

CHAIRMAN MAO ON CONTINUING THE REVOLUTION UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

Using Marxist-Leninist Law of the Unity of Opposites to Examine Socialist Society

Marxist philosophy holds that the law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. This law operates universally, whether in the natural world, in human society, or in man's thinking. Between the opposites in a contradiction there is at once unity and struggle, and it is this that impels things to move and change. Contradictions exist everywhere, but they differ in accordance with the different nature of different things. In any given phenomenon or thing, the unity of opposites is conditional, temporary and transitory, and hence relative, whereas the struggle of opposites is absolute.

"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" (February 27, 1957)

The law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the fundamental law of nature and of society and therefore also the fundamental law of thought. It stands opposed to the metaphysical world outlook. It represents a great revolution in the history of human knowledge.

"On Contradiction" (August 1937)

In each thing there is contradiction between its new and its old aspects, and this gives rise to a series of struggles with many twists and turns. As a result of these struggles, the new aspect changes from being minor to being major and rises to predominance, while the old aspect changes from being major

to being minor and gradually dies out. And the moment the new aspect gains dominance over the old, the old thing changes qualitatively into a new thing.

Ibid.

Changes in society are due chiefly to the development of the internal contradictions in society, that is, the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, the contradiction between classes and the contradiction between the old and the new; it is the development of these contradictions that pushes society forward and gives the impetus for the supersession of the old society by the new.

Ibid.

Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end.

Ibid.

As already mentioned, so long as classes exist, contradictions between correct and incorrect ideas in the Communist Party are reflections within the Party of class contradictions. At first, with regard to certain issues, such contradictions may not manifest them-

selves as antagonistic. But with the development of the class struggle, they may grow and become antagonistic.

Ibid.

The task of Communists is to expose the fallacies of the reactionaries and metaphysicians, to propagate the dialectics inherent in things, and so accelerate the transformation of things and achieve the goal of revolution.

Ibid.

Classes, Class Contradictions and Class Struggle Exist in Socialist Society

Never forget class struggle.

Quoted in "Along the Socialist or the Capitalist Road?" by the editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi*, August 15, 1967

After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly. If we do not now raise and understand the problem in this way, we shall commit the gravest mistakes.

"Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China" (March 5, 1949)

After the country-wide victory of the Chinese revolution and the solution of the land problem, two basic contradictions will still exist in China. The first is internal, that is, the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The second is external, that is, the contradiction between China and the imperialist countries.

Ibid.

In China, although in the main socialist transformation has been completed with respect to the system of ownership, and although the large-scale and turbulent class

The period of transition is full of contradiction and struggle. Our present revolutionary struggle is even more profound than the armed revolutionary struggles of the past. It is a revolution that will for ever bury the capitalist system and all other systems of exploitation.

Quoted in "Struggle Between the Two Roads in China's Countryside" by the editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao*, November 23, 1967

struggles of the masses characteristic of the previous revolutionary periods have in the main come to an end, there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled.

"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" (February 27, 1957)

Class contradiction, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road exist throughout the transitional period. We shall go astray if we forget this fundamental theory and practice of our Party over the last dozen years or so.

Quoted in "Forward Along the High Road of Mao Tsetung Thought," *Hongqi* editorial, No. 13, 1966

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them cor-

rectly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line.

Quoted in "A Theoretical Weapon for Making Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—In Commemoration of the 10th Anniversary of the Publication of Chairman Mao's *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*," *Hongqi* editorial, No. 10, 1967

Class Struggle Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Is, in Essence, Still the Question of Political Power

The aim of every revolutionary struggle in the world is the seizure and consolidation of political power. Similarly, the sole aim of counter-revolution in desperately struggling against the revolutionary forces is the preservation of its political power.

Quoted in *Renmin Ribao*, January 22, 1967

"Don't you want to abolish state power?" Yes, we do, but not right now; we cannot do it yet. Why? Because imperialism still exists, because domestic reaction still exists, because classes still exist in our country. Our present task is to strengthen the people's state apparatus — mainly the people's army, the people's police and the people's courts — in order to consolidate national defence and protect the people's interests.

"On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" (June 30, 1949)

After the country-wide victory of the Chinese revolution and the solution of the land problem, two basic contradictions will still exist in China. The first is internal, that is, the contradiction between the working class

and the bourgeoisie. The second is external, that is, the contradiction between China and the imperialist countries. Consequently, after the victory of the people's democratic revolution, the state power of the people's republic under the leadership of the working class must not be weakened but must be strengthened.

"Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China" (March 5, 1949)

Revolutionary dictatorship and counter-revolutionary dictatorship are by nature opposites, but the former was learned from the latter. Such learning is very important. If the revolutionary people do not master this method of ruling over the counter-revolutionary classes, they will not be able to maintain their state power, domestic and foreign reaction will overthrow that power and restore its own rule over China, and disaster will befall the revolutionary people.

"On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" (June 30, 1949)

According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state

power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army.

"Problems of War and Strategy" (November 6, 1938)

In the historical period of socialism it is necessary to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry the socialist revolution through to the end. Only thus is it possible to prevent the restoration of capitalism, carry forward socialist construction and prepare the conditions for the transition to communism.

Quoted in "On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World," *Renmin Ribao*, July 14, 1964

In the era in which classes and class struggle still exist both at home and abroad, the working class and the masses who have seized state power must suppress all counter-revolutionary classes, groups or individuals resisting the revolution, stop their activities aiming at a come-back and prohibit all coun-

ter-revolutionaries from exploiting freedom of speech for counter-revolutionary purposes.

Editor's note to the "Second Instalment of the Material on the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique," *Renmin Ribao*, May 24, 1955

Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchov, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter.

Quoted in the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, *Renmin Ribao*, May 17, 1967

The Main Target of the Revolution Under the Dictatorship Of the Proletariat Is the Handful of Party Persons in Power Taking the Capitalist Road

Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution and it is likewise a question of the first importance for the great cultural revolution.

Quoted in "A Great Strategic Measure," *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* editorial, June 1, 1967

The fundamental contradiction to be solved by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the contradiction between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the two roads, the socialist and the capitalist. The main target of the present

movement is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road.

Quoted in Comrade Lin Piao's speech at the Peking rally to receive revolutionary teachers and students from all parts of China, *Renmin Ribao*, September 16, 1966

Guard against revisionism, and especially its emergence in the Central Committee of our Party.

Quoted in "Grasp the Principal Contradiction, Hold to the General Orientation of Struggle — Study the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party" by *Hongqi* Commentator, No. 7, 1967

They [successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat] must especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchov and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level.

Quoted in "On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World," *Renmin Ribao*, July 14, 1964

Hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called academic authorities who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is at the same time neces-

sary to criticize and repudiate those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and all spheres of culture, and to clear them out or transfer some of them to other positions. Above all, we must not entrust these people with the work of leading the cultural revolution. In fact many of them have done and are still doing such work, and this is extremely dangerous.

Quoted in the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

Proletarian revolutionaries, unite and seize power from the handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road!

Quoted in "Be Models in Forming the Revolutionary Great Alliance," *Renmin Ribao* editorial, August 17, 1967

The Most Important Thing in Continuing the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Is to Unfold The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

"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 problem 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." Now we have found this form—it is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Quoted in Comrade Lin Piao's "Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China" (April 1969)

Without broad democracy for the people, it is impossible for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be consolidated or for political power to be stable. Without democracy, without arousing the masses and without supervision by the masses, it is impossible to exercise effective dictatorship over the reactionaries and bad elements or to remould them effectively; they will continue to make trouble and may stage a come-back. We must be

vigilant on this question, and I hope comrades will give it serious thought.

Quoted in "An Epoch-Making Document" by the editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao*, May 17, 1968

Marxism consists of thousands of truths, but they all boil down to the one sentence, "It is right to rebel." For thousands of years, it had been said that it was right to oppress, it was right to exploit, and it was wrong to rebel. This old verdict was only reversed with the appearance of Marxism. This is a great contribution. It was through struggle that the proletariat learned this truth, and Marx drew the conclusion. And from this truth there follows resistance, struggle, the fight for socialism.

"Speech at the Rally Celebrating Stalin's 60th Birthday Held by All Circles in Yen'an" (December 21, 1939)

The big-character poster is a very useful new weapon, which can be used in the cities and the rural areas, in factories, co-operatives, shops, government institutions, schools, army units and streets—in short, wherever the masses are to be found. It has already been widely used and should always be used.

“Introducing a Co-operative” (April 15, 1958)

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is in essence a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; it is a continuation of the prolonged struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party and the masses of revolutionary people under its leadership against the Kuomintang reactionaries, a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Quoted in “Of the Land of Hibiscus Glowing in the Morning Sun — Hail the Establishment of the Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Committee,” *Renmin Ribao* and *Jiefangjun Bao* editorial, April 10, 1968

The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.

Quoted in the “Communique of the Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China,” adopted on October 31, 1968, *Renmin Ribao*, November 2, 1968

The present great cultural revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future. The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time. Let no one in the Party or among the people in our country think that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or three or four. We must be very much on the alert and never lose vigilance.

Quoted in “Guiding Light for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution — In Commemoration of the 25th Anniversary of the Publication of *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*,” *Renmin Ribao* editorial, May 23, 1967

We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance. According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated. Therefore, it is wrong to speak lightly of the final victory of the revolution in our country; it runs counter to Leninism and does not conform to facts.

Quoted in Comrade Lin Biao’s “Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China” (April 1969)

Carrying the Socialist Revolution in the Realm of the Superstructure Through to the End

True, the productive forces, practice and the economic base generally play the principal and decisive role; whoever denies this is not a materialist. But it must also be admitted that in certain conditions, such aspects as the

relations of production, theory and the superstructure in turn manifest themselves in the principal and decisive role. . . . When the superstructure (politics, culture, etc.) obstructs the development of the economic base, political

and cultural changes become principal and decisive.

"On Contradiction" (August 1937)

We recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental and social being determines social consciousness, we also — and indeed must — recognize the reaction of mental on material things, of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base.

Ibid.

To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class.

Quoted in the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (adopted on August 8, 1966), *Renmin Ribao*, August 9, 1966

Reactionary culture serves the imperialists and the feudal class and must be swept away. Unless it is swept away, no new culture of any kind can be built up. There is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no motion without rest; the two are locked in a life-and-death struggle.

"On New Democracy" (January 1940)

The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the realm of the superstructure, including the various spheres of culture.

Quoted in "Advance Along the Road Opened Up by the October Socialist Revolution — In Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution" by the editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao*, November 6, 1967

In every place or unit where power must be seized, it is necessary to carry out the policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination in establishing a provisional organ of power which is revolutionary and representative and enjoys proletarian authority. This

organ of power should preferably be called the Revolutionary Committee.

Quoted in "On the Revolutionary 'Three-in-One' Combination," *Hongqi* editorial, No. 5, 1967

Struggle-criticism-transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following stages: establishing a three-in-one revolutionary committee; carrying out mass criticism and repudiation; purifying the class ranks; consolidating the Party organization; and simplifying the administrative structure, changing irrational rules and regulations and sending office workers to the workshops.

Quoted in "The Working Class Must Exercise Leadership in Everything" by Comrade Yao Wen-yuan, *Renmin Ribao*, August 26, 1968

The length of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools and colleges by bourgeois intellectuals should not be tolerated any longer.

Quoted in "The Whole Country Should Become a Great School of Mao Tsetung Thought," *Renmin Ribao* editorial, August 1, 1966

To accomplish the proletarian revolution in education, it is essential to have working class leadership; the masses of workers must take part in this revolution and, in co-operation with Liberation Army fighters, form a revolutionary three-in-one combination with the activists among the students, teachers and workers in schools and colleges, who are determined to carry the proletarian revolution in education through to the end. The workers' propaganda teams should stay permanently in the schools and colleges, take part in all the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation there and will always lead these institutions. In the countryside, schools and colleges should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants — the most reliable ally of the working class.

Quoted in "The Working Class Must Exercise Leadership in Everything" by Comrade Yao Wen-yuan, *Renmin Ribao*, August 26, 1968

“Fight Self, Criticize Revisionism” Is the Basic Programme For the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the Ideological Sphere

Before a brand-new social system can be built on the site of the old, the site must be swept clean. Invariably, remnants of old ideas reflecting the old system remain in people's minds for a long time, and they do not easily give way.

Introductory note to “A Serious Lesson,”
*The Socialist Upsurge in China's
Countryside* (1955)

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great revolution that touches people to their innermost being and aims at solving the problem of their world outlook.

Quoted in “Advance Along the Road
Opened Up by the October Socialist
Revolution — In Commemoration of the
50th Anniversary of the Great October
Socialist Revolution” by the editorial
departments of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi*
and *Jiefangjun Bao*, November 6, 1967

We must be good at guiding those people in our ranks with petty-bourgeois ideas on to the path of the proletarian revolution. This is crucial to the success of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Quoted in “Use Mao Tsetung Thought
to Remould Our World Outlook,” *Ren-
min Ribao* editorial, June 30, 1967

Fight self, criticize revisionism.

Quoted in Comrade Lin Piao's speech at
the rally celebrating the 18th anniversary
of the founding of the People's Rep-
ublic of China (October 1, 1967), *Ren-
min Ribao*, October 2, 1967

There is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation, it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruc-

tion first, and in the process you have construction.

Quoted in the May 16, 1966 Circular of
the Central Committee of the Chinese
Communist Party

Revisionism is one form of bourgeois ideology. The revisionists deny the differences between socialism and capitalism, between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. What they advocate is in fact not the socialist line but the capitalist line. In present circumstances, revisionism is more pernicious than dogmatism. One of our current important tasks on the ideological front is to unfold criticism of revisionism.

“Speech at the Chinese Communist
Party's National Conference on Prop-
aganda Work” (March 12, 1957)

In our country bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, anti-Marxist ideology, will continue to exist for a long time. Basically, the socialist system has been established in our country. We have won the basic victory in transforming the ownership of the means of production, but we have not yet won complete victory on the political and ideological fronts. In the ideological field, the question of who will win in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has not been really settled yet. We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. It is wrong not to understand this and to give up ideological struggle. All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked. However, the criticism should be fully reasoned, analytical and convincing, and not rough, bureaucratic, metaphysical or dogmatic.

Ibid.

Peking Review, No. 39