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, and anti-hegemony forces of the Third World became stronger and stronger in the war. The international anti-hegemony united front continues to consolidate and expand. Country wants independence, nation wants liberation, and people want revolution. This has become an irresistible historical torrent. The two superpowers have been surrounded by hundreds of millions of people around the world. In particular, Soviet social-imperialists are planning a new world war in a vain attempt to dominate the world by launching a war of aggression. The Soviet revisionists, a bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie who has not missed out on committing each and every crime, have done bad things and ugly things in the world, and 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 completely collapse.”** (“On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People”)

Looking around the world and looking around the universe, we are full of pride and confidence: the dawn of a new world without imperialism, capitalism, and exploitation is ahead, and the death knell of the bourgeoisie at home and abroad, inside and outside the Party, has been sounded.

“Only the emerging proletariat has a future!”

The bright red sun is bound to shine all over the world, and the Internationale will be the human race!

Appendix

Celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution with People's War until communism!

2016

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) constitutes the highest milestone in the history of the class struggle of the proletariat. This year marks 50 years from its initiation in 1966 and within the context of the 50th anniversary, the communist parties and organizations that sign this declaration consider it fundamental take a stand on this great event. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is principally a political revolution, and given its significance, it must mobilize every communist and revolutionary to propagandize it in a bold and determined way. But this is not enough, at the same time, it is necessary to develop a sharp struggle against revisionism and all opportunism which is aiming to present the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as separated from the current issues of the ICM.

The lessons from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution demand a clear demarcation and brand the revisionists who are trying to haggle with it, generate confusion and catch gullibles. We need to see clearly that the revisionist and capitulationist line in Peru today with an own organization PCP/MOVADEF and the clique of José in VRAE –, the avakianism with its absurdity of the “new synthesis”, prachandism and its “socialism of the 21th century” and its “multi-Party competition”, among other dreadful expressions of the new revisionism, trying to portray Chairman Mao into an ordinary liberal and reinterpret the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as an event without validity and revolutionary sharpness. Their vile lies smash into pieces by the strategic offensive of the proletarian world revolution and the campaign for Maoism we are developing. Instead, the international proletariat, full of communist pride, hoisting its undamaged red flag, to higher peaks, is going to advance in a tireless struggle towards the classless society, the communist society. Hoist, defend and apply Maoism!

On the international situation and class struggle

The current international situation would be incomprehensible without the theory of class struggle and its development by Maoism. Only through this theory we understand that the fundamental contradictions of this

epoch are the ones between oppressed nations and imperialism, between proletariat and bourgeoisie and inter-imperialists contradictions, that today the contradiction between socialism and capitalism exists only in the ideological and historical field and that the main contradiction is between oppressed nations and imperialism; that imperialism comprises the powers and super-powers that develop through collusion and rivalry, and the oppressed countries, the Third World, are the loot of the struggle for the distribution of the world, at the same time they are the base of the world revolution and revolutionary storm centres; that the revolution is the main political and historical tendency; and that the proletarian world revolution is in its third phase, the strategic offensive, an epoch of the 'next 50 to 100 years', in which imperialism is decaying further and will be completely swept away by the proletarian world revolution through the world people's war, a process that was initiated by the new great wave of the proletarian world revolution.

In the relation to this understanding of the three fundamental contradictions in the current world – a decisive issue which is negated by the new revisionism – about which the main struggles of Marxism and revisionism are taking place.

Lenin teaches: “*The economic relationships of imperialism constitute the basis of the existing international situation. The history of the XX Century has been defined completely by this new phase of capitalism, its last and highest phase*”; and that the world's division between oppressed nations and oppressing nations is a distinct characteristic of imperialism. Therefore, to understand the current situation we cannot start from the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, since we are in its superior and last phase, imperialism.

One of the laws of class struggle is violence, exacerbated in the epoch of imperialism, since imperialism is war and political reaction all along the line. The imperialist oppression transforms the oppressed nations into areas of distribution, meaning in economic territories turned into colonies or semi-colonies of one or another imperialist power or super-power. The imperialists strive for the partition of those countries and the new distribution to reconfigure the map of the so-called Greater Middle East through the war of aggression, in the midst of a sharp conflict for maintaining their hegemony and the search for a way out of its profound economic crisis. The civil war in Syria is an expression of this law.

The events in the so-called Middle East represent an oddly assorted accumulation of indecipherable facts without perspective, without the important tool of analysis and transformation, which is the theory of class

struggle, applied to the international situation it includes the thesis of Chairman Mao on 'three worlds that are delineated'. To comprehend such a complex panorama, like what is going on in Syria, Iraq or Turkey where an intricate coming and going of millions of human lives permanently drives the historical development – we need to firmly grab the class struggle. Only by applying the theory of class struggle and including the fundamental contradictions of the current world it is possible to comprehend that the so-called Middle East today forms the part of the globe where the fundamental contradictions are converging; that the imperialist war of aggression is for the dismemberment and new distribution of those oppressed countries unleashed there since the early 1990ies – sharpening all the contradictions and spurring the revolution; that the main thing for us is to struggle to lead the storm of the armed struggle of the oppressed nations which is rising there against imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism, without disregarding the atomic superpower Russia and all the other imperialist powers; and that the current issue is that the struggle is not developing correctly due to the lack of political guidance by the Communist Party.

Starting from what Chairman Mao developed, we can comprehend the current situation of countries like Ukraine, Syria, Iraq, Libya and Afghanistan, where two fundamental contradictions sharpen and three forces act. The two contradictions are: 1) the contradiction between oppressed nations/people and imperialism, main contradiction, and 2) the inter-imperialist contradiction, secondary contradiction. The three forces are: 1) US-imperialism, sole hegemonic superpower, and its temporally allies; 2) the atomic superpower Russia, and its temporally allies; 3) the oppressed nations, including all its classes and national minorities, excepting a bunch of traitors, followers of the theory of national subjugation. These forces (oppressed nations and national minorities) are temporary and relatively weak, since the Communist Party which unifies them in the United Front against the imperialist aggression is still missing, to prevent them from being used as peons or boots on the ground by the imperialists.

To solve the main contradiction in these countries, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Communist Party is needed to lead a United Front of national resistance, capable of uniting all the willing forces to fight to defeat the imperialist invader and culminate the revolution of new democracy through people's war. It is not to misinterpret what was clearly established by Chairman Mao about the independency and self-determination inside the United Front. The desire for freedom of the peoples of the so-called Middle East and the desire to throw off every foreign yoke will not be anything else but

illusions if Communist Parties are not constituted or reconstituted, according to the situation, which are firmly grasping the laws of class struggle and in consequence, transform their armed struggles into peoples' wars.

We insist, without the real proletarian leadership and its organized vanguard, the national struggle – including the struggle of the national minorities – is condemned to serve any command staff, and such it is condemned to subjugation. These are ineluctable laws of the development of class struggle and to try denying them or declaring them outdated or for anything else, is revisionism.

Both, in the current international situation and in the struggle for the establishment and defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class struggle is the guideline that allows us to connect every event to each other and to find and handle the laws which influence its development. Therefore, we must study the international situation in the light of Maoism. And it is in the light of Maoism that we must struggle to lead the revolution in each country, as part and to serve the proletarian world revolution.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution constitutes, historically and politically, the highest expression of the proletarian class struggle on international level, the defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat, conceived as an all-round dictatorship over the bourgeois.

In a society divided by classes, the class struggle is a historic law. The Marxists, in consequence, apply it to all phenomena of social life, recognizing it in the most diverse expressions of contemporary life. The class struggle develops in the ideological, political, economic and military fields; but above all it is fundamental to comprehend that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat. As the great Lenin said: *“Only they is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat”*. In this sense, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the struggle for the establishment of the all-around dictatorship of the proletariat, the recognition of the objective existence of classes in the whole period of construction of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, of antagonistic contradictions between classes, of the Inner-Party bourgeoisie itself and of the continuation of class struggle during the whole period of socialism until communism.

And like it was established since the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution: *“Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the*

exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavor to stage a comeback. The proletariat must do the exact opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society”.

With the Great Leap Forward and the establishment of the People's Communes in 1957 -1958 it was given an effective advance in the development of collective property economics and the Socialist Revolution, constituting a victory against the right opportunism in a period in which, on an international level, capitalism was restoring in the USSR and in the rest of the countries of Eastern Europe.

Chairman Mao warned in 1962: “*don't ever forget the class struggle*”. The same year, with the socialist education movement, it was possible to give a new impulse to the struggle against the followers of the capitalist road in the countryside. In 1965, the criticism of philosophy and the criticism of the art forms which were driven by bourgeois and revisionist elements in the field of culture, prepare the soil for launching the GCPR in 1966. Initially, those who tried to control the implementation of the Cultural Revolution were revisionist elements which nested within the highest leadership of the Party, whose counter-revolutionary way of actin, was exposed later. People like Liu Shaoqi, then President of the People's Republic of China, their front man and chief of the Party in Peking, Peng Sheng, the member of the Party Committee in Peking and the person responsible for propaganda and press organisms of the CPC and of the state, Lu Ting-yi, among others, frenetically plotted their anti-Party and antisocialist positions for restoring capitalism.

In this sense, Chairman Mao's line has comprehended this fundamental issue: “*The socialist society emerges from the bosom of the old society. It is not easy to liquidate the idea of the private property formed during thousands of years of class society, nor the force of habit or the ideological and cultural influence of the exploiting classes linked to the private property. The spontaneous forces of the petty bourgeoisie in the city and on the countryside constantly create new bourgeois elements. As the ranks of the workers grow in number and range, some impure elements infiltrate them. And after the conquest of power and living in an environment of peace, a certain number of people in the ranks of the cadres of the Party and of the state organisms degenerate. At the same time, in the international level, the imperialism, headed by the USA, and the reactionary of the diverse countries strive to eliminate us through the counter-revolutionary double tactic: threats of war and 'peaceful evolution'. The contemporary revisionist group,*

with the direction of the Soviet Union Communist Party as its center, tries to defeat us as well, by all its possible means. If we forget the class struggle in these circumstances and abandon our vigilance, we would run the risk of losing the Power and allow that capitalism restores”.

Under Chairman Mao’s direction, the directive of the XI Plenum of the Central Committee of the 8th of August 1966, it was clearly defined: *“The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution now unfolding is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls and constitutes a new stage in the development of the Socialist Revolution in our country, a stage which is both broader and deeper.[...] Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavor to stage a comeback.” And that in the cultural revolution: “At present, our objective is to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic “authorities” and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system”.*

It were the masses of young students, in 1966, animated and stimulated by the Communist Party, with Chairman Mao in the fore, who started the mass criticism and, hence denounced the handful of stubborn revisionists that usurped the power in different departments of the Party itself and the state. The all-around dictatorship of the proletariat was necessary to defeat the gang of opportunist and revisionist followers of the capitalist road. There could not remain any place in the Party and in the state for bourgeois elements, but to smash those individuals was not an administrative issue, but was about the broad mass mobilization and the criticism which they did.

To defeat and expose the opposition of the followers of the capitalist road, the Party, under the correct revolutionary line of Chairman Mao, needed to base itself on the masses, stimulating their own initiative. Like the directive of the 8th of August 1966 pointed out: *“Trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative. Cast out fear. Don’t be afraid of disturbances. Chairman Mao has often told us that revolution cannot be so very refined, so gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. Let the masses educate themselves in this great revolutionary movement and learn to distinguish between right and wrong and between correct and incorrect ways of doing things. Make the fullest use of big-character*

posters and great debates to argue matters out, so that the masses can clarify the correct views, criticize the wrong views and expose all the ghosts and monsters. In this way the masses will be able to raise their political consciousness in the course of the struggle, enhance their abilities and talents, distinguish right from wrong and draw a clear line between ourselves and the enemy”.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the method to mobilize the masses and then express all their creative power in the criticism of the revisionists, “*it is a method to uncover all the dark that is in the Party*”, said Chairman Mao. At the IX Congress of 1969 it was cited what Chairman Mao exposed in a conversation in February 1967: ***“In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the issue because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below”.***

The form, the means, the method was the critic by the masses. This allowed to fully bring into play the initiative of masses to expose the anti-Party and antisocialist “black gang”, followers of the capitalist road, who succeeded in usurping a part of the power. The issue was not only the removal of this or that leader of the followers of the capitalist road, the great task consisted in mobilizing the masses and to make them bombard the bourgeois headquarters on their own initiative. This is still important, because the issue was not just fighting against a political line, the issue was also the struggle against the organizational line which Liu Shaoqi built up and which allowed them to have a significant presence in different state and Party entities through impenitent followers of the capitalist road.

Initiated among the sections of the youth, principally students, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution soon propagated to the broad masses of workers and peasants. At the end of 1966 the class struggle sharpened in Shanghai. In January 1967 the revolutionary storm breaks out in this important industrial city and a clique of usurpers was defeated, recapturing the proletarian power and re-establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chang Chung-chiao had an active role in these events, giving a proper direction in this struggle. The revisionists who were installed in the Shanghai municipality were defeated and in February 1967 the Revolutionary Committee of the Shanghai Municipality is founded as the new power organism of the working class, led by the Party, concentrated in the Revolutionary Committees.

Later, in March 1967 progress was made in the Great Strategic Plan for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The document reads as following: *“This document could be distributed to the whole country to be acted upon accordingly. The army should give military and political training in the universities, middle schools and the higher classes of primary schools, for levels and groups. This should help in re-opening school classes, strengthening organization, setting up the leading bodies on the principle of the “three in one combination” and carrying out the task of “struggle-criticism-transformation.” First, experiments should be done at selected locations and then expanded step by step. And the students should be convinced to implement the teaching of Marx that the proletariat can only achieve its final emancipation by emancipating all mankind, and that those teachers and cadres who have made mistakes in military and political training should not be excluded. Apart from the aged and the sick, these people should be allowed to take part so as to facilitate their re-education. If all this is not done conscientiously, it is difficult to solve the issues”.*

In the IX Congress in 1969 it was decided as a fundamental line of the Party for the whole historical phase of socialism, issues that Chairman Mao had established in a plenum of the Central Committee in 1962: *“The socialist society will last a relatively long historical phase. During this historical phase of socialism, classes, class contradictions and class struggle will still exist; the struggle between the socialist and the capitalist road and the danger of capitalist restoration exists. We have to comprehend how long and complicated this struggle is and raise our vigilance. It is necessary to carry out the socialist education. It is necessary to understand and handle the issues of class contradictions and class struggle correctly and to precisely distinguish the contradictions between us and the enemy that exist in the bosom of the people, and to handle them in a correct way. Otherwise, a socialist country like ours will convert into its opposite, will degenerate, and the restoration will occur. From now on, we have to talk about this every year, every month and every day, so that we have a relative clear comprehension of this issue and follow a Marxist-Leninist line”.*

On Restoration: lessons for the future

The counter-revolutionary coup that the revisionists conducted against the Communist Party of China, against the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is a sign of how sharp the class struggle and the two-line struggle in the Party becomes in the society during socialism. Chairman Mao, in May 1963, facing the advance of people like Liu Shaoqi, prudently

pointed out the risks which entail a grave situation like this: *"Then it would not take much time, maybe some years or a decade or several decades at most, to create a counter-revolutionary restoration at a national level, to transform the Marxist-Leninist Party to a revisionist Party or a fascist Party and the whole China will change its color"*.

Later, in 1966, continuing this issue, they warned: *"The bourgeois representatives that had infiltrated the Party, the government, the army and the different sectors of the cultural sector are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. If the possibility arises, they would take the Power and transform the dictatorship of the proletariat in the dictatorship of the bourgeois"*.

The bourgeois dictatorship established in October 1976 is a fascist dictatorship, and the Party that leads it is a fascist Party, only revisionists and opportunists keep calling the monstrosity that governs in China today a Communist Party. Chairman Mao warned of this again in 1976:

"I have never stopped believing that in China there is a possibility of a restoration of capitalism on a great scale. A countrywide scale. If this restoration comes, bad things will come. Sufferings will be back, but, inevitably, the revolution will also come back".

The same is pointed out in a letter of the same year that they sent to comrade Chiang Ching. We quote a fragment:

*"In the struggle of the past ten years
I have tried to reach the peak of the revolution,
But I had failed...
Maybe you can reach the peak.
If you fail you will drown in a bottomless abyss,
Your body will be torn apart,
Your bones will break.*

*No agreement with the others is good.
If the sword turns around, and I think it had been turned
against the revolution. One more time it will be needed
the guerrilla warfare...the new Yenan ..."*

And last, also in words written by Chairman Mao in 1966 to comrade Chiang Ching: *"In China, after the emperor was overthrown in 1911, no reactionary was able to stay long in power. If the Rightists were to stage an anti-Communist coup d'état in China, I am sure they would have no peace either and their rule would most probably be short-lived, because it would never be tolerated by the revolutionaries who represent the interests of the people constituting more than 90 per cent of the population"*.

Conclusion: the perspectives are brilliant, but the way is tortuous. These two formulations continue to be valid.

It is important to highlight that all of this occurs in the period that the Chairman pointed out as the ‘next 50 to 100 years’ in which the rule of imperialism will be brought down, time of the major decomposition of imperialism and in which it will be swept from the face of the earth by the proletarian world revolution. An important thesis to rub in the face of contemporary opportunists and revisionists.

The Communist Party of China, its construction and the two-line struggle during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

In 1974 the brochure “A basic understanding of the Party” was published in China. In this important document, the CPC draws a balance of the experience of the Party and its role in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution; it is also synthesized in the basic program and the general line of the Party, the construction of the Party, the two-line struggle and the tasks of education and re-education led by it. This brochure is an advanced exposition of the principles which establish what an authentic Communist Party must be and which most consistent application was performed by Chairman Gonzalo, developing the Marxist theory on the Party with the thesis of militarization and the concentric construction.

The brochure explains the reflection of the class struggle in the Party as two-line struggle, sometimes high, sometimes low, as the tide; the importance of ten great two-line struggles that were fought in the Communist Party of China are highlighted, including the struggles against Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao, and there is no doubt it was necessary to develop some more. There was fought a two-line struggle against Chen Po-ta and Deng Xiaoping but, finally, taking advantage of a favorable correlation of forces, these two took advantage of their own forces to strike at the Left and to transform the Party into a fascist Party.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the criticism of the masses of Lin Biao, the movement for the rectification of style of work, initiated and led by Chairman Mao, was able to contain and smash the counter-revolutionary offensive that Lin Biao and Liu Shaoqi tried to drive to change the Party character and restore capitalism. Unquestionably the Party was purified. Nevertheless, to advance towards the classless society, one, two or three cultural revolutions were not enough, but many more. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the two-line struggle in the bosom of the Communist Party of China reached never seen levels, giving huge lessons

to the coming revolutionary generations. In the same brochure “A basic understanding of the Party” it was sustained: *“The two-line struggle within the Party over the question of its character has always been very sharp. All of the leaders of the opportunist lines have always tried by every means to pervert the character of the political Party of the proletariat, in order to serve their own criminal goal of sabotaging the proletarian revolution. [...] The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Biao and rectify the style of work personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, completely smashed the criminal plots of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao to change the nature of our Party and to restore capitalism. Our Party came out purified, more solid, and more vigorous than ever. The struggle between the two lines inside the Party profoundly demonstrates that safeguarding the character of the Party is a matter of great importance. It is intimately connected with the destiny of the Party and the state, and with the question of whether the revolution will win victory or go down to defeat. To continually build our Party, making use of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, to expose and frustrate the plots of the revisionists to pervert the character of the Party — this will provide the guarantee that our Party will always retain its proletarian character”*.

Some of the issues of this two-line struggle that developed in the bosom of the Communist Party of China and in the Chinese society were: the handling of the two-line struggle itself; the deficient handling of the two types of contradictions — between us and the enemy, and in the bosom of the people — that left room for the revisionists; absence of a new and firm impulse for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution after the attempted coup of Lin Biao, the “right deviationist winds” and the disturbances sowed by Deng Xiaoping in 1975 and 1976 during the funerals of Chu En-lai, etc. The revisionist line had great space to develop.

The two-line struggle had important advances, but cunning revisionists like Deng Xiaoping and its clique found the auspicious moment to overtake the contradictions in the bosom of the people and to overtake the power through a fascist coup, exposing issues not solved by the revolution. One of the main issues is the insufficient application of the proletarian military line regarding the ‘sea of armed masses’, which should have been expressed through the transmission of greater competence to the people’s militias, like more control over the PLA, thus it became relatively easy to be usurped because of its centralization. Chairman Gonzalo, understanding this question and contributing to the proletarian military line — meaning to the people’s war — brought up the need of the concentric construction of the three

instruments of the revolution and the need of integrating the people's militia into the revolutionary army in order to be guard against the capitalist restoration, aiming at the "sea of armed masses".

How it was defined by Chairman Gonzalo, fundamental in Maoism is the power, that means *"the power for the proletariat, the Power for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the power based on an armed force led by the Communist Party. More explicitly: 1) The power under leadership of the proletariat in the democratic revolution; 2) the power for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist and cultural revolutions; 3) the power based on an armed force led by the Communist Party, a power conquered and defended by People's War"* and the core of people's war is the New Power. Therefore, being Marxists-Leninists-Maoist, fighting to develop people's war, we must apply the advances reached in the construction of the New Power during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which have the system of "three in one combination" as a substantial element. In Nepal this was not applied, but instead representatives of bureaucratic bourgeois and landlord parties were incorporated in what they called "New Power", what became a house of cards. It is an issue to study and debate to deepen our understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism. This is a question to which all the parties and organizations must pay attention, whatever their level of development is. Given that what is fundamental in Maoism is the construction of the New Power, be it in an current form or in perspective, it is also fundamental for our understanding of the construction of the three instruments of the revolution and allows us to better understand the necessity of the concentric construction and how to handle it.

This way, taking the experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we can understand the necessity of developing people's war until communism. Chairman Gonzalo teaches us: *"Without a People's Army the people will have nothing, says Chairman Mao, at the same time that they teaches us the need of the absolute lead of the Party over the army and establishes their great principle: The Party leads the guns and we will never allow the opposite. Aside of completely establishing the principles and norms of the construction of an army of the new type, the Chairman himself called to prevent the use of the army for the capitalist restoration usurping the direction through a counter-revolutionary coup, and by developing Lenin's thesis on the people's militia they drove the general armament of the people further than anyone before him, opening the path and showing the way towards the 'armed sea of masses' that would lead us towards the definitive emancipation of the people and the proletariat"*. The way in which

Chairman Mao instructed comrade Chiang Ching, is how we must understand the communist's role: develop the guerrilla war – specifically, the people's war – if the revisionists usurp the power.

As long as there are classes, there will be class struggle, because that is how the law of contradiction specifies in the class society; the highest way of solving the contradictions in the class society is the war and, because of that, until the whole mankind enters to communism there will always be the need of the people's war. Studying the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we understand more deeply the omnipotence of the revolutionary war, meaning the people's war, Maoism and how to apply it. All of these are lessons of the class struggle in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The zigzags that the Party faced in its inner struggle in that period also confirm the correctness and validity of the thesis that revisionism is the main danger.

Yes, on one hand, the two-line struggle reached higher levels of sharpening and antagonism that finally led to the destruction of the Party and its transformation into a fascist Party, distinct from and opposite to the proletariat, on the other hand it would have been impossible to reach the heights that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution reached without the sharp two-line struggle displayed by Chairman Mao and the Left inside the Party. The role of the Communist Party of China and of Chairman Mao in the leadership of this earth shaking second revolution cannot be vanished, without also vanishing the elevation of Mao Zedong Thought to a new, third and higher stage of Marxism, Maoism.

Continuers of the revolution

Another question to which Chairman Mao gave great importance was the preparation of the continuers of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Considered as a strategic task by the Party, its main revolutionary cadres dedicated huge efforts to it. About this Chairman Mao said: *“In the final analysis, the question of training successors for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat is one of whether or not there will be people who can carry on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary cause started by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, whether or not the leadership of our Party and state will remain in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries, whether or not our descendants will continue to march along the correct road laid down by Marxism-Leninism, or, in other words, whether or not we can successfully prevent the emergence of Khrushchov's revisionism in China. In short, it is an extremely important question, a matter of life and*

death for our Party and our country. It is a question of fundamental importance to the proletarian revolutionary cause for a hundred, a thousand, nay ten thousand years”.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution today

The meaning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution lies not only in recognizing it as the struggle against the capitalist restoration in the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism and bringing up the issue of the ideological transformation, of changing the soul of the people. It is not enough, and not because it is incorrect, but because we must develop the understanding of Maoism in relation to the question of the two-line struggle, and this means recognizing Chairman Mao's line on the universal validity of the people's war, developed by Chairman Gonzalo through the thesis of 'people's war until communism' and, in consequence, understand the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution from the Maoist line and not from the conciliatory positions.

In 1963 the Great Polemic erupts. In the course of this struggle the Letter of 25 Points and the Nine Comments were published, which exposed with sharpness the nature of the contemporary revisionism, the sinister role played by Nikita Khrushchov in the capitalist restoration in the USSR in 1956 and their betrayal to the ICM. Some ignored what was done by the CPC and by Chairman Mao, ignored at the same time the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, its advances, and especially, the development of Marxism into a new, third and higher stage.

Defending the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is assuming Maoism as the new, third and higher stage of Marxism, in the two-line struggle in the bosom of the ICM, as class struggle in the ideological and political fields, and to constitute or reconstitute, corresponding to the situation, militarized Communist Parties to unleash peoples' wars all over the world and impose Maoism as command and guide of the proletarian world revolution, giving an impulse to the new great wave of the proletarian world revolution.

Long live the 50th anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Sweep away revisionism and all opportunism!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism!

Communist Party of Brazil (Red Faction)

Communist Party of Ecuador – Red Sun

Popular Movement of Peru (Reorganization Committee)

Red Faction of the Communist Party of Chile

Revolutionary Front of the People of Bolivia MLM

Maoist Organization for the Reconstitution of the Communist Party of Colombia

Committee Red Flag – FRG

Other signing parties and organizations:

Committees for the Founding of the (Maoist) Communist Party, Austria

Current of the People Red Sun – Mexico