Excerpts on China

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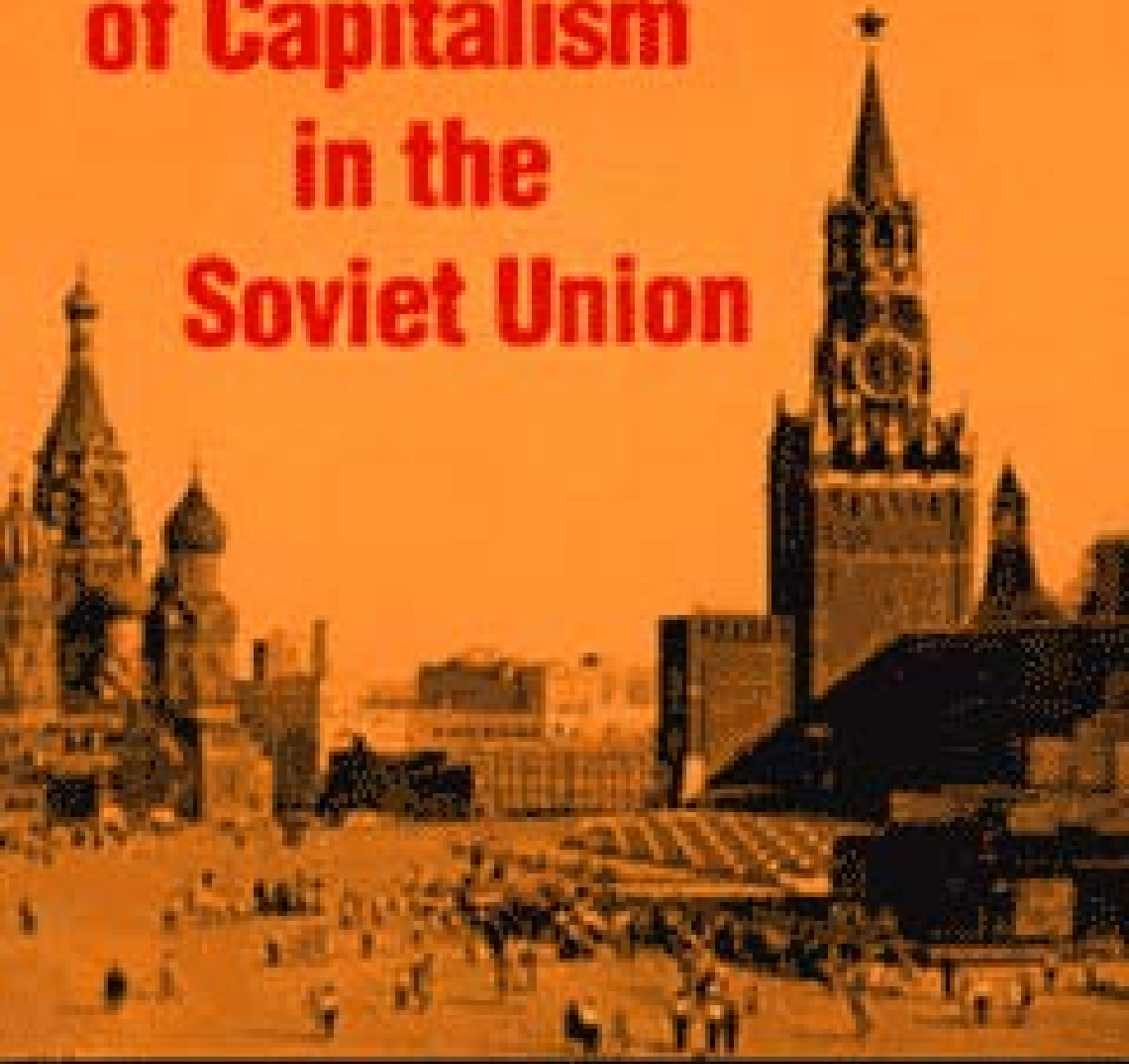
Willi Dickhut

The Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union



New Road Edition

The Struggle of the Social-Imperialists against Socialist China

The People's Republic of China is today the most dependable mainstay of the worldwide struggle against imperialism. The great successes of the Chinese people in socialist construction, in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and in preventing the restoration of capitalism arouse the enthusiasm of the revolutionary masses in all parts of the world and evidence the superiority of socialist society. The Chinese people make great sacrifices to support the struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples with all the economic and political means available to them.

China's growing importance in the communist world movement and its increasing influence on the national liberation struggles worry and frighten all imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries. The imperialists launch hate and smear campaigns to isolate China, and threaten it with war. At first it was mainly U.S. imperialism which threatened China, from the island of Taiwan and in the Korean War. Then the social-imperialists joined the front against China. They have formed a counterrevolutionary, anti-Chinese and anticommunist Holy Alliance against China together with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionaries like the Indian government.

The Chinese communists and their chairman, Mao Tsetung, quickly saw through the anti-Leninist theses of the XXth Congress of the C.P.S.U. and opposed them right from the outset. Proceeding from a desire for unity they long refrained from criticizing Khrushchev's revisionism publicly. But in numerous discussions with the Soviet leaders they made clear that they did not agree with the condemnation of Stalin, the thesis of "peaceful transition" and other theses of Khrushchev. Finally, in numerous articles they publicly defended the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

This principled attitude of the Chinese communists enraged Khrushchev and consorts. At the end of the fifties they began publicly maligning the policies of China. As early as 1958, for example, Khrushchev and other revisionists openly attacked

Chinese agricultural policy. In 1960, the Soviet revisionists unilaterally voided the Sino-Soviet economic agreements and unexpectedly withdrew all Soviet technicians and advisors from China. This was an attempt to sabotage the Chinese economy. In that same year they staged the first provocations along the Sino-Soviet border. At the beginning of the sixties, the Soviet leaders openly supported the expansionist policies of India towards China when the reactionary government of India sparked a war.

The public polemics which the Chinese communists conducted against the Soviet revisionists since mid-1963 were an absolutely necessary and extraordinarily important support to the Marxist-Leninists in all countries. The programmatic articles of the Communist Party of China proved that the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism are not by any means outdated, that communism is alive and advancing in spite of the treachery of Khrushchev, Brezhnev & Company. This polemic led to a new upsurge of the international communist movement, which had been severely damaged by the discord sown by Khrushchev.

By contrast, the lies with which the Soviet leaders crusade against China are a declaration of bankruptcy by revisionism. The same revisionist hacks who never tire of expounding on the "realistic" and "sensible" circles in the imperialist countries lose their countenance when China is the subject. No trick is beneath them. They claim , for example: China is against peaceful coexistence; China wants to foment a war against the capitalist countries and export revolution; China is working for world war; China raises territorial claims against the Soviet Union, and so on.

We will not concern ourselves with the horror stories about life in China which the Soviet press repeats after the information ministry of the Chiang Kai-shek clique or picks from the columns of Hongkong's yellow press: countless famines, rebellions, public executions, burning of books, mass relocation of national minorities, suicide waves among intellectuals, personal intrigues of Party leaders, and so on. (These are all examples of reports which have actually been published in recent years in the Soviet press.)

But the social-imperialists do not limit themselves to anticommunist press campaigns. Just like the U.S. imperialists, they fan hysteria to prepare war against China.

It is a fact that the social-imperialists are amassing troops and concentrating missile launch sites along the Soviet-Chinese frontier and the frontier between China and the Mongolian People's Republic. Western intelligence services, able to observe precisely Soviet troop movements with their spy satellites, have announced that the social-imperialists already have more troops stationed in Asia than in Europe. This is, of course, a fruit of

the "peace policy" of the social-imperialists in Europe. They want to cover their backs in Europe with a "collective security system" to have their hands free for a war against China, exactly in the way the U.S. imperialists speak out in favor of "detente" in Europe in order to disengage military forces there and use them for their wars in Asia.

These facts clearly show that the social-imperialists do not direct their military might chiefly at U.S. imperialism, West German revanchism and the aggressive NATO alliance, as they always claim, but primarily at socialist China. The Soviet military bases in the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic, together with the U.S. bases in South Korea, Japan, the Chinese province Taiwan and the Philippines, plus the U.S. armies of aggression in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Thailand, and the troops of the Indian expansionists, form a hostile ring around China and the other socialist countries of Asia.

The social-imperialists try to cut off China from the outside world by every means. If other countries have no economic or political contacts to China, they will sooner be willing to take part in military action against China, or to tolerate such action. In connection with the issue of the Soviet-Japanese boundary, *Japan Times*, a newspaper close to the Japanese government, wrote on May 19, 1972:

> The Soviet Union conducts a diplomacy of smiles towards Japan to prevent rapprochement between Japan and China.... The U.S.S.R. has proposed that Japan and the Soviet Union begin negotiations on a peace treaty in the course of the year. Of course, the differences on territorial issues must be settled before a peace treaty can be concluded between the two countries. The Soviet Union now says: "Our attitude towards the territorial questions depends on Japan's attitude towards China." At the same time they intimate that it would be better for Japan to wait five more years before resuming diplomatic relations with China since internal changes would take place in that country. (Our translation from the German - The Editors)

The last sentence can only be understoood to mean that the social-imperialists hope to be able to bring a revisionist clique to power in China through armed intervention or through the intrigues of their agents inside China. But the Japanese imperialists did not bank upon the wishful thinking of the social-imperialists and, instead, took up diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China without hesitation.

It is similar with the U.S.A. Just a few years ago the social-imperialists demagogically demanded that the U.S.A. withdraw its troops from Taiwan and recognize China. However, now that the

international and internal situation, which is extremely difficult for the U.S. imperialists, has forced them to make at least a semblance of some concessions to China, to at all acknowledge the existence of People's China officially, the revisionists suddenly are no longer in favor of these demands. The malicious gossip of the social-imperialists and their parrots, especially the DKP, on occasion of Nixon's visit to China are still in fresh remembrance. All this hatemongering proves that the social-imperialists have no interest in a reduction of tensions in Asia, but, on the contrary, want to stir up tensions to threaten China even more and be able to intensify their anti-Chinese collaboration with U.S. imperialism.

We already spoke about the military collaboration between the Soviet Union and India, an expression of which is the mutual assistance pact mentioned. This pact was signed shortly before the Indian attack on Pakistan in 1971. It is based, on the one hand, on economic interests of social-imperialism, but at the same time it is apparently also a military alliance against China. As is well known, the Indian reactionaries make completely unjustified territorial claims on China. They attacked China in 1959 and 1962, but badly burned their fingers. Since then, India has stood by its hostile attitude and frustrated all efforts by the Chinese government to solve the boundary question peacefully. Prior to their first foray into China, the Indian government had incited a handful of reactionary lamas in Tibet to prevent abolishment of the feudal system in Tibet by staging a rebellion.

The events on the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent are a good example of how the imperialists' preparations for war against the socialist countries are inseparably connected with their struggle to redivide the world.

On the pretense of establishing a "collective security system" in Asia, Brezhnev is trying to unite all anti-Chinese and anticommunist forces of Asia in an alliance hostile to China. But he is having little success. He does not even shrink from contacts with probably the worst enemy of the Chinese people, the Chiang Kai-shek clique. As reported by *Far Eastern Economic Review* no. 12, 1971, the Soviet agent and journalist Victor Louis came to Taiwan in 1968 for secret talks with the son and designated successor of Chiang Kai-shek, Chiang Ching-kuo, and other leaders of the Chiang gang. Since then there have been several exploratory talks between representatives of social-imperialism and the Chiang clique.

But the social-imperialists do not restrict themselves to making war preparations and cobbling together war alliances. They have long since gone over to open military provocation. The most serious armed clashes thus far took place in 1969 on the northeastern frontier of China. On March 2, 1969, Soviet troops encroached on the Chinese island of Chenpao in the Ussuri river

and murdered many Chinese border guards. In the following weeks and months they stepped up their provocations.

The social-imperialist aggressors resorted to all kinds of slanders to cover up the fact that they were the attackers and to lay the blame on China.

Of course, the whole world knows that the People's Republic of China has never invaded a single foreign country since it was founded and has never taken an inch of foreign soil. Chinese troops are stationed in no country of the world except China itself. China has settled boundary issues by peaceable means with all its neighbors except the Soviet Union and India. China aspires to a policy of peaceful coexistence with all countries of the world and takes greatest pains to respect the sovereignty of all countries. All the revisionist screeching about the "bellicose" and "chauvinistic" policies of China cannot alter these indisputable facts.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, has been occupying a whole number of countries for years and has established base after base in all parts of the world. Just a few months before the beginning of the fighting on the Ussuri and Heilung rivers, Soviet occupation forces marched into Czechoslovakia before the eyes of the world. There is hardly a country on which the social-imperialists have not brought pressure to bear, and in whose internal affairs they have not interfered.

We cannot go into detail here on the history of the Sino-Soviet boundary question. The gist of the matter is that, although the present Sino-Soviet border is the product of czarist aggression and is based on unequal treaties forced on semicolonial China by czarism, the Chinese government is prepared to accept these treaties as the basis for drawing the final boundary, and does not demand the return of the territories robbed by czarism. The Soviet government, however, endeavors to take even more of China than the czars. They treacherously seek to question China's boundaries and thus create for themselves a historic "justification" for future aggression against China.

The socialist countries are not dependent on war. China threatens no one and will never attack any country first. China needs peace to further its socialist construction, for that is the most valuable contribution the Chinese people can make to world revolution at the present.

The imperialists, on the other hand, need war. This is a law of imperialism. They must constantly expand their economic and political spheres of influence to obtain maximum profits. They need militarism and chauvinism to keep down the working class in their own countries. And, in the long-term, the imperialist wolves are preparing for the destruction of socialism.

The principal contradiction in the world today is that between social-imperialism and socialist China. The social-imperialists'

preparations for war along China's borders are increasingly gaining in intensity and scope. But that does not mean that the contradictions to other imperialist countries in Europe and the U.S.A. are not also intensifying. It holds for the social-imperialist Soviet Union of today what Mao Tsetung said in 1946, in his "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong," about U.S. imperialism's politics of aggression towards the then still socialist Soviet Union:

> There are two aspects to the propaganda about an anti-Soviet war. On the one hand, U.S. imperialism is indeed preparing a war against the Soviet Union; the current propaganda about an anti-Soviet war, as well as other anti-Soviet propaganda, is political preparation for such a war. On the other hand, this propaganda is a smoke screen put up by the U.S. reactionaries to cover many actual contradictions immediately confronting U.S. imperialism. These are the contradictions between the U.S. reactionaries and the American people and the contradictions of U.S. imperialism with other capitalist countries and with the colonial and semicolonial countries. At present, the actual significance of the U.S. slogan of waging an anti-Soviet war is the oppression of the American people and the expansion of the U.S. forces of aggression in the rest of the capitalist world. (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. IV, pp. 97 and 98)

These words also appropriately describe the present world situation and clearly bring out the dual character of the anti-Chinese policies of U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism. On the one hand, they actual prepare for war against China. On the other hand, they use their anticommunist activities to oppress their own people and the peoples of the world.

The struggle against the anti-Chinese intrigues of the superpowers is therefore inseparably interlinked with the struggle of the American people, the Soviet people, and the peoples of the entire world against the reign of imperialism. The revolutionary masses of the Soviet Union, who uphold the memory of Lenin and Stalin, will surely not look on idly while Brezhnev & Company set about to launch war against China. The plans of the imperialists will be defeated not only by the resistance of the Chinese people, but by the struggle of all peoples.

Willi Dickhut

State-Monopoly Capitalism in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) II

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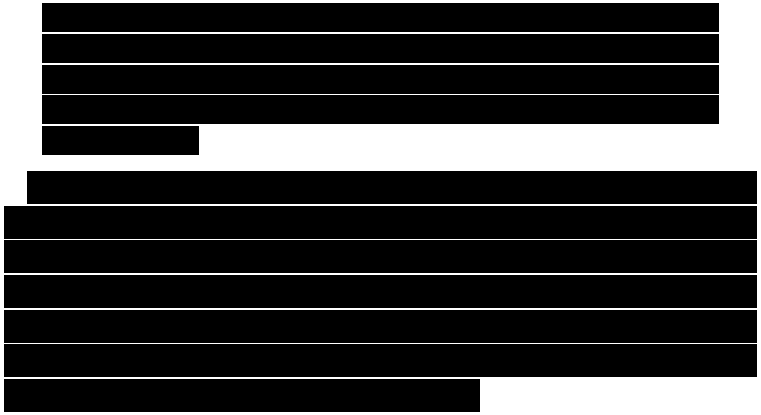


Class Struggle in Socialist Society and the Tradition of Bourgeois Ideology

The Development of Class Struggle in China prior to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

The revolution in China took a different course than the October Revolution in Russia. It was one of differing character, with one revolution passing over into another. When Mao Zedong proclaimed the People's Republic of China in October, 1949, it marked a decisive turning point in a long-lasting struggle. In the *national revolutionary war* the Chinese people expelled the Japanese invaders. In the *people's democratic revolution,* carried out on the basis of the alliance of workers and peasants, petty bourgeoisie and sections of the national bourgeoisie, the Chinese people defeated the Kuomintang reactionaries and the big bourgeoisie, along with their accomplices, the U.S. imperialists.

Afterwards the emphasis of the struggle shifted from the battlefield to the villages and factories, from the military to the political and ideological plane. Mao Zedong described this

turning point on the eve of the triumph of the people's democratic revolution, at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on March 5, 1949:

> After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us; we must never regard these enemies lightly. If we do not now raise and understand the problem in this way, we shall commit very grave mistakes. (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. IV, p. 364)

Once the proletariat, together with its allies, had seized political power in the entire country, the young state began to reorganize the economy. By 1956, the socialist transformation of agriculture, the crafts, capitalist industry and capitalist commerce in respect to ownership of the means of production was completed in the main. All land was divided up among the poor and middle peasants, who then united in cooperatives, and later people's communes, under the guidance of the Communist Party.

In the cities the capital belonging to the big bourgeoisie was socialized. Only that section of the national bourgeoisie which had supported the people's democratic revolution was able to retain ownership of a part of the production facilities, but was subject to state supervision in respect to sales, working conditions and raw materials. There was both state ownership and the mixed government-private form of ownership in industry in 1956. This was a situation peculiar to China, the result of the support of the people's democratic revolution by a part of the national bourgeoisie.

China had thus reached the crossroads to the *socialist revolution* in 1956. However, the socialist transformation of agriculture and industry did not yet eliminate classes and class contradictions in China. In his work *On the Correct Handling*

of Contradictions among the People Mao Zedong analyzed the contradictions in socialist society in 1957. He found that the two main classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, still continue to exist and that the proletariat must carry the revolution forward. He divided the contradictions occurring in socialism into contradictions with different characters: "contradictions between ourselves and the enemy" and "contradictions among the people":

> The contradictions between ourselves and the enemy are antagonistic contradictions. Within the ranks of the people, the contradictions among the working people are non-antagonistic, while those between the exploited and the exploiting classes have a non-antagonistic as well as an antagonistic aspect.... In the conditions prevailing in China today, the contradictions among the people comprise the contradictions within the working class, the contradictions within the peasantry, the contradictions within the intelligentsia, the contradictions between the working class and the peasantry, the contradictions between the workers and peasants on the one hand and the intellectuals on the other, the contradictions between the working class and other sections of the working people on the one hand and the national bourgeoisie on the other, the contradictions within the national bourgeoisie, and so on. (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. V, p. 385)

Of crucial importance is the correct handling of contradictions. If properly handled, antagonistic contradictions can be transformed into non-antagonistic; conversely, handled wrongly, non-antagonistic contradictions can turn into antagonistic contradictions. It is important that the proletariat led by the Communist Party takes advantage of the contradictions to advance the socialist revolution. The still existing remnants of capitalism must be cut back and ultimately eradicated.

The proletariat must establish itself as the ruling class on all levels, in the economy just as much as in the state, the education system and culture, and must exercise control over all areas of society. Wherever the proletariat is unable to prevail, bourgeois and feudal forces will attempt to stop the socialist revolution and transform it into its opposite, into a new form of exploitation and oppression. The contradiction to the national bourgeoisie must be viewed under such conditions:

> The contradiction between the national bourgeoisie and the working class is one between exploiter and exploited, and is by nature antagonistic. But in the concrete conditions of China, this antagonistic contradiction between the two classes, if properly handled, can be transformed into a non-antagonistic one and be resolved by peaceful methods. However, the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie will change into a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy if we do not handle it properly and do not follow the *policy of uniting with, criticizing and educating* the national bourgeoisie, or if the national bourgeoisie does not accept this policy of ours. (*Ibid.*, p. 386; emphasis by the author)

Mao Zedong pointed out the further course of the socialist revolution in his work and stated the appropriate methods to use: the reactionary classes, the reactionaries and the exploiters who oppose socialist revolution, must be kept down; the state must be protected from the subversion and possible aggression of external enemies; The contradictions among the people, ideological issues, should be settled democratically by the method of discussion, criticism, reasoning and education.

Owing to the correct handling of the various contradictions, socialist construction progressed. But not all parts of the national bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, and the rich and middle peasants in the country supported the progress of socialist transformation. A part of them saw their future as exploiter and landlord threatened and resisted socialist construction.

In the country, socialist transformation was gotten round by enlarging the private plots. The income of the various co-operatives and the individual families grew at different rates, and the differences became greater. Production norms were not set at the collective level, but at the level of the individual family. This policy accorded with the interests of the middle peasants, a petty-bourgeois stratum.

In industry, the mixed state-private sector was not restricted but extended. Enterprises were run by experts who had no connections to socialist production. The workers in turn were excluded from administration. Many enterprises had single directors. Management became increasingly removed from the consciousness of the immediate producers.

Bureaucratic tendencies emerged. Attention centered on production and technique and not on the political and ideological struggle for socialist transformation. Production was increasingly geared to the law of profit instead of to consumer interests. Technique was rated higher and higher in production, and a bonus system was introduced to push the workers to higher performance.

The Swedish journalist Jan Myrdal reports in his book on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (Jan Myrdal, *China: The Revolution Continued*. New York, 1970) about the conditions in rural areas prior to the Cultural Revolution:

> Things had been going much the same way all over China. The cadres had begun to turn into bureaucrats. They were telling themselves the people didn't understand much. The newly-overthrown landowner class had begun to make connections, to marry into the cadres, smile pleasantly, and bow. Their children were going on to receive higher education, getting higher marks. As for the class struggle, the young cadres were beginning to say, "People talk such a lot!" (pp. 24–25)

The former landlords, capitalists and rich peasants did not limit themselves to holding up socialist development in the countryside and in industry by sabotage and influencing it in their direction. They had their representatives in administration, in government, and even in the Communist Party. Since the domestic and foreign enemies are aware that it is very difficult to attack the proletarian state from outside by military means, they take a different track and attempt to take the fortress from within. In Peking Review magazine's German edition, No. 1, 1964, it was pointed out:

> The class enemies inside and outside the country know that in order to make a socialist state degenerate into a capitalist state the main thing is to get the Communist Party to degenerate into a revisionist party. To get the Communist Party to degenerate, one must first have the leading nucleus of the Party at various levels degenerate. (Our translation – the editors)

In China there was a comparatively small group of functionaries within the Party (compared to the total membership, which numbered about 30 million) who had made themselves the representatives of the overthrown exploiting class and abused their functions. The "Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party" of May 16, 1966, said that "there are a number of them [representatives of the bourgeoisie] in the Central Committee and in Party, government and other departments at the central as well as the provincial, municipal and autonomous-region levels." Their spokesman in the Party was Liu Shaoqi, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

The influence of these counterrevolutionary forces could not be eliminated by administrative measures or coercion. Their influence in the many organs of the proletarian state and the numerous institutions of socialist society was too great.

Their bourgeois line was cleverly concealed and was not seen through by the broad masses. In 1963, the Communist Party launched an education movement in the countryside and called on the masses to criticize the shortcomings in administration, government and Party. But this movement did not yet prove the breakthrough. Mao Zedong characterized its deficiencies in the following words:

> 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. (*Important Documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China*, p. 25)

Mao Zedong thus drew important lessons from the failure of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, caused by a capitalist restoration. Lenin, and Stalin as well, recognized the danger of the bureaucratization of the apparatus of the Party, the economy and the state, of the emergence of a new bourgeoisie and thus of the restoration of capitalism. It was easier to deal with the old bureaucracy. Educating the new, card-carrying bureaucracy to protect the interests of socialist society was more difficult. In the book *Eighth Congress of the R.C.P.(B)* Lenin pointed out the difficulty of the struggle against bureaucracy:

> We dispersed these old bureaucrats, shuffled them and then began to place them in new posts. The tsarist bureaucrats began to join the Soviet institutions and practice their bureaucratic methods, they began to assume the coloring of Communists and, to succeed better in their careers, to procure membership cards of the Russian Communist Party. And so, they have been thrown out of the door but they creep back in through the window. What makes itself felt here most is the lack of cultured forces. These bureaucrats may be dismissed, but they cannot be re-educated all at once. Here we are confronted chiefly with organizational, cultural and educational problems. (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 182–183)

Time and again Lenin demanded, as the only correct method to thwart such a development: the mobilization of the broad masses, the workers, the peasants, the entire working people, to combat bureaucratism, careerism, and every symptom of petty-bourgeois thinking.

Stalin also spoke of mobilizing the masses, but in practice he fought the bureaucracy with the state security service, which itself became more and more bureaucratic. A capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union could not be prevented by such methods. The struggle against the remnants of the bourgeoisie, the landlords and the rich peasants and against the old and new bureaucrats with their petty-bourgeois thinking is not so much a struggle that has to be conducted by administrative methods, but rather an ideological struggle; that is, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the ideological field. Mao Zedong realized this and stressed the importance of class struggle in socialism:

> In China, although socialist transformation has in the main been completed as regards the system of ownership, and although the large-scale, turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of times of revolution 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 remolding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. Class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the various political forces, and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the ideological field will still be protracted and tortuous and at times even very sharp. 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 capital-

ism, is not really settled yet. (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. V, p. 409)

It is easier to recognize and defeat the enemy in open armed struggle, in civil war, than in ideological struggle. Mao Zedong consequently emphasized:

> Ideological struggle differs from other forms of struggle, since the only method used is painstaking reasoning, and not crude coercion. (*Ibid.*, p. 410)

Of course, wrong or even hostile ideas must not be tolerated. They must be treated like "poisonous weeds" and rooted out.

> We are against poisonous weeds of whatever kind, but we must carefully distinguish between what is really a poisonous weed and what is really a fragrant flower. Together with the masses of the people, we must learn to differentiate carefully between the two and use correct methods to fight the poisonous weeds. (*Ibid.*, p. 411)

What are the correct methods of ideological struggle? What methods must be used against the wrong ideas of the enemy, and what methods against wrong opinions among the people? Mao Zedong makes this distinction:

> What should our policy be towards non-Marxist ideas? As far as unmistakable counterrevolutionaries and saboteurs of the socialist cause are concerned, the matter is easy, we simply deprive them of their freedom of speech. But incorrect ideas among the people are quite a different matter. Will it do to ban such ideas and deny them any opportunity for expression? Certainly not. It is not only futile but very harmful to use crude methods in dealing with ideological questions among the people, with questions about man's mental world. You may ban the expression of wrong ideas, but the ideas will still be there. On the other hand, if correct ideas are pampered in hothouses and never exposed to the elements and immunized against disease, they will not win out against erroneous ones. Therefore, it is only by employing the method of discussion, criticism and reasoning that we can really foster correct ideas and overcome wrong ones, and that we can really settle issues. (*Ibid.*, pp. 410–411)

This ideological struggle expressed itself in a spontaneous and indistinct form at first, and then in a more systematic and conscious way. It developed into a struggle between two lines.

Origin and Struggle of the Two Lines in Socialism

Working out a correct ideological-political line before, during and following the proletarian revolution is "the primary and most important thing" (Stalin). Why does the working class need a correct political line? It needs it in order to wage a united struggle, to establish it against the enemy with iron discipline, to mobilize the masses to build socialism with the help of the correct line.

Stalin points to the significance of a correct political line in the "Report to the Eighteenth Congress of the CPSU(B.)":

> A correct political line is, of course, the primary and most important thing. But that in itself is not enough. A correct political line is not needed as a declaration, but as something to be carried into effect. But in order to carry a correct political line into effect, we must have cadres, people who understand the political line of the Party, who accept it as their own line, who are prepared to carry it into effect, who are able to put it into practice and are capable of answering for it, defending it and fighting for it. Failing this, a correct political line runs the risk of being purely nominal. (Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, p. 919)

The Communist Party works out the correct proletarian political line taking into account the opinions of the working people. It goes about it in a thorough and fundamental way. Two things are necessary: embracing and concretizing Marxism-Leninism, and accumulating a wealth of practical expe-

rience in struggle. Since an individual very rarely is able to do both, the experience and the theoretical knowledge of all members must be summed up in order to draw up and further develop the ideological line. This does not take place without differences of opinion, without a struggle between the various views and ideas of the members.

A struggle of opinions for the sake of formulating the correct political line takes place. It must particularly take into account what we wrote in *Revolutionärer Weg,* No. 10, entitled *Some Basic Issues of Party Building:*

> In their local work, the party members gain rich practical experience which must be evaluated. Inner-party democracy is necessary so that members can lay open their experience and so that all problems related to ideological, programmatic and tactical issues and the implementation of the party's political line can be discussed frankly and in an unbiased, critical manner.…
>
> But the knowledge gained and put forward by the members in inner-party discussion is usually isolated and incoherent. The leading bodies, therefore, must sum up, concentrate and systematize the rich practical experience of the members. Only then is it possible to make correct decisions. But if one is to summarize experience, one must first get to know it. Hence open discussion, inner-party democracy, is a necessity which thus becomes a precondition of centralism.

The struggle to develop the line presupposes a desire for principled unity, unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Therefore, the contest of opinions cannot and must not go on indefinitely. It must be terminated by a decision. Stalin says in *The Foundations of Leninism*:

> But after a conflict of opinion has been closed, after criticism has been exhausted and a decision has been arrived at, unity of will and unity of action of all Party members are the necessary conditions without which neither Party unity nor iron discipline in the Party is conceivable. (Stalin, *Works*, Vol. 6, p. 189)

The ideological-political line established in this way is binding for all members and must be carried into effect with discipline.

> The achievement and maintenance of the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible without a party which is strong by reason of its solidarity and iron discipline. But iron discipline in the Party is inconceivable without unity of will, without complete and absolute unity of action on the part of all members of the Party. (*Ibid.*)

This is true for the struggle under the conditions both of capitalism and socialism. The triumph of proletarian revolution in one country and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not put an end to class struggle. Capitalist encirclement poses the constant danger of military intervention. The foreign capitalists decree an economic boycott against the socialist country. They have their agents organize acts of sabotage to disrupt socialist contruction. The remnants of the deposed capitalist class try with all their might, and with the support of the capitalists abroad, to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and force the restoration of capitalism.

Even if all attempts by the domestic and foreign capitalists to restore their old power by violent means should fail, class struggle continues.

Of outstanding significance is the position taken by Lenin on the question of class struggle in socialism under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, set down in "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat":

> Socialism means the abolition of classes. The dictatorship of the proletariat has done all it could to abolish classes. But classes cannot be abolished at one stroke.

And classes still *remain* and *will remain* in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship will become unnecessary when classes disappear. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat they will not disappear.

Classes have remained, but in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat *every* class has undergone a change, and the relations between the classes have also changed. The class struggle does not disappear under the dictatorship of the proletariat; it merely assumes different forms.

Under capitalism the proletariat was an oppressed class, a class which had been deprived of the means of production, the only class which stood directly and completely opposed to the bourgeoisie, and therefore the only one capable of being revolutionary to the very end. Having overthrown the bourgeoisie and conquered political power, the proletariat has become the *ruling* class; it wields state power, it exercises control over means of production already socialized; it guides the wavering and intermediary elements and classes; it crushes the increasingly stubborn resistance of the exploiters. All these are *specific* tasks of the class struggle, tasks which the proletariat formerly did not and could not have set itself.

The class of exploiters, the landowners and capitalists, has not disappeared and cannot disappear all at once under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The exploiters have been smashed, but not destroyed. They still have an international base in the form of international capital, of which they are a branch. They still retain certain means of production in part, they still have money, they still have vast social connections. Because they have been defeated, the energy of their resistance has increased a hundred- and a thousandfold. The "art" of state, military and economic administration gives them a superiority, and a very great superiority, so that their importance is incomparably greater than their numerical proportion of the population. The class struggle waged by the overthrown exploiters against the victorious vanguard of the exploited, i.e., the proletariat, has become incomparably more bitter. And it cannot be otherwise in the case of a revolution, unless this concept is replaced (as it is by all the heroes of the Second International) by reformist illusions.

Lastly, the peasants, like the petty bourgeoisie in general, occupy a half-way, intermediate position *even* under the dictatorship of the proletariat: on the one hand, they are a fairly large (and in backward Russia, a vast) mass of working people, united by the common interest of all working people to emancipate themselves from the landowner and the capitalist; on the other hand, they are disunited small proprietors, property-owners and traders. Such an economic position inevitably causes them to vacillate between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In view of the acute form which the struggle between these two classes has assumed, in view of the incredibly severe break-up of all social relations, and in view of the great attachment of the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie generally to the old, the routine, and the unchanging, it is only natural that we should inevitably find them swinging from one side to the other, that we should find them wavering, changeable, uncertain, and so on.

In relation to this class – or to these social elements – the proletariat must strive to establish its influence over it, to guide it. To give leadership to the vacillating and unstable – such is the task of the proletariat.

If we compare all the basic forces or classes and their interrelations, as modified by the dictatorship of the proletariat, we shall realize how unutterably nonsensical and theoretically stupid is the common petty-bourgeois idea ... that the transition to socialism is possible "by means of democracy" in general. [Or as the revisionists of the DKP say: by means of "antimonopolist democracy" – the author.] (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, pp. 114–116)

Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat the class struggle shifts in the course of socialist development from the military side to the ideological and political, which is no less dangerous.

Bourgeois ideology seeps through numerous channels into the working class and seeks to corrode proletarian ideology. This is made easier by the existence of the petty-bourgeois strata, which vacillate between bourgeoisie and working class. The working class and the petty bourgeoisie are interlinked by thousands of strings. Petty-bourgeois thinking constantly exerts influence on the working class. The proletarian party, the vanguard of the proletariat, is also not immune to this. The subversive ideological and political activities, restrained and covert at first, inevitably come to the surface. Mao Zedong points out in his outstanding work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People*:

> It is inevitable that the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie will give expression to their own ideologies. It is inevitable that they will stubbornly assert themselves on political and ideological questions by every possible means. You cannot expect them to do otherwise. We should not use the method of suppression and prevent them from expressing themselves, but should allow them to do so and at the same time argue with them and direct appropriate criticism at them. Undoubtedly, we must criticize wrong ideas of every description. It certainly would not be right to refrain from criticism, look on while wrong ideas spread unchecked and allow them to dominate the field. Mistakes must be criticized and poisonous weeds fought wherever they crop up. (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. V, p. 411)

In *Revolutionärer Weg,* No. 15 in 1976, with the title *Fight Liquidationism,* we discussed in great detail the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking. There, proof is delivered that petty-bourgeois thinking is the chief cause of liquidationism in the working-class movement:

> Liquidationism cannot be separated from a petty-bourgeois mode of thinking. A proletarian mode of thinking is incompatible with liquidationism; they are like fire and water. As it is inevitable that petty-bourgeois elements penetrate into the working class, be it because their petty-bourgeois livelihoods are destroyed and they are thrown down into the proletariat, be it that petty-bourgeois intellectuals join the working-class movement or the workers' party as members, the question always arises: do they succeed in overcoming the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking by completely adopting the proletarian mode of thinking, or does the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking influence the proletarian mode of thinking of the workers?
>
> *The question of the mode of thinking is of such significance for the working-class movement that it must be examined constantly; nay, one must always check who influences whom.* (p. 13)

The stronger the influence of petty-bourgeois thinking on parts of the working class, the more this tends to impede class struggle. The more footholds the various manifestations of petty-bourgeois thinking get in the proletarian party, the more this must influence the ideological and political steadfastness of the members – either in a negative way or in a positive way. Some succumb to the petty-bourgeois influence, while the others strengthen themselves ideologically and politically in struggle against it. Consequently, a struggle develops in the Party, a tug-of-war between the proletarian and petty-bourgeois modes of thinking. Petty-bourgeois thinking finds expression in an ideological-political line which stems itself against the proletarian line. The struggle between the two lines flares up and gains intensity.

The petty-bourgeois line – initially a tendency occurring as a contradiction among the people – becomes an antagonistic contradiction. The proletarian line must be aggressively defended against the petty-bourgeois line with the goal of smashing the petty-bourgeois line and helping the proletarian line prevail. Were the petty-bourgeois line to prevail, it

would mean a victory for revisionism and the liquidation of the proletarian party.

The petty-bourgeois line emerges spontaneously in the course of the struggle between the great classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. It is the effect of bourgeois ideology, which generates and nurtures petty-bourgeois thinking and which develops further, from individual petty-bourgeois lines of thought, which express themselves here and there, to a system of petty-bourgeois views; that is, to the formation of a petty-bourgeois line. The struggle between the two lines now breaks out.

The inner-party struggle is a reflection of the class struggle and expresses itself as a two-line struggle. In other words, every ideological-political line is bound to a particular class: the bourgeois class puts its bourgeois line forward, the working class its proletarian line. The content of the bourgeois line is the bourgeois ideology; the content of the proletarian line is the proletarian ideology, that is, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The struggle between the two lines is the result of the contradictions within the working-class movement and the proletarian party, while the class contradictions exert an external influence on and are reflected in them.

Mao Zedong emphasizes in his work *On Contradiction*:

> 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. (*Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I, p. 317)

Thus this process has the force of law. That is, as long as bourgeois ideology influences the working masses particularly by way of the petty-bourgeois elements, a struggle between

the two lines will emerge inside and outside the proletarian party on the basis of inner-party contradictions, both in capitalism and in socialism. We must conclude from this:

> The two-line struggle is the objective law of the development of inner-party contradictions both in capitalism and in socialism!

How long does the struggle between the two lines last in socialism, and when is it over? Figure TT shows how class struggle in the first phase of communism, socialism, still rages against the internal and external enemies, and how, even in the second phase, communism proper, it must be continued as ideological struggle until it gradually wins out over the tradition of bourgeois ideology.

Following the victorious proletarian revolution in a single country, the crushing of any intervention by foreign capitalists, and the successful completion of the civil war, the class struggles have not come to an end. Rather they flare up again and again, against internal and external enemies, against the remnants of the overthrown bourgeoisie, which has been stripped of its power but uses every means of ideological and armed struggle to try to bring about the restoration of capitalism. The first phase of communism, called socialism, is rife with class struggles, and they will burst forth repeatedly, encouraged by capitalist encirclement and supported ideologically and, if need be, militarily.

As long as there are capitalist countries in the world, the threat to socialist construction from outside is not yet removed, and the danger of the restoration of capitalism through the degeneration of the bureaucracy inside the socialist country is not eliminated. Only when the gradual success of the proletarian world revolution has eliminated capitalist rule in the entire world will the external conditions exist for the transition from the first to the second phase

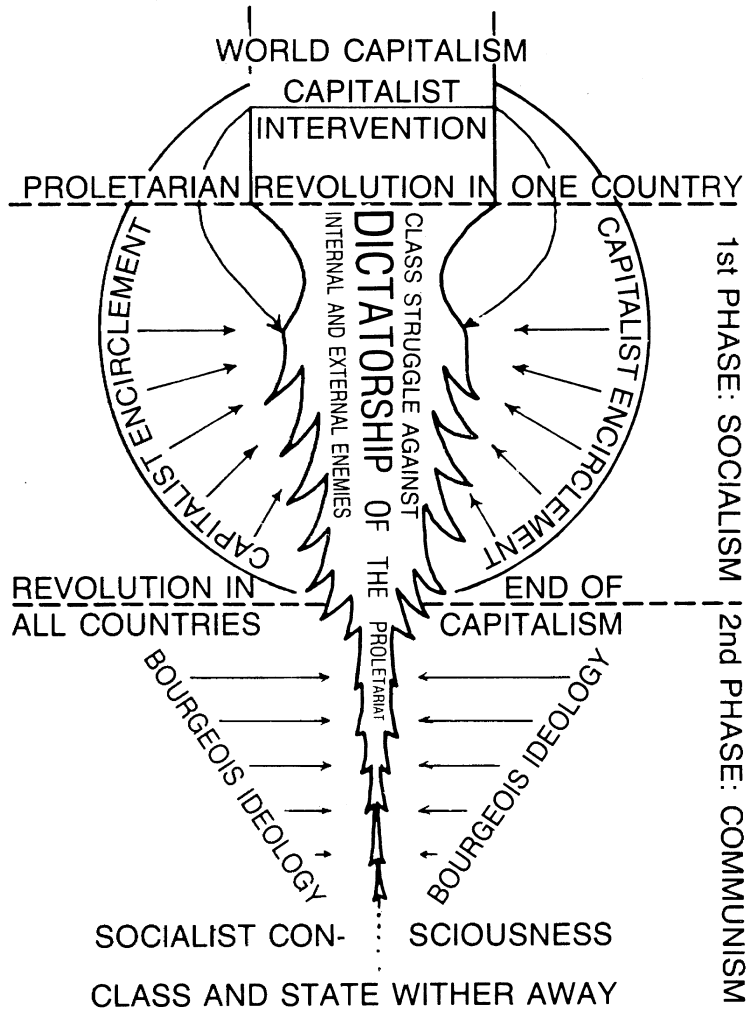
of communism. The internal conditions consist in gradually overcoming the differences between town and country (and thus also between workers and peasants) and between manual and mental labor (and thus also between workers and intellectuals); in the merger of the two forms of ownership (ownership by society and cooperative ownership combine into merely social ownership); in the creation of an abundance of products as the basis for moving on to the distribution principle "To each according to his needs."

With the transition to the second phase, to communism proper, the world's capitalists have been deprived of power and liquidated as a class, but bourgeois ideology has not been eliminated. The tradition of bourgeois ideology will continue to influence the minds of people for a long time – not only because the capitalists as the carrier of this ideology live on for a period (they have been liquidated as a class, not as persons) and will always try to influence the masses ideologically, to spread bourgeois ideology in the two-line struggle, so as to gradually achieve a restoration of capitalism in this way.

The tradition of bourgeois ideology, which has dominated the intellectual life of men for centuries, is so strong that bourgeois ideas and habits spontaneously renew themselves over and over. The bureaucrats are seized and dominated by petty-bourgeois thinking most easily of all, and are subject the longest to the tradition of bourgeois ideology. "We can fight bureaucracy to the bitter end, to a complete victory, only when the whole population participates in the work of government" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 183).

Class struggle, therefore, will flare up again and again even though the bourgeois class as the former carriers of bourgeois ideology has been liquidated, that is, politically and militarily eliminated. *It is a class struggle of a peculiar kind,* which, in the main, can only be decided ideologically. It can only be suc-

Figure TT



cessfully waged by the working class, as the carrier of socialist ideology, which still needs the dictatorship of the proletariat to accomplish this. So the dictatorship of the proletariat will continue in effect for a long time in the second phase, on the one hand to combat bourgeois ideology, which, as long as it can still operate, contains the seeds of the threat of the restoration of capitalism and must, therefore, constantly be suppressed, and, on the other hand, to spread and strengthen socialist ideology by constantly raising the socialist consciousness of the masses until final victory is achieved over bourgeois ideology.

Not until the masses have become completely immune to the poison of bourgeois ideology do the working class as the carrier of socialist ideology and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the state of the working class become superfluous. Both wither away. Classless society begins.

The Struggle to Overcome Bourgeois Law in Socialism

Socialism is the first stage of communism. It developed from the womb of the old society and is consequently fraught with vestiges of this old society. One of these vestiges is the narrow bourgeois view of legality. Lenin points to this in *The State and Revolution*:

> What is usually called socialism was termed by Marx the "first", or lower, phase of communist society. Insofar as the means of production become *common* property, the word "communism" is also applicable here, providing we do not forget that this is *not* complete communism. The great significance of Marx's explanations is that here, too, he consistently applies materialist dialectics, the theory of development, and regards communism as something which develops *out of* capitalism....
>
> In its first phase, or first stage, communism *cannot* as yet be fully mature economically and entirely free from traditions or vestiges of capitalism. Hence the interesting phenomenon that communism in its first stage retains "the narrow horizon of *bourgeois* law". (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 475–476)

Whereas socialism gradually transfers all means of production to common property, and in this respect creates true equality in the spirit of the abolishment of classes, this true equality cannot yet exist in regard to the distribution of socially produced wealth. Consequently, in socialism the principle applies: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." In other words, he who does not work, neither shall he eat! After the socially necessary deductions (for investment, public facilities, etc.) have been made, each individual producer gets back from society exactly what he has put in by his individual quantity of work. Equal right thus exists for all. But Marx says in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme:*

> Hence, *equal right* here is still in principle – *bourgeois right*, although principle and practice are no longer at loggerheads, while the exchange of equivalents in commodity exchange only exists *on the average* and not in the individual case.
>
> In spite of this advance, this *equal right* is still constantly stigmatized by a bourgeois limitation. The right of the producers is *proportional* to the labor they supply; the equality consists in the fact that measurement is made with an *equal standard*, labor.
>
> But one man is superior to another physically or mentally and so supplies more labor in the same time, or can labor for a longer time; and labor, to serve as a measure, must be defined by its duration or intensity, otherwise it ceases to be a standard of measurement. This *equal* right is an unequal right for unequal labor. It recognizes no class differences, because everyone is only a worker like everyone else; but it tacitly recognizes unequal individual endowment and thus productive ca-

pacity as natural privileges. *It is, therefore, a right of inequality, in its content, like every right....* One worker is married, another not; one has more children than another, and so on and so forth. Thus, with an equal performance of labor, and hence an equal share in the social consumption fund, one will in fact receive more than another, one will be richer than another, and so on. To avoid all these defects, right instead of being equal would have to be unequal.

But these defects are inevitable in the first phase of communist society as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth pangs from capitalist society. (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 18–19)

The working class cannot yet be satisifed with this formal equality achieved in socialism, but must work towards the second phase of communism, where the principle will apply: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs" – from formal to actual equality, therefore.

However, this higher phase of communist society has two elementary prerequisites, which are closely dependent upon each other: *first*, a high level of development of the productive forces and the attendant social wealth which permits satisfying the needs of all; and, *second*, highly developed socialist consciousness of the masses, for whom work is not only a means of subsistence but conscious effort for the common good of the whole of society.

How should the transition from socialism to communism be effected? The fundamental thing is to create the material prerequisites by developing the productive forces on a tremendous scale, for without ample social wealth, distribution according to needs remains utopian. "Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development conditioned thereby" (*ibid.*, p. 19). The question is therefore not *whether* but *how* and *in what direction* the productive forces should be developed in socialism. This issue,

the motives and attitudes with which workers in socialism approach the modernization of production and the raising of labor productivity, distinguishes the socialist way from the capitalist way. Workers of the Hudung shipyards in Shanghai determined in 1972:

To build more and better ships, we need a large amount of funds. Where should we get them? Ours is a socialist country which does not exploit its people or plunder other countries; it increases accumulation by relying on the efforts of the entire people to increase production and practice economy....

When we stand on the bow of a 10,000-ton ship being launched, watching the fluttering red flags and the waves, we think not of how much our wages are, but of how to accelerate socialist construction and do a better job in socialist revolution with our own hands as our contribution to the emancipation of mankind. ("Essential Differences Between the Two Systems of Distribution," in: *Peking Review,* No. 32, 1972, pp. 7 and 8)

These words bring out the point that one of the main tasks of the phase of socialism is to educate the workers in the new, communist labor morale in order gradually to arrive at the communist principle of distribution, even though wage payment based on individual performance is retained as the main principle in this period. Bourgeois law, for example, in the form of wage systems with eight and more levels, must be restricted further and further in *quantitative* terms during the course of socialist construction. In this way the material and political conditions can be created for the new quality, for finally breaking open the "narrow horizon of bourgeois law."

The socialist principle of distribution "to each according to his work" is progressive compared to distribution in capitalist society, but backward compared to distribution in communist society. This contradiction determines its character: on the one hand, it prevents individuals or groups of workers

from getting privileges which are not based on their amount of work, and, on the other hand, as in the old society, it maintains differences between wealthier and poorer workers – the seed for aspiring to the capitalist goal of working for one's own enrichment.

Revisionists like Deng Xiaoping take advantage of this intrinsic contradiction when, making false reference to the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work," they reintroduce the bonus system. The essence of their method is precisely to conserve and expand the birthmarks of the old society contained in bourgeois law, in order to restore capitalism on this basis. In *Peking Review,* No. 31, 1978, one could read the following capitalistic nonsense:

> The practice of more pay for more work and less pay for less work will certainly encourage laborers to work hard, diligently study and master science and technology, and strive to improve their skills. As a result they will create more wealth for the state and the collective. The bigger the contribution a laborer makes to the state or the collective, the more pay he will get. As the saying goes, there will be more in one's own bowl if the pot is full. (p. 13)

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the Chinese people under Mao Zedong's leadership did away with such capitalist ideas and determined once and for all: "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work." The ideas of the Cultural Revolution gave rise to profound changes in city and country, as we shall see in the final chapter. But it was precisely these changes which stirred up the revisionists, who sought to destroy the achievements of the Cultural Revolution with a petty-bourgeois ideological-political line.

The Significance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China

Defeat Wrong Ideas by Ideological Struggle, Awaken and Develop Socialist Consciousness

Each society is characterized by specific relations of production. A social superstructure rises above these relations of production: the state, ideology, culture and customs. Marxism-Leninism assumes that men's social being determines their consciousness, that the economic base determines the social superstructure.

> In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. (Marx, "Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*," Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 503)

At a certain stage of social development, a contradiction arises between the material productive forces and the relations of production. In the 19th century, advancing industrialization came into contradiction with the still feudal relations of production. The bourgeois revolution took place, which also transformed the superstructure – the state apparatus, culture, and ideology – and the bourgeoisie established itself as the new ruling class. The "Declaration of Principles of the KABD" (the Communist Workers' League of Germany, the forerunner organization of the MLPD until 1982 – the edi-

tors) said about the relations of production in state monopoly capitalism:

> While millions create the wealth of society, a small handful of monopoly capitalists and parasites appropriates this wealth. (page 9)

This contradiction between social production and private appropriation in capitalism, which becomes most acute in state monopoly capitalism, drives towards a solution: a social revolution takes place. In this revolution not only the relations of production, the economic base, are changed. The entire superstructure is transformed:

> With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations a distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic – in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 504)

Marx and Engels describe the character of the social revolution of the proletariat in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* as follows:

> The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas. (*Ibid.*, p. 126)

The proletarian revolution therefore has two aspects: the elimination of private ownership of the means of production and the changing of the consciousness of people. The bourgeois mode of thinking must be replaced by the proletarian, socialist mode of thinking.

The bourgeois revolution replaces the rule of one propertied class (the feudalists) by the rule of another propertied class

(the capitalists) without touching private ownership of the means of production. In the proletarian revolution, however, the propertyless class (the proletarians) transforms the private ownership of the means of production into social ownership. In the bourgeois revolution, the bourgeoisie asserts its class ideas over feudal ideology, and establishes them as the dominant bourgeois ideology (or it mixes them with feudal ideas and makes compromises on the ideological-political level if it shares power).

After the victory of the proletarian revolution, the proletariat must wage a stubborn ideological struggle against bourgeois ideology, which is still prevalent, in order to spread its own class ideas and to drive the old ideas out of the heads of people. This is a protracted class struggle in the ideological field.

> 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. (Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, in: *Important Documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China*, p. 130)

This class struggle in the ideological field is waged as a struggle of the two lines, the struggle of the proletarian against the bourgeois line. Its aim is to overcome the bourgeois line and to assert the proletarian line. Only if the proletariat asserts itself in the ideological field, and exercises political leadership in all areas of socialist society can the socialist transformation of the economic base be carried out and consolidated.

The experience of the socialist revolution of the Soviet Union shows how important this ideological struggle is. This struggle was not systematically carried forward, and the right methods, that is, the mobilization of the broad masses of the people, were not used. This is why in the Soviet Union a new bourgeoisie could develop which restored capitalism.

Mao Zedong drew the lessons for the proletariat and systematically concluded: mobilize the masses to carry out a transforming proletarian cultural revolution. On the initiative of Mao Zedong and under his personal guidance, the proletarian core of the Communist Party, supported by young fighters, the Red Guards, started the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The 16-Point Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution said:

> 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. (*Ibid*., p. 129)

In point 4 of this decision of August 8, 1966 the party members are called on to mobilize the masses :

> 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. (*Ibid*., pp. 138–139; emphasis by the author)

The Cultural Revolution began in the superstructure, at the schools and universities of the country. The young people are educated there for the building of socialism. It is crucial for the proletariat to have control over education because it is there that the revolutionary successors are trained. It is of particular importance, therefore, to give them not only technical, specialized knowledge, but to train them comprehensively as socialist workers, which means to cultivate their socialist consciousness, particularly in the three great revolutionary movements:

> Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country. These movements are a sure guarantee that Communists will be free from bureaucracy and immune against revisionism and dogmatism, and will for ever remain invincible. (*Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung*, Beijing, 1972, p. 40)

Before the Cultural Revolution, this guideline of Mao Zedong was not followed in the field of education. Training was separated from production. The old Chinese system of examinations, from the time before liberation, survived in new forms: striving for good grades, the pressure of exams, tests in the manner of surprise attacks, and the selection of those candidates for the universities who were best able to assert themselves in this sort of climate. As a result, the children of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie were the most successful, they received the best grades, went on to the elite university and were trained to become experts. Although the children of workers were not excluded, they had great difficulties. At the universities of Shanghai and Peking, 60 percent of the students were children of the bourgeoisie.

In a book by Ch. Bettelheim about the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (*China 1972: Ökonomie, Betrieb und Erziehung seit der Kulturrevolution* [China 1972: Economy, Factory and Education since the Cultural Revolution]; our translations from the German edition – the editors), the worker Liu Minyi, leader of a propaganda group for the spreading of Mao Zedong Thought at the Tsinghua University in Peking, reports:

> They replaced Mao Zedong's guidelines on education by Western educational systems – by the European and the American – and later on the Soviet system. They deformed the Party by incessantly admitting bourgeois and reactionary professors as members and thus transformed it into a "party of professors" which breathed academic authority. The result was: of the university Party committee's 39 seats, 15 seats were occupied by bourgeois professors. Not a single worker occupied one of the remaining 24 seats. While the country was ruled by the dictatorship of the proletariat, Tsinghua University was under bourgeois rule. Yiang Nanxiang held both offices, that of university rector and Party secretary. In the ideological field, he worshipped the individualistic theory of knowledge, which said things like "go to school to make a name for yourself," "leave school as an expert, a high-ranking personality who will hold high offices in the social hierarchy and will make a lot of money." (*Ibid.*, pp. 100–101)

On May 25, 1966, the first so-called *Dazibao,* a big-character poster, appeared at the Tsinghua University, attacking the bourgeois conditions at Tsinghua and demanding an explanation from those who were responsible. Mao Zedong himself supported the Tsinghua rebels by his own big-character poster with the call to "bombard the bourgeois headquarters," meaning those leading cadres inside the Party who had sneaked into the Party and the government to support the interests of the bourgeoisie and the overthrown big landowners. They were called the capitalist-roaders in power, with

Liu Shaoqi as their head. He formed the bourgeois headquarters inside the Party.

Liu Shaoqi tried by every means to contain the revolution at Tsinghua University. His people at the University, first of all the rector, dissolved the groups for the study of Mao Zedong Thought; the rebellious students and professors were denounced as trouble-makers, and threatened with expulsion from the Party. The students and professors were not intimidated by these measures of the Rightists. They intensified their study of Mao Zedong Thought, and in debates they exposed the revisionist line of Liu Shaoqi. They followed Point 10 of the Decision of the Central Committee of August 8, 1966:

> In this Great Cultural Revolution, the phenomenon of our schools being dominated by bourgeois intellectuals must be completely changed.
>
> *In every kind of school we must apply thoroughly the policy advanced by Comrade Mao Tsetung of education serving proletarian politics and education being combined with productive labor, so as to enable those receiving an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and to become laborers with socialist consciousness and culture.*
>
> The period of schooling should be shortened. Courses should be fewer and better. The teaching material should be thoroughly transformed, in some cases beginning with simplifying complicated material. While their main task is to study, students should also learn other things. This is to say, in addition to their studies they should also learn industrial work, farming and military affairs, and take part in the struggles of the Cultural Revolution to criticize the bourgeoisie as these struggles occur. (*Important Documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China*, pp. 148–149; emphasis by the author)

Rebels organized at the schools, too, in order to criticize the reactionary line in education, collectively to study Mao Zedong Thought and to expose the consequences of the bour-

geois line at the schools. In all schools, groups of *Red Guards* were organized. They were vigorously supported by Mao Zedong. In a letter to the Red Guards he said that the revolutionary actions of the Red Guards

> express your wrath against and your denunciation of the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, the imperialists, the revisionists and their running dogs, all of whom exploit and oppress the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary parties and groups. *They show that it is right to rebel against reactionaries. I warmly support you.* (*Ibid.*, p. 33; emphasis by the author)

They left the schools and universities and went to the countryside and the factories to mobilize the poor peasants and workers to practice criticism. They spread the Red Book, the Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong, and helped people with the study of Mao Zedong Thought, working together with them in order to learn about their work and their lives.

The Swedish journalist Jan Myrdal visited and studied the people living in the little village of Liu Ling, for the first time in 1962, and later on in 1969, that is, before and after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. He described the great changes in the consciousness of the masses and concretely proved the tremendous significance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the class struggle during the phase of socialism. In his book, *China: The Revolution Continued* (New York, 1970), Jan Myrdal has a girl Red Guard tell about her work:

> We criticized the wrong methods in our school. We sent out propaganda troops to discuss things with people. What we chiefly discussed was that class struggle continued under socialism. We pointed out the danger of various hostile elements digging themselves in in the state apparatus and of the dictatorship of the proletariat being turned into a bourgeois dictatorship. We pointed to the way things had gone in the Soviet Union. We propagated Mao Tsetung Thought. We went out into the villages and straight into the administrative organs in town and started discussions....
>
> After these journeys we went out into the factories to integrate ourselves with the masses. I went to the tractor station in Yenan. In the daytime I worked, and in the evenings I made revolution. (p. 176)

In the factories and in the country, the Red Guards were readily received by the workers and peasants, who saw their willingness to unite with the people and learn from them. Spreading Mao Zedong Thought in the whole country on an unprecedented scope enabled the poor peasants and workers to acquire an understanding of Mao Zedong Thought. They made it their guideline for political work and for their daily duties on the farms and in the factories. Jan Myrdal quotes Tung Yang-chen, the chairman of the labor group set up to do planning work in the village of Liu Ling, who reported about his work:

> We study Mao Tsetung Thought. My job is to lead these studies in the labor group, and then apply them in practice. First the entire brigade discusses the problems on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought, and then decides what's to be done. My labor group, of course, can't make decisions about the overall plan. That's something for everyone to decide. Nor can it be decided from above; it has to be decided from below. In our planning work we base our decisions on Chairman Mao. (*Ibid.*, p. 63)

Thus the masses of the people studied Mao Zedong Thought, exposed the bourgeois line in their own field of work, and criticized those functionaries who had separated themselves from productive work and the lives of the masses, and who desired a bourgeois career. Not all functionaries were bad. The majority of them did not consciously follow the road to a

restoration of capitalism. Those who did were very few. They were people like Liu Shaoqi.

This is why the leading functionaries were not simply removed from office. They were criticized at many meetings. Together with the Red Guards, the workers and peasants helped them to understand their mistakes and to transform their political work and their relations with the masses, as is called for by the 16-Point Decision:

> What the Central Committee of the Party demands of the Party committees at all levels is that they persevere in giving correct leadership, put daring above everything else, boldly arouse the masses, change the state of weakness and incompetence where it exists, encourage those comrades who have made mistakes but are willing to correct them to cast off their mental burdens and join in the struggle, and dismiss from their leading posts all those in power taking the capitalist road and so make possible the recapture of the leadership for the proletarian revolutionaries. (*Important Documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China*, p. 137)

The functionaries were reeducated in a campaign of "struggle – criticism – transformation" carried out all over the country, with the result that, after the great debates, a large part of them were able to do good work in their old functions. In Ch. Bettelheim's book, Shi Guoheng, professor of sociology at Tsinghua University, relates how the functionaries and professors, too, have learned from the workers:

> Feudalism and capitalism had great influence on me. After liberation, I overlooked my mistakes and imperfections. I did not take Mao Zedong Thought to remodel my world outlook. Under the influence of the revisionist line, I favored a conservative attitude, which helped the bourgeoisie and not the proletariat. This corresponded to my ideological understanding. The Cultural Revolution thoroughly reeducated me.... I had to overcome many difficulties and contradictions in my farming work – why should I deny this? While I overcame them I transformed my world outlook. (Bettelheim, *China 1972*, p. 120)

Politics Must Take Precedence over Economics, and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Must Exercise Leadership in Everything

In the course of the political struggle during the Cultural Revolution, new forms of political organization emerged. The workers and peasants as well as the revolutionary intellectuals had united in many institutions and factories to build revolutionary committees. The Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution confirms:

> Many new things have begun to emerge in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The cultural revolutionary groups, committees and other organizational forms created by the masses in many schools and units are something new and of great historic importance.
>
> These cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses are excellent new forms of organization whereby the masses educate themselves under the leadership of the Communist Party. They are an excellent bridge to keep our Party in close contact with the masses. They are organs of power of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. (*Important Documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China*, p. 146)

The revolutionary committees remained when the Cultural Revolution ended and were established in all institutions of socialist society: at schools and universities, but also at factories, mines, and other kinds of enterprises, in neighborhood districts and villages. Proposed by the Party, the members of the revolutionary committees were elected by people of the particular unit who could criticize them at any time, and in case of severe violations, could also dismiss them from their posts. They were accountable to the masses.

The revolutionary committees in the factories consisted mainly of workers. They took over the factories' administrative tasks as well as the management of production. Administration and management from then on were no longer a purely economic management which bowed to so-called economic constraints. In their practice, the revolutionary committees were guided by the spirit of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and by Mao Zedong Thought.

They were composed according to the principle of the three-in-one combination consisting of Party members, members of the People's Liberation Army and of mass organizations at the particular level. The People's Liberation Army was included in this three-in-one combination because it had advanced the process of struggle, criticism and transformation everywhere and participated in productive work in industry and agriculture.

In the factories, the Cultural Revolution met with the fierce resistance of those experts and leading functionaries who followed the bourgeois, revisionist line of Liu Shaoqi in production. These functionaries saw the Cultural Revolution as something which was only damaging production.

When the workers criticized the one-sided concentration on production, the wage system with many levels, and the extensive system of incentives, the reactionaries used counterrevolutionary double tactics: in the beginning, they tried to win over the workers for their line, the bourgeois line, by higher wages and a complicated system of incentives and to create division among them. When the workers grasped the intention of these underhanded tactics, the reactionaries proceeded to attack them openly. They used the pending production tasks to pressure the revolutionary workers and branded them as saboteurs of production. Finally, as in Shanghai, they issued a call to interrupt production.

These activities, which were directed against the Cultural Revolution, had the single aim to keep the workers out of the management and administration of the factories and thereby to undermine the foundations of the socialist state, to undermine working-class rule in all fields and over all organs. These capitalist-roaders in power turned the relation between revolution and production, between production and politics upside down.

In 1921, Lenin described the relation between production and politics in the pamphlet "Once Again on the Trade Unions":

> politics is a concentrated expression of economics.... Politics must take precedence over economics. To argue otherwise is to forget the ABC of Marxism. (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 83)

The relation between production and politics is clearly defined here. If production is to serve the building of socialism and not serve a certain class to get rich, then proletarian politics, the interests of the working class, must be in command of production, and not vice versa.

Before the Cultural Revolution, in most factories production had priority. Most factories were organized along the lines of a Soviet constitution, that of the Iron and Steel Combine of Magnitogorsk. It was based on management principles which relied on the experts, gave priority to production, put profit above all, and exerted pressure on the workers by means of bonuses to attain an ever higher output. During the Cultural Revolution, in many factories a constitution was introduced which had been worked out by the workers of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company and published by Mao Zedong.

Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company

- *Keep politics firmly in command* and be guided in everything by Mao Zedong Thought; this is the soul of socialist factories.
- *Strengthen Party leadership;* this is a basic guarantee that the working class firmly exercises leadership in the factories and that the dictatorship of the proletariat will be consolidated.
- *Launch vigorous mass movements* and place your trust and confidence in the broad revolutionary masses; this is the source from which the socialist factories draw their strength to be victorious in the revolution and in the building of socialism.
- *Institute a system of cadre participation in productive labor and of worker participation in management, of reform of irrational and outdated rules and regulations, and of close cooperation of the three-in-one combination of the masses of workers, leading cadres, and revolutionary technicians* – in the socialist factories, the introduction of this three-way alliance in a creative way solved the problems of the relations of the superstructure to the economic base, of the leadership to the masses, and of the relations among the masses themselves, and it gave an orientation to the management.
- *Go full steam ahead with technical innovations and technical revolution* – this principle shows how determined the Chinese worker is to be independent and to be his own master, to be self-reliant, to go his own way in developing industry, to catch up with the most advanced world level and to surpass it. The Chinese proletariat has not only gained the upper hand over the decadent Western bourgeoisie, it will also surpass it in the fields of science and technology and will render even greater services to mankind. (*Renmin Ribao* of March 24, 1970, quoted by Bettelheim, *China 1972*, pp. 68–69; our translation from the German – the editors)

The introduction of the Constitution of Anshan in many factories was an expression of the fact that the proletariat again exercised leadership in production. The chairman of the revolutionary committee of the Peking General Knitwear Factory describes in an exemplary fashion how this developed:

> In the course of the Cultural Revolution we understood what it means to give top priority to proletarian politics. We have to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought conscientiously and in such a way that Mao Zedong Thought is put into practice in the work process. We insist on the necessity to give top priority to Mao Zedong Thought.... What the party committee really cared about was production only. The former secretary of the factory party committee used to be called by the workers "secretary of administration" and "secretary of production." He did not care about the leading role of the party. He did not regularly study the living thoughts of the masses of the people. Owing to the Cultural Revolution, the significance of this has become clear to us again. (Bettelheim, *op. cit.*, p. 72)

For the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is not alone decisive that the workers themselves exercise leadership in the factories and are in command of the management of production. The socialist economic base cannot be consolidated as long as the interests of the workers and peasants are not in command of politics in the superstructure, in administration, in government and party, in theater, press and culture.

We have seen above how bourgeois forces at the schools and universities tried to shape the education of the young people according to their own interests. Should this go on, it will inevitably turn against the dictatorship of the proletariat, undermine its foundations and thus also effect the socialist economic base, making it capitalist again. The development in the Soviet Union gives a warning example.

In China, too, there were only two roads for future development: either the bourgeois line in the superstructure is allowed to grow; bureaucratism, careerism, egoism and other manifestations of petty-bourgeois thinking spread, and a new bourgeois class forms from experts and functionaries who are under petty-bourgeois and partly feudalistic influence – or the working class organizes control from below over the state, the Party, and the government and makes them serve the dictatorship of the proletariat again. In that case the workers have to dismiss those functionaries who want to take the capitalist road and reeducate those who accept the dictatorship of the proletariat, but are still dominated by petty-bourgeois thinking.

> The working class must exercise leadership in everything, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure, including all the various spheres of culture, to fulfill the tasks in all stages of struggle-criticism-transformation put forward by Chairman Mao and to carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end! (Communique of the Enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, in: *Important Documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China*, p. 189)

In the various factories, the revolutionary workers formed workers' propaganda teams which went to the different organs of government and the state apparatus as well as to other social institutions in order to exercise control in the interest of the working class, to uncover abuses and to educate the functionaries. Their tasks were as follows:

> As regards intellectuals, they must be reeducated by the workers, peasants and soldiers so that they can integrate themselves with the workers and peasants. 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. (*Ibid*., pp. 192–193, emphasis by the author)

The worker Liu Minyi, leader of the propaganda team for the study of Mao Zedong Thought at Tsinghua University in Peking, described the work of this propaganda team:

> But we only came to understand the essence as the movement of struggle-criticism-transformation unfolded: the intellectuals are not able to push ahead the revolution in a decisive way by themselves. The working class must step in. Mao called on the workers to take the revolution in the field of education firmly into their hands.... Who transforms whom, and who is victorious over whom? The struggle of the two classes, the two lines and the two roads was sparked off by this question. The leadership of the working class has asserted itself in this struggle. The workers of the metal working factory New China, where I work, have united with the workers of more than 60 other factories and the People's Liberation Army. Together, we organized the propaganda teams for the study of Mao Zedong Thought. We marched into the university on July 27, 1968, 3,000 of us. (Bettelheim, *China 1972*, p. 108)

The Development of the Economic Base on the Basis of Ideological and Political Struggle

The Dialectical Unity of Theory and Practice Prevents the Separation of Science from Production

We know from our own experience the separation of science from production, of mental from manual labor, between research scientists and technicians on the one hand and workers on the other. The former do the constructing, they manage and lead. The latter carry out instructions; they make the products, often just by simple, routine operations (assembly line).

The consequence of this separation is that the valuable experience of the workers, gained directly by their productive

labor, rarely enters into the further development of technique and machinery. When a worker makes a suggestion for improvement, he receives a modest recognition, but the capitalist appropriates this invention and sees to it that his scientists and engineers utilize it in production. Sometimes, valuable inventions are locked away if the capitalists make maximum profit with the old method, too.

At the same time, the technical people accumulate vast knowledge which they keep to themselves and withhold from the workers. This contradiction in production has social consequences: the technicians and scientists get far better pay than the production workers.

The same development threatened in China's factories. It jeopardized the socialist economic base, the social ownership of the means of production, because the further removed the technicians and scientists were from direct productive labor, the less they worked for the revolution. Working for their own well-being became their main concern, and the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking became dominant.

During the Cultural Revolution, three-in-one combinations of workers, technicians and Party cadres were formed to study concrete problems in production and to advance technology together.

In capitalism, a technical innovation, a rationalization is not introduced to make work easier for the workers (sometimes, heavy physical labor is made easier, but the nervous strain is increased at the same time). Rather, improved technology accelerates production in order to increase the capitalist's profit.

In socialism, rationalization is carried out to serve the workers and generally to improve the quantity and quality of the products. The *three-in-one combinations* were especially dedicated to this task.

At the same time, the separation of theory from practice is overcome: the workers acquire technical and scientific knowledge by their study of production and in the course of introducing new products; the technicians learn to include the experience of the workers and not just to go from the requirements of production. In this way, the interrelations between mental and manual labor, between theory and practice form a dialectical unity. A scientific employee of the Shanghai Iron and Steel Institute describes the immediate consequences:

> In 1965, before the Cultural Revolution, I worked in a factory ... to separate nickel and cobalt. I relied on the experts only. At that time I did not want to learn side by side with the workers, and I was not interested in their political experience. (This is an example of the separation of theory from practice.) All I relied on was the American and Soviet technical data.... I gave the advice to use a certain solvent. The workers said this solvent was detrimental to health and smelled bad. They spoke up against using it, but I did not want to listen to them. The result was that some workers had symptoms of chronic poisoning.
>
> In the Cultural Revolution, I learned side by side with the workers and soldiers.... The more experienced workers pointed out to me a strange phenomenon in their work which was not mentioned in the foreign books. We decided to study it and to make experiments. We came upon a new technique which made it possible to stop the use of the dangerous solvent within twenty days. The new solvent was not poisonous and much more effective than the old one. (Bettelheim, *China 1972*, p. 131)

While the capitalist-roaders in power, people of the likes of Liu Shaoqi, clamored that the revolution was hampering production or even making it impossible, economic development in China after the Cultural Revolution proved the exact opposite. The Ninth Party Congress of the Communist Party of China was able to declare already in 1969:

> Our country has seen good harvests in agricultural production for years running and there is also a thriving situation in industrial production and science and technology. The enthusiasm of the broad masses of the working people both in revolution and production has soared to unprecedented heights. Many factories, mines and other enterprises have time and again topped their production records, creating all-time highs in production. (*Important Documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China*, pp. 58–59)

In the following years, too, the national economy continued to grow by leaps and bounds. Table 131 shows how the production of steel, petroleum and artificial fertilizer developed, as well as the total economic output.

Table 131

Production of steel, oil and artificial fertilizer in millions of tons

	1950	1958	1970	1971
Steel	0.6	8.0	18.0	21.0
Oil	0.2	2.264	20.0	25.6
Artificial Fertilizer	0.07	0.81	14.0	16.84
Total Production in billions Yuan		184.1	283.0	311.3

Source: Cheung-Lie Yu, *Der Doppelcharackter des Sozialismus* (The Dual Character of Socialism), Berlin 1975, p. 47

In the year 1971, the People's Republic of China had a higher growth rate of total agricultural and industrial production than the industrial nations listed below:

China	10 percent –	Japan	6.1 percent
		Soviet Union	6.0 percent
		U.S.A.	2.7 percent

In his book *China Since Mao*, Ch. Bettelheim pointed out some production figures to oppose the claim of the new Chinese leadership that it was necessary to "put an end to the protracted stagnation and even regression in the country's economy." He makes the following observation:

> This "argument" is a flagrant falsehood. *There has been no protracted stagnation or regression in the country's economy.* Between 1965, the last year before the Cultural Revolution, and the most recent years for which we have estimates, there was no stagnation. Production of electric power increased from 42 to 108 billion kwh (in 1974), production of steel from 12.5 to 32.8 million tons (in 1974), of coal from 220 to 389 million tons (in 1974), and of oil from 10.8 to between 75 and 80 million tons (in 1975). To speak of a *protracted* period of stagnation, and even of regression, is in complete conflict with reality, and is aimed merely at slandering the Cultural Revolution itself. (p. 77)

We want to add to these figures some information given by the organ of the German steel concerns, *Eisen und Stahl*: China took seventh place in world steel production in 1970, and fifth place in 1975 (see table 132 below).

Table 132

Steel production of some important countries of the world (in thousands of tons)

	1970	1975		1970	1975
U.S.A.	122,120	108,250	France	23,773	21,530
U.S.S.R.	115,889	141,325	China	18,000	24,000
Japan	93,322	102,313	Australia	6,909	7,869
FRG	45,041	40,415	India	6,271	7,989
England	28,316	20,105	Brazil	5,390	8,308

Source: *Eisen und Stahl*, No. 3, 1977, pp. 66–67

Particularly, when we compare China with developing countries like India and Brazil, the economic upswing of China becomes clear. The point is the tendency of steel production, and not that steel production is still relatively small for a large country such as China. Since the Cultural Revolution, from 1967 to 1976, the production of raw steel in the People's Republic rose from 14 to 26 million tons, an increase of 85.7 percent.

Such growth is the result of the spreading and deepening of socialist consciousness among steel workers. Let us see what the Workers' Writing Group of the Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Plant wrote about this development:

> Just from looking at the profound changes in our plant since the Great Cultural Revolution began, we workers rejoice from the bottom of our hearts. Ours is a plant set up in the big leap forward year of 1958 to make special steel. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we members of the working class, in the revolutionary spirit of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts," finished building a big converter shop in 32 days. By 1960, our plant had produced over 50 times as much steel as in 1958 and varieties exceeded 200. Then, in 1962-65, steel output plummeted due to interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi's counterrevolutionary revisionist line. This revisionist line was criticized and repudiated during the Great Cultural Revolution and the enterprise once again returned to the socialist orientation so that its leadership firmly rested in the hands of the proletariat. Since then, the situation in both revolution and production has become better and better. (*Peking Review* No. 24, 1974, pp. 6–7)

The gross output of the mechanical engineering industry doubled from 1965 to 1973; the production of tractors was five times higher than in 1965. The energy supply also rose considerably. The production of electric power in 1973 was 140 percent higher than in 1965. In the countryside, China possessed 50,000 small hydroelectric power stations in 1973 (for a comparison: 26 in 1949); the supply of rural regions with electric power had increased in 1973 by 330 percent compared to 1965.

In socialism, the first phase of communism, the principle of distribution is: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." There are still differences among people which have to do with the different payment they receive for their work. It is still necessary to have distribution according to an individual's performance, because in this first phase there is not yet an abundance of products in society.

The decisive condition for this principle of distribution is the different attitudes that people in a socialist society still have towards work. Work for the common good, for the building of socialism and communism, has become a primary need only for a small part of the people. This is the most advanced part, those who are filled with socialist consciousness, who are not primarily concerned about the correct payment when they do a job, but who subordinate their individual material interests to the universal interests of the revolution.

The masses created their own methods of evaluating performance and payment during the Cultural Revolution. Even in agriculture, material incentives as a motivating force for production were replaced by new methods. Myrdal tells about the village Liu Ling:

> Formerly each item of work, each task, had been attributed a certain value. So or so many work days' pay for each job. During the years 1963-65 this system had tended to develop into piece-work.
>
> It had led to certain tasks being individually profitable, others less so. Those who managed the work were also in a position – by distributing the work – to affect the incomes of individual members of the brigade....

> "What happened was that work came to be evaluated by a small group of leading cadres, who also distributed the work. And that was bad. As there was a bonus paid when the planned production was exceeded, people were enticed to lower the planned goals for production.... This caused a heavy damage to our economy. It undermined our economy. The investments were made according to the planned production. Thus certain people could get out money for themselves that in reality ought to have gone to absolutely necessary investments.
>
> "This was unfair. Even though everybody worked, some people got higher incomes and some were getting ever less. Everybody worked for himself." (*China: The Revolution Continued*, pp. 81/82)

Didn't the Soviet Union go off in a similar direction, before, as an unavoidable consequence, the restoration of capitalism succeeded there? How did the peasants in Liu Ling change this system? Myrdal continues:

> The basis of the new system of income distribution, introduced now, was that all members, whether working or not, should enjoy basic security in the form of grain. Income from work was additional to this basic security.
>
> After these discussions, however, all forms of piece-work were abolished. Therefore no accounts were kept of what work had been done by whom or of individual performance. Only daily work-attendance was recorded. This meant that whether one was chosen to do this job or that job made no difference to one's income. Whether one dug or harvested, fetched manure from town or worked at the noodle factory, the day's work had the same value.
>
> This also made it possible to do away with most bookkeeping work – thus releasing more labor for production.
>
> But, of course, people work differently. And attitudes to work vary. One person's working day is not the same as another's. This had to be taken into account.

> Thus everyone's individual working capacity was evaluated at the annual meeting. This evaluation took into account not merely physical strength, but also other factors: their experience, thriftiness with the collective property, political awareness. The evaluation was not made by any committee or group of experts. At the annual meeting each person got up and said what he thought his own day's work was worth: 7 work-points, 9 work-points. After which the meeting discussed the accuracy of this assessment and then decided what that member's day's work was in fact to be worth. (pp. 83 and 104)
>
> But if this system of income distribution was to be carried through in practice, it was vital that the members should be conscious that they were working for the common good. Only when they put politics first could work be remunerated in this way.
>
> The prevailing opinion in Liu Ling was that the system had shown itself capable of working. It simply wasn't true, as Liu Shao-ch'i had maintained, that each man has to work for himself. People didn't grow 'lazier' just because no one was measuring how much they'd done, hour by hour. No one stayed away from the heavy construction work just because he could 'earn as much' by pushing a dung-cart. Those who had uttered warnings against people's 'innate laziness and egoism' had been proved wrong. (p. 105)

In continuing the revolution and building socialism it is vital to gradually overcome the differences in the distribution of the material products of socialism by developing socialist consciousness.

What Myrdal relates to us in his concrete example of agriculture before the Cultural Revolution could also be seen in industry. The situation was even more complicated there. In his book *China 1972*, Bettelheim has the deputy director of the Peking General Knitwear Factory report about the situation on August 15, 1971:

> Before the Cultural Revolution I was assistant director of this factory; in this capacity I implemented the revisionist line. I did not understand what was meant by putting proletarian politics in command, nor did I understand that there were two headquarters within the party. I concentrated on production and technology. I demanded that the workers devote themselves to production – production, production, always production. When the workers failed to fulfill the plan, they were offered material incentives, bonuses. In the old days there were twenty-eight different kinds of bonuses – monthly, quarterly, annual bonuses for those who exceeded the established norms, bonuses for quality work.... There were also bonuses for those who devoted themselves entirely to their work, without thinking of anything else, without thinking of moving elsewhere. We had some workers from Shanghai who were always thinking of their native province. To keep them quiet and tied to their jobs, we gave them bonuses. (English translation quoted from: Ch. Bettelheim: *Cultural Revolution and Industrial Organization in China*, N.Y., 1974, p. 18)

This nonsense of bonuses was done away with in the Cultural Revolution, yet eight wage levels remained. The most important thing was the ideological-political aspect, however, which the industrial workers tackled in a principled way. The report of the Workers' Writing Group of the Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Plant tells us:

> Chairman Mao teaches us that, in socialist society, there are both harmony and contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces, and between the superstructure and the economic base. He pointed out: "But survivals of bourgeois ideology, certain bureaucratic ways of doing things in our state organs and defects in certain links in our state institutions are in contradiction with the socialist economic base." The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has further consolidated and developed the socialist economic base and brought the socialist relations of production to greater perfection; the Party's centralized leadership has been strengthened and the various principles of the proletarian way of running enterprises are being put into practice. The result is that we workers have never been so militant and daring as today. And this has greatly promoted the development of production. (*Peking Review,* No. 24, 1974, p. 8)

After Mao Zedong's death, the new Chinese leadership takes the position that economics must have primacy over politics. New China News Agency asserted on 21 September 1977:

> In the final analysis, the decisive factor for social progress is the economic base, and the productive forces are the most active and revolutionary factor of the economic base. This is why in the long run the productive forces will determine the relations of production.

We want to counter this with Lenin, who in his article "Once Again on the Trade Unions" emphatically took a position contrary to the ideas of Trotsky and Bucharin:

> Without a correct political approach to the matter the given class will be unable to stay on top, *and, consequently*, will be incapable of solving *its production problem* either. (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 84)

The new Chinese leadership discards these principles of Marxism-Leninism. What they are preaching is sheer economism. They introduce material incentives to improve production, thus engendering egoism and careerism among the workers and peasants and undermining the socialist consciousness of the masses. They abolish the principle of "building socialism based on self-reliance" by taking billions of Marks in loans from the German monopolies, creating a huge debt and obligating themselves to export to be able to service the debt.

Educating and improving socialist consciousness is replaced by corruption through material goods. As a result, the law of productivity in socialism is replaced by the capitalist law of productivity. Let us compare the two laws of produc-

tivity once again. It becomes clear what direction China is now taking:

> **The increase of labor productivity in capitalism** is based on the striving of the capitalists for maximum profits, which are obtained by the development of technology in conjunction with increased intensity of labor, the latter being achieved by material incentives and pressure applied in various ways. In short: securing of maximum profits through increased exploitation of labor.
>
> **The increase of labor productivity in socialism** is based on the endeavor to satisfy and raise the material and cultural needs of society as a whole, which is accomplished by constantly improving the level of technology in conjunction with expanding and deepening socialist consciousness as the motivation for work. In short: satisfaction of the growing needs of all working people by highly developed technology in conjunction with the socialist consciousness of the masses. (Willi Dickhut, *The Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union,* p. 124)

The method of material incentives brings forth individualism and does not improve socialist consciousness, but divides people into rivals who compete against each other for the biggest bonuses. The consequence is that people take over capitalist ideals like personal enrichment, egoism, and pursuit of profit. Phenomena such as the private appropriation of collective property, speculation, embezzlement, corruption, theft, and bribery will spread, just as they did in the Soviet Union after the restoration of capitalism.

The leadership in China under Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping has left the ideological-political line of Mao Zedong and is systematically reversing the results of the Cultural Revolution. We must keep in mind the significance of the Cultural Revolution and defend its principles.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is:

1. the *highest form of class struggle* in socialist society;
2. the awakening and rapid *development of socialist consciousness in the masses* by means of criticism and self-criticism and by studying and, at the same time, putting into practice Mao Zedong Thought;
3. the concrete form of *exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat* to prevent the bureaucratization of the Party, the government and management apparatus (against capitalist-roaders in power);
4. the building of an ideological-political barrier *against the danger of capitalist restoration*.

The concept of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great contribution to Marxism-Leninism under the conditions of class struggle in socialism. This class struggle manifests itself as a dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the sharpest control over the bureaucracy, which is guided by petty-bourgeois thinking that is spontaneously generated again and again by the tradition of bourgeois ideology. Therefore, the bureaucracy endeavors to separate itself from the masses, to look down on them and ignore them.

This bureaucracy systematically develops into a new class which takes the capitalist road and gives rise to the danger of a capitalist restoration. At that point the danger will have to be eliminated once more by a new Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Mao Tsetung pointed to this, admonishing:

> 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 cultural revolu-

> tions, or three or four. We must be very much on the alert and never lose vigilance. (*Renmin Ribao* of May 23, 1967; quoted in J. Myrdal, *China: The Revolution Continued*, p. 192)

There is only one alternative:

Either Proletarian Cultural Revolution or restoration of capitalism!

[redacted]

Even in China, where, compared to the vast masses of peasants, the proletariat numerically constituted a small class, Mao Zedong set store on the leading role of the industrial workers:

> Though not very numerous, the industrial proletariat represents China's new productive forces, is the most progressive class in modern China and has become the leading force in the revolutionary movement.... The first reason why the industrial workers hold this position is their concentration. No other section of the people is so concentrated. The second reason is their low economic status. They have been deprived of all means of production, have nothing left but their hands, have no hope of ever becoming rich and, moreover, are subjected to the most ruthless treatment by the imperialists, the warlords and the bourgeoisie. That is why they are particularly good fighters. (*Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. 1, p. 18)

To carry out the revolution it does not suffice to conquer the decisive majority of the working class. In its revolutionary struggle, the proletariat needs reserves, allies from the petty-bourgeois strata and the semi-proletarians. This is demonstrated by the victorious revolutions in Russia and China where the peasants' masses made up the overwhelming majority of the entire population. Here, the peasants were numerically the main forces of the revolution.

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2. On the Dangers of a Third World War

The wars of the pre-imperialist epoch of capitalism usually had a limited character. They were fought by relatively small armies, mostly by troops of mercenaries. With the rapid development of industry and technology, the transition of the capitalism of free competition to monopoly capitalism, to imperialism with its striving for colonies, for raw material sources and markets, under certain conditions imperialist wars had to take on a worldwide character. Lenin pointed to this development already in 1905 in his article "The Fall of Port Arthur":

> The days when wars were fought by mercenaries or by representatives of a caste half-isolated from the people have gone for ever. ... Wars today are fought by peoples [i. e., the peoples

> are directly involved in a war – the editors RW]; this now brings out more strikingly than ever a great attribute of war, namely, that it opens the eyes of millions to the disparity between the people and the government, which heretofore was evident only to a small class-conscious minority. (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 50)

History has confirmed Lenin's statement: 28 states with a total population of 1.5 billion people participated in the First World War from 1914 to 1918. In the Second World War from 1939 to 1945, the number amounted even to 40 states with a total population of 1.7 billion people, i.e., eighty percent of the world population. Armies of millions confronted each other: 70 million people were conscripted to war service during the First World War, 110 million during the Second World War.

But the use of war material also changed, growing tremendously in line with the development of technology: mechanization, motorization, automatic weapon systems with electronic control, etc. created a war machinery of gigantic dimensions.

Two World Wars have afflicted the peoples of the world, most of all the European peoples. Atrocious massacres, many millions dead and wounded, terrible destruction and plundering, and, in the aftermath, misery, poverty, hunger. And why did all this happen? When the First World War broke out, Lenin wrote in "The War and Russian Social-Democracy":

> The European war, which the governments and the bourgeois parties of all countries have been preparing for decades, has broken out. The growth of armaments, the extreme intensification of the struggle for markets in the latest – the imperialist – stage of capitalist development in the advanced countries, and the dynastic interests of the more backward East-European monarchies were inevitably bound to bring about

> this war, and have done so. Seizure of territory and subjugation of other nations, the ruining of competing nations and the plunder of their wealth, distracting the attention of the working masses from the internal political crises in Russia, Germany, Britain and other countries, disuniting and nationalist stultification of the workers, and the extermination of their vanguard so as to weaken the revolutionary movement of the proletariat – these comprise the sole actual content, importance and significance of the present war. (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 27)

The Second World War was also prepared militarily by huge armaments. In only four years, fascist Germany created a war machinery that was the most modern of the world at the time. The Hitler fascists proclaimed openly that Germany, as a "people without space," needed colonies and land in the East, in Poland and the Ukraine. The Second World War was unleashed by them. The result: many millions dead, murdered and crippled, destroyed cities and villages, devastated land, millions of refugees, inconceivable misery, years of hunger for the people's masses.

In spite of all this, again we witness a mad arms race and feverish preparation for war today – a Third World War threatens once again! As before, the greatest danger emanates from imperialism, in particular the superpowers, the US imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists. Experience shows that both World Wars ended with revolutions in several countries. Lenin already pointed to this development in July of 1915 in his "Draft Resolution of the Zimmerwald Left":

> The imperialist war is ushering in the era of the social revolution. All the objective conditions of recent times have put the proletariat's revolutionary mass struggle on the order of the day. It is the duty of socialists, while making use of every means of the working class's legal struggle, to subordinate each and every of those means to this immediate and most impor-

> tant task, develop the workers' revolutionary consciousness, rally them in the international revolutionary struggle, promote and encourage any revolutionary action, and do everything possible to turn the imperialist war between the peoples into a civil war of the oppressed classes against their oppressors, a war for the expropriation of the class of capitalists, for the conquest of political power by the proletariat, and the realisation of socialism. (*Ibid.,* pp. 347-348)

The revisionists, however, have betrayed the revolution by renouncing the armed struggle and proclaiming the "peaceful road." They view the "struggle for peace" as the prevention of conflicts that have a national and social character, but in reality they encourage the imperialists to intervene. They stand in contradiction to Lenin's concept of the struggle for peace, which can be fought most successfully by intensifying the class struggle and the national liberation struggle and by keeping the imperialists under pressure. This pressure is all the more effective if the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples can be coordinated with the class struggle of the proletariat in the monopoly capitalist countries.

At the climax of the ideological-political debate over the general line of the international communist movement between the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Mao Zedong and the revisionist Communist Party of the Soviet Union under the leadership of Khrushchov during the years 1963 and 1964, the Soviet revisionists reproached the Chinese leadership for seeking to "advance" the revolution through a war although a revolutionary situation did not exist. The revisionists did not differentiate here between the three kinds of wars and took the position of the pacifists, for whom all wars are the same. Did this also refer to a world war? The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China took a position on this issue in its letter to the Central Committee of the CPSU of June 14, 1963:

> If they are referring to a world war, then they are shooting at a non-existent target. Although Marxist-Leninists have pointed out, on the basis of the history of the two world wars, that world wars inevitably lead to revolution, no Marxist-Leninist ever has held or ever will hold that revolution must be made through world war. (*The Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement*, Peking 1965, Reprint, pp. 26-27)

The revisionist allegation that the then Chinese leadership wanted to "add fuel" to revolutions in the capitalist countries through a world war was not even believed by the bourgeois press. The newspaper *Die Welt* of August 26, 1963, wrote in its editorial:

> This is why an objection is raised that sounds convincing: the only reason why Khrushchov vociferously portrays the Chinese as warmongering world revolutionaries and enemies of any peaceful competition is because this is a better contrast to his own current behavior and makes it look more peace-loving and thus more trustworthy.

The pacifist newspaper *Das andere Deutschland* (The Other Germany) of July 1, 1963, voiced this opinion in its leading article:

> This does by no means signify that China wishes a world war. The Chinese foreign policy is directed towards peace with the neighboring peoples. Agreements have been made with neighboring states like Mongolia, Pakistan, Nepal, Burma, which eliminated all border disputes. They were unsuccessful at this only in the case of India.

Stalin emphasized that because of the unevenness of the development of capitalism "the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries remains in force," and he continued:

> It is said that Lenin's thesis that imperialism inevitably generates war must now be regarded as obsolete, since powerful popular forces have come forward today in defence of peace and

against another world war. That is not true. (Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, Peking 1976, p. 36)

In the "Open Letter" of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China of 30 March 1963, the Soviet revisionists allege – contrary to the fundamental view of Stalin:

> A world war, such as imperialism threatens mankind with, is *not* fatally *inevitable*. With the balance of forces increasingly tipping in favour of socialism and against imperialism, and with the forces of peace increasingly gaining weight over the forces of war, it will become really possible to rule out the possibility of world war from the life of society even before socialism fully triumphs on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world. (*The Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement*, Peking, 1965, Reprint, p. 505; emphasis ours – the editors RW)

This is identical with the line of the revisionist parties: "with the balance of forces tipping in favor of socialism," one could reach socialism "by the peaceful road," without a revolution. The Soviet revisionists want to prevent a world war by prevailing upon the oppressed peoples to renounce their national liberation struggle. They are preaching the "peaceful road to socialism" to the international working class so that it gives up armed struggle and civil war. The national and social revolution is to be prevented because a war could develop from such conflicts and grow into a world war.

In contrast to this opportunist concept regarding the question of how to prevent a world war, the Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Mao Zedong held a revolutionary position, which was substantiated as follows in thesis 14 of the letter of June 14, 1963:

> The people of the world universally demand the prevention of a new world war. And it is possible to prevent a new world war.

> The question then is, what is the way to secure world peace? According to the Leninist viewpoint, world peace can be won only by the struggles of the people in all countries and not by begging the imperialists for it. World peace can only be effectively defended by relying on the development of the forces of the socialist camp, on the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and working people of all countries, on the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and on the struggles of all peace-loving people and countries. (*Ibid.*, p. 28)

The close connection of the struggle for world peace with the class struggle of the workers and the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples is emphasized here.

In the meantime, the international communist movement was split by the revisionists, and the socialist camp has dissolved. A new type of capitalism replaced socialism and developed into social-imperialism, first in the Soviet Union, then – after the death of Mao Zedong – also in the People's Republic of China. In the Soviet Union under the leadership of Khrushchov/Brezhnev, in China under the leadership of the Hua Guofeng/Deng Xiaoping clique, the modern revisionists have betrayed the people, Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

But that has not abolished the contradictions between the revisionist countries, it is more likely that they have intensified. The ideological contradictions that arose with the Twentieth Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have transformed into contradictions between two imperialist states of a new type.

The two social-imperialist great powers are rivaling with each other over spheres of influence, particularly in the developing countries of Africa and Asia. Their rivalry in Indochina has resulted in armed conflicts on the backs of and at the cost of these peoples. Under revisionist leadership, China comes forward in Africa as a competitor to the Soviet neocolonialists, likewise

seeking to win political influence and markets by granting military and economic "aid." It curried favor with Yugoslavia and Romania, provided moral support to the Shah of Iran and reactionary statesmen like Mobutu in Zaire and Pinochet in Chile.

The Chinese leadership sought the friendship of US imperialism and support in the form of the delivery of modern American weapons. They opened the country to the industrial countries for capital investments and goods. At the same time they stirred up contradictions between these countries and the Soviet Union by a warmongering propaganda. The Deng clique proclaimed the "theory of three worlds" (see also *China aktuell 2* [1], Verlag Neuer Weg, Stuttgart), which calls for a united struggle of the countries of the third world (the developing countries) and the second world (the industrial countries) against the first world (the two superpowers USA and Soviet Union). In the meantime, the Chinese leadership has excluded the superpower USA from the first world, because the USA is expected to take over a leading role in NATO in a war against the Soviet Union – although they are well aware that a NATO war against the Soviet Union means the outbreak of the Third World War. Such a mad, warmongering imperialist policy must be condemned and fought against by the peoples all over the world in a determined way.

[redacted]

[1] The "Theory of Three Worlds" as a Strategic Conception Smacks of Right-Wing Opportunism! 1978

[redacted]

The government of the People's Republic of China made a statement to this effect after its own first nuclear test on October 16, 1964:

> China is developing nuclear weapons not because it believes in their omnipotence nor because it plans to use them. On the contrary, in developing nuclear weapons, China's aim is to break the nuclear monopoly of the nuclear powers and to eliminate nuclear weapons.
>
> The Chinese Government is loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We believe in the people. It is the people, and not any weapons, that decide the outcome of a war. The destiny of China is decided by the Chinese people, while the destiny of the world is decided by the people of the world, and not by nuclear weapons. China is developing nuclear weapons for defence and for protecting the Chinese people from U.S. threats to launch a nuclear war.
>
> *The Chinese Government hereby solemnly declares that China will never at any time or under any circumstances be the first to use nuclear weapons.* (*Break the Nuclear Monopoly, Eliminate Nuclear Weapons*, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1965, pp. 1-5; Internet, "Modern History Sourcebook;" German text quoted from *Peking Rundschau* of October 20, 1964)

18 years later, on June 15, 1982, the Soviet government made a similar statement through its representative to the UN Special Conference:

> The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics undertakes not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. This commitment is valid immediately, the moment it is declared from the platform of the UN General Assembly. (Quoted in *Unsere Zeit*, June 18, 1982)

All these years, the Soviet social-imperialists have dismissed the statement by the Chinese government as unrealistic or have ignored it. Why do they make such a statement only now? Their attempt to exploit the deep desire of the people for the preservation of peace and the current petty-bourgeois-pacifist peace movement one-sidedly in the interest of their foreign policy was not successful. The peace movement was directed no longer merely against the main warmonger, the USA, but against the mad arms race of both superpowers and the growing danger of war in Europe as well. The Soviet social-imperialists were compelled to change their tactics so that they would not lose their influence on the European peace movement.

In the 1960's, during the public debate on their disagreements with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union repeatedly made the slanderous allegation that the CP of China under Mao Zedong would make world revolution through a nuclear war.

The theoretical organ of the CP of China *Hongqi* (Red Flag), Nos. 3-4, 1963, firmly repudiated this slander under the headline, "More on the Differences between Comrade Togliatti and Us":

> Possession of nuclear weapons by the socialist countries has a purely defensive purpose, the purpose of preventing the imperialists from unleashing nuclear war. Therefore, with nuclear superiority in their hands, the socialist countries will never attack other countries with such weapons; they will not permit themselves to launch such attacks, nor will they have any need to do so. Being firmly opposed to the policy of nuclear blackmail, *the socialist countries advocate the total banning and destruction of nuclear weapons*. Such is the attitude, line and policy of the People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China on the question of nuclear weapons. Such is the attitude, line and policy of all Marxist-Leninists. The modern revisionists deliberately distort our attitude, line and policy on this question and fabricate mean and vulgar slanders and lies; their purpose is to cover up the nuclear blackmail of the imperialists and to conceal their own adventurism and capitulationism on the question of nuclear weapons. It must be pointed out that adventurism and capitulationism on this question are very dangerous and are an expression of the worst kind of irresponsibility. (*Whence the Differences?* n.d., n.p., p. 238; emphasis ours – the editors RW)

This was a declaration of a socialist country: of China under the leadership of Mao Zedong. The current leadership has transformed China into a social-imperialist country and has given up the principles of socialism, as did the modern revisionists in the Soviet Union twenty years before.

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III. Peaceful Coexistence Between Countries with Different Social Systems

1. The Meaning of Peaceful Coexistence

Since the class struggle does not develop evenly in the capitalist countries, socialism cannot gain victory in all countries simultaneously. Then a situation arises in which socialist states exist simultaneously with states that have another social system, either bourgeois or pre-bourgeois.

When the proletariat in Russia created the first socialist state through the October Revolution in 1917, it was confronted with the difficult task to assert itself against the furious attacks of the imperialist powers. It was not before 1920 that the Soviet people defeated the armed intervention. The imperialists were forced to acknowledge the existence of the socialist state.

> That is the way it always is – when the enemy is beaten, he begins talking peace. Time and again we have told these gentlemen, the imperialists of Europe, that we agree to make peace, but they continued to dream of enslaving Russia. Now they realise that their dreams are not fated to come true. ("First Conference on Party Work in the Countryside," Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 145)

In this situation, Lenin developed the policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, which was continued under Stalin. On this basis, the People's

Republic of China elaborated the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" in 1954:

> They are mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. (*The Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement*, Peking 1965, Reprint, pp. 271-272)

Whereas the imperialists, chasing after maximum profits, constantly strive to dominate the world and therefore spread war everywhere, the foreign policy of a proletarian state is by nature not aggressive but peaceful. It is determined by proletarian internationalism which supports the struggle of the exploited and oppressed masses against the imperialists.

> Only the working class, when it has gained power, will be able to pursue a peace policy, not merely in words, like the Mensheviks and S. R.s [Social Revolutionaries – the editors RW], who in practice support the bourgeoisie and their secret treaties, but in deeds. ("Draft Resolution on the Present Political Situation," Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 319)

The socialist state must create the most favorable conditions possible for the building of socialism and aspires for this reason to peaceful relations with states that have a different social system. This is also in the interest of the international proletariat as well as the peoples oppressed by imperialism. The successful building of socialism encourages them constantly, being proof that it is possible to throw off the exploiters' yoke. Simultaneously, the socialist state is able to support the revolutionary movements. Lenin wrote about this question:

> There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is – working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own country*, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this struggle*, this, *and only this*, line, in *every* country without exception. ("The Tasks of the Proletariat in our Revolution," Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 75)

The peoples' liberation can only be accomplished by the peoples themselves. Therefore, wars of aggression are at no time the policy of socialism. The building of socialism is the most important contribution of the victorious proletariat to the world revolution.

Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems has the objective to utilize the contradictions existing between them in order to weaken the imperialist powers and, at the same time, to prevent them forming a common bloc against the socialist state. The socialist foreign policy differentiates between

a) nations oppressed by imperialism and states which gained their political independence only a short while ago,

b) weaker capitalist states,

c) imperialist states.

Lenin attached particular importance to friendly relations *with nations oppressed by imperialism*. The imperialist yoke makes them natural allies of the proletariat. By establishing political and economic relations, the socialist state supports all endeavors that have the goal of letting these countries detach themselves from their dependence on imperialism.

When after the Second World War several *states had gained political independence through struggle*, China under Mao Zedong supported them as much as it could to help them consolidate and preserve their independence. At international conferences, and from 1971 on also within the United Nations, China became an advocate of these states and denounced the machinations of the imperialists, in particular the superpow-

ers, the USA and the Soviet Union. Its economic aid was exemplary, for instance the construction of the railroad from Tanzania to Zambia, 1,900 kilometers long. This was fundamentally different from the "foreign aid" given by the imperialists – given always on terms which make the developing countries dependent.

For example, Wolfgang Bartke, a bourgeois expert of the *Institut für Asienkunde* (Institute for Asian Studies) made this assessment in his article, "Foreign Aid Given by the People's Republic of China: An Alternative Model for Development or an Instrument of Foreign Policy?":

> Chinas course in connection with this aid is so spectacular, however, that one must assume that the benefit for the recipient is primarily in the foreground. The highest principle of the Chinese development aid policy is that aid must not be linked to profit.... China stands out not only for giving interest-free foreign aid loans but also for its terms of repayment, whose generosity is unequaled by any Western or other communist state. In all larger projects, when a project is completed, China grants a redemption-free period of ten years. Only then does repayment begin, stretched normally over a period of ten years. The Western states and the Soviet Union handle things differently. (Source: Institute for Foreign Relations in Cooperation with the Institute for Asian Studies, *Wirtschaftspartner China. Analysen, Dokumente, Daten, Hintergründe,* [Economic Partner China. Analyses, Documents, Data, Background], Stuttgart 1975, Second Edition, pp. 70-71)

After the victory over the foreign intervention, the young Soviet power was almost completely isolated. With tactical skill, Lenin was able to *drive wedges into the encirclement* and thus ease the dangerous situation.

> While we stand alone and the capitalist world is strong, our foreign policy consists, on the one hand, in our having to utilise disagreements (to vanquish all the imperialist powers would, of course, be a most pleasant thing, but for a fairly long time we shall not be in a position to do so). On the one hand, our existence depends on the presence of radical differences between the imperialist powers, and, on the other, on the Entente's victory [the Entente was an alliance of states in the First World War – the editors RW] and the Peace of Versailles having thrown the vast majority of the German nation into a situation it is impossible for them to live in....
>
> The German bourgeois government has an implacable hatred of the Bolsheviks, but such is its international position that, against its own desires, the government is driven towards peace with Soviet Russia. ("The Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets; Report on Concessions," Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 475 and 476)

A result of this policy was the Rapallo Treaty of 1922; it broke the political isolation of the Soviet Union by establishing diplomatic relations with Germany and preluded the developing of economic relations.

Also vis-à-vis the *victorious imperialist powers* the policy of peaceful coexistence was successfully applied. Essential methods in this respect were trade agreements and concessions granted to capitalist enterprises. The Soviet Union was also interested in such agreements for the purpose of rebuilding its industry, heavily damaged after the many years of the First World War and the civil war, and making industrialization possible. Simultaneously, such economic relations compelled the imperialist states to recognize the Soviet state politically and reduced the immediate danger of a direct military aggression and the formation of imperialist blocs against the Soviet Union. Thus the socialist state can benefit from the fact that the capitalist corporations, in their greed for profit, establish economic relations even with the hated socialist system.

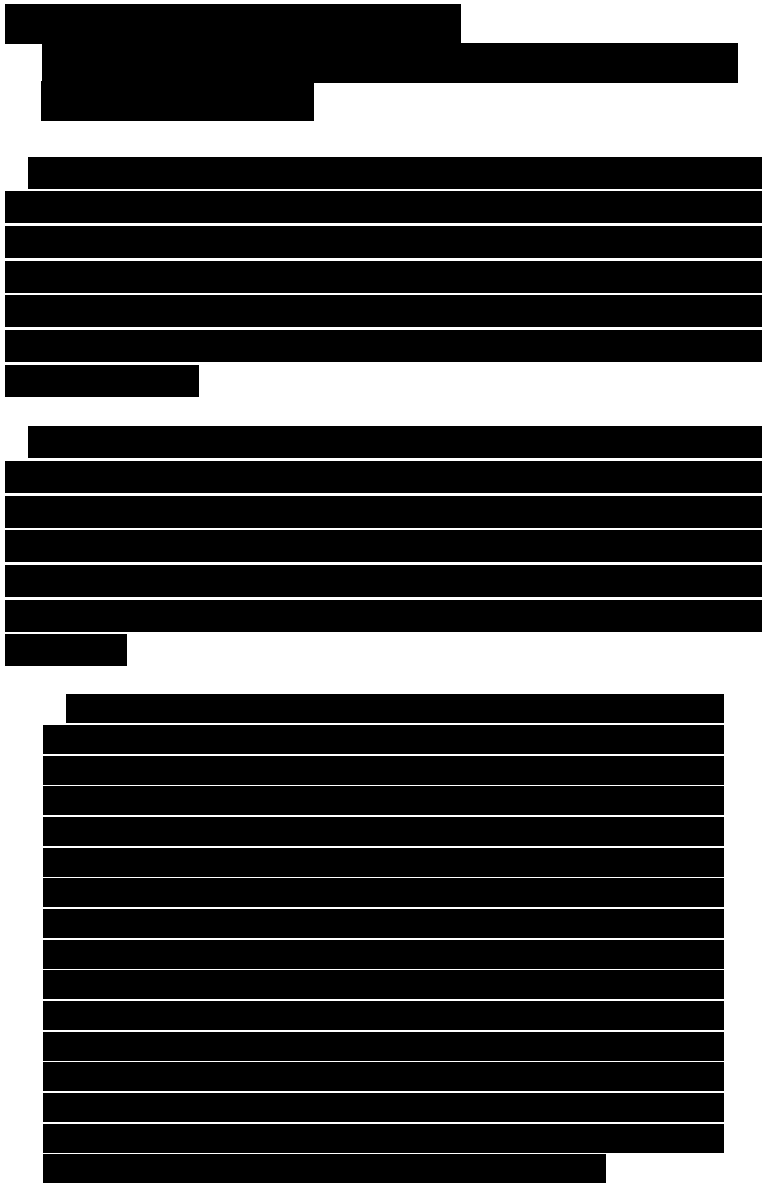
The economic relations of the Soviet Union under Lenin and Stalin and of the People's Republic of China under Mao Zedong

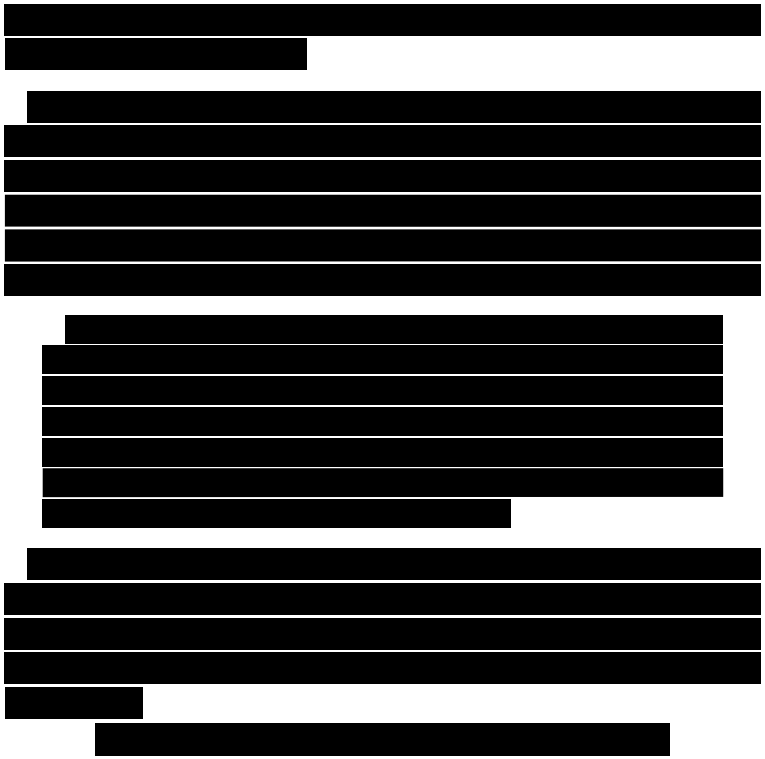
never jeopardized the independence of the socialist state and the achievements of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In 1922, the Genoa Conference failed, for instance, because the Soviet delegation was not willing to accept the conditions imposed by the imperialist states headed by Great Britain. They had demanded, among other things, that several laws protecting the workers be repealed and the foreign trade monopoly canceled, which would have meant the exploitation and enslavement of Russia. Lenin analyzed correctly that the capitalists would not allow business with the Soviet Union to escape them for long. In fact, it took less than two years until the necessary treaties were concluded and one capitalist state after the other had to recognize the Soviet Union diplomatically.

The modern revisionists in the Soviet Union headed by Khrushchov betrayed Lenin's principle of "peaceful coexistence" in order to push through the restoration of a new type of capitalism, of bureaucratic state-monopoly capitalism. The Communist Party of China under Mao Zedong condemned the revisionist policies of the Khrushchov clique and, loyal to principle, defended Lenin's position on peaceful coexistence.

However, the policy of the new Chinese leadership is contrary to that of Mao Zedong. Unscrupulously, it encumbers China with foreign debts, allows foreign corporations to acquire more than fifty percent interest in Chinese enterprises, offers the Chinese workers to the foreign monopolies to be exploited as cheap labor, allows them to dictate the working conditions, even to fire workers. (See also *China aktuell 4*, *Die Führung Chinas zerstört die Diktatur des Proletariats* [The Chinese Leadership Destroys the Dictatorship of the Proletariat], Verlag Neuer Weg, 1979)

This is not a policy of peaceful coexistence but a policy of selling out the socialist achievements to foreign capitalists.





3. The Bloody Border Provocations of the Social-Imperialists Against Then Socialist China in 1969

On 2 and 15 March 1969, armed troops from the Soviet Union intruded on the Chinese island of Chenpao in the Ussuri river and opened fire with rifles and cannon on the Chinese border guards, many of whom were killed or wounded. In a "note of protest" the social-imperialists brazenly declared the island of

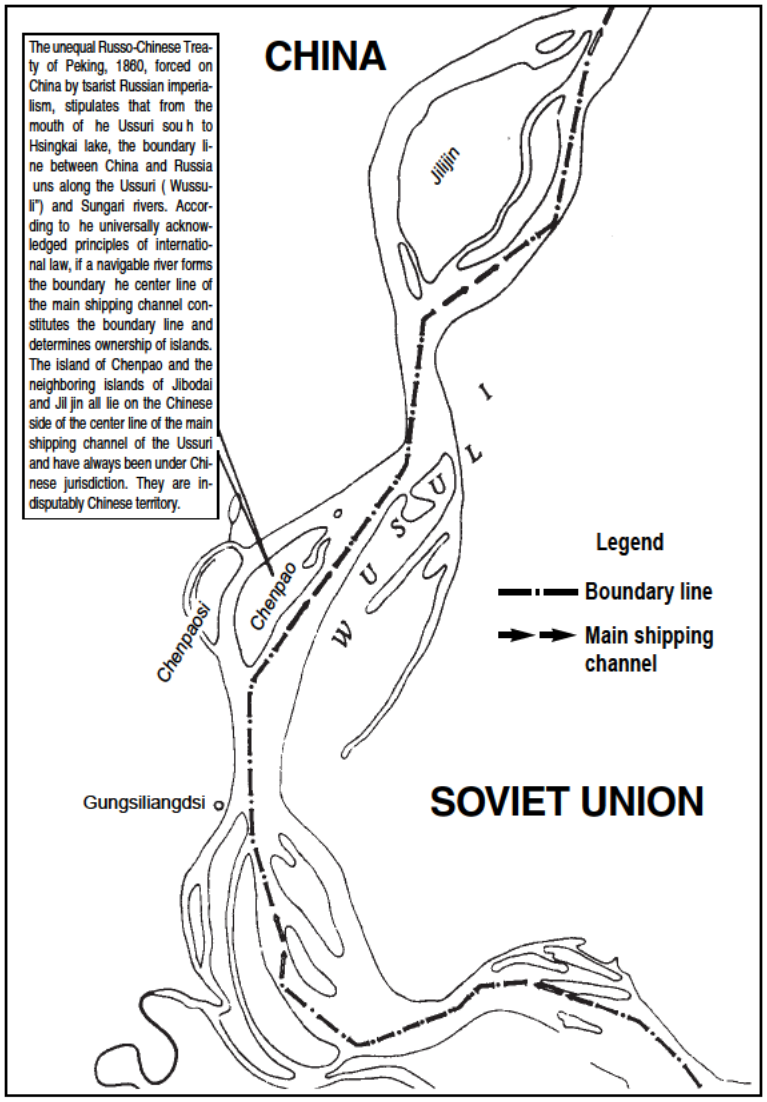
Chenpao to be their territory and claimed that the unit of Chinese border guards had "crossed the Soviet frontier" and launched a "provocative attack" on the Soviet frontier guards. The government of the People's Republic of China lodged a sharp protest and stated:

> The island of Chenpao is Chinese territory. This is indisputable, hard fact. Even the Russo-Chinese Treaty of Peking, an unequal treaty forced by tsarist Russian imperialism on the people of China in 1860, says that the territory of the island of Chenpao belongs to China.... How can anyone claim that Chenpao has suddenly slipped across the "Soviet frontier" onto the other side? (Leading article of *Renmin Ribao* of March 4, 1969; our translation from the German – the editors RW)

The serious provocations of March 1969 were preceded by numerous border incidents instigated by the Soviet Union along the entire Sino-Soviet frontier. Just in the period from January 23, 1967, through March 2, 1969, the social-imperialists made 16 incursions on the territory of the Chinese island of Chenpao during the frost period. This fact, the declaration of the People's Republic of China continued,

> once again permits the peoples of the entire world to recognize in all clarity that this handful of renegades are out-and-out social-imperialists and genuine new tsars. They have cruelly plundered and brutally suppressed at will the masses of several East European countries. They have even sent an armed force numbering several hundred thousand men to occupy Czechoslovakia and have made further areas of Eastern Europe their sphere of influence – this all in the attempt to set up a tsarist-style colonial empire. (*Ibid.*)

As long as the Soviet Union had been socialist, that is, until the accession of Khrushchov to power at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU in February 1956, there were open questions between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, handed down to the two countries by history, regard-



Map of the Sino-Soviet boundary in the area of the Chinese territorial island of Chenpao

ing the frontier, but there had been no border conflict. Then what were the causes of the armed clashes in March of 1969? Was it the "unjustified claims" of the People's Republic of China to millions of square kilometers of Soviet territory, as the social-imperialists would have one believe? The Peking "People's Daily" published a statement on March 8, 1963, on occasion of the Cuban missile crisis, in which it said on the issue of the boundary:

> In regard to the unsettled questions which are a legacy of the past, we have always been of the opinion that as soon as the time is ripe they should be *settled peacefully, through negotiation, and that until that time the status quo should be retained...!* (Archiv der Gegenwart, March 9, 1963, p. 10 463; emphasis ours – the editors RW)

Along this line the foreign ministry of the People's Republic of China submitted concrete proposals to the Soviet Union for peaceful settlement of the boundary questions in August 1963:

- Each of the two sides obligates itself to maintain the status quo along the frontier and not to move the line of actual control forward in any way.
- Each of the two sides obligates itself to avoid clashes, and under no circumstances may the frontier guards and other personnel of either side use force against the other side, or threaten to use force, or shoot at the other side.
- In those areas where a river constitutes the boundary line, the frontier guards of each side must not cross the main channel of the navigable river on their patrols.
- This agreement does not impinge upon the rights of territorial possession. As far as the differences of opinion between the two sides on the boundary question are concerned, they will be settled in the boundary negotiations between the two governments. (*Nieder mit den neuen Zaren! Chinafeindliche Greueltaten der Sowjetrevisionisten auf den Flüssen Wusuli und Helung* [Down with the New Tsars! Anti-Chinese Atroc-

ities of the Soviet Revisionists on the Ussuri and Heilung Rivers], Foreign Languages Publishing House, Peking, 1969, n. pag.; our translation from the German – the editors RW)

These were clear-cut arrangements which were opposed to any aggression. The Chinese government went even further and declared during the boundary negotiations in February 1964:

> The Russo-Chinese Treaty of Peking, the Russo-Chinese Treaty of Aigun and other treaties referring to the present Sino-Soviet boundary are all unequal treaties which tsarist Russian imperialism imposed on China when power was not yet in the hands of the people of China and Russia. But based on the desire to strengthen the revolutionary friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples, the Chinese side is nonetheless willing to accept these treaties as basis for determining the entire course of the boundary line between the two countries and settling all existing issues in respect to the border.... (*Ibid.*)

But the Soviet leaders were not interested in agreements on peaceful settlement of the conflict and let the Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations break down. They pretended that they were not thinking of defending "the aggressive policy of the tsarist government and the *unjust treaties* imposed upon China." They did not want to "defend the Russian tsars who permitted arbitrariness in laying down the state boundaries with neighboring countries." But at the same time they insisted that the Chinese territory annexed by tsarist Russia was now the *lawful property* of the Soviet Union. The trick was to declare demagogically that the Chinese emperors also

> by force of arms seized not a few territories belonging to others. But while condemning the reactionary actions of the top-strata exploiters who held power in Russia and in China at that time, we cannot disregard the fact that *historically-formed boundaries* between states now exist. (Letter of Soviet government dated November 29, 1963, quoted in: Horst Pommerening, *Der chinesisch-sowjetische Grenzkonflikt* [The Sino-Soviet Border Conflict], pp. 22-23; source of English text, also of partial quotes in preceding paragraph: *Seven Letters Exchanged between the Central Committees of the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Peking 1964; emphasis ours – the editors RW)

They wanted to force the Chinese people to accept unequal treaties imposed on them by tsarism as "historically formed boundaries" and thus as the lawful boundaries.

Which side was right? International law expert Horst Pommerening delved into this question in his above-quoted book, which appeared in 1968. He comes to the conclusion:

> "In international law, which was chiefly developed by the Europeans and Americans, there is no concept of the unequal treaty thus far." As political reason for this he quite rightly emphasizes: "The colonial powers, which took the lead in developing the current international law in those decades, could not have been expected to give any force to this concept, which is a weapon against them, by institutionalizing it" (*ibid*., p. 35). He comes to the conclusion "that international law outside the socialist camp currently takes no clear position on the question of the validity of treaties which have been brought about by error, deception, force – physical or psychological, against organs or the state – or the threat of force, which treaties include the unequal treaties." (*Ibid*., p. 53)

In contrast to this, in international relations between socialist countries

> the conviction prevails that unequal treaties can be cancelled..., that no one can try to get benefit from such treaties either by limitation or forfeit or prescription (*ibid*., p. 87).

We want to underscore this correct presentation with the words of Lenin, who on October 27, 1917, unequivocally stated on the question of annexing foreign territories:

> In accordance with the sense of justice of democrats in general, and of the working classes in particular, the government conceives the annexation or seizure of foreign lands to mean every incorporation of a small or weak nation into a large or powerful state without the precisely, clearly and voluntarily expressed consent and wish of that nation, *irrespective of the time when such forcible incorporation took place*, irrespective also of the degree of development or backwardness of the nation forcibly annexed to the given state, or forcibly retained within its borders, and irrespective, finally, of whether this nation is in Europe or in distant, overseas countries. (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 250; emphasis ours – the editors RW)

The first treaty between the Chinese emperor and a Western Great Power was the Treaty of Nipchu (Russian: Nerchinsk), concluded with Russia on September 8, 1689. According to this treaty the entire area north of the Heilung river (Russian: Amur) to the Stanovoi mountains belonged to China. This treaty was expressly and voluntarily reaffirmed by the tsarist government in 1728 – despite its great interest in the territories north of the Heilung – in order finally to establish trade with China despite the stringent isolation of the Celestial Empire.

But the tsar and his military advisers soon regretted the treaty. Admiral Gavril Sarychev of the Russian "East Fleet" declared in 1793:

> If Russia had the Amur, it would be lord of the Eastern ocean. Russia could conduct trade on the Eastern seas with far greater gain than any other European power. (Y. Semenov, *Sibirien* [Siberia], Berlin, 1958, p. 290)

Towards the mid-19th century the situation in Asia changed fundamentally, giving Russia the opportunity to void the Nipchu (Nerchinsk) treaty and pursue the annexation of the territory north of the Heilung (Amur). What was the situation, and what had changed? As in other nation-states, capitalism,

furthered by foreign capital, emerged and developed also in 19th century feudal Russia. This rising Russian capitalism was not satisfied with the internal market but strove to capture external markets. In his book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, Lenin pointed out the law-governed character of this expansionist urge of capitalism:

> If Siberia is the home market and China the foreign market, to which category does Manchuria belong? Such questions are not of great importance. What is important is that capitalism cannot exist and develop without constantly expanding the sphere of its domination, without colonising new countries and drawing old non-capitalist countries into the whirlpool of world economy. And this feature of capitalism has been and continues to be manifested with tremendous force in post-Reform Russia [Lenin refers to the peasant reform of 1861, the liberation of the serfs in Russia – the editors RW]. (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 593)

Russia was in a particularly favorable position for seizing fringe areas in the Middle and the Far East. It offered capitalism a tangible goal for colonization of these areas. Russia became a serious contender in the struggle of the Great Powers over the division of the world. England and France, in league with the USA, savagely attacked China in the two so-called Opium Wars of 1841/42 and 1856-58 and forced it to conclude unequal treaties which opened up new ports to foreign trade and gave the colonial powers freedom of movement and domicile and the right of navigation on China's inland waters. In his article "Russia's Successes in the Far East," Frederick Engels aptly described how tsarist Russia was able to take advantage of the situation of the Chinese Empire, which helplessly declined to a semicolony, to further its own expansion:

> While the British squabbled with inferior Chinese officials at Canton, ... the Russians took possession of the country north of the Amoor, and of the greater part of the coast of Mantchoo-

ria south of that point; there they fortified themselves, surveyed a line of railway, and laid out the plans of towns and harbors. When at last England resolved to carry the war to Pekin, and when France joined her in the hope of picking up something to her advantage, Russia, though at the very moment despoiling China of a country as large as France and Germany put together, and of a river as large as the Danube, managed to appear as the disinterested protector of the weak Chinese, and to act almost as mediator at the conclusion of the peace....

Not satisfied with this, she has obtained the establishment of a Russo-Chinese Commission to fix the boundaries. Now, we all know what such a commission is in the hands of Russia. We have seen them at work on the Asiatic frontiers of Turkey, where they kept slicing away piece after piece from that country, for more than twenty years.... (Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, London, 1980, pp. 83 and 85)

By this method Russia forced the Chinese Empire to annul the treaty of Nipchu (Nerchinsk) and accept the unequal treaties of Aigun (1858) and Peking (1860), which gave Russia "the invaluable tract lying between the Gulf of Tartary and Lake Baikal, a region so much coveted by Russia that ... she has always attempted to get it" (*ibid*., p. 50).

Since the Soviet revisionists were entirely aware of these indisputable historical facts, they proceeded to turn dialectical and historical materialism upside down, declaring in *Pravda* of September 2, 1964:

> If one takes to the method of "historical reference" in the question of the boundaries, one can prove anything one likes.

And this is exactly what they did, asserting:

> The actual boundaries were drawn with the seizure of the northern half of the Amur basin by Russia and the southern half by China. This status quo was laid down in the treaties of Aigun and Peking more than 100 years ago. Nobody denies that the tsarist government pursued a policy of conquest, just as

the Chinese emperors did within the means available to them. Sometimes the one was stronger, sometimes the other, and accordingly, the one gained the upper hand over the other.... This is exactly why we say that the present border is historically formed and has been consolidated by life itself, and that the treaties on the boundary line are a basis which is not open to debate. (*Archiv der Gegenwart*, September 12, 1964, p. 11 418)

Conquest here, conquest there – that's life. The stronger prevails and imposes his "right" on the weaker. How can anyone argue about this? That is the logic of imperialists! Even Horst Pommerening, whom we quoted above, exposes the Soviet leaders' betrayal of Marxism-Leninism:

> The Soviet Union sees itself confronted by a power [the People's Republic of China – the editors RW] which, despite deep ideological differences, as a member of the socialist camp is besetting another member of this camp with arguments which the latter itself has created. The People's Republic of China is thus pushing the Soviet Union dangerously close to the so-called imperialist countries and their argumentations. This position requires the Soviet Union to act in a way which inevitably conflicts with earlier statements and actions. (*Der chinesisch-sowjetische Grenzkonflikt*, p. 176)

One of these earlier statements was the July 25, 1919, "declaration" of the Soviet Union "to the Chinese nation and the governments of South and North China," which unequivocally stated that the Soviet government relinquishes the conquests which the tsarist government made when it stole Manchuria and other areas from China. On September 27, 1920, the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Leo Karakhan, declared:

> The Government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic declares null and void all the treaties concluded with China by the former Governments of Russia, renounces all seizure of Chinese territory and all Russian concessions in China and restores to China, without any compensation and for-

> ever, all that had been predatorily seized from her by the Tsar's Government and the Russian bourgeoisie. (Quoted in: *The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China (Documents)*, p. 93; German source *Archiv der Gegenwart*, September 12, 1964, p. 11 419)

This pronouncement was made good in the Sino-Soviet agreement of May 31, 1924. According to Article III of this treaty a conference was to be convened at which the old agreements were to be annulled and new treaties made on the basis of equality and in the spirit of the declarations of 1919 and 1920. Article VII stipulated:

> The two parties to the treaty agree to demarcate their national frontiers anew ... and in the meantime to retain the present frontiers.... (*Archiv der Gegenwart*, September 12, 1964, p. 11 419)

There are no official documents available to us showing the concrete reasons why this conference did not result in actually returning *all* annexed territories to China. Fact is, however, the reactionary Manchu dynasty in Peking feared the influence of the socialist Soviet Union on the worker and peasant masses of China, who were in revolutionary ferment (the bourgeois-democratic revolution under Sun Yat-sen had already won victory in South China), and was not willing to make any concessions to the Soviet Union. Regardless, the historical facts prove:

1. The standpoint of the government of the People's Republic of China under the leadership of Mao Zedong was just and based on Marxism-Leninism. It coincided with the principles of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union shaped by Lenin.
2. The government of the People's Republic of China did *not* intend to enforce its rights militarily, for which reason it submitted acceptable proposals to the government of the Soviet Union for peaceful settlement of the border conflict.

Why was the Soviet Union unwilling to reach a peaceful agreement with the People's Republic of China on this formerly common basis? Because it had departed from this basis with Khrushchov's betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and had gradually developed into a social-imperialist superpower. The Communist Party of China exposed this betrayal and did not allow the new tsars with their imperialist politics to represent themselves as "Marxist-Leninists" to the peoples. The social-imperialists feared the growing influence of the revolutionary line of Mao Zedong and the sympathy enjoyed by socialist China among the Soviet people. They therefore began to defame the government of the People's Republic as the "chauvinist Mao clique" and to make massive preparations for liquidating socialist China militarily.

What could not remain hidden for long was the 50 war-strength Soviet divisions which marched up along the Chinese frontier in 1969, from the southern tip of Tuva (North Korea/Soviet Union) to the Pamir mountains; was the fact that the Soviet Union enlarged its air bases in outer Mongolia to accommodate long-range bombers, and that in Vladivostok and Nakhodka (on the Sea of Japan) 150 submarines, including nuclear-powered missile submarines, had been drawn together.

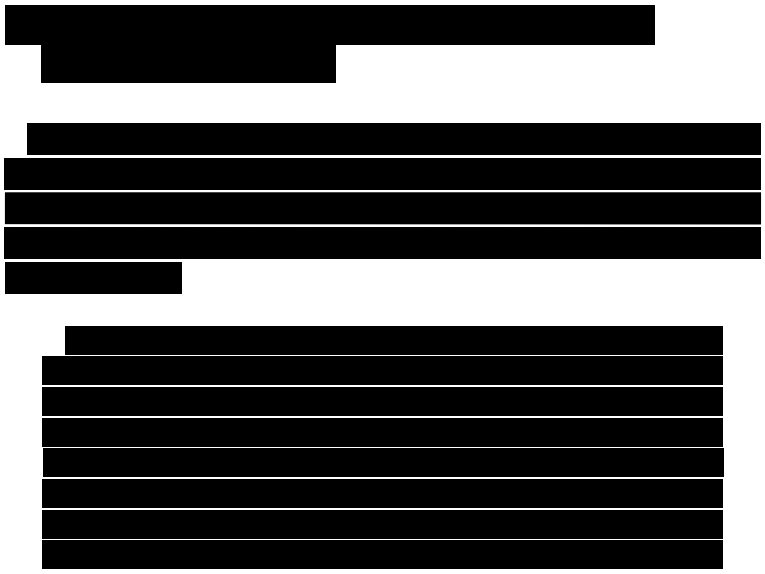
The social-imperialists, who showed no scruples in attacking Czechoslovakia, planned to involve China in a war.

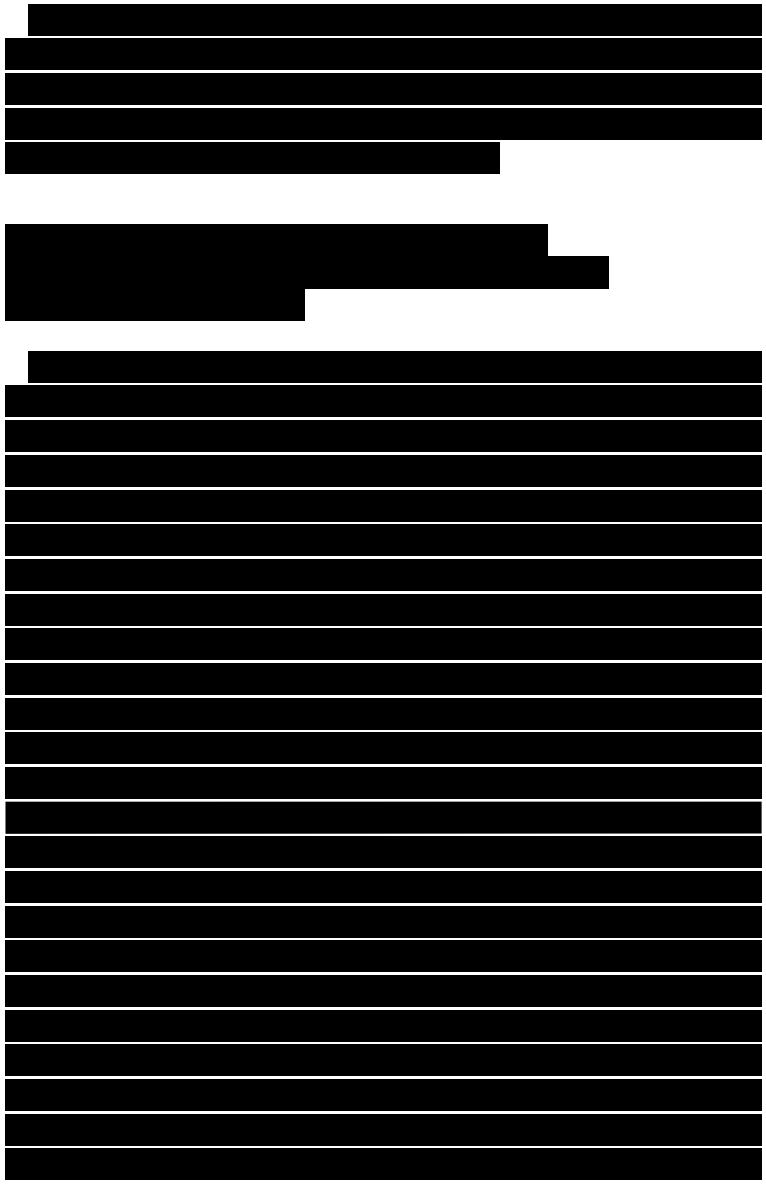
The government of the People's Republic of China made full preparations for a possible war and warned the Soviet revisionists:

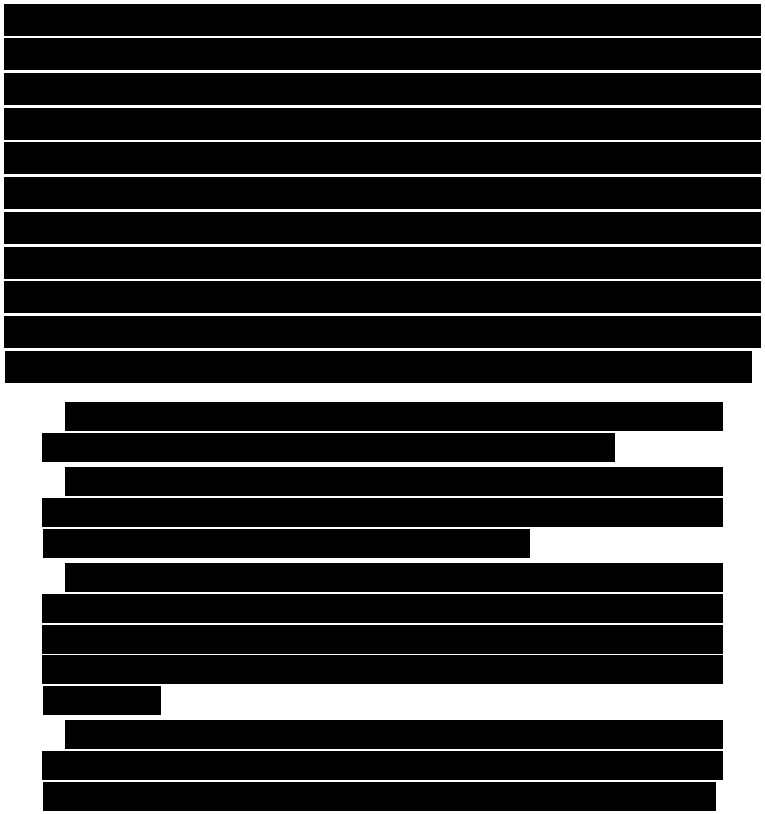
> No one can violate China's territorial integrity and sovereignty. *We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack.* The times are long past when the Chinese people were terrorized by others. You are completely blind and daydreamers if you still think you can get

> the better of the great Chinese people with the tricks of tsarist Russia. If you continue your military provocations you will certainly be punished most severely. Whatever strength you come in and whoever with, we shall *resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely wipe you out*. The Chinese people, 700 million strong, and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, who have armed themselves with Mao Zedong Thought and have steeled themselves in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, are stronger than ever. Whoever ventures to invade our great socialist fatherland will inevitably bloody his head and break his own neck. (Leading article of *Renmin Ribao* of March 4, 1969; our translation from the German – the editors RW)

The determination displayed by the Chinese people caused the social-imperialists to shrink from carrying out their criminal plans.







Fourth Principal Feature of the Dialectical Method: the Handling of Contradictions

In the fourth principal feature of the dialectical method, Stalin deals with the struggle of opposites as internal cause of the development and the changing of things:

> Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics holds that internal contradictions are inherent in all things and phenomena of nature, for they all have their negative and positive sides, a past and a future, something dying away and something developing; and that the struggle between these opposites, the struggle between the old and the new, between that which is dying away and that which is being born, between that which is disappearing and that which is developing, constitutes the internal content of the process of development, the internal content of the transformation of quantitative changes into qualitative changes.
>
> The dialectical method therefore holds that the process of development from the lower to the higher takes place not as a harmonious unfolding of phenomena, but as a disclosure of the contradictions inherent in things and phenomena, as a "struggle" of opposite tendencies which operate on the basis of these contradictions. (*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [Bolsheviks]. Short Course*, p. 109)

This conception was criticized in 1956 by Mao Zedong in a talk at a conference of secretaries of party committees of the Communist Party of China:

> Stalin had a fair amount of metaphysics in him and he taught many people to follow metaphysics. In the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course*, Stalin says that Marxist dialectics has four principal features. As the first feature he talks of the interconnection of things, as if all things happened to be interconnected for no reason at all. What then are the things that are interconnected? It is the two contradictory aspects of a thing that are interconnected. Everything has two contradictory aspects. As the fourth feature he talks of the internal contradiction in all things, but then he deals only with the struggle of opposites, without mentioning their unity. According to the basic law of dialectics, the unity of opposites, there is at once struggle and unity between the opposites, which are both mutually exclusive and interconnected and which under given conditions transform themselves into each other.
>
> Stalin's viewpoint is reflected in the entry on "identity" in the *Shorter Dictionary of Philosophy*, fourth edition, compiled in the Soviet Union. It is said there: "There can be no identity between war and peace, between the bourgeoisie and the pro-

letariat, between life and death and other such phenomena, because they are fundamentally opposed to each other and mutually exclusive." In other words, between these fundamentally opposed phenomena there is no identity in the Marxist sense; rather, they are solely mutually exclusive, not interconnected, and incapable of transforming themselves into each other under given conditions. This interpretation is utterly wrong....

Stalin failed to see the connection between the struggle of opposites and the unity of opposites. Some people in the Soviet Union are so metaphysical and rigid in their thinking that they think a thing has to be either one or the other, refusing to recognize the unity of opposites. Hence, political mistakes are made. (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. V, pp. 367-368 and 369)

This criticism of Mao Zedong's is correct insofar as Stalin does not directly address the problem of the unity of opposites in his work, "Dialectical and Historical Materialism," which would have been necessary in this context. It is likewise justified in criticizing deviations in the Soviet Union for which, however, Stalin was not responsible or which he did not accept. But Mao Zedong's criticism is not justified where he extends it to Stalin and his theoretical and practical work as a whole, because Stalin did deal quite correctly with the question of the unity and struggle of opposites.

This is made clear by the fight against Trotsky and other opposition leaders. As long as the contradictions within the leadership of the CPSU bore a nonantagonistic character, Stalin always started from the assumption that unity had to be preserved. Only when the contradictions became antagonistic did he shift priority to the struggle of opposites. Following Lenin's death in 1924, Trotsky and his supporters within the ranks of the CPSU took the offensive. They attacked the party line, denied the possibility of building socialism in one country, and particularly opposed the policy of stepped-up industrialization

of the Soviet Union. The bitterness of the debate within the CPSU increased. Stalin opposed all attempts to solve this problem by administrative means and in this way jeopardize the unity of the party:

The group of Leningrad comrades at first proposed that Trotsky be expelled from the Party. Here I have in mind the period of the discussion in 1924. The Leningrad Gubernia Party Committee passed a resolution that Trotsky be expelled from the Party. We, i.e., the majority on the Central Committee, did not agree with this..., we had some struggle with the Leningrad comrades and persuaded them to delete the point about expulsion from their resolution. Shortly after this, when the plenum of the Central Committee met and the Leningrad comrades, together with Kamenev, demanded Trotsky's immediate expulsion from the Political Bureau, we also disagreed with this proposal of the opposition, we obtained a majority on the Central Committee and restricted ourselves to removing Trotsky from the post of People's Commissar of Military and Naval Affairs. We disagreed with Zinoviev and Kamenev because we knew that the policy of amputation was fraught with great dangers for the Party, that the method of amputation, the method of blood-letting – and they demanded blood – was dangerous, infectious: today you amputate one limb, tomorrow another, the day after tomorrow a third – what will we have left in the Party? (Stalin, *Works*, Vol. 7, p. 390)

Stalin kept on trying to resolve the contradictions through ideological struggle within the CPSU and its Central Committee after Zinoviev and Kamenev, who previously had called for Trotsky's expulsion, adopted Trotsky's positions. He defended party unity against all methods of intimidation: "There must be unity among us, and there will be if the Party, if the congress displays firmness of character and does not allow itself to be scared" (*ibid.*, p. 402).

When it became evident that the "opposition" was no longer willing to abide by the decisions of the party and began form-

ing factions against the party leadership, Stalin once again appealed to them to preserve the unity of the party:

> Wherein lay our strength in the past, and wherein lies our strength today? In the correctness of our policy and the unity of our ranks. The Fourteenth Congress of our Party gave us a correct policy. The task now is to ensure that our ranks are united, that our Party is united and ready to carry out the decisions of the Party congress, come what may. (Stalin, *Works*, Vol. 8, p. 154)

But the Trotskyites and Rightists and their supporters were incorrigible. They developed into overt enemies of socialism, formed factions, took to conspiring, even going so far as to directly sabotage socialist construction. In this situation, the contradictions no longer could be decided by the nonantagonistic means of arguing and reasoning with people; the struggle of opposites came out into the open. The unity of the party could only be preserved or restored if harsh action were taken against the enemies of the party.

> Attempts to undermine the Party's unity, attempts to form a new party, must be rooted out if we want to preserve the dictatorship of the proletariat, if we want to build socialism.
>
> The task therefore is to liquidate the opposition bloc and consolidate the unity of our Party. (Stalin, *Works*, Vol. 9, p. 153)

So Stalin was quite capable of distinguishing between the different characters of contradictions and the proper methods for their resolution. Stalin persisted in practicing this correct handling of contradictions when he called absolutely for employing the method of persuasion in the course of the collectivization of agriculture.

When the nonantagonistic contradictions within the leadership of the CPSU changed into antagonistic contradictions, the struggle of opposites became the main aspect. In this context, the question arises whether it is not so that Mao Zedong maintained the unity of opposites in the leadership of the Communist Party of China even though the contradictions had already acquired an antagonistic character. We are referring here to the dispute particularly with Deng Xiaoping and the pertinent resolution of the CPC Central Committee of April 7, 1976:

> Having discussed the counter-revolutionary incident which took place at Tien An Men Square and Teng Hsiao-ping's latest behavior, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China holds that the nature of the Teng Hsiao-ping problem has turned into one of antagonistic contradiction. On the proposal of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Political Bureau unanimously agrees to dismiss Teng Hsiao-ping from all posts both inside and outside the Party while allowing him to keep his Party membership so as to see how he will behave in the future. (*Peking Review*, No. 15, 1976, quoted from: *And Mao Makes Five*, Banner Press, Chicago, 1978, p. 270)

Since an antagonistic contradiction was involved, that is, a contradiction to the enemy, Deng Xiaoping should have been expelled from the party. The mistake, letting this enemy of socialism remain in the party, would take a bitter toll later. Since this decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was taken unanimously and under the chairmanship of Mao Zedong, he, too, bears responsibility for it.

At the end of 1975, when Günther Jacob put himself at the head of the Central Leadership of the KABD (*Kommunistischer Arbeiterbund Deutschlands* – Communist Workers' League of Germany, forerunner organization of the MLPD) and attempted to replace its proletarian line with his petty-bourgeois line, the struggle of opposites for the preservation of unity came to a head. The contradictions were not yet antagonistic and were fought out by ideological-political means in order to safeguard the unity of the organization. But when Jacob got ready to or-

ganize a split, the dispute changed into an antagonistic one and the liquidators had to be expelled.

In inner-party struggle, unity is the main aspect. But if the inner-party contradictions develop into antagonistic contradictions, struggle becomes the first priority and must be carried relentlessly through to its conclusion.

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5. Mao Zedong on Contradiction

Lenin provides the briefest definition of dialectics in the *Conspectus of Hegel's Book "The Science of Logic"*: "In brief, dialectics can be defined as the doctrine of the unity of opposites" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 223). Taking up this thread, Mao Zedong developed Marxist-Leninist dialectics further. His fundamental treatise, *On Contradiction*, begins with the words:

> The law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the basic law of materialist dialectics. (*Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I, p. 311)

In this work, Mao Zedong concretized the laws of movement and development of the contradiction. He developed the categories (basic concepts) of materialist dialectics further to facilitate their *use* by the Marxist-Leninist party. Mao Zedong contrasts the metaphysical world outlook with the dialectical-materialist world outlook:

> The metaphysical or vulgar evolutionist world outlook sees things as isolated, static and one-sided. It regards all things in the universe, their forms and their species, as eternally isolated from one another and immutable. Such change as there is can only be an increase or decrease in quantity or a change of place. Moreover, the cause of such an increase or decrease or change of place is not inside things but outside them, that is, the motive force is external.... As opposed to the metaphysical world outlook, the world outlook of materialist dialectics holds that in order to understand the development of a thing we should study it internally and in its relations with other things; in other words, the development of things should be seen as their internal and necessary self-movement, while each thing in its movement is interrelated with and interacts on the things around it. The fundamental cause of the development of a thing is not external but internal; it lies in the contradictoriness within the thing. (*ibid.*, pp. 312 and 313)

Starting from the *universality of contradiction*, the common feature in the development of all things, Mao Zedong goes to the *particularity of the contradiction*, to the contradictions in individual things. In the concrete analysis of an object and its process of development, we always encounter several contradictions; but its essence is determined by its fundamental contradiction.

In every development process, one *principal contradiction* determines the development of the secondary contradictions; consequently, one must analyze mainly this principal contradiction, intervene mainly in its development. For this purpose it is necessary to establish the *principal aspect* and the secondary aspect of each contradiction. Mao Zedong shows how investigation, proceeding from the universal, must advance to the particular manifestations and penetrate into them.

Only concrete analysis creates the basic prerequisites for studying the *identity* and *struggle of opposites*, for every unity of opposites develops and the contradictions are finally resolved. What was the secondary aspect becomes the main aspect; the main aspect becomes the secondary aspect; something new emerges. Thus, the oppressed working class overthrows the oppressing bourgeoisie in the proletarian revolution and takes over political power in the dictatorship of the proletariat: capitalism is replaced by socialism.

The struggle of opposites in the concrete processes can assume manifold forms. The most important are the *antagonism* – the revolutionary intensification – and the nonantagonistic

contradictions, the resolution of which does not lead to the breaking up of unity but to its further development. The different types of contradictions absolutely must be resolved by different methods. In his subsequent work, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Mao Zedong deals in a very deepgoing way precisely with this problem.

The Universal Character of Contradiction

Mao Zedong starts from the universality of contradiction:

> The universality or absoluteness of contradiction has a twofold meaning. One is that contradiction exists in the process of development of all things, and the other is that in the process of development of each thing a movement of opposites exists from beginning to end. (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 316)

The class contradictions in the development of human society can only disappear when the classes have disappeared. What is more, even when the bourgeoisie has been liquidated as a class across the world, when the distinctions between town and country, between physical and mental labor, have been eliminated and all material prerequisites for communism fulfilled inside the socialist countries, even then the traditions of bourgeois ideology will continue to influence the thinking of people. The proletarian class struggle against these ideas must be carried on until they are finally and conclusively overcome.

Wars constitute the greatest aggravation of the contradictions in class society. There are wars and there are wars. There are reactionary wars which hold up the progressive development of society and seek to preserve a system of rule which has outlived itself; imperialist wars for the oppression and exploitation of entire peoples are such wars. There are revolutionary wars which seek to overthrow the obsolete, reactionary social system and help a new social order establish itself. The

former are unjust wars; the latter, just. The handling of such contradictions takes up much space in the works of Mao Zedong (as it does in the works of Lenin).

Since the sharpening of the ideological and political dispute between the Communist Party of China, led by Mao Zedong, and the modern revisionists of the CPSU, the latter have attempted to slander Mao Zedong in the ugliest way. They accused him of bellicosity, for example, and falsified his words in a blatantly obvious manner to "prove" their assertions, chopping up quotations from Mao Zedong and presenting them so that they have an entirely different meaning. For instance, in the book, *Kritik der theoretischen Auffassungen Mao Tsetungs* (Critique of the Theoretical Conceptions of Mao Zedong), a Soviet authors' collective misquoted Mao in the following way:

> "War, this monster of mutual slaughter among men, will be finally eliminated by the progress of human society, and in the not too distant future too," Mao Zedong wrote in 1936. "But there is only one way to eliminate it and that is to oppose war with war.... A war is a bridge to a new era in world history..., then there will be no more wars." (p. 117)

Mao Zedong emphasizes the class character of war and contrasts just wars with unjust wars. We shall quote the above-cited passage, taken from *Strategy in China's Revolutionary War*, in detail and without interruption, in order to expose and brand the revisionist insinuations:

> **War, this monster of mutual slaughter among men, will be finally eliminated by the progress of human society, and in the not too distant future too. But there is only one way to eliminate it and that is to oppose war with war**, to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war, to oppose national counter-revolutionary war with national revolutionary war, and to oppose counter-revolutionary class war with revolutionary class war. History knows only two kinds of war, just and unjust. We support just wars and oppose

> unjust wars. All counter-revolutionary wars are unjust, all revolutionary wars are just. Mankind's era of wars will be brought to an end by our own efforts, and beyond doubt the war we wage is part of the final battle. But also beyond doubt the war we face will be part of the biggest and most ruthless of all wars. The biggest and most ruthless of unjust counter-revolutionary wars is hanging over us, and the vast majority of mankind will be ravaged unless we raise the banner of a just war. The banner of mankind's just war is the banner of mankind's salvation. The banner of China's just war is the banner of China's salvation. **A war** waged by the great majority of mankind and of the Chinese people **is** beyond doubt a just war, a most lofty and glorious undertaking for the salvation of mankind and China, and a **bridge to a new era in world history**. When human society advances to the point where classes and states are eliminated, **there will be no more wars**, counter-revolutionary or revolutionary, unjust or just; that will be the era of perpetual peace for mankind. Our study of the laws of revolutionary war springs from the desire to eliminate all wars; herein lies the distinction between us Communists and all the exploiting classes. (*Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I, pp. 182-183; emphasis here corresponds to passages quoted above – the editors)

Anyone can see from this example how the revisionists distort the views of Mao Zedong and completely pervert the meaning. We Marxist-Leninists acknowledge the theoretical works of Mao Zedong as a further development of Marxism-Leninism, while making allowance for the specific features of the Chinese revolution.

Since misquotation is of no avail to the Soviet revisionists, they simply make claims about the belligerence of the Chinese leaders:

> We must ask ourselves what the Chinese leaders intend by propagating "people's war" with all their might. There is only one answer to this question: the aim of this policy is to provoke armed conflicts in different parts of the globe, incite civil wars in the liberated countries, and involve the USA and USSR in these conflicts and wars in order to foment world war. But they themselves want to stand aside. (*Kritik der theoretischen Auffassungen Mao Tsetungs*, p. 104)

So did the Chinese perhaps provoke the "people's war" in Afghanistan and drag the Soviet Union into this conflict? Was it not instead the Soviet troops who invaded Afghanistan and gave rise to a people's war as a result? The social-imperialists entangle themselves in their own web of lies.

The antagonism between the Soviet revisionists and the CPC under Mao Zedong's leadership also comes sharply to light on the issue of the "peaceful road to socialism." The revisionists maintain that the "Maoists" distort the "concept of the possibility of the peaceful road." At the same time they try make their wrong conception of the road to socialism palatable to the working class:

> Basically, the Maoists distort the concept of the possibility of a peaceful path of transition to socialism, as is supported by the communist parties. The victory of the socialist revolution by peaceful means does not deny the violent methods of struggle. Orientation to a peaceful path does not amount to simply utilizing bourgeois legalism. If the communists, for example, aspire to put parliament at the service of the people and give it a new content, then they have in mind not only struggles involving ballot boxes and not just parliamentary discussions, but chiefly the conquest of the parliamentary majority by the working class by way of a broad revolutionary mass movement. (*ibid.*, p. 124)

That is a fatal illusion which has its roots in the complete misjudgment of the basic characteristics of the monopoly capitalists, who will never allow themselves to be stripped of pow-

er save by revolutionary violence. Force is a universally valid law of imperialism which extremely exacerbates the contradictions in society. The revisionists disavow what Lenin established as a basic characteristic of imperialism in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*:

> Imperialism is the epoch of finance capital and of monopolies, which introduce everywhere the striving for domination, not for freedom. Whatever the political system the result of these tendencies is everywhere reaction and an extreme intensification of antagonisms in this field. (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 297)

The revisionists make the senseless attempt to reform this basic feature of imperialism. They thus see to the affairs of imperialism instead of working to deprive it of power. The slogan "pushing back the power of the monopolies" by means of parliament and reforms is only good for paralyzing the revolutionary will of the working class and disarming it ideologically and politically. The fundamental contradictions in capitalism are not resolved by the "peaceful road."

The revisionists do not want to acknowledge that the contradictions in society are essentially subject to internal causes. With the development of capitalism of free competition into imperialism, all contradictions in society intensified: from a relatively progressive capitalism, with corresponding bourgeois rights and liberties, to reaction. The consequences were plunder and ruin, impoverishment and oppression of peoples, militarization of the economies of the imperialist countries, gigantic military buildup and war. Those are the laws of development of imperialism, the internal causes of the aggravation of the contradictions in society, and these allow of only one possibility for changing these conditions: revolution. Mao Zedong points in his philosophical essay, *On Contradiction*, to the significance of the internal causes of contradictions and to the secondary aspect of external causes:

> Contradictoriness within a thing is the fundamental cause of its development, while its interrelations and interactions with other things are secondary causes. Thus materialist dialectics effectively combats the theory of external causes, or of an external motive force, advanced by metaphysical mechanical materialism and vulgar evolutionism....
>
> 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. Does materialist dialectics exclude external causes? Not at all. It holds that external causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change, and that external causes become operative through internal causes. (*Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I, pp. 313 and 314)

Mao Zedong teaches that every contradiction has universal character, that contradictions exist in all developmental processes both in nature and society, penetrating and operating in all processes from beginning to end. If the processes change, then the place of the old processes is taken by new processes which operate according to the new conditions. New contradictions emerge, subject to their own processes of development. Thus, the contradictions in Russian society changed with the 1917 October Revolution. A leap transpired in the development of society, and new developmental processes with new contradictions emerged. And all the time it is the *struggle of opposites* which causes the changes in things. Their unity is temporary, relative:

> There are two states of motion in all things, that of relative rest and that of conspicuous change. Both are caused by the struggle between the two contradictory elements contained in

> a thing. When the thing is in the first state of motion, it is undergoing only quantitative and not qualitative change and consequently presents the outward appearance of being at rest. When the thing is in the second state of motion, the quantitative change of the first state has already reached a culminating point and gives rise to the dissolution of the thing as an entity and thereupon a qualitative change ensues, hence the appearance of a conspicuous change. (*ibid.*, p. 342)

Following the Second World War, the class contradictions between bourgeoisie and proletariat in West Germany were *little developed*, of low intensity. The ruins left behind by the war had to be carted away, destroyed factories rebuilt, production resumed. The monopolies had been temporarily relieved of power. The unity of opposites mainly prevailed. Even when the monopolies were reinstalled, capital took advantage of the postwar economic boom period to generate profits with as little disturbance as possible, and thus voluntarily granted the workers reforms to dampen class struggle.

When the boom period came to an end, monopoly capital took the offensive. The struggle of opposites became the dominant aspect; the period of "reforms from above" faded; the relative, time-limited unity of opposites took second place. The absolute character as a struggle of opposites became apparent. This development confirmed Lenin's words:

> The unity (coincidence, identity, equal action) of opposites is conditional, temporary, transitory, relative. The struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is absolute, just as development and motion are absolute. (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 360)

The Particularity of Contradiction

For a more precise investigation and proper categorization of a contradiction and its development, it is not enough to consider its universal character; its particular features must also

be studied. We thus have to distinguish the properties and forms of motion which it has in common with others, and those which it does not.

> As regards the sequence in the movement of man's knowledge, there is always a gradual growth from the knowledge of individual and particular things to the knowledge of things in general. Only after man knows the particular essence of many different things can he proceed to generalization and know the common essence of things. When man attains the knowledge of this common essence, he uses it as a guide and proceeds to study various concrete things which have not yet been studied, or studied thoroughly, and to discover the particular essence of each; only thus is he able to supplement, enrich and develop his knowledge of their common essence and prevent such knowledge from withering or petrifying. (*Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I, pp. 320-321)

Correct determination of the universal and the particular and their interrelation is crucial to any concrete analysis. If a party group in a factory undertakes an analysis of the factory, then it wants to grasp the investigated factory as a dialectical unity of the universal and the particular. Every factory is unique and specific, but also shares simultaneously, and in contradiction to that, numerous features with other factories of the same corporate group or industry. This universality exists nowhere outside the many particular factories, but it constitutes their common essence, determines the laws according to which they develop. Analysis must therefore commence from the universal.

> Since the particular is united with the universal and since the universality as well as the particularity of contradiction is inherent in everything, universality residing in particularity, we should, when studying an object, try to discover both the particular and the universal and their interconnection, to discover both particularity and universality and also their interconnec-

> tion within the object itself, and to discover the interconnections of this object with the many objects outside it. (*ibid.*, p. 329)

The further analysis advances, the more the universal will appear in the particular; it becomes concretized. It can never suffice merely to enumerate general findings such as the structural crisis or the growing dissatisfaction of the workers and illustrate them by concrete examples from the factory, for the universal and the particular are interrelated.

Particularly the phase of fluctuating stagnation is characterized by the differing trends of different industries. Whereas the textile industry, the construction industry, or the coal and steel industries have more or less run into difficulties in recent years, automobile manufacture and particularly the electronics industry have grown at even larger rates. Even when production as a whole drops upon the outbreak of a crisis of overproduction, there can still be sectors which record growth in this situation. Nonetheless, the general trend is reflected in *every* sector.

The same applies when the investigation is extended to the various sections and departments of the factory. In this case the factory becomes the universal; the departments, the particular. Today it is more the rule than the exception that as staff is being pared, simultaneously other departments are working overtime. The analysis must bring out the determinants, the main tendency of development.

Of course, to devise concrete tactics it will not suffice to limit oneself to the concrete analysis of the economic situation. It would be equally wrong to infer an immediate intensification of the class struggle from a worsening of the economic situation. The concrete analysis instead must be performed as comprehensively as possible. That includes especially analyzing the mood among the workers and the level of their class consciousness as well as their willingness to fight. It includes the influence and the concrete line of action of the reformists and revisionists, the influence of local but also national political events, specific action undertaken by management to divert and split, and so forth.

In each of these (and other) individual questions, the universal appears in the particular; no single worker goes uninfluenced by the general economic and political developments. But at the same time, concrete measures of the capitalists (and of the reformists and revisionists), such as a call to sacrifice wages in order to "save jobs," can become a major obstacle to the unfolding of the workers' struggles. The concrete analysis must thus be as all-sided as possible and in every question must establish the connection between the general developments and the concrete situation. The point is to establish the interconnections from the synthesis of the different aspects, to determine the principal link to be grasped and, with that, to come to a determination of the concrete tactics of the factory party group.

Analysis and synthesis are universal forms of motion in objective reality and characterize the ascending from the particular to the universal. The human mind ascends from the universal to the concrete by means of the concrete analysis of the concrete situation. Development from the less profound to the increasingly more profound essence takes place by means of concretizing the universal. Since universality resides nowhere else but in particularity, concrete analysis also enriches the knowledge of the universal. Every correct factory analysis, every factory program of practical action thus helps to develop the analysis and tactics of the entire party further.

The modern revisionists do not understand the two sides of the contradiction and the transformation of universality into

particularity and vice versa. In their endeavor to discredit Mao Zedong, they get onto tricky metaphysical ground. They criticize, for example, Mao Zedong's attitude towards the counterrevolutionary uprising in Hungary in 1956:

> With the help of such opposites, however, Mao Zedong justifies his distortive analysis of social processes and covers the defeats of his political line. He terms counterrevolutionary uprisings in the socialist countries "good" since in his opinion they further the consolidation of the new social order. (*Kritik der theoretischen Auffassungen Mao Tsetungs*, p. 45)

What did Mao Zedong really say? He called disturbances in socialist society bad, at the same time concretizing the contradictory character of the disturbances.

> In our society, as I have said, disturbances by the masses are bad, and we do not approve of them. But when disturbances do occur, they enable us to learn lessons, to overcome bureaucracy and to educate the cadres and the masses. In this sense, bad things can be turned into good things. Disturbances thus have a dual character. Every disturbance can be regarded in this way.
>
> Everybody knows that the Hungarian incident was not a good thing. But it too had a dual character. Because our Hungarian comrades took proper action in the course of the incident, what was a bad thing has eventually turned into a good one....
>
> To sum up, we must learn to look at problems from all sides, seeing the reverse as well as the obverse side of things. In given conditions, a bad thing can lead to good results and a good thing to bad results. (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. V, p. 416)

Contrary to metaphysics, Mao Zedong thus emphasizes that in every thing, in every development, there are two mutually contradictory tendencies. He also makes this clear in his criticism of metaphysical conceptions in the Soviet Union, which he voiced as early as 1957:

> [They are] asserting that only fragrant flowers, but not poisonous weeds, grow there, and denying the existence of idealism and metaphysics in a socialist country. As a matter of fact, idealism, metaphysics and poisonous weeds are found in every country. In the Soviet Union many of the poisonous weeds appear in the name of fragrant flowers, and many absurd statements bear the label of materialism or socialist realism. We openly recognize the struggle between materialism and idealism, between dialectics and metaphysics, and between fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds. This struggle will go on for ever and will move a step forward at every stage. (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. V, pp. 366-367)

So in every positive development there are also negative things, and vice versa. Successes in party-building can, if treated incorrectly, result in arrogance and smugness and thus lay the foundation for future defeats. Conversely, difficulties or defeats must not necessarily lead to resignation; rather the mistakes can be analyzed from them in order to gain future victories.

The application and advancement of the dialectical method by Mao Zedong were of crucial importance especially for the conduct of class struggle in socialism. *If* each of the two opposing sides of a contradiction can be transformed into its opposite, then it is also *possible* for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be replaced by the dictatorship of a new bourgeoisie.

The Soviet revisionists desperately try to twist the views of Mao Zedong. The above collective of authors states:

> Mao Zedong frequently repeats the words of V. I. Lenin that the unity of opposites is temporary and relative and the struggle of opposites absolute. But since Mao Zedong comprehends the unity of opposites as a simple coexistence in a thing or process, he considers the transition from the one to the other, the transformation of the one into the other, merely as a mutual change of position. (*Kritik der theoretischen Auffassungen Mao Tsetungs*, p. 43)

We shall expose this method of falsifying the words of Mao Zedong by quoting his real view:

> Identity, unity, coincidence, interpenetration, interpermeation, interdependence (or mutual dependence for existence), interconnection or mutual co-operation – all these different terms mean the same thing and refer to the following two points: first, the existence of each of the two aspects of a contradiction in the process of the development of a thing presupposes the existence of the other aspect, and both aspects coexist in a single entity; second, in given conditions, each of the two contradictory aspects transforms itself into its opposite. This is the meaning of identity. (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. I, p. 337)

Mao Zedong quotes Lenin regarding the identity of opposites and goes on to say:

> What does this passage mean?
>
> The contradictory aspects in every process exclude each other, struggle with each other and are in opposition to each other. Without exception, they are contained in the process of development of all things and in all human thought. A simple process contains only a single pair of opposites, while a complex process contains more. And in turn, the pairs of opposites are in contradiction to one another. That is how all things in the objective world and all human thought are constituted and how they are set in motion. (*ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 337-338)

If one compares the above quotation from the Soviet revisionists with the remarks of Enver Hoxha in his concoction, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, which is characterized by the defamation of Mao Zedong, then the source used by Hoxha becomes apparent. The agreement is too obvious:

> In dealing with contradictions, he [Mao] does not proceed from the Marxist theses, but from those of ancient Chinese philosophers, sees the opposites in a mechanical way, as external phenomena, and imagines the transformation of the opposites as a simple change of places between them. (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, p. 414)

Hoxha is not to be outdone by the Soviet revisionists in slandering Mao. We refer the reader to the detailed statement of the KABD, *Hoxha versus Mao Tsetung*, in the *China Today* series, No. 5 (German original 1980). Hoxha claims that Mao Zedong ignores the contradictions of the working people to the capitalist elements in the people's democracy and tolerates counterrevolution:

> The Communist Party of China has maintained a benevolent opportunist stand towards the exploiting classes, and Mao Tsetung has openly advocated the integration of capitalist elements into socialism. (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, p. 430)

This is slander and a complete lack of appreciation for the situation in China in that period. Shortly after the People's Republic was established, Mao Zedong wrote in *Don't Hit Out in All Directions*:

> In the agrarian reform our enemies are as numerous as they are powerful. Against us are arrayed, first, the imperialists, second, the reactionaries in Taiwan and Tibet, third, the remnant Kuomintang forces, the secret agents and the bandits, fourth, the landlord class and, fifth, the reactionary forces in the missionary schools established in China by the imperialists and in religious circles and those in the cultural and educational institutions taken over from the Kuomintang. These are our enemies. We have to fight them one and all and accomplish the agrarian reform in an area much larger than before. This is a very acute struggle, unprecedented in history....
>
> In order to isolate and attack our immediate enemies, we must convert those among the people who are dissatisfied with us into our supporters. Although this task is fraught with difficulties at present, we must overcome them by every possible means.
>
> We should make proper readjustments in industry and commerce so that factories can resume operation and the problem

> of unemployment can be solved, and we should provide 2,000 million catties of grain for the jobless workers and gain their support. When we reduce rent and interest, suppress the bandits and local tyrants and carry out agrarian reform, the masses of the peasantry will support us. We should also help the small handicraftsmen find ways to earn a living. We should introduce suitable readjustments in industry and commerce and in taxation to improve our relations with the national bourgeoisie rather than aggravate these relations. (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. V, pp. 33-34)

Mao Zedong had to take into account at that time that the democratic revolution could only gain victory through a broad alliance of the communists with the petty-bourgeois strata and the national bourgeoisie. Towards the counterrevolution, Mao Zedong was consistent in his actions. He declared in a speech on November 15, 1956:

> Here I would like to touch on another question, the question of suppressing counter-revolutionaries. Should the local tyrants and evil gentry, despots and counter-revolutionaries who have committed heinous crimes be put to death? Yes, they should. (*ibid.*, p. 336)

From the law of the unity of opposites it follows that the particular things and processes also have different aspects. To carry out a concrete analysis of a concrete situation, the particularities of each aspect of this contradiction must thus be investigated.

> When we speak of understanding each aspect of a contradiction, we mean understanding what specific position each aspect occupies, what concrete forms it assumes in its interdependence and in its contradiction with its opposite, and what concrete methods are employed in the struggle with its opposite, when the two are both interdependent and in contradiction, and also after the interdependence breaks down. (*Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I, p. 323)

This is the only way to penetrate deeply into the essence of the matter. Considering only one aspect leads to superficiality and subjectivism.

Working Out the Main Aspect of the Contradiction

> If in any process there are a number of contradictions, one of them must be the principal contradiction playing the leading and decisive role, while the rest occupy a secondary and subordinate position. Therefore, in studying any complex process in which there are two or more contradictions, we must devote every effort to finding its principal contradiction. Once this principal contradiction is grasped, all problems can be readily solved. (*ibid.*, p. 332)

Mao Zedong emphasizes that in every contradiction, whether principal or secondary contradiction, the two opposing sides struggle with each other and develop *unevenly*.

The apparent equilibrium between the two sides is relative, temporary, while the uneven development remains the fundamental feature. It follows from this that every contradiction has a principal aspect and a secondary aspect.

> The principal aspect is the one playing the leading role in the contradiction. The nature of a thing is determined mainly by the principal aspect of a contradiction, the aspect which has gained the dominant position.
>
> But this situation is not static; the principal and the non-principal aspects of a contradiction transform themselves into each other and the nature of the thing changes accordingly. In a given process or at a given stage in the development of a contradiction, A is the principal aspect and B is the non-principal aspect; at another stage or in another process the roles are reversed – a change determined by the extent of the increase or decrease in the force of each aspect in its struggle against the other in the course of the development of a thing. (*ibid.*, p. 333)

What about the "change of places" which the revisionists bring up against Mao Zedong's conception?

> Some people think that this is not true of certain contradictions. For instance, in the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, the productive forces are the principal aspect; in the contradiction between theory and practice, practice is the principal aspect; in the contradiction between the economic base and the superstructure, the economic base is the principal aspect; and there is no change in their respective positions. This is the mechanical materialist conception, not the dialectical materialist conception. 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 it is impossible for the productive forces to develop without a change in the relations of production, then the change in the relations of production plays the principal and decisive role. (*ibid.*, pp. 335-336)

Mao Zedong wrote this in August 1937. He could have no idea then that such a change of position would be effected by the modern revisionists in the superstructure and in the socialist base. At the Twentieth Party Congress of the CPSU in February 1956, a degenerated revisionist clique of bureaucrats led by Khrushchov took over power, eliminated the dictatorship of the proletariat, transformed the role of the superstructure from that of a servant into that of a ruler, and destroyed the socialist base of society.

This shift of the principal aspect of the contradiction from the base to the superstructure meant not only a change in the superstructure due to the transformation of the bureaucracy into a new type of bourgeoisie, but also gradually resulted in the transformation of the economic base from socialism into

bureaucratic capitalism. A change of grave consequence had taken place in the respective positions: from the socialist base as principal aspect of the contradiction to the bureaucratic superstructure as principal aspect; then, through a restoration of capitalism, a renewed change in the principal aspect to the economic base.

Once introduced, the laws of capitalism operate automatically.

Mao Zedong emphasizes the internal contradictoriness in the development of processes:

> The distinctive character or particularity of these two facets of contradiction represents the unevenness of the forces that are in contradiction. Nothing in this world develops absolutely evenly; we must oppose the theory of even development or the theory of equilibrium. Moreover, it is these concrete features of a contradiction and the changes in the principal and non-principal aspects of a contradiction in the course of its development that manifest the force of the new superseding the old. (*ibid.*, pp. 336-337)

The Identity of Antagonistic and Nonantagonistic Contradictions

What is antagonism? In reply to this question, Mao Zedong says:

> Antagonism is one form, but not the only form, of the struggle of opposites.
>
> In human history, antagonism between classes exists as a particular manifestation of the struggle of opposites. (*ibid.*, p. 343)

Mao Zedong characterizes antagonistic contradictions as those

> which finally assume the form of open conflict to resolve old contradictions and produce new things.
>
> It is highly important to grasp this fact. It enables us to understand that revolutions and revolutionary wars are inevitable

> in class society and that without them, it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development and to overthrow the reactionary ruling classes and therefore impossible for the people to win political power. (*ibid.*, pp. 343-344)

Does this mean that antagonism no longer plays a role in socialism? The modern revisionists maintain this. GDR (German Democratic Republic) author Wolfgang Eichhorn states

> that the widely held view that nonantagonistic contradictions in socialism, if they become entrenched, can turn into antagonistic ones or acquire the character of antagonistic contradictions, must be repudiated as erroneous. (*Der dialektische Widerspruch* [The Dialectical Contradiction], p. 210)

They cite Lenin, but wrongly. Lenin declared:

> Socialism means the abolition of classes. The dictatorship of the proletariat has done all it could to abolish classes. But classes cannot be abolished at one stroke.
>
> And classes still *remain* and *will remain* in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship will become unnecessary when classes disappear. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat they will not disappear.
>
> Classes have remained, but in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat *every* class has undergone a change, and the relations between the classes have also changed. The class struggle does not disappear under the dictatorship of the proletariat; it merely assumes different forms. (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, pp. 114-115)

Building on Lenin, Mao Zedong explains in his writing, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*:

> In China, although socialist transformation has in the main been completed as regards the system of ownership, and although the large-scale, turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of times of revolution 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. Class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the various political forces, and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the ideological field will still be protracted and tortuous and at times even very sharp. 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 not really settled yet. (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. V, p. 409)

By overcoming the antagonism between the productive forces and production relations, socialist society has created the basis for the nonantagonistic resolution of all social contradictions. But classes continue to exist, and with them the economic, political and ideological outgrowths of the old capitalist social order. New contradictions arise, for example, between leadership and masses or within the masses. Nonantagonistic contradictions exist in unity with antagonistic contradictions in socialism.

Mao Zedong applied these teachings systematically to the reconstruction in China, developing them further as he went. In the above-quoted writing he points to two types of social contradictions in China:

> contradictions... between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people. The two are totally different in nature....
>
> The contradictions between ourselves and the enemy are antagonistic contradictions. Within the ranks of the people, the contradictions among the working people are non-antagonistic....
>
> Generally speaking, the fundamental identity of the people's interests underlies the contradictions among the people. (*ibid.*, pp. 384, 385 and 386)

For Mao Zedong, these two basically different types of contradictions are not separated by a Chinese wall. An identity exists between them, i.e., under certain conditions they can transform themselves into one another. Mao Zedong thoroughly

applied Lenin's determination "how *Opposites* can be and how they happen to be (how they become) *identical*, – under what conditions they are identical, becoming transformed into one another..." to the opposites of antagonistic and nonantagonistic contradictions in China's socialist society. He developed a fundamental method for the correct handling of contradictions among the people:

> It is a dangerous policy to prohibit people from coming into contact with the false, the ugly and the hostile, with idealism and metaphysics and with the twaddle of Confucius, Lao Tzu and Chiang Kai-shek. It will lead to mental deterioration, one-track minds, and unpreparedness to face the world and meet challenges.... We adhere to the concept of the unity of opposites and adopt the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend. When fragrant flowers are blossoming, you will inevitably find poisonous weeds growing. This is nothing to be afraid of, under given conditions they can even be turned to good account. (*ibid.*, pp. 366 and 369)

At the same time, Mao Zedong emphasizes that it is harmful to try to deal with ideological questions among the people or with questions of man's intellectual life by simple methods.

> It is inevitable that the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie will give expression to their own ideologies. It is inevitable that they will stubbornly assert themselves on political and ideological questions by every possible means. You cannot expect them to do otherwise. We should not use the method of suppression and prevent them from expressing themselves, but should allow them to do so and at the same time argue with them and direct appropriate criticism at them.... However, such criticism should not be dogmatic, and the metaphysical method should not be used, but instead the effort should be made to apply the dialectical method. What is needed is scientific analysis and convincing argument. (*ibid.*, p. 411)

But modern revisionists and Left sectarians alike are unable and unwilling to comprehend that, in keeping with the different stages and development of the class contradictions, Mao Zedong used different means and methods to deal with them. In the years subsequent to 1956, it was mainly a matter of deliberately allowing the bourgeois views, hidden beneath a shroud of phrases, to surface openly so as to be able to fight them better and in a more purposeful way and strengthen socialist class consciousness. When the bureaucracy in the party and the state apparatus formed themselves into a petty-bourgeois stratum and threatened to take over power, other methods of class struggle were needed: Mao Zedong developed – taking into account the historic mistakes of Stalin – the idea of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

In his guidelines for the mobilization of the masses for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Mao Zedong drew the lessons from the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union in order to check the progressive degeneration of the bureaucracy in the People's Republic of China and defend and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. The principles of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution were nothing else but the conscious application of the dialectical method to arm the broad masses of the people with Marxism-Leninism to enable them to exercise control over the bureaucracy and all responsible officials of the socialist society.

The 16-Point Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China launching the cultural revolution thus states:

> What the Central Committee of the Party demands of the Party committees at all levels is that they persevere in giving correct leadership, put daring above everything else, boldly arouse the masses, change the state of weakness and incompetence where it exists, encourage those comrades who have made mistakes but are willing to correct them to cast off their mental burdens and join in the struggle, and dismiss from their

leading posts all those in power taking the capitalist road and so make possible the recapture of the leadership for the proletarian revolutionaries. (*Important Documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China*, p. 137)

The MLPD acknowledges Mao Zedong's principles of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as his most valuable contribution to the advancement of Marxism-Leninism. The MLPD has summarized these principles in the following four points:

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is:

1. the *highest form of class struggle* in socialist society;
2. the awakening and rapid *development of socialist consciousness in the masses* by means of criticism and self-criticism and by studying and, at the same time, putting into practice Mao Zedong Thought;
3. the concrete form of *exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat* to prevent the bureaucratization of the Party, the government and management apparatus (against capitalist-roaders in power);
4. the building of an ideological-political barrier *against the danger of capitalist restoration*. (Willi Dickhut, *The Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union*, p. 383)

With the idea of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Mao Zedong developed the method for defending and strengthening socialism. *The Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union* (pp. 383-384) points to this fact:

The concept of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great contribution to Marxism-Leninism under the conditions of class struggle in socialism. This class struggle manifests itself as a dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the sharpest control over the bureaucracy, which is guided by petty-bourgeois thinking that is spontaneously generated again and again by the tradition of bourgeois ideology. Therefore, the bureaucracy endeavors to separate itself from the masses, to look down on them and ignore them.

This bureaucracy systematically develops into a new class which takes the capitalist road and gives rise to the danger of a capitalist restoration. At that point the danger will have to be eliminated once more by a new Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Mao Zedong pointed to this, admonishing:

"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 cultural revolutions, or three or four. We must be very much on the alert and never lose vigilance." (*Renmin Ribao* of May 23, 1967; quoted in J. Myrdal, *China: The Revolution Continued*, p. 192)

The idea of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution and its practical conduct encountered the raging hatred of the various exploiting classes and of all schools of opportunism. The present revisionist leaders of China leave out no opportunity to fight the achievements of the cultural revolution with lies and slanders and rehabilitate the overthrown enemies of the workers and the counterrevolutionaries. The Western imperialists eagerly snap up the latest concoctions from China – especially movies – in their media in order to deceive the working class. They can count on the support of all opportunists for this. The Moscow-style modern revisionists write:

But this time it was an attempt to set up a regime of personal power in China. Both the goals and the methods of implementation justify this assessment of the "cultural revolution." From the very start of this "revolution" it was quite clear that the forces carrying it out represented the minority in the party and the country. (*Kritik der theoretischen Auffassungen Mao Tsetungs*, p. 197)

Enver Hoxha added:

> The course of events showed that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was neither a revolution, nor great, nor cultural, and in particular, not in the least proletarian. It was a palace putsch on an all-China scale for the liquidation of a handful of reactionaries who had seized power. (*Imperialism and the Revolution*, p. 392)

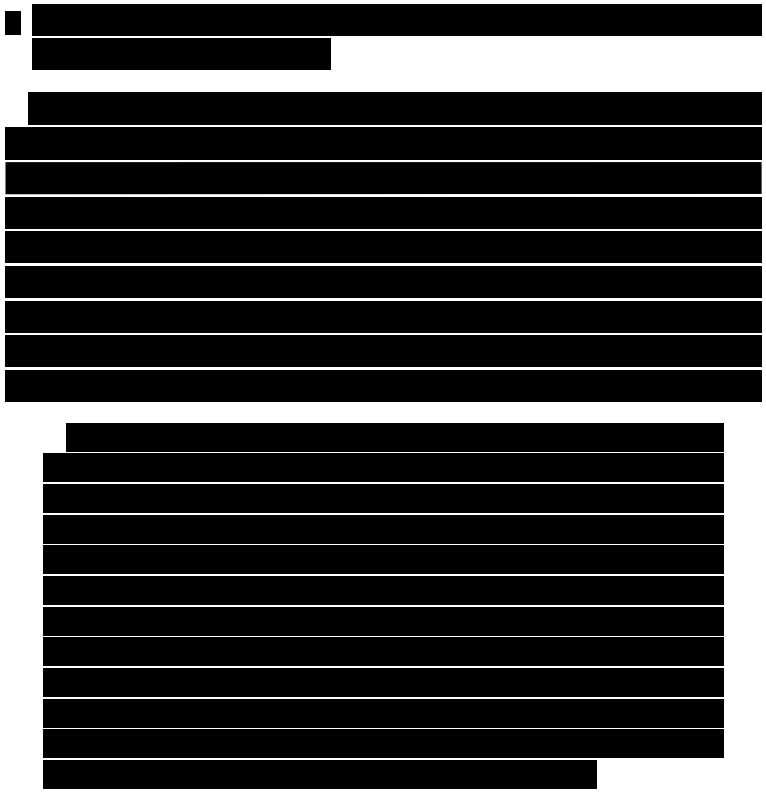
The open Trotskyites discharged the same kind of venom:

> In reality, the cultural revolution was nothing more than a power struggle within the Bonapartist regime serving its self-preservation.... (*Neue Arbeiterpresse*, weekly newspaper of the "Bund sozialistischer Arbeiter" [League of Socialist Workers], No. 534, October 1987)

How similar the diction! An illustrious unity emerges – Western imperialists along with modern revisionists of the Moscow and Peking schools, Trotskyites, Enver Hoxha, all the way to the successor organizations of the former KPD (Aust).

Doubtless, in the course of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, as in every great revolution in history, inevitably some mistakes were made and some things got carried too far. But these things are of secondary importance and cannot detract from the success of the cultural revolution. Where people struggle they also make mistakes, and party-building, too, does not proceed without mistakes. Important is the attitude taken by each comrade towards his mistakes and the way in which the collective behaves towards a comrade who has made mistakes, provided he or she is no enemy of the organization. Mao Zedong points the right way:

> The unity of opposites is the fundamental concept of dialectics. In accordance with this concept, what should we do with a comrade who has made mistakes? We should first wage a struggle to rid him of his wrong ideas. Second, we should also help him. Point one, struggle, and point two, help. We should proceed from good intentions to help him correct his mistakes so that he will have a way out. (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. V, p. 514-515)



The Socialist Road of China under the Leadership of Mao Zedong

Mao Zedong developed the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the socialist road of national liberation further by creatively applying them to the conditions of Chinese society. In 1940 he wrote:

> Since the invasion of foreign capitalism and the gradual growth of capitalist elements in Chinese society, the country has changed by degrees into a colonial, semi-colonial and semi-

> feudal society. China today is colonial in the Japanese-occupied areas and basically semi-colonial in the Kuomintang areas, and it is predominantly feudal or semi-feudal in both. ("On New Democracy," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. II, p. 341)

Mao Zedong pointed out that under these conditions the Chinese revolution necessarily divided into *two phases*, a *democratic* and a *socialist* phase. The task of the first phase, externally, was to defeat the imperialist aggressors with the national revolution and, internally, to defeat feudalism with the democratic revolution. Before this twofold task was completely resolved, there could be no talk of going over to the socialist phase. For that reason, Mao Zedong made the generalization:

> *During this period*, therefore, a third form of state must be adopted in the *revolutions of all colonial and semi-colonial countries*, namely, the new-democratic republic. *This form suits a certain historical period and is therefore transitional*; nevertheless, it is a form which is necessary and cannot be dispensed with. (*Ibid.*, p. 350; emphasis ours – the editors RW)

Politically, New Democracy or people's democracy constituted a special form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes under the leadership of the proletariat, directed against the imperialists, the feudal big landowners and the comprador bourgeoisie.

Economically, New Democracy transfers the masses of capital owned by the imperialists, and the big capitalists submissive to them, to the administration of the state. The state economy acquires socialist character and constitutes the leading factor in the national economy. The land of the feudal big landowners is expropriated and distributed to the peasants, becoming their property. On the other hand, the small and medium-sized enterprises and a part of the larger private-capitalist enterprises continue to exist for the time being, as do the big-peasant farms. There are certainly socialist elements in the countryside, but, generally speaking, no socialist agriculture exists yet.

Mao Zedong summarized the internal contradictoriness of New Democracy in the words:

> the new type of democratic revolution clears the way for capitalism on the one hand and creates the prerequisites for socialism on the other. The present stage of the Chinese revolution is a stage of transition between the abolition of the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society and the establishment of a socialist society, i.e., it is a process of new-democratic revolution. (*Ibid.*, p. 327)

From this it follows, *first*, that the establishment of New Democracy is a strategic goal completing a stage on the way to socialism. *Secondly*, New Democracy is a revolutionary *transitional form* of state. *Thirdly*, New Democracy is a particular *form of the dictatorship of the proletariat*.

The first phase of the Chinese revolution went through four strategic periods:

1. The revolutionary civil war from 1924 to 1927, which ended in defeat.
2. The war of agrarian revolution from 1927 to 1936, in the course of which the Red base areas emerged, initially in South China and, after they were destroyed, in North China (Yenan).
3. The war of resistance against Japan from 1937 to 1945, which led to Japan's defeat.
4. The people's war of liberation from 1945 to 1949, which ended victoriously with the proclamation of the People's Republic of China by Mao Zedong.

A special feature was that the struggle bore armed character in all periods.

From the standpoint of proletarian strategy and tactics in the national liberation struggle, national and social liberation, national war and class struggle form a dialectical unity in which first one and then the other aspect can come to the fore. The composition of the main forces waging the struggle changed accordingly, requiring a change in strategy. Mao Zedong elucidated this:

> When imperialism is not making armed attacks on our country, the Chinese Communist Party either wages civil war jointly with the bourgeoisie against the warlords (lackeys of imperialism), as in 1924-27 in the wars in Kwangtung Province and the Northern Expedition, or unites with the peasants and the urban petty-bourgeoisie to wage civil war against the landlord class and the comprador bourgeoisie (also lackeys of imperialism), as in the War of Agrarian Revolution of 1927-36. When imperialism launches armed attacks on China, the Party unites all classes and strata in the country opposing the foreign aggressors to wage a national war against the foreign enemy, as it is doing in the present War of Resistance Against Japan.... They are all revolutionary wars, all directed against counter-revolutionaries and all waged mainly by the revolutionary people, differing only in the sense that a civil war differs from a national war, and that a war conducted by the Communist Party differs from a war it conducts jointly with the Kuomintang. Of course, these differences are important. They indicate the breadth of the main forces in the war (an alliance of the workers and peasants, or of the workers, peasants and bourgeoisie) and whether our antagonist in the war is internal or external (whether the war is against domestic or foreign foes, and, if domestic, whether against the Northern warlords or against the Kuomintang); they also indicate that the content of China's revolutionary war differs at different stages of its history. ("Problems of War and Strategy," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. II, pp. 220 and 221)

Depending on the different strategy of civil war or national war, the tactics were defined. In the first instance, the proletariat pursued the tactic of intensifying class struggle, of preparing for armed insurrection; in the second instance, "abandonment of the policy of armed insurrection" and *temporary* subordination to the requirements of the national liberation war were stressed. Under these conditions, Mao Zedong said, "the class struggle takes the form of national struggle." ("The Question of Independence and Initiative within the United Front," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. II, p. 215)

But he expressly opposed the capitulationism that equated the national liberation struggle with the abandonment of class struggle.

The historic victory of the liberation struggle in China proved the correctness of the theory of the socialist road of national liberation. With the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, a coalition government of all parties which had participated in the liberation struggle was formed under the leadership of the working class and its party. The prerequisites had thus been created for completing the democratic revolution and beginning the reconstruction of the partly destroyed or wasting economy. It was not possible immediately to effect the transition from the people's democratic revolution to socialist revolution, because the first principal concern was to overcome the tremendous backwardness of the country. For this purpose the national bourgeoisie was needed. Mao Zedong had no illusions about their role. In mid-1952 he wrote:

> With the overthrow of the landlord class and the bureaucrat-capitalist class [by which he meant the comprador bourgeoisie – the editors RW], the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie has become the principal contradiction in China; therefore the national bourgeoisie should no longer be defined as an intermediate class. ("The Contradiction between the Working Class and the Bourgeoisie is the Prin-

cipal Contradiction in China," *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. V, p. 77)

This principal contradiction expressed itself in the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads. The new-democratic revolution was able to free the country from imperialism and feudalism and get independent development going under the revolutionary proletariat's leadership, but it could not abolish the division of society into exploiters and exploited:

- In the countryside, the individual peasant economy caused inequality to increase again within a short time; rich and middle peasants became more prosperous, poor peasants lost land again.
- The individual peasant households were helpless in the face of natural catastrophes and epidemics. If China was to be led out of poverty, millions of people had to be mobilized to build dams and canals, to make land tillable, to practice preventive health care, and so on, for capital was hardly available – unless it were to be procured through contraction of gigantic debt and renewed dependence on foreign imperialist countries.
- The exploitation of the workers in the enterprises of the national bourgeoisie was mitigated, but the capitalists employed every means to extend their economic and political influence.
- The state-owned enterprises were managed by bourgeois intellectuals and former capitalists who either had no proper conception of public ownership or didn't want to hear about it.

As early as March, 1949, at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Mao Zedong emphasized:

> The policy of restricting private capitalism is bound to meet with resistance in varying degrees and forms from the bourgeoisie, especially from the big owners of private enterprises, that is, from the big capitalists. Restriction versus opposition to restriction will be the main form of class struggle in the new-democratic state. ("Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. IV, p. 368)

The Communist Party of China practiced a buyout policy towards the national bourgeoisie, which had supported the people's democratic revolution. By 1956, the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and trades, industry and commerce had been substantially completed as regards ownership of the means of production. (See Table 3, p. 44) The state-owned socialist sector occupied the leading role in the economy, and more than 90 percent of the peasant households had organized themselves in cooperatives. The private small and medium-sized industrial enterprises were transformed into mixed state-private enterprises. Some 810,000 capitalists were employed there, frequently in leading positions, but under state control. For a transitional period these capitalists received 5 percent interest on their capital contributions.

While the second phase of the Chinese revolution, the transition to socialism, was being pushed ahead according to plan, the contradictions within the Communist Party came to a head in the shape of a two-line struggle. In June 1953, Mao Zedong delivered a principled repudiation above all of the right-opportunist views of Liu Shaoqi:

> Some people think the period of transition is too long and give way to impatience. This will lead to "Left" deviationist mistakes. Others have remained where they were after the victory of the democratic revolution. They fail to realize there is a change in the character of the revolution and they go on pushing their "New Democracy" instead of socialist transformation. This will lead to Right deviationist mistakes....
>
> The idea, "Firmly establish the new-democratic social order," goes against the realities of our struggle and hinders the

Table 3
Change in the percent share of the total value of production of industrial enterprises accounted for by the various economic forms in China (without handicraft industries)

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
Socialist Industry	34.7	45.3	45.9	56.0	57.5	62.8	67.7	67.5	68.2
State-Capitalist Industry	9.5	17.8	25.4	26.9	28.5	31.9	29.3	32.5	31.7
including:									
Mixed state-private enterprises	2.0	2.9	4.0	5.0	5.7	12.3	16.1	32.5	31.7
Enterprises doing job processing or production-on-order for the state	7.5	14.9	21.4	21.9	22.8	19.6	13.2	–	–
Capitalist Industry (Output produced and sold independent of the state)	55.8	36.9	28.7	17.1	14.0	5.3	3.0	–	–

Source: *Die sozialistische Umgestaltung der chinesischen Volkswirtschaft* (The Soc a st Transformat on of the Ch nese Economy), Fore gn Languages Pub sh ng House, Pek ng, 1964, Append x

progress of the socialist cause. ("Refute Right Deviationist Views that Depart from the General Line," *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. V, pp. 93 and 94)

The proponents of the interests of the national bourgeoisie would not accept defeat and, in the further course of the revolution, found allies among petty-bourgeois degenerate bureaucrats who used their authority and the working conditions in the administrative apparatus of the Party, the economy or the state to satisfy selfish interests. Within the bureaucracy of Party, state and economy, a *new bourgeoisie* began to develop. Against these "capitalist-roaders in power" Mao Zedong launched the *Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* in 1966. Through the ideological and political mobilization of the working masses against the danger of the restoration of capitalism, the dictatorship of the proletariat was strengthened, the assumption of power by a new bureaucratic bourgeoisie was prevented, and the remaining influence of the old national bourgeoisie was broken.

The revolutionary masses confiscated the accumulated interest, savings deposits, government bonds, gold and silver, private villas, and so forth. The large salaries of the industrialists and merchants were adjusted to the earnings of plain workers. The leading party officials who had departed from the socialist road and most of the former bourgeois were thrown out of their high positions and sent to factories, stores, and farms to perform manual labor. This was sharp class struggle.

Mao Zedong deserves particular mention for bringing out the significance of ideological struggle in the class struggle and determining its methods. The class struggle is decided on the ideological front, in the struggle over people's thoughts, feelings and actions. Going from this experience, the book *The End of Socialism?*, published by the MLPD, declares:

This also applies to socialist society. Proletarian revolution can only be achieved with proletarian thinking. Proletarian revolution can only be victorious if proletarian thinking predominates over petty-bourgeois thinking by a large measure.

Doubtlessly, to construct socialism it is necessary to establish and develop an administrative apparatus and, accordingly, a bureaucracy. If the bureaucracy holding Party membership is not imbued with proletarian thinking, it is unable to make the broad masses give up their petty-bourgeois inclinations, and to impart to them proletarian thinking, which advances to the level of socialist consciousness. If petty-bourgeois thinking is not constantly combated – and in this, class struggle finds its expression – if petty-bourgeois thinking overgrows proletarian thinking, socialism is doomed, capitalism will be reintroduced. (Essen 1992, p. 11)

The Mass Line as Foundation of the Socialist Road of National Liberation

Only by adhering to the socialist road were the Chinese people able to push ahead economic, political and social development independent of imperialism. For example, the formation of mutual-assistance teams, which then developed into agricultural cooperatives and finally into people's communes, was the prerequisite for accomplishing formerly insoluble tasks such as the control of the Yellow River: 55 million people were no longer threatened by floods in an area of 210,000 square kilometers. Irrigated farmland increased by 2,670,000 hectares. 1,000 kilometers of navigable waterways were created along with hundreds of power plants. This project took almost 15 years and had to be carried out almost without machines, solely through the mobilization of millions of people.

> Of all things in the world, people are the most precious. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, as long as there are people, every kind of miracle can be performed. ("The Bankruptcy of the Idealist Conception of History," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. IV, p. 454)

Mao Zedong excelled in applying the fundamental principle of the mass line to the Chinese revolution. This is the key to the great successes achieved in socialist construction in China during Mao's lifetime.

The mass line is the cornerstone of the socialist road of national liberation. This was expressed in two ways:

First, in the policy of national independence (also in relation to the Soviet Union) on the basis of the self-reliance of the masses:

> Rely mainly on our own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary, break down blind faith, go in for industry, agriculture and technical and cultural revolutions independently, do away with slavishness, bury dogmatism, learn from the good experience of other countries conscientiously and be sure to study their bad experience too, so as to draw lessons from it. This is our line. (Mao Zedong, quoted in *Peking Review*, No. 35, 1976, p. 8)

Second, in the correct methods of leadership of the Communist Party of China. To fully develop the initiative of the masses for the construction of an independent socialist China, the Communist Party educated its members and cadres in the spirit of the mass line:

> It [the Party – the editors] should teach every comrade to love the people and listen attentively to the voice of the masses; to identify himself with the masses wherever he goes and, instead of standing above them, to immerse himself among them; and, according to their present level, to awaken them or raise their political consciousness and help them gradually to organize themselves voluntarily and to set going all essential struggles permitted by the internal and external circumstances of the given time and place. ("On Coalition Government," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. III, p. 265)

The modern revisionists, beginning with Khrushchov and Brezhnev and their emulators of the likes of Ulbricht and Honecker, brazenly claim that China abandoned the socialist road of national liberation under the leadership of Mao Zedong. An example of this is the book disseminated in the former German Democratic Republic in 1973, *Klassen und Klassenbeziehungen in der Volksrepublik China* (Classes and Class Relations in the People's Republic of China). The book makes the wildest claims:

> In the process of the evolution of their Great-Power chauvinist and hegemonic policies the Maoists attempted ... increasingly to prevent the necessary consolidation and growth of the connection between Marxism-Leninism and the Chinese working class and, instead, to inject the petty-bourgeois ideology of Maoism into the working class, assisted by social demagogy, with the goal of isolating the Chinese working class from the international working class [what they mean is the Kremlin rulers' aspirations to international domination – the editors RW] and misusing it as a productive force to further realize their Great-Power chauvinist plans.... This goal is served by the slogans: "Workers and peasants learn philosophy," "Let the masses master philosophy," "Liberate philosophy from the confines of the philosophers' lecture rooms and textbooks."

The "national demagogy of the Maoists" was said to show particularly in the slogan "rely on one's own efforts" and in "the attacks on the so-called philosophy of subservience." (*Klassen und Klassenbeziehungen in der Volksrepublik China*, published in cooperation with the Institute for Social Sciences of the CC of the SED, Dresden, 1973, pp. 143 and 144)

So the Communist Party of China was "Great-Power chauvinist" because it refused to line China up with those countries that were politically and militarily controlled and exploited by Soviet social-imperialism?

Furthermore, it pursued a "petty-bourgeois line" because it rejected setting up a bureaucratic-capitalist command-type regime over the masses patterned on the SED/*Stasi*[1] rule?

And finally it used "social demagogy" because it would not be blinded by Moscow's Lenin falsifiers but made Marxism-Leninism a weapon in the hands of the worker and peasant masses against the modern revisionism of the new rulers in the Kremlin?

The modern revisionists were too coward to make the true opinions of the Communist Party of China and Mao Zedong accessible to the masses in the former Soviet Union, German Democratic Republic (GDR) and so on. It was forbidden to procure and distribute such documents. How else could the cheap demagogy of the modern revisionists have worked? It was only an outcry by the Kremlin rulers and their pupils, who were smarting from their ideological and political defeat at the hands of the Communist Party of China, which not only defended Marxism-Leninism against the revisionist betrayal of the CPSU, but also demonstrated in practice that the socialist road for the liberation of China could be successfully carried through even against a Soviet Union that had degenerated to social-imperialism.

Modern revisionism is nothing other than a variant of bourgeois ideology trimmed with Marxist-Leninist-sounding phrases. The anti-people nature of bourgeois ideology becomes particularly apparent in the reactionary theory of the "population explosion in Asia, Africa and Latin America." To the imperialists and their paid ideologues, the masses of the people and their growth are progress-impeding "ballast." They warn

[1] SED = Socialist Unity Party, Stasi = State Security Service

against a "catastrophe for humanity." Since food production could not keep pace with population growth, there would be no escaping poverty and backwardness. Socialist China furnished historic proof of the worthlessness of this theory.

Swedish author Jan Myrdal, known for his excellent knowledge of the development of both Chinese and Indian society, makes the following comparative observation in his book *Indien bricht auf* (India Emergent):

> China had a poorer starting position than India.... But when one calls to mind Mao Zedong's policies for China and compares the economic development of India and China between 1950 and 1978, then the picture is clear:

Table 4

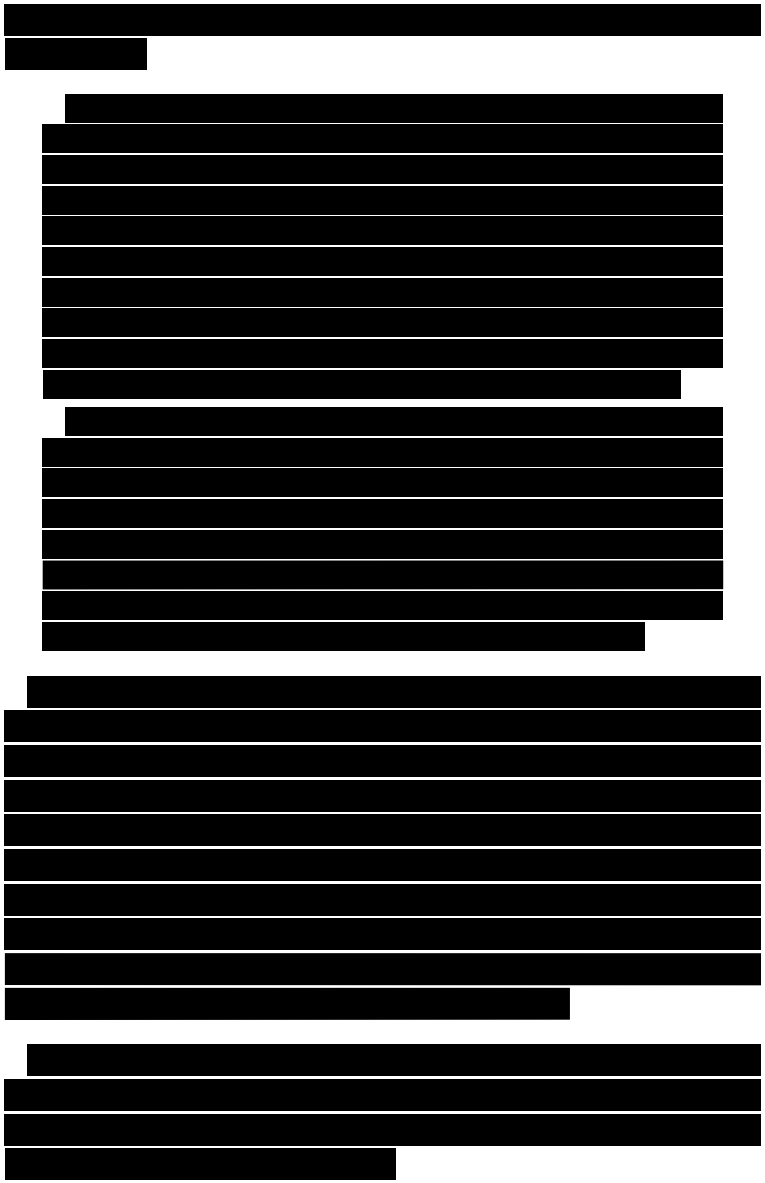
	1950		1978	
	India	China	India	China
Coal (millions t)	35	49	102	618
Crude oil (millions t)	0.3	0.3	11	104
Electricity (billions kWh)	6	6	101	257
Cement (millions t)	3	2	20	65
Steel (millions t)	2	1	10	32
Artificial fertilizers (millions t)	0.02	0.02	2.7	8.7
Bicycles (in thousands)	114	45	2.464	8.540
Grain (millions t)	56	139	114	305
Cotton (millions t)	0.5	0.9	1.3	2.2
Jute (millions t)	0.7	0.2	1.5	1
Railways (in thousands km)	35	23	61	59

> In China, the masses were mobilized – hundreds of millions. But one cannot organize these people to work unless the entire old dreadful society is smashed. (Bremen, 1986, p. 261; our translation from the German)

On April 16, 1973, the UN delegate of the People's Republic of China, Chi Lung, made a speech at the 29th Session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE). He explained China's policy of planned population growth, which recognizes in people the decisive factor of the productive forces of society:

> They [people] are first of all producers and then consumers. As producers, they ceaselessly concentrate on production in breadth and depth and can produce more products than they consume. Under certain socio-historical conditions, some problems may arise as the population increases. This is caused by various obstacles blocking the development of the social productive forces. The entire progress of history shows that people are always able to sweep aside obstacles in the way of advance, promote the steady development of the social productive forces and create more and more wealth for society. Those views which regard people as a negative factor, that people are purely consumers and that growth in population means an obstacle to economic development do not correspond to the historical facts in the development of mankind. (*Peking Review*, No. 17, 1973, p. 16)

Summing up, we must draw the conclusion from this *that the realization of the socialist road of national liberation stands and falls with carrying out the mass line*.



6. The Struggle Against Neocolonialism – A New Epoch of the National Movement

Having gained their political independence, the dependent countries were confronted with the task of underpinning and consolidating their sovereignty by constructing an independent national economy. This could not be accomplished jointly with the imperialists, but only relying on the masses of the people in struggle against all attempts to apply fetters. The national movement entered upon a new epoch after the Second World War. It was characterized in the following way by the Communist Party of China in 1963:

> In the new stage, the level of political consciousness of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples has risen higher than ever and the revolutionary movement is surging forward with unprecedented intensity. They urgently demand the thorough elimination of the forces of imperialism and its lackeys in their own countries and strive for complete political and economic independence. The primary and most urgent task facing these countries is still the further development of the struggle against imperialism, old and new colonialism, and their lackeys. The struggle is still being waged fiercely in the political, economic, military, cultural, ideological and other spheres. And the struggles in all these spheres still find their most concentrated expression in political struggle, which often unavoidably develops into armed struggle when the imperialists resort to direct or indirect armed suppression. It is important for the newly independent countries to develop their independent economy. But this task must never be separated from the struggle against imperialism, old and new colonialism, and their lackeys. (*The Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement*, pp. 191-192)

Perhaps one of the most distinctive examples of a bourgeois anti-imperialist national policy is that of Juan Domingo Perón, which as “Peronism” retains substantial mass influence in *Ar-*

gentina down to the present day. Perón, a military officer, was a representative of the national bourgeoisie. Elected as President of Argentina in 1946, he sped up industrialization by means of government aid and investment and nationalized the British-dominated Argentinian railroad companies. This was accompanied by: introduction of the regulated workday, paid vacation, full legalization of the trade unions, accident insurance and the announcement of an agrarian reform, which, however, was never completed. Further measures were the raising of minimum wages and provision of cheap housing. In 1955, Perón was overthrown by the military, who had behind them the most reactionary sections of the agrarian oligarchy in alliance with imperialism.

After acquiring political independence in 1949, *Indonesia* under President Sukarno set about restricting the influence of foreign capital. In the second half of the fifties the railroad companies, the energy sector, the postal system and telecommunications as well as a large part of tin production were taken into public ownership. A number of Dutch and US monopolies were expropriated. Sukarno was a representative of the national bourgeoisie and played a positive role in the struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism as host of the Conference of Bandung in 1955. He partly relied on the Communist Party of Indonesia and its mass influence among the millions of working people. In 1965, a bloody military coup brought the pro-imperialist regime of General Suharto to power and destroyed hopes of an independent Indonesia.

Under the leadership of Fidel Castro and Ernesto (Ché) Guevara, the anti-imperialist-democratic revolution gained victory in *Cuba* in 1959. The US puppet Batista was overthrown. A policy of industrialization was begun to overcome the one-sided sugar-export-geared monoculture inherited from the Spanish

colonial period and the neocolonial dependence on US imperialism. The basis of this effort was the mobilization of the people by the victorious revolution, the expropriation of American property, the institution of an agrarian reform and the nationalization of the essential industrial means of production. Free education and health care were introduced, along with social insurance. Rents were cut, the living standard and the cultural level of the masses were raised. All that characterizes the determination of the Cuban revolutionaries not to let themselves be forced to the knees by the US trade embargo, to realize the wishes and hopes of the people for a better life without poverty, exploitation and oppression, and to create an independent Cuba. The Cuban revolution gained the sympathy and recognition of Latin America's masses and of the progressive forces in the whole world.

In *Chile* the parliamentary elections of September, 1970, were won by the Unidad Popular ("People's Unity"), an alliance of five democratic anti-imperialist parties and the Moscow-dependent revisionist party. The alliance was led by Dr. Salvador Allende. With the support of the broadest masses it began to realize a comprehensive program of reforms.

The big copper mines of the imperialist companies Anaconda and Kennecott were nationalized, as were saltpeter production, the big iron mines, the steel mill in Huachipato, a power company (branch of the American and Foreign Power Company), and biggest foreign companies in the foreign trade sector. The International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation (ITT) branch was expropriated. The agrarian reform had extended to half the cultivated estates. Private banks became state-owned. Several dozen of the largest monopoly enterprises became publicly owned or controlled. A bloody end was put to these policies in September, 1973, by a coup under General Pinochet engineered by the CIA.

The revolutionary anti-imperialist struggles for the freedom and independence of the oppressed colonial peoples were accompanied in the sixties and seventies by the overthrow of numerous puppet regimes of imperialism. In 1974, the armed struggle of the peoples of *Angola*, *Mozambique* and *Guinea-Bissau* smashed the five-century old colonial rule of Portugal in Africa. In that same year, the Haile Selassie regime in *Ethiopia* was overthrown.

Of outstanding significance was the victory of the national-revolutionary people's war in *Vietnam*, *Laos* and *Cambodia* over the US imperialists. It showed the peoples how vulnerable even a superpower is and enjoyed the solidarity of all progressive-minded people the world over.

Vietnam could finally be reunited in the spring of 1975. After a liberation struggle which lasted several decades and demanded great sacrifices, the Vietnamese people and the Communist Party faced great new challenges. 14 to 15 million tons of bombs and explosives had fallen on Vietnam, ten times as much as was dropped on Germany in the Second World War. The employment of biological and chemical agents by the American army had damaged almost a fourth of the entire forested area. Unemployment in the overpopulated cities of South Vietnam was between 40 and 50 percent, and there were a million orphans and just as many war invalids. Nevertheless, already in 1975, the production figures for the most important industrial goods again attained the levels existing prior to the beginning of the bomb terror. The country, rich in petroleum, coal and iron ore, continued to be a focal point of imperialist rivalry.

Mao Zedong analyzed these successes in the national liberation struggle and found that the different kinds of contradictions concentrated themselves in the vast expanses of Asia, Africa and Latin America, that the weakest links in the chain

of imperialist rule and the major storm centers of world revolution were here, where imperialism was being dealt direct blows.

Mao Zedong's China was a model and a support in the liberation struggle against imperialism, especially the two superpowers. It made it easier for freedom fighters in the whole world to hold or regain their revolutionary course and to found many new Marxist-Leninist organizations. For example, the Communist Party of the Philippines was reestablished on December 26, 1968. Its ideological foundation is Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Under its leadership the New People's Army has been waging an expanding people's war above all in rural areas since 1969.

Under Mao Zedong's leadership, the People's Republic of China resolutely supported the oppressed peoples and also selflessly granted foreign aid. This can be seen from the "Eight Principles for China's Aid to Foreign Countries" which we document below (p. 154).

An example of this aid is the assistance from the People's Republic of China in constructing the Tanzam Railway in Tanzania and Zambia. The rail line was built under the most difficult conditions and completed ahead of schedule in 1975. On a visit of government delegations of the two countries to Beijing, the head of the Tanzanian delegation, Habib Jamal, declared:

> [A] protocol was concluded in 1967 between the People's Republic of China, the Republic of Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania in which the People's Republic of China, at the request of the Zambian and Tanzanian Governments, agreed to assist in the construction of a railway linking Tanzania with Zambia, and at the same time provide Tanzania's sister state Zambia with an unfettered outlet to the sea at the port of Dar-es-Salaam.... The people of your great country have undertaken the revolutionary construction and reconstruction

Exhibit C

Eight Principles for China's Aid to Foreign Countries

1. The Chinese Government always bases itself on the principle of equality and mutual benefit in providing aid to other countries. It never regards such aid as a kind of unilateral alms but as something mutual.
2. In providing aid to other countries, the Chinese Government strictly respects the sovereignty of the recipient countries, and never attaches any conditions or asks for any privileges.
3. China provides economic aid in the form of interest-free or low-interest loans and extends the time limit for the repayment when necessary so as to lighten the burden of the recipient countries as far as possible.
4. In providing aid to other countries, the purpose of the Chinese Government is not to make the recipient countries dependent on China but to help them embark step by step on the road of self-reliance and independent economic development.
5. The Chinese Government tries its best to help the recipient countries build projects which require less investment while yielding quicker results, so that the recipient governments may increase their income and accumulate capital.
6. The Chinese Government provides the best-quality equipment and material of its own manufacture at international market prices. If the equipment and material provided by the Chinese Government are not up to the agreed specifications and quality, the Chinese Government undertakes to replace them.
7. In giving any particular technical assistance, the Chinese Government will see to it that the personnel of the recipient country can fully master such technique.
8. The experts dispatched by China to help in construction in the recipient countries will have the same standard of living as the experts of the recipient country. The Chinese experts are not allowed to make any special demands or enjoy any special amenities.

Source: *Peking Review*, No. 17, 1972, p. 15

> of your economy on the basis of self-reliance. All your available resources will be needed for this purpose for years to come. Despite this, your government has decided to help Zambia and Tanzania in building this grand railroad under the most generous of conditions.[1] Your massive assistance to the cause of developing countries, while engaged in a much needed reconstruction at home, is a clear demonstration of the commitment of the Chinese people to international solidarity in the struggle for the construction of a just and peaceful world in which imperialism, fascism and colonialism will have been banished for ever. (*Peking Review,* No. 29, 1970, p. 17)

At the UN, the People's Republic of China clearly took the side of the neocolonially oppressed countries and supported their interests. This is evidenced by the dispute with the superpowers over the maritime law issue and raw material prices, in which the representative of the People's Republic of China called on the dependent countries to join forces in the struggle against the superpowers.

In the first half of the seventies, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, called OPEC, succeeded in quadrupling the oil price, wresting this concession in tough negotiations from the multinational oil trusts. Encouraged by this success, the other raw-material producing countries also desired to improve their situation through united action. Against this backdrop, a special conference of the UN General Assembly for the "study of the problems of raw materials and development" was held on April 9, 1974. To characterize the militant attitude, we want to cite a few prominent passages from speeches reflecting the general mood. The following quotations were taken from *Peking Review*, No. 18, 1974:

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[1] The section of the quotation from the above ellipsis to this footnote was not published in *Peking Review*, No. 29, 1970, but only in the German-language *Peking Rundschau*, No. 29, 1970, p. 18. The English translation is ours.

Mubashir Hasan, Minister of Finance, Planning and Development of Pakistan: "Over the last few decades the developing countries have struggled successfully for their political independence. They are now struggling for their economic emancipation...."

John Malecela, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tanzania: "We should strive to establish a new economic order based on the principles of sovereign equality of states, self-determination of peoples and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries."

Baba-Car Ba, Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs of Senegal: "The accelerated industrialisation of the rich countries has only been made possible by the exploitation at low price of the raw materials which the Third World possessed or are possessing."

P.O. Etiang, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Uganda: "While the rich developed nations have continued to amass wealth, the poor developing nations can hardly obtain the basic necessities of life." He pointed out that "aid," which has been viewed as "charity" from the rich countries to the poor ones, has perpetuated the old colonial heritage of master-and-servant relationship which has greatly compromised the political independence of the recipient countries.

Primo Jose Esono Mica, Equatorial Guinea's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, stated that the Third World countries now want "a true economic independence, want to eliminate foreign monopolies and to control and exploit their national resources to the benefit of their peoples."

Foreign Minister D. Doralta of Chad: he expressed the hope that "the Third World countries which are forced to suffer from an increasingly aggravated economic backwardness, misery and famine, will unite to form a complete unit with one soul, so as to eliminate the current system of exploitation and establish a more independent economy."

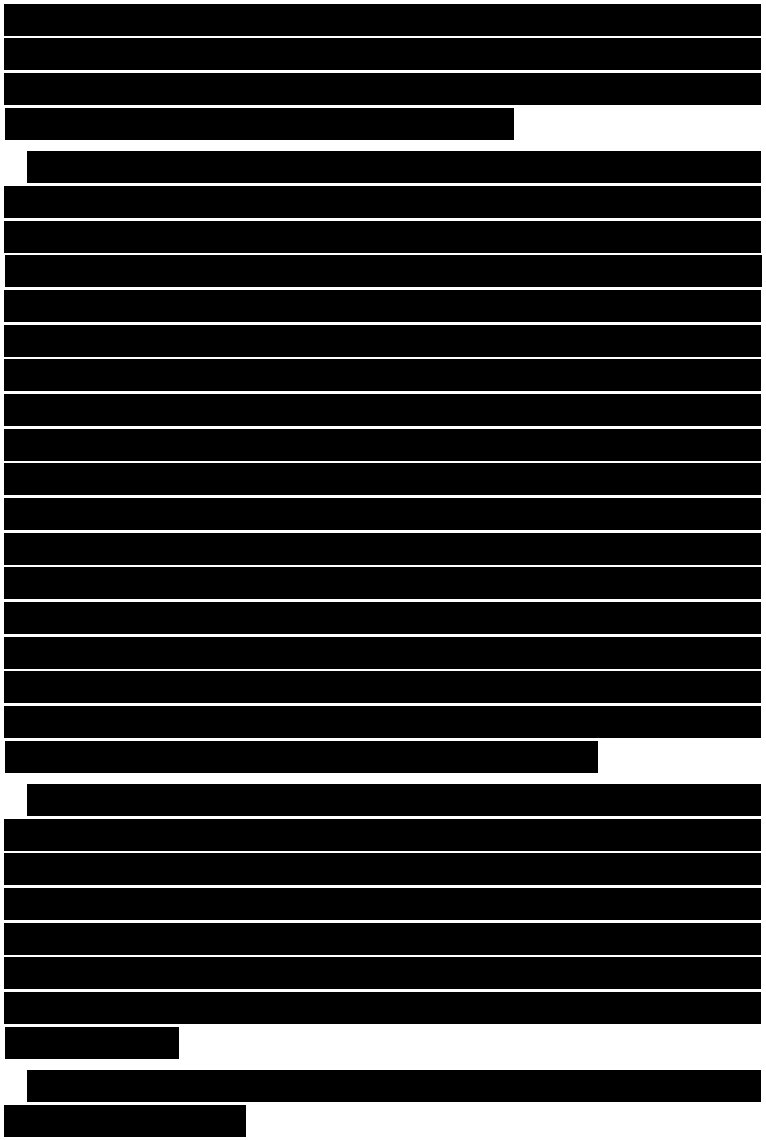
After twenty days of heated discussions and harsh criticism of the existing world economic order and the exploitative methods of the imperialist countries, in particular the superpowers USA and Soviet Union, the special UN conference adopted two important documents: the "Declaration on the establishment of a new international economic order" and a "program of action," both drafted and submitted by the Group of 77.[1]

The then socialist People's Republic of China substantially contributed to this success. In various conversations with leading politicians of developing countries prior to the UN special conference, Mao Zedong supported the beginning movement and endeavored to give it a clear anti-imperialist thrust against the two superpowers.

In the course of the seventies, the anti-imperialist struggle reached a climax. *Revolutionärer Weg*, No. 19, published in 1979, remarked on this:

> The whole world is governed by unrest: strikes, demonstrations, armed intervention of the state's instruments of suppression, rebellions, civil wars, mass uprisings not only against the imperialist exploiters, but also against their ruling puppets (Shah of Persia, Somoza in Nicaragua). All these national and social struggles and the intensifying class struggles in the imperialist countries confirm what Mao Zedong taught and what characterizes the current state of the general crisis of capitalism:
>
> **Revolution is the main trend in the world!**
>
> (Willi Dickhut, *State-Monopoly Capitalism in the FRG*, Part IV, Vol. II, pp. 372-373)

[1] »Group of 77« is a designation for the countries that formed the group of developing countries at the first UN Conference for Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 1964. Their number has meanwhile grown to more than 125.



4. Deng Xiaoping Leads China Down the Capitalist Road

Under the leadership of the revolutionary Communist Party of China guided by Mao Zedong, the Chinese people resisted all attempts of Soviet social-imperialism to absorb China into its sphere of power. The foundation of the successful socialist road to national liberation of China was precisely the rejection of *any* form of dependence, the defense of the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and *adherence to the mass line*.

It is no coincidence that the restoration of capitalism in China after the death of Mao Zedong took the struggle against these foundations as its starting point. Mao Zedong had warned again and again that those who stubbornly wished to take the capitalist road are willing to surrender to imperialism in practice.

In the beginning of the seventies, such views were held by Deng Xiaoping, a functionary who had already been removed from all state and party offices during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution because of his bourgeois thinking. According to him, the Chinese were not capable of building the country and achieving the "four modernizations" (in agriculture, industry, national defence, and science and technology). There was only one option: to "import foreign techniques and equipment," in order to "speed up the technical transformation of industry and raise labour productivity." These aims were served by the "major policy" drawn up by him, according to which China should enter into "long term contracts" with foreign countries. The foreign capitalists were to receive raw materials as payment for their services and products. (Quoted in: *Peking Review*, No. 35, 1976, p. 8)

To prevent a lapse into renewed dependence on imperialism, Mao Zedong initiated an ideological-political struggle, encom-

passing all the people, against the "Rightist wind." In 1976, an article was published in the central organ of the Communist Party of China, *Hongqi* (Red Flag), with the headline "Comments on Teng Hsiao-ping's Economic Ideas of the Comprador Bourgeoisie." The article stated:

> We hold that, under the guidance of the principle of independence and self-reliance, it is necessary to import some foreign techniques and equipment on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and in accordance with the needs of our country's socialist revolution and construction. But we absolutely cannot place our hopes for realizing the four modernizations on imports. If we do not rely mainly on our own efforts but, as Teng Hsiao-ping advocated, rely solely on importing foreign techniques, copying foreign designs and technological processes and patterning our equipment on foreign models, we will for ever trail behind foreigners and our country's development of technology and even its entire national economy will fall under the control of foreign monopoly capital.
>
> Some economists of the monopoly capitalists allege that industrially backward countries can only "take off" by relying on the techniques of imperialism. That Teng Hsiao-ping, with the label of a Communist Party member, should chime in with such nonsense was a big irony indeed! This of course was not a mere coincidence. It showed that Teng Hsiao-ping's economic concepts fully met the needs of imperialism. (*Ibid.*, pp. 9-10)

Two months after the publication of this article, in September 1976, Mao Zedong died. Deng Xiaoping took advantage of this to carry through his counterrevolutionary line by staging a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat, in which part of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the so-called Gang of Four, was arrested. While in the beginning Deng Xiaoping had tried to preserve the appearance of adhering to the revolutionary line of Mao Zedong, the capitalist road has meanwhile come to light undisguised. The *History of the MLPD* sums up a series of pamphlets published from 1977 to 1981 under the title *China aktuell* (China Today) by the KABD (Communist Workers' League of Germany, forerunner organization of the MLPD):

> The borrowing of billions from the Western imperialists meant abandoning the principle of "building socialism on our own strength." Huge sums were thus withdrawn from building the domestic economy in order to make interest and redemption payments. The compulsion to produce export commodities grew increasingly, and foreign capitalists were directly invited to participate in exploiting the Chinese workers. The class struggle against the old bourgeoisie was stopped, too. On the contrary, they were given back their property confiscated during the Cultural Revolution. Counterrevolutionaries were rehabilitated and appointed to leading functions in state and economy. Accordingly, the decentralization of the administration of the economy and, thereby, of the state's control of production opened up increasingly broadening possibilities to private capitalists.
>
> Socialist consciousness was systematically pushed back and replaced with the introduction of material incentives in order to increase productivity. This opened the door to egoism. Correspondingly, the revisionist leadership declared science and technology and no longer the working class as the most important productive force. (*History of the MLPD*, Part II, Volume 1, p. 312)

Deng Xiaoping's Counterrevolutionary "Theory of the Three Worlds"

When the new bourgeoisie under Deng Xiaoping seized power, this was also followed by a fundamental change in China's foreign policy. After Mao Zedong's death, the new leadership began to draw up the "theory of the three worlds" as a strategic conception, as a new general line so to speak. It was presented to the public as a complete ideological-political line in a de-

tailed article published in the organ *Renmin Ribao* on November 1, 1977.

The voice which had been raised in the world by socialist China in the interest of all oppressed and exploited people against the crimes of the imperialists became silent. The selfless political and material support of the national liberation struggle of the peoples ceased and was replaced by the nationalistic ambition to become a great power.

It was Deng Xiaoping who as early as 1974, at a special UN session, had begun to twist Mao Zedong's *tactical conception*, which was in line with the concrete situation at the time, in a fundamentally different direction.

The essence of Mao Zedong's *tactical conception* had been to unite capitalist and socialist developing countries against neocolonial exploitation and oppression and thereby also to achieve better conditions in the struggle for socialism, too. The evaluation by *China Today* was as follows:

> That was a correct and necessary *tactical conception* in the situation at that time.
>
> The expression "Third World" is meant to characterize the consolidated action of the developing countries as a united front, and the division of the developed capitalist countries into "First" and "Second World" is meant to direct the struggle against the superpowers, making these the principal target while taking advantage of the contradictions between primary imperialism (the superpowers) and secondary imperialism (the weaker imperialist states). When Mao, taking into consideration the situation at that time, particularly emphasizes that "China belongs to the third world. For China cannot compare with the rich or powerful countries politically, economically etc. She can be grouped only with the relatively poor countries" – then this was meant to express China's bond with the developing countries and her readiness to lend them her selfless support, but it is not meant to deny her socialist character. (*The "Theory of Three Worlds" as a Strategic Conception Smacks of Right-Wing Opportunism!*, Stuttgart, 1980, p. 9)

Deng Xiaoping changed this tactic into a *strategic conception* and claimed that the developing countries

> constitute a revolutionary motive force propelling the wheel of world history and are the *main force* combating colonialism, imperialism, and particularly the superpowers.(*Peking Review*, No. 15, 1974, Supplement p. II; emphasis ours – the editors RW)

Marxist-Leninists acknowledge the great significance of the struggle of the oppressed peoples against the imperialists. It is their internationalist obligation to support these struggles. Deng Xiaoping, however, denied with his statement that the international proletariat is the main force in the struggle against imperialism.

Mao Zedong had characterized Deng Xiaoping correctly when he said:

> This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. (*Peking Review*, No. 14, 1976, p. 5)

The "theory of the three worlds" as a strategic conception is inconsistent with Marxism-Leninism as well as with the revolutionary life and work of Mao Zedong. It distorts the fundamental contradictions in the world. Its ideological essence is the denial that the international working class is the leading and main force of the world revolution. Instead, the national liberation movements or the "Third World" in general are declared to be the "revolutionary motive force." The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries of the so-called "Second World" is subordinated to alleged common interests in the struggle against the imperialists of the "First World." The contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism is distorted because now only the superpowers make up the side of the oppressors, and the

other imperialist powers take the side of the oppressed countries. The contradictions between the imperialists of the "First" and of the "Second World" are no longer looked upon as contradictions among imperialist countries, but as contradictions between the imperialists of the "First World" and the nationally oppressed "Second World."

When the Soviet Union attacked Afghanistan in 1979, instead of supporting the revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces in their struggle to build a united front of the people, China, together with US imperialism, supplied weapons to reactionary feudal forces. In Iran, the followers of the "theory of the three worlds" as well as the Tudeh party, servile to Moscow, uncritically supported the Khomeini regime. Thousands of revolutionaries paid for this with their lives. The clearest manifestation that China's foreign policy had undergone fundamental change to a social-imperialist course was finally the armed attack on Vietnam in 1979.

The MLPD and its forerunner organization KABD fought resolutely against the "theory of three worlds" from the start. *Revolutionärer Weg*, No. 20, published in 1981, wrote:

> The "theory of the three worlds" is a counterrevolutionary theory because it diverts the masses from the genuine national struggle, implants illusions in the masses of the countries exploited by neocolonialism and divorces them from their only real ally, the proletariat of all countries.("Strategy and Tactics in the Class Struggle, Part I, Chapter II, section 3)

However, this counterrevolutionary policy was not openly publicized, but was cowardly hidden behind the lie that Mao Zedong himself had developed this policy of the "theory of three worlds" as a strategic conception. The Party of Labor of Albania under its Chairman Enver Hoxha joined in this dirty game. Without any proof whatsoever, Hoxha claimed in his poorly concocted work *Imperialism and the Revolution*:

> Mao Zedong invented the theory of "three worlds." If he is the author who first formulated this so-called theory, this is further evidence that Mao Zedong is not a Marxist. But even if he only adopted this theory from others, this, too, is proof enough that he is not a Marxist. (p. 252)

The distortion of Mao Zedong's tactics, correct in their time, by the Chinese and also by the Albanian revisionists, and the slandering of Mao Zedong from a "leftist" point of view had liquidationist effects among the revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces worldwide. Numerous parties which had been strong earlier were split, and not a few fell apart altogether. In some imperialist countries, like the Federal Republic of Germany, the followers of the "theory of three worlds" supported so-called "defense of the fatherland" and a strong imperialist army. The main enemy of the working class in their eyes was no longer the monopoly bourgeoisie in their own country, but the superpowers, especially the Soviet Union. Thus, the "theory of three worlds" became a cheap excuse for surrendering to monopoly capital.

Even parties and organizations which still adhered to the revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation allowed themselves to be influenced by the "theory of three worlds." They tried to infuse a progressive character into this *counterrevolutionary theory* by claiming that it "advanced Lenin's analysis of imperialism" and its application to the altered conditions after the Second World War. This does not only imply – as we have already shown – that the role of the international working class is denied; it also means reducing imperialism to colonialism and underestimating its gigantic state-monopolistic power structure in the metropolitan countries.

The victory of modern revisionism, first in the Soviet Union in 1956, and 20 years later also in China, made it easier for the imperialists to temporarily stem the growing tide of struggle against neocolonialism in the world. Significant partial suc-

cesses, such as achieving higher prices for raw materials in the seventies, were ruined again, because the beginnings of a common raw material policy of the developing countries were dashed.

Under the leadership of the domestic bourgeoisie, the majority of the neocolonially dependent countries did not follow the anti-imperialist road. Motivated by the ambition to become a big bourgeoisie and monopoly capital in its own right in order to compete with imperialism, the domestic bourgeoisie intensified the exploitation and oppression of its own people: instead of carrying out the urgently needed land reforms, it collaborated with the most reactionary forces of the agrarian oligarchy. It incurred foreign debt for ambitious industrial projects and sold off the national mineral resources. But instead of becoming economically independent, it became entangled in the web of the debt crisis and of a world economy which is dominated by imperialism.

6. The Destruction of Socialist Society and the Underestimation of the Significance of the Mode of Thinking

In the view of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the passage of mankind from capitalism to communism (i.e., to classless society) is like a natural historical process of the birth of the new society from the old:

> No social order ever perishes before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have developed; and new, higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society itself. ("Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*," Marx/ Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 504)

Socialism is thus not the product of a social utopia; that is to say, of the idealistic striving for a humane society. Rather, mankind

> always sets itself only such tasks as it can solve; since, looking at the matter more closely, it will always be found that the task itself arises only when the material conditions for its solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation. (*Ibid.*)

With these words, Marx underscores the connection between mode of production and mode of thinking in the historical process of development of society. It is only the political power of the proletariat, wielded with socialist consciousness, which transforms the **capitalist** socialized mode of production into a **socialist** so-

cialized mode of production. Frederick Engels describes the dialectics of this transition:

> The proletariat seizes the public power, and by means of this transforms the socialised means of production, slipping from the hands of the bourgeoisie, into public property. By this act, the proletariat frees the means of production from the character of capital they have thus far borne, and gives their socialised character complete freedom to work itself out. Socialised production upon a predetermined plan becomes henceforth possible. The development of production makes the existence of different classes of society thenceforth an anachronism. In proportion as anarchy in social production vanishes, the political authority of the state dies out. Man, at last the master of his own form of social organisation, becomes at the same time the lord over Nature, his own master – free. ("Socialism: Utopian and Scientific," Marx/Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 151)

At first, forms of private property and commodity production continue to exist in socialism; there are still contradictions between town and country, between physical and mental labor, as well as bourgeois right. **The economic laws of socialism, therefore, still exist in unity with the economic laws of capitalism – though in a restricted way.** *Revolutionärer Weg 8* consequently remarks:

> The continued existence of the law of value in socialism is an expression of the dialectics, of the contradictory nature of socialist society. It is an expression of the fact that communism has not yet been achieved, that certain features of capitalism continue to exist and operate, but are increasingly being pushed back. (Willi Dickhut, *The Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union*, Essen, 1994, p. 79)

In the superstructure of socialist society, too, bourgeois influences continue to operate for a long time. The existence of an administrative apparatus, for instance, involves a bureaucratic work which, together with the tradition of bourgeois ideology, constitutes a permanent breeding ground for the emergence and spread of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois thinking. The new socialist mode of production is reflected in the proletarian ideology and mode of thinking, while the vanquished capitalist mode of production lives on in the bourgeois ideology and mode of thinking. The **existence of the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking in socialist society** is a reflection of the as yet insufficiently developed socialist relations of production.

The struggle between the proletarian and petty-bourgeois modes of thinking in socialist construction takes the form essentially of a struggle between communist and capitalist labor productivity. In the book, *The Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union,* we compared the principles of capitalist and socialist labor productivity:

> **The increase of labor productivity in capitalism** is based on the striving of the capitalists for maximum profits, which are obtained by the development of technology in conjunction with increased intensity of labor, the latter being achieved by material incentives and pressure applied in various ways. In short: securing of maximum profits through increased exploitation of labor.
>
> **The increase of labor productivity in socialism** is based on the endeavor to satisfy and raise the material and cultural needs of society as a whole, which is accomplished by constantly improving the level of technology in conjunction with expanding and deepening socialist consciousness as the motivation for work. In short: satisfaction of the growing needs of all working people by highly developed

> technology in conjunction with the socialist consciousness of the masses. (Willi Dickhut, *The Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union*, p. 124)

Communist labor productivity is ultimately, i.e., **in practice**, decisive for the victory of communist society over the remnants of capitalism in socialism. This labor productivity is **based on the proletarian mode of thinking in the developed stage of the socialist economy**. It can only develop from deepest convictions, voluntarily, consciously, and through the solidarity of people working in a united way and **without vying** for personal advantage, and it **always** avails itself of the most advanced technology; conservatism and routine are strange to it.

The overthrow of the class rule of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the political power of the working class are not the end of proletarian class struggle, but merely the beginning of a **protracted revolutionary change** that goes on until class distinctions in general are abolished.

Not only must the relations of ownership and production be revolutionized, but also all social relations built upon them and all ideas proceeding from them. Lenin even termed this new type of class struggle "more difficult, more tangible, more radical and more decisive" than the overthrow and suppression of the bourgeoisie, because it calls for victory "over our own conservatism, indiscipline, petty-bourgeois egoism, a victory over the habits left as a heritage to the worker and peasant by accursed capitalism." (Lenin, "A Great Beginning," *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 411)

The new grows from the old by absorbing the progressive features and stripping away what is obsolete, transforming old into new. The proletariat already existed in capitalism, and it already played its leading role there in the class struggle for the overthrow of the old social order. But in socialism, the proletariat will change itself; a new

socialist human being, free in his thought and actions, will emerge to gradually uplift the masses of the populace to lead a new life and enable the majority to assume management and administrative tasks. Only then is victory over bureaucratism ensured. Therefore, a decisive role is assigned to the proletarian mode of thinking as long as that voluntary, conscious labor discipline, that communist organization of labor have not yet become second nature to society, part of its everyday habits. Lenin was consequently of the opinion that "the essence of proletarian dictatorship is not in force alone, or even mainly in force" ("Greetings to the Hungarian Workers", in: *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 388), but in a systematically waged ideological-political struggle for socialist consciousness and against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois consciousness. In the historical process of the abolition of classes, overcoming the separation of mental and manual labor, of theory and practice, of thinking and actions occupies a key role:

> The economic basis for the complete withering away of the state is such a high stage of development of communism at which the **antithesis between mental and physical labour** disappears, at which there consequently disappears **one of the principal sources of modern social inequality** – a source, moreover, which cannot on any account be removed immediately by the mere conversion of the means of production into public property, by the mere expropriation of the capitalists. … But how rapidly this development will proceed, how soon it will reach the point of breaking away from the division of labour, of doing away with the antithesis between mental and physical labour, of transforming labour into "life's prime want" – we do not and **cannot** know. ("The State and Revolution," Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 473, 474; emphasis ours – The Editors RW)

From the outset, the revisionist DKP (German Communist Party) denied the perversion and degeneration of socialism in the Soviet Union to a bureaucratic capitalism of a new type. They tried to fend off the principled criticism of the Marxist-Leninists with a pseudo-Marxist line of reasoning that declared restoration of capitalism practically impossible. The basis for this, according to DKP theoretician W. Gerns,

> has been eliminated in the USSR for some 40 years, since the complete victory of the socialist relations of production, which found expression in the Constitution of 1936. (Willi Gerns, "Das Märchen von der Restauration des Kapitalismus in der Sowjetunion..." [The Fairy Tale of the Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union], *Marxistische Blätter*, No. 2, 1976, p. 94)

But the restoration of capitalism did **not** have its starting point in the socialist economy, but in the superstructure of socialist society. Lenin urgently warned of the vacillations of the petty-bourgeois elements, who far outweighed the Russian proletariat in numbers:

> First they [the vacillations] incline towards a strengthening of the alliance between these masses and the proletariat, and then towards bourgeois restoration. The experience of all revolutions in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries shows most clearly and convincingly that the only possible result of these vacillations – if the unity, strength and influence of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat is weakened in the slightest degree – will be the restoration of the power and property of the capitalists and landowners. ("Preliminary Draft ...", Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 248)

The petty-bourgeois vacillations prove to be a material source of the restoration of capitalism. The vacillations reflect the struggle of

two laws of development in the consciousness of the masses: the capitalist and the socialist. Which law of development will prevail? This is tantamount to the question, which mode of thinking prevails and displaces the other: the petty-bourgeois or the proletarian? On this depends whether socialism passes over into communism or degenerates and is replaced by a new capitalism.

It was Lenin who emphatically warned youth, the future builders of socialism, against the destruction of socialism by petty-bourgeois avarice and small-mindedness:

> If I have a job as a doctor, engineer, teacher, or clerk, I do not care a rap for anybody else. If I toady to and please the powers that be, I may be able to keep my job, and even get on in life and become a bourgeois. **A Communist cannot harbour such a psychology and such sentiments** . ... To prevent the restoration of the rule of the capitalists and the bourgeoisie, we must not allow profiteering; we must not allow individuals to enrich themselves at the expense of the rest; the working people must unite with the proletariat and form a communist society. ("The Tasks of the Youth Leagues," Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 294, 293; emphasis ours – The Editors RW)

With that, Lenin raised the **issue of the control of the mode of thinking**. In 1920 Lenin proposed establishing an independent Central Control Commission (CCC). This body was accountable only to the Party Congress and was independent of the Central Committee, i.e., not involved in the responsibilities of leadership. Two fundamental tasks were assigned to this organ, which was new to the working-class movement. First, to prevent a split in the party and avert this danger at all cost. Secondly, to see to absolute propriety in the conduct of all affairs. It was not just a matter of formal propriety, of adhering to policies and principles, but **above all** of correct application of the **revolutionary method**. Both principal tasks set to the

CCC by Lenin were directed at the petty-bourgeois influence especially in the shape of bureaucratism. The fundamental aspect of these considerations was to ensure **unencumbered control extending to the highest ranks of the leadership**.

Stalin viewed the machinations and excesses of the petty-bourgeois bureaucracy as sabotage of socialist construction, which had to be taken seriously, but not as a **general threat to the existence** of socialism. He considered the CCC a temporary institution of merely concrete significance. At the Seventeenth Party Congress in 1934 he observed:

> As for the Central Control Commission, it is well known that it was set up primarily and mainly for the purpose of averting a split in the Party. You know that at one time there really was a danger of a split. You know that the Central Control Commission and its organizations succeeded in averting the danger of a split. Now there is no longer any danger of a split. (Stalin, *Works*, Vol. 13, p. 382–383)

The danger of a split has a fundamental aspect and a practical aspect. In practice, the threat of a split can be countered and is not always acute. On a fundamental level, the threat of a split always exists as a latent expression of class struggle, because the main question in ideological struggle is: **who influences whom?**

Without unencumbered control from above there could be no real control from below, either. The masses lacked the protection and authority of the CCC against the petty-bourgeois bureaucracy spreading in the party and state. Thus, precisely that happened which Lenin actually wanted to preclude by establishing the CCC: the Central Committee was not controlled anymore. Lenin, though himself a Central Committee member, explicitly demanded that this body be controlled. This group had acquired great authority, he observed, but with the CCC, "conditions … commensurate with

its authority" ("How We Should Reorganise the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection," Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 485) would be created.

The state security service employed by Stalin in place of the CCC operated on orders of the Central Committee from the top down; it worked with secret police methods and thus without really being controlled; it did not convince people, its job was to "*purge*." With the bureaucratization of the state security service, the arbitrariness of its methods and verdicts also increased.

> "This apparatus," wrote Willi Dickhut, "had itself become bureaucratic. … "
> - Administrative measures and their stereotyped application – instead of ideological-political education work.
> - Levelling, treating everyone the same way – instead of differentiating between sincere people and hypocrites, between honest revolutionaries and criminal counterrevolutionaries.
> - Making no distinctions between contradictions among the people and contradictions between ourselves and the enemy.
> - Obtaining confessions through nonstop intimidation – instead of convincing people to exercise open, sincere self-criticism.
>
> (Willi Dickhut, *Die dialektische Einheit von Theorie und Praxis* [The Dialectical Unity of Theory and Practice], Düsseldorf, 1988, pp. 92–93)

All this was really conducive to making the petty-bourgeois-minded bureaucrats pull in their heads and behave in a conformist way. The dictatorship of the proletariat was rendered meaningless and socialism was slowly but surely undermined.

Not all former communist parties were without control commissions or had abolished them. But that does not mean that these organs actually organized a check on the mode of thinking of party members and officials. On June 17, 1953, workers in East Berlin demonstrated against labor norms which had bureaucratically been decreed from above. The Socialist Unity Party, SED, was incapable of handling this protest in the right way. Instead of organizing a real mass debate about the beginning socialist construction and speeding it up this way, they sent in tanks.

The work of the Central Party Control Commission (CPCC) to investigate the events was a farce even before it began. The CPCC had already lost its independent status, and its head was a member of the Politburo and thus bound by the latter's decisions. The Politburo assignment to the CPCC already determined what the results of the investigation would be. The July 31, 1953, directive to the CPCC said: "The outcome of the 17th of June shows that the class enemy still occupies positions in the party" (SED Archives, IFGA ZPA N 2/4/8). This aimed at confirming a preconceived opinion instead of investigating. The CPCC report to the Fourth Party Congress of the SED in 1954 was in the same vein:

- No assessment of the demands and concerns of the workers.
- No differentiation between right and wrong sides of the demands.
- No elucidation of the relations between the mistakes of the SED and the subversive activity of the foreign powers.
- No analysis of the class consciousness of the workers and the discussion going on among them.

Supposedly, it was all a matter of agents who had to be removed from the party. There can be no doubt that there were agents at work here, but that was not the decisive issue. Instead of criticism and self-criticism, instead of convincing and educating people, instead of ideological struggle to develop socialist con-

struction further, there was only unquestioning submission to the policies of the SED.

Petty-bourgeois control screens the bureaucratization of the socialist apparatus, protects this process from the criticism of the party and the masses. The petty-bourgeois mode of thinking turns control into an instrument of tutelage, oppression and arbitrariness. Under the pretense of objective examination, criticism is separated from self-criticism to secure bureaucratic rule. With these experiences in mind, Mao Zedong developed the correct **method for dealing with disturbances**. At his talk at a conference of party committee secretaries on January 27, 1957, he stated:

> Why is it then that these things which ought not to occur still do? This very fact proves that they ought to occur. You forbid people to strike, to petition or to make unfavourable comments, you simply resort to repression in every case, until one day you become a Rákosi[1]. This is true both inside and outside the Party. As for queer remarks, strange happenings and contradictions, it is better to have them exposed. Contradictions must be exposed and then resolved.
>
> Disturbances should be differentiated into several categories and handled accordingly. In one category there are the justifiable disturbances, in which case we should admit our mistakes and correct them. In another category there are the unjustifiable ones, and these we must rebut. Disturbances having good grounds ought to occur; groundless ones will get nowhere. In yet another category, the disturbances are partly justifiable and

[1] Mátyás Rákosi (1892–1971), General Secretary of the Hungarian communists from 1945 to 1956, Hungarian Premier in 1952–53. He was thrown out of office in 1956 and emigrated to the USSR. When social contradictions exploded in Hungary in 1956, the reactionaries took advantage of the rigid bureaucratic policies of Rákosi.

> partly not, and we should accept what is justifiable and criticize what is not; here we must not give way at every step in total disregard of principle and promise to do whatever is demanded. Don't be too ready to use force or to open fire on people, except in the case of a real, large-scale counterrevolutionary rebellion which necessitates armed suppression. (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. V, p. 374)

Stalin did not recognize that ideological struggle against the tendency of petty-bourgeois degeneration of the bureaucracy is a **fundamental task of class struggle in socialism**. This is evidenced by his work *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, written by Stalin in 1952, in which he says about the contradiction between manual and mental workers:

> Naturally, with the abolition of capitalism and the exploiting system, the antagonism of interests between physical and mental labour was also bound to disappear. **And it really has disappeared in our present socialist system.** Today, the physical workers and the managerial personnel are not enemies, but comrades and friends, members of a single collective body of producers who are vitally interested in the progress and improvement of production. Not a trace remains of the former enmity between them. (*Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, Peking, 1972, pp. 26–27; emphasis ours – The Editors RW)

In view of such an uncritical assessment as this, the petty-bourgeois bureaucrats could feel secure. Socialism does eliminate the exploitation of manual workers by representatives of the mental workers and thus the **economic basis** of the antagonism existing between them. But that does not at all mean that bourgeois ideology and the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking, through which not only the "former enmity" lives on in changed form, but which also give rise to new conflicts, automatically disappear. If

the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking is not overcome by the proletarian mode of thinking, the petty-bourgeois bureaucratic stratum gains the upper hand ideologically and politically. The superstructure then loses its socialist character. Willi Dickhut thus concluded:

> The feeling of power, together with the petty-bourgeois way of living, makes one strive for "more," for a bourgeois life-style, for capitalism, for joining the capitalist class. This is identical with the longing of the petty-bourgeois to rise into the ranks of the bourgeoisie. Bourgeois ambition is the motive force of careerism, which is striving for ever higher positions. Bourgeois ambition will destroy socialism if it is not halted by proletarian ambition. (*The End of Socialism?*, Essen, 1992, p. 14)

The MLPD recognizes the great achievements of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. Against the bitter resistance of internal and external enemies, Stalin, following the early death of the genial Lenin in 1924, resolutely led the Soviet Union down the socialist road. Its contributions to the smashing defeat of Hitler fascism are immortal. The tragedy of the Soviet communists and Stalin lies elsewhere.

Stalin did not understand the **crucial importance of the mode of thinking to the direction of development** of socialist society. The CPSU and the revolutionary masses thus lacked a decisive theoretical weapon in the fight against the degenerate representatives of the bureaucracy and their petty-bourgeois line. The latter were thus able to agree on modern revisionism after Stalin's death and seize power at the Twentieth Party Congress of the CPSU under Khrushchev's leadership. Willi Dickhut summed up the MLPD's criticism of Stalin in the following words in the book *The End of Socialism?*:

> The necessary ideological-political struggle against the carriers of petty-bourgeois thinking was neglected. **That was the first major error of the CPSU under Stalin's leadership. ...** The failure to mobilize the vast masses against the degenerate representatives of the bureaucracy was **Stalin's second major error**. (*Ibid.*, p. 20)

Socialism necessarily was destroyed because the problem of the mode of thinking was ignored and left unsolved.

Mao Zedong learned from the experience of the Soviet Union. He defended Stalin against the slanders of the revisionists by simultaneously learning from his mistakes. Whereas in the old communist movement, prior to 1956, a tendency to neglect ideological struggle over the mode of thinking became widespread, Mao Zedong helped the proletarian world outlook again gain its firm place in the theory and practice of the revolutionary proletariat. He took up Lenin's conception of the continuation of proletarian class struggle in socialism and developed it further:

> 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. ("On Contradiction," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I, p. 317)

Continuing class struggle in socialism is the decisive link to be grasped. Mao Zedong therefore taught that the answer to the question: which class has control of the means of production? in reality depends on the ideological-political line being followed and on the class exercising leadership over the economy and the state in theory and practice. In China, too, right from the beginning

there was a danger of petty-bourgeois degeneration of the bureaucracy. Only if the proletariat asserted itself in the ideological sphere, exercised stringent control over the bureaucracy and held political leadership on all levels could the socialist transformation of the economic base be completed and consolidated. Accordingly, Mao Zedong placed priority on ideological-political work among the masses of the people, that is, on the **mass line**. In an article on this we read:

> In short, good accomplishment of ideological work means revealing the powers of the human being in socialist society. In the end, the power of the socialist system rests on this basis and on the enthusiasm of the broad masses for socialism. If we are able fully to bring to bear people's energies and the masses' enthusiasm for socialism, then the positions of our revolution and our socialist construction will always remain invincible. (*Red Flag/Hongqi*, No. 6, 1964, quoted in *Peking Rundschau* [Beijing Review] of 20 October 1964; our translation from the German)

The mass movements for collectivization of agriculture, that is, for the revolutionization of the relations of production in the People's Republic of China, were a vital condition for accelerating the formation of capital, mechanization and raising the living standards of the masses. People themselves are the most important productive force, not machines. The decisive thing is the ability to approach all questions of economics, politics, culture, organizational work, the handling of cadres or inner-party debate from the standpoint of the proletarian world outlook. And the more complicated the problems are, the better one's mastery of the dialectical method must be for solving these problems.

Mao Zedong had an interest not only in leading cadres adopting dialectics; his concern was to have the proletarian mode of thinking and methods of work become established in party work in

general and, under the party's guidance, ultimately also among the broad masses. To this end, as early as 1937 he wrote his two principal philosophical works, *On Practice* and *On Contradiction*, in which he further developed dialectical materialism. They are a splendid guide to applying the dialectical-materialist theory and method to the concrete practice of class struggle.

When the process of petty-bourgeois degeneration of the bureaucracy and the emergence of a new bourgeoisie began assuming increasingly threatening forms in China, too, when certain officials took advantage of their authority and the working conditions in the administrative apparatus of party, economy or state to satisfy selfish interests, the superstructure turned into a force opposing socialist construction. The **Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution** initiated and led by Mao Zedong consequently started in the political superstructure of society. Its objective was not to overthrow the existing system of ownership but to democratize and further develop the existing property relations. The theoretical organ of the MLPD, *Revolutionärer Weg 19*, sums up the chief features of the cultural revolution as follows:

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is:

1. the **highest form of class struggle** in socialist society;
2. the awakening and rapid **development of socialist consciousness in the masses** by means of criticism and self-criticism and by studying and, at the same time, putting into practice Mao Zedong Thought;
3. the concrete form of **exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat** to prevent the bureaucratization of the Party, the government and management apparatus (against capitalist-roaders in power);
4. the building of an ideological-political **barrier against the danger of capitalist restoration**.

(Willi Dickhut, *The Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union*, p. 383)

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was and is the chief object of the wildest attacks of the modern revisionists. Hellishly afraid of being exposed for their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, they not only slandered Stalin, but also maliciously tried to picture Mao Zedong as an idealistic fantast with no sense of reality. They claimed that Mao Zedong called on people to overleap the objective laws of social development by virtue of their revolutionary enthusiasm and by means of mass movements. Soviet author A. M. Rumyantsev did his best to provide the theoretical proof

> that "Mao Tsetung Thought" is the attempt to upturn reality, the establishment of the "rule" of social consciousness over social being and, consequently, pure idealism (A.M. Rumyantsev, *Quellen und Entwicklung der "Ideen Mao Tsetungs"*, [Sources and Development of "Mao Zedong Thought"], Berlin, 1973, p. 60; our translation)

He summed up the essence of the alleged "pseudodialectics" of Mao Zedong in the following words:

> If one were to follow the pseudodialectics of Mao Zedong, the result would be that, alternately, either the productive forces determine the character of the relations of production, which in turn condition the superstructure, or, turning this around, the superstructure decisively influences the character of the relations of production, which condition the productive forces. In the latter instance, however, the mode of production would be determined by the totality of the forms of social consciousness, ideology, politics and the political and other institutions of society corresponding to them. (*Ibid.*, pp. 59–60)

Rumyantsev does not even notice that as he deals his blows to Mao Zedong he does in Marxism at the same time. Frederick Engels commented on his dispute with Leipzig professor Paul Barth as if he had had the revisionist Rumyantsev in mind:

> It seems to me obvious [that] what we call *ideological outlook*, reacts in its turn upon the economic basis and may, within certain limits, modify it. … Or why do we fight for the political dictatorship of the proletariat if political power is economically impotent? Force (that is, state power) is also an economic power!. … What these gentlemen all lack is dialectics. They always see only here cause, there effect. That this is a hollow abstraction, that such metaphysical polar opposites exist in the real world only during crises, while the whole vast process goes on in the form of interaction – though of very unequal forces, the economic movement being by far the strongest, most primordial, most decisive – that here everything is relative and nothing absolute – this they never begin to see. As far as they are concerned Hegel never existed. … ("Engels to C. Schmidt," Marx/Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 493, 494, 495)

What Engels is emphasizing is that interrelations **always** exist between economic base and political and ideological superstructure. Those who deny the influence of the superstructure on the development of the base abandon the platform of dialectical materialism.

Mao Zedong as well did not pose the question of control of the mode of thinking in all its consequences. At no time did the Communist Party of China have independent control organs. Its Central Committee thus also went uncontrolled, and that in a situation of sharpest ideological struggles over socialist construction. A Central Control Commission in China would have had to criticize the fateful error made by Mao in April 1976. Under his chairman-

ship, the Central Committee of the CP of China unanimously decided not to expel Deng Xiaoping, the man exposed as liquidator by him, from the party. This was an instance of wrong handling of antagonistic contradictions. It was to prove fatal especially after the death of Mao Zedong.

Deng Xiaoping, who seized power following the death of Mao Zedong in September 1976, propagated a revisionist understanding of socialism. In his shoddy work *Einen Sozialismus chinesischer Prägung aufbauen* ("Building Chinese-Style Socialism" – capitalist-style would be better), he pretends that there had been uncertainties during the lifetime of Mao Zedong as to

> What is socialism and what is Marxism? We were not completely clear about this earlier. Marxism sets extremely great store by the development of the productive forces. We are for communism..., which requires highly developed productive forces and extremely great material wealth. Consequently, the fundamental task of the socialist period is to develop the forces of production. … As concerns our inadequacies since the founding of the People's Republic, one of these was neglect of development of the forces of production. (Deng Xiaoping, *Der Aufbau des Sozialismus chinesischer Prägung* ["Building Chinese-Style Socialism"], Peking, 1985, p. 46)

What bothered Deng, however, was not some matter that had been unclear, but rather the unequivocal answer which Mao Zedong had given to this question. For instance, point 14 of the Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of August 8, 1966, stated:

> The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution seeks to revolutionize the thinking of people so that work in all areas will bring "greater, faster, better and more economical results". … The

> Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country. Any view that puts the great Cultural Revolution at odds with the development of production is wrong. (*Wichtige Dokumente der Grossen Proletarischen Kulturrevolution* [Important Documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution], Peking, 1970, p. 12; our translation)

By contriving the alternative "neglect or development of the productive forces," Deng only wanted to distract attention from his goal of liquidating proletarian class struggle in socialism. The broad masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals were no longer supposed to concern themselves with politics but mainly had to advance modernization and economic growth. They were promised material incentives, and their thinking was geared to earning the largest possible bonuses, to getting rich. In the resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the CP of China in November 1993 – "On Some Questions of Establishing a Socialist Market Economy" – we read:

> It is necessary to introduce competitive mechanisms for paying workers, to overcome egalitarianism and to practice the principle "more wages for more work" in order to increase differences in income in an efficient way. The policy of encouraging certain areas and a part of the population to achieve prosperity first through honest work and lawful business transactions should be stubbornly pursued. … (*Peking Rundschau* [Beijing Review], No. 48, 1993, p. 41; our translation from the German)

This is not socialism, but the mode of thinking and production of capitalism. It culminates in the conscious embodiment in law of capitalist ownership of the means of production and the pursuit of profit:

> Enterprises are entitled to do business independently within the scope of the law, using all the assets which they possess as legal entities. They are obligated to bear profit and loss themselves and pay taxes in compliance with regulations. In addition, they are obligated to preserve and increase the value of the assets of investors. (*Ibid.*, pp. 33–34)

Mao Zedong recognized that the unity and struggle of opposites that causes the movement and change of all things is also the motor of development of socialist society. The class struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road determines the development of the contradictions in socialist society over a very long historical period. Control over the mode of thinking of the bureaucracy and development and strengthening of the proletarian mode of thinking of the masses are decisive in this process. The masses must be mobilized to exercise political leadership and to struggle against the petty-bourgeois-minded bureaucracy.

> Lenin repeatedly called for this; Stalin repeated this call, but did not put it into practice; Mao Tse-tung made it reality through the great proletarian cultural revolution. Several cultural revolutions will be necessary for
> final victory over petty-bourgeois thinking in the bureaucracy through continual proletarian education. There are only two alternatives:
> **The triumph of bureaucracy with a petty-bourgeois outlook means the triumph of counterrevolution!**
>
> **The triumph of proletarian cultural revolution means the triumph of socialism!** (*The End of Socialism?*, p. 36)

[redacted]

5. The New Formation of the International Marxist-Leninist and Working-Class Movement

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels proclaimed the historical slogan, "Workers of all countries, unite!", in the famous *Communist Manifesto* way back in 1848. This defined the basic content of proletarian internationalism. Replacing the system of exploitation of man by man by a classless human society is the fundamental goal of the working-class movement.

In **form**, the class struggle had to be waged against capitalist rule from the start in a national framework. The revolutionary parties were organized accordingly, though being internationalists as far as the **content** of their work was concerned. With the development of capitalism into imperialism, the international unification of the proletariat became an absolute necessity. "Capitalist domination is international," Lenin said. "That is why the workers' struggle in all countries for their emancipation is only successful if the workers fight jointly against international capital." ("Draft and Explanation of the Programme," in Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 109)

It is a principle of Marxism-Leninism that revolutionary worker parties form an international alliance. How they unite, what shape this takes, depends on the particular objective and subjective conditions of class struggle. Lenin characterized the development of the International up to 1919:

> The First International laid the foundation of the proletarian, international struggle for socialism.
>
> The Second International marked a period in which the soil was prepared for the broad, mass spread of the movement in a number of countries.
>
> The Third International has gathered the fruits of the work of the Second International, discarded its opportunist, social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois dross, and *has begun to implement* the dictatorship of the proletariat. ("The Third International and Its Place in History," in: Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 307)

Lenin saw the 1917 October Revolution as the beginning of an international revolution. The Communist International established in 1919 aimed at carrying out the socialist world revolution. Its **form as a world party organized according to democratic centralism**, with sections in the individual countries, corresponded to this aim. When the world revolution failed to materialize and relative stabilization of capitalism took place, the form of organization of the international communist movement should have been adapted to this development. This did not happen. The democratic centralism increasingly changed into a bureaucratic centralism due to this. Experiences mainly of the Soviet Union were mechanically applied to the class struggle in the colonies, but also in capitalist countries. This led to serious errors and made it difficult to win the masses over to socialism. Only where it was possible to apply Marxism-Leninism creatively to concrete conditions did the revolution succeed, as in China under the leadership of Mao Zedong. The dissolution of the Communist International in 1943 took place too late.

After the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956, the new bourgeoisie under Khrushchov's leadership took advantage of the neglect of independent ideological work by the national communist par-

ties and their accustomed subordination to the authority of the Soviet Union to spread modern revisionism in the communist movement. When the Communist Party of China took the "Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement" to the public in 1963 and repudiated revisionism, the result was a wave of foundings of new Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations throughout the world. Mao Zedong's China became the recognized center of the revolutionary movement.

Bilateral relations became the chief form of cooperation between Marxist-Leninist parties. Mao Zedong set greatest store by the independence of the mostly young parties, who were provided moral and material aid by the CP of China. However, in the practical international relations of the Chinese Communist Party a tendency towards unallowable interference also showed. In West Germany, in the seventies the loudest petty-bourgeois "ML" organizations were presented as fraternal parties. The Party of Labor of Albania had a similar practice. This had negative effects on the process of party building in Germany, difficult enough as it was, since it gave the petty-bourgeois organizations additional weight.

The MLPD, then the Communist Workers' League of Germany (KABD), preserved its independent position. After the death of Mao Zedong, when the revisionists in China led by Deng Xiaoping seized power, and Enver Hoxha, Chairman of the Party of Labor of Albania, began attacking Mao Zedong Thought, a process of unprecedented splitting and splintering of the revolutionary movement set in. At this point the lack of any international structures among Marxist-Leninists had negative consequences. While the necessity of international revolution was growing with the steady internationalization of the capitalist mode of production, the international Marxist-Leninist and working-class movement was being completely atomized. It seemed as though imperialism had

achieved final victory over Marxism-Leninism with the weapons of dogmatism and revisionism.

The main ideological threat within the international Marxist-Leninist and working-class movement is revisionism. It is a variant of bourgeois ideology, a product of the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking in the working-class movement. Its essence is the blurring of the distinction between capitalism and socialism. The emergence of revisionism is a law-governed phenomenon, both in capitalist society and during the construction of socialism.

At the Twentieth Party Congress of the CPSU in 1956, the degenerate petty-bourgeois bureaucrats prevailed and set themselves up as the new bourgeoisie. Modern revisionism became the ideological foundation of their new system of rule, bureaucratic state-monopoly capitalism.

Revisionism is dangerous because it covers up its true nature by using Marxist-Leninist terminology. But like any deception, modern revisionism, too, could only fool the masses some of the time. The more deeply and thoroughly capitalism was restored in the former socialist countries, the more modern revisionism had to accommodate itself to the capitalist realities. Ultimately, with *perestroika* and *glasnost* Gorbachov openly propagated the interpenetration of the system of the Soviet Union with Western state-monopoly capitalism. This intensified the contradiction between real bureaucratic capitalism and its pseudo-socialist integument to such an extent that it was finally burst. The collapse of the bureaucratic-capitalist ruling structures of the Soviet Union was a historic defeat for modern revisionism.

But the modern revisionists fell in with the bourgeois propaganda of the defeat of socialism. To Erich Honecker it was "the biggest global political defeat for the working class movement since it came into

existence,"[3] for the former chairman of the DKP, Herbert Mies, it was "socialism's biggest defeat,"[4] and for the Chairman of the Workers' Party of Belgium (PTB), Ludo Martens, it was "an important setback for all communist and progressive forces all over the world."[5]

Unwitting witnesses of the open bankruptcy of modern revisionism are the two chief ideologues of the German Communist Party (DKP), Willi Gerns and Robert Steigerwald. In an article entitled "On the Development of the Programme of the DKP (1968-1989)" they provide a labored justification for the failure of their revisionist policies. They cite four reasons for the "whitewash propaganda for socialism," that is to say, for their uncritical glorification of so-called real socialism:

> Firstly, the leading bodies of the DKP, including the central leadership, were inadequately informed of the contradictory process of development in the socialist countries. In discussions with leading representatives of these countries, during the travels of delegations, etc., the subject of difficulties and misguided developments was almost never broached. Essentially the good things were shown, sometimes even Potemkin villages.
>
> But the second factor was that the wish was often father to the thought, that we only wanted to see the successes of socialism and closed our eyes to abortive trends. ...
>
> As third reason for the wrinkle-free presentation of socialism, it should be said that our theoretical conceptions of socialism were not on a level with what the classics of Marxism had already developed concerning the two phases of

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3 Erich Honecker, *Moabiter Notizen*, Edition Ost, 1994, p. 84

4 *25 Jahre DKP - eine Geschichte ohne Ende* [25 years of the DKP- An Endless Story], edited by Heinz Stehr/Rolf Priemer, Essen, 1993, p. 73

5 "Proposals of the PTB for the Unity of the International Communist Movement" of 3 May 1994

communist society. We sometimes attributed qualities to socialism which only the higher stage, communism, can have. ...

Finally, fourth, the leadership of the SED directly interfered in what we said about real socialism in general and the German Democratic Republic in particular. Attempts to portray real socialism with a greater consciousness of the problems fell victim to this interference. (*25 Jahre DKP – eine Geschichte ohne Ende*, p. 35)

But they forgot the fifth and decisive point: their petty-bourgeois revisionist mentality that made them blind and deaf to any Marxist-Leninist criticism. Gerns and Steigerwald are familiar with the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the "restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union" produced in 1972. The MLPD provided fundamental and concrete proof of the betrayal of socialism especially in *Revolutionärer Weg* and in numerous pamphlets and articles. But the revisionist scribes Gerns and Steigerwald dismissed this as "CIA propaganda," slandered the MLPD and maligned Willi Dickhut. To expect such people to show even a hint of shame is asking too much, because they have no proletarian conscience. It does not look as though the petty-bourgeois claim to leadership of these revisionist "theoreticians of the working-class movement" has changed in any way. During a public debate in Gelsenkirchen on September 19, 1992, Willi Gerns, for example, asserted that "in respect to the GDR and the other real-socialist societies" one had to speak of "state socialism, command-type socialism, administrative-bureaucratic socialism, but still socialism." ("War die DDR sozialistisch?" [Was the GDR socialist?], documentation of the September 19, 1992 debate; Recklinghausen, 1993, p. 16) He explained what he meant by this:

The political power of the working class was – as already said – largely reduced to the power of the party, of the party

> leadership even, and in the end to the general secretary in office at the particular time. (*Ibid.*, p. 17)

For a "future socialist society," W. Gerns demanded

> that true socialization takes the place of mere nationalization, that, through socialist self-administration, the working people advance from formal to actual owners of the means of production, who can actually control them, use them and creatively develop them with high productivity. (*Ibid.*, p. 17)

In his desperate attempt to prop up modern revisionism, W. Gerns entangles himself in a contradiction he cannot solve: if we follow him, in the Soviet Union, the GDR and so on we did not have "real socialism" but a "formal socialism," in which actual economic and political power did not rest in the hands of the working class, but with a bureaucracy which commanded society by administrative means. Accordingly, this bureaucracy was really the "socialist" element of society because it commanded socialism to the people. That is making a mockery of Marxism-Leninism.

The collapse of bureaucratic capitalism is the open bankruptcy of modern revisionism. It is a confirmation of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, which had predicted this bankruptcy decades ago, even though this was not the work of a new proletarian revolution but the result of losing in the competition with Western-type state-monopoly capitalism. The time for merely defending Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought against modern revisionism is past. It is necessary to go over to the attack today and to prepare a new upsurge of the worldwide struggle for socialism.

On the occasion of the seminar, "100 years of Mao Zedong," held in November 1993 in Gelsenkirchen, Germany, the "General Declaration on Mao Zedong Thought" was publicized, which has

been signed by 13 revolutionary parties and organizations up to now. The declaration states:

> The proletarian revolutionaries who adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought are today the most resolute, most advanced and most consolidated detachment of the international proletariat. They understand most comprehensively and most profoundly the disintegration and collapse of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes, the ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system, the impending resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movement and the certain future of socialism and ultimate victory of communism in the world.

This is an outstanding document showing how the bankruptcy of modern revisionism opens up the way to rebuilding the international Marxist-Leninist and working-class movement.

Under the conditions of international production, the multilateral cooperation of the revolutionary parties and organizations is necessary, without making bilateral relations unnecessary. Generally speaking, the international character of the socialist revolution calls for close community of action on the part of the revolutionary movement to coordinate international proletarian class struggle and raise its level.

Nonetheless, the movements remain different from country to country and have different concrete strategy and tactics. The contradiction between the general character of the international revolution and the concrete peculiarities in each country is one of the main problems to be solved in the new formation of the international Marxist-Leninist and workers' movement. This is a **process of restoring the dialectical unity of theory and practice on an international scale**, which has been destroyed above all by modern revisionism, but also by dogmatism and sectarianism.

The petty-bourgeois mode of thinking has material foundations in every country, though it appears in a concrete form, for example, in the neocolonially oppressed countries, different from that in the imperialist countries due to the differences in class structures and levels of socioeconomic development. The dominating role and the global reach of the imperialist mass media make the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking an effective weapon against proletarian class struggle internationally. Gaining ascendance of the proletarian over the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking in class struggle and party building is **the common key issue** in the preparation of a new international upsurge of the struggle for socialism.

The multilateral cooperation of Marxists-Leninists who have close ties with the masses is the leading factor for creating this internationalist class consciousness and the appropriate forms for fighting and organizing. This road is taken by the *International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations*, which met for the first time in 1988. The Fourth International Conference took place in April 1994. Seventeen parties and organizations from four continents were represented. Five more parties and organizations were involved in the preparation, but could not attend for urgent political reasons. Among other things, the Fourth International Conference adopted a resolution on "The Situation of the International Revolutionary Movement and Perspectives of the International Conference." The resolution states:

> It is necessary to hold **international conferences** of Marxist-Leninist organizations and parties in regular intervals. The main purpose of these conferences, which take place in different countries, is ideological-political exchange and to help develop unity in important ideological and political matters. Basis for the International Conference is the defense of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and

the participation in the struggle against modern revisionism. Cooperation between international Marxist-Leninist organizations is based on the following principles:

a) Independence and equality, mutual respect, mutual support and cooperation.
b) No interference in the internal affairs as well as in the bilateral or regional relations of any party or organization with other parties and organizations.
c) Consensus and unanimity in the decision-making.
d) Achievement of gradual unity step by step; no public debate among parties/organizations and no public criticism or attack by any party/organization on another.

The Fourth International Conference thus **objectively** defined the proletarian mode of thinking as basis for rebuilding, establishing a method in which ideological-political discussion is accompanied by practical steps for coordination and revolutionization of international class struggle and for achieving gradual unity on a basis of equality.

The great success of this International Conference has provoked the reaction of a petty-bourgeois countercurrent. Its ideological foundation is **neorevisionism**, and its principal representative in Western Europe is the Workers' Party of Belgium (PTB). The PTB proposes an unprincipled international unity of the Marxist-Leninists with all tendencies of revisionism. **A two-line struggle on the issue of the unification of the international Marxist-Leninist and working-class movement has thus been opened.**

What is the content of neorevisionism? The neorevisionists deny the scientific finding of Mao Zedong that the assumption of power by the modern revisionists under Khrushchov at the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU in 1956 was the assumption of power by a new bourgeoisie, which destroyed the dictatorship of the proletariat. This

signified the beginning of the restoration of capitalism in the historically new form of bureaucratic capitalism. In contrast to this, Ludo Martens declares:

> To put the problem merely in terms: dictatorship of the proletariat or the dictatorship of a big bourgeoisie is to simplify reality in a scholastic manner. The new and old bourgeois elements needed thirty years to pass from early childhood to adulthood, to strengthen and consolidate their positions in the political, economical and ideological fields. The process of degeneration, started in 1956, needed three decades to finish off socialism. (Ludo Martens, *USSR – The Velvet Counter Revolution*, Brussels, n.d., p. 211)

So for Ludo Martens, posing the question of power is reducing reality to "scholastics" (book wisdom). By saying that, he denies the ABC of Marxism. Lenin unmistakably emphasized that "there can be no alternative but the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat. Dreams of some third way are reactionary, petty-bourgeois lamentations." ("First Congress of the Communist International," in: Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 463)

The wavering character of the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking is typical of neorevisionism. When Gorbachev emerged in 1985, the petty bourgeois immediately fell for him. An elated Ludo Martens wrote in 1991:

> In this ideological desert appeared Comrade Gorbachev. He has shaken, like a storm, a country in such lethargy, shaking up all the sleeping hearts and minds. (*USSR – The Velvet Counter Revolution*, p. 21)

Blinded by appearances, Ludo Martens took this as occasion to start reassessing the development of socialism after 1956 and revising the programmatic foundations of the PTB:

> Re-evaluation means facing the hypothesis that the economic base and the heart of the political structure had remained socialist, despite the corrosive effect of revisionism, which dominated the leadership. Re-evaluation means weighing the possibility of a positive evolution, of a Marxist-Leninist renaissance. (*Ibid.*, p. 27)

According to this petty-bourgeois hypothesis, the socialist economic base can continue developing even under a revisionist bourgeois superstructure. But a socialism in which the working class is excluded from the exercise of power and which is not built on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism is in reality nothing other than the **dream of a petty-bourgeois socialism**.

When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, the neorevisionists viewed Gorbachev as the chief culprit. But Gorbachev had not given rise to the restoration of capitalism, as maintained by the PTB in the "Proposal for the Unity of the International Communist Movement." Rather the restoration of capitalism gave rise to Gorbachev. He merely completed the work of restoring capitalism and openly sided with international social democracy.

Neorevisionism obscures the restoration of capitalism which took place under Khrushchov in the Soviet Union. It denies the social-imperialism of the Soviet Union and covers up the bankruptcy of modern revisionism.

It is demagogy to say, as in the proposals of the PTB, that the split in the communist movement after 1956 was "mainly due to the revisionist line adopted by Khrushchov, but also under the influence of ultra-left attitudes," which is referring to Mao Zedong.

The theoretical roots of revisionism are eclecticism and sophistry. As early as 1987 we could read in a reply of the Central Committee of the PTB to the Central Committee of the MLPD: "Though it cannot be denied that there were revisionist theses

and practices in most socialist countries, it is no less certain that there were analyses, scientific works and political decisions which bore the stamp of Marxism-Leninism." (Letter of June 1, 1987)

Martens and the PTB also base their "Proposals for the Unity of the International Communist Movement" on this distortive, arbitrary "you have a point, but then again" method, which clouds the nature of issues. According to the Proposals, "today the possibility exists to overcome these divisions and to unite Marxist-Leninist parties, traditionally divided along pro-Soviet, pro-Chinese, pro-Albanian, pro-Cuban or independent lines." ("Proposals of the PTB for the Unity of the International Communist Movement" dated May 3, 1994)

A hodgepodge like this is doomed to failure. This unprincipled scheme for unity is in essence the vain attempt to reconcile antagonistic contradictions. The experience of the building of Marxist-Leninist parties in the seventies teaches: anarchism, Trotskyism, revisionism, Right and Left opportunism and Marxism-Leninism became all hashed up in the petty-bourgeois thinking of forces who usually came from the student movement. The petty-bourgeois "ML movement" was incapable of building up a revolutionary party. It required the victory over the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking in the struggle against liquidationism to pave the way for building the Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD).

Considering the essence of revisionist politics, it is logical that a new form of revisionism must emerge following the open bankruptcy of modern revisionism. In his writing, "Marxism and Revisionism," Lenin set out the idea that revisionism

> may assume an infinite variety of forms, and that every more or less "new" question, every more or less unexpected and unforeseen turn of events, even though it changes the basic line of development only to an insignificant degree and only for the briefest period, will always inevitably give rise to one

> variety of revisionism or another. The inevitability of revisionism is determined by its class roots in modern society. Revisionism is an international phenomenon. (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 38)

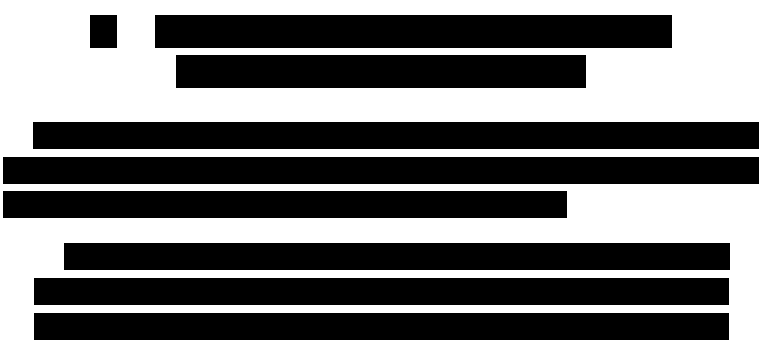
The PTB now wants to push through the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking as the foundation of the international unity of the revolutionaries. The essence of revisionism, the blurring of the distinction between capitalism and socialism, fundamentally does not change in neorevisionism. What makes the latter ideologically dangerous is its apparent criticism of Khrushchov revisionism, its formal recognition of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, including Stalin and Mao Zedong. But it remains revisionism. The mere confession to Marxism-Leninism, the purely verbal acceptance, the merely formal reference to the classics are petty-bourgeois methods of veiling opportunism and revisionism. People who praise Stalin to the heavens and pass over his fundamental errors in silence are acting in a petty-bourgeois fashion. People who accept Mao Zedong as Chinese leader, but calumniate the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, are also acting in a petty-bourgeois fashion.

The battle has broken out between the proletarian and the petty-bourgeois lines, over the unification of the international Marxist-Leninist and working-class movement. It must be waged with the aim of smashing the petty-bourgeois line. We must be guided in this battle by the following lessons:

- **The unity of the international Marxist-Leninist and working-class movement cannot be brought about with a petty-bourgeois mode of thinking.**
- **With a petty-bourgeois mode of thinking it is possible to destroy the international unification of the Marxist-Leninist and working-class movement.**
- **The new formation of the international revolutionary movement can only be successful on the basis of the proletarian mode of thinking.**

Let us heed Lenin's words about unity:

> Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers' cause needs is the *unity of Marxists*, not unity between Marxists and opponents and distorters of Marxism. And we must ask everyone who talks about unity: unity with whom? With the liquidators? If so, we have nothing to do with each other. ("Unity," in: Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 232)



4. The Special Oppression of Women and the Role of Bourgeois Tradition and Morality in Capitalist Society

Special oppression of women is a fundamental element of all rule in class society based on exploitation and oppression. The character of the particular class society is concentrated in it.

It is not by any means a *fetter* only to women, but one *to all the oppressed and exploited*.

The masses of women in all previous class societies have been oppressed in several respects. In the first place, as members of the exploited and oppressed strata; secondly, a whole system for the special oppression of women ensures the *system-maintaining exercise of their functions* in the production and reproduction of human life. This again has two *fundamental* aspects:

1. the maintenance and constant reproduction *of existing human life*, in particular of labor-power;
2. through pregnancy, birth, feeding, care and education of children, the "production" *of new human life*.

Mao Zedong wrote about the status of Chinese women in 1927:

> A man in China is usually subjected to the domination of three systems of authority [political authority, clan authority and religious authority]…. As for women, in addition to being dominated by these three systems of authority, they are also dominated by the men (the authority of the husband). These four authorities — political, clan, religious and masculine — are the embodiment of the whole feudal-patriarchal ideology and system, and are the four thick ropes binding the Chinese people, particularly the peasants. ("Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. 1, p. 44, taken from: *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung*, Peking, 1972, p. 294)

The women of the ruling classes are not subject to this multiple oppression, as they are themselves a part of the oppressing class. But as women, they, too, are victims of the special oppression. This is an important material basis for the fact that the women's movement recruits itself from more or less *all classes and strata of the population*. The special oppression of the women of the ruling classes is, due to their economic dependence, frequently even greater than in the oppressed classes. Conversely, the basis for the oppression of women in the lowest strata and classes is far less developed. Mao Zedong wrote about this phenomenon in semifeudal China prior to its liberation:

> As to the authority of the husband, this has always been weaker among the poor peasants because, out of economic necessity, their womenfolk have to do more manual labour than the women of the richer classes and therefore have more say and greater power of decision in family matters. (*ibid.*, p. 295)

For *capitalism, too, the double oppression* of the masses of women is characteristic. Lenin described this as follows:

> For under capitalism the female half of the human race is doubly oppressed. The working woman and the peasant woman are oppressed by capital, but over and above that, even in the most democratic of the bourgeois republics, they remain, firstly, deprived of some rights because the law does not give them equality with men; and secondly — and this is the main thing — they remain in "household bondage" …, for they are overburdened with the drudgery of the most squalid, backbreaking and stultifying toil in the kitchen and the family household. (Lenin, "International Women's Day," *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 161)

In the *responsibility of women for private housekeeping and family affairs management* lies the material foundation for the double oppression of the masses of women in capitalism. This double oppression far from occurs primarily in the form of open use of force by men against women. In our present time, this fact often has led to the false conclusion that a special oppression of women hardly exists anymore. Marx pointed out in *Capital* how capital co-opts the natural life needs of human beings for the reproduction of the fundamental condition of its existence — the maintenance of the working class.

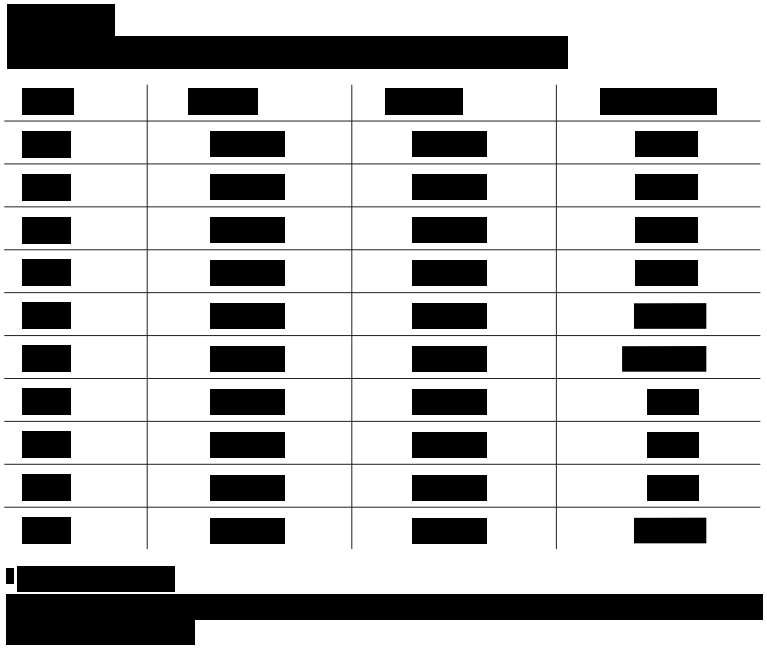
> The maintenance and reproduction of the working-class is, and must ever be, a necessary condition to the reproduction of capital. But the capitalist may safely leave its fulfilment to the

> labourer's instincts of self-preservation and of propagation. All the capitalist cares for, is to reduce the labourer's individual consumption as far as possible to what is strictly necessary…. (Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 572)

A graphic picture of the *complex organizational and social tasks* in the family of women with children is provided by a survey "of the use of time by the population of the Federal Republic of Germany," conducted by the Federal Statistical Office for the first time in postwar history in 1991–1992 (table 2).

The scope of the unpaid work differs inappreciably between working and non-working women. The daily expenditure of time for child care by a working woman with a child under 6, for instance, is reduced from 2 hours and 27 minutes to 1 hour and 53 minutes.

As income declines, the time spent on private reproduction increases. Shopping becomes a hunt for special sales; keeping order in and maintaining a small, poorly equipped dwelling requires substantially more effort. Between the lowest and the highest income brackets surveyed, this makes a monthly difference of 23 hours and 25 minutes!



4. The Struggle of the Communist Party of China Against Revisionism in the Work Among Women

The Communist Party of China drew important lessons from socialist construction in the Soviet Union and took the lead in the world in fighting against the modern revisionism of Khrushchov. At the Women's World Congress in Moscow in 1963, a sharp two-line struggle blazed up. The revisionist leaders of the CPSU wanted to harness the international women's movement for their purposes. Numerous delegations of women's associations from various countries protested against this course, which was to be made to prevail with manipulated votes, procedural tricks, defamation of those holding different views, and an undemocratic apportionment of delegates. For example,

more than 700 of the 1,289 delegates came from Europe, mainly the Soviet Union and the GDR; but there were only 350 delegates for all Asia and Africa. Heading up the militant and revolutionary women, the Chinese delegation declared:

> The draft program of the WIDF [Women's International Democratic Federation] submitted to the congress is a document that renounces any and all resistance to imperialism and pursues a wrong line. It does not mention that imperialism is the source of wars, that US imperialism is the most dangerous enemy of peace. This document contains no reference to the fact that the right way to defend peace and prevent a war mainly consists in relying on the joint struggle of the peoples of all countries against the policy of war and aggression of US-led imperialism. It does not show what a tremendous force the national liberation movement constitutes in defending world peace. It contains no mention of the fact that the emancipation of women is closely connected with the current struggle of the peoples of the world, that women in the various countries can only liberate themselves and truly secure the rights of women and children if they resolutely oppose imperialism and colonialism and the reactionaries of all countries. (*Kampf zwischen zwei Linien auf dem Weltfrauenkongreß in Moskau* [Two-Line Struggle at the Women's World Congress in Moscow], Verlag für fremdsprachige Literatur, Peking, 1963, pp. 11-12; our translation from the German)

The revisionists wanted to declare the fight for peace the main objective of the international women's movement. The struggle for women's liberation was caricatured as the realization of "womanliness" and "motherly love." The Chinese comrades fittingly polemicized:

> *Certain people tried as much as they could to vulgarize the lofty thoughts and feelings of women and mothers. Dolores Ibarruri* [from the Spanish CP – the editors RW] *glibly spoke at the congress about enchanting womanliness and women's moral beauty.* Some other people said a lot about women "who pine away in fear of war." *A proposal of the French women's league to the WIDF stated: "Motherly love is the basis for consensus among women."* Some restricted the function of women solely to motherhood, childbearing and the raising of children. On the surface, this view did not seem to concern politics; in reality, however, it covers a major political issue. These people intend to exclude women from political life. Were their views to meet with acceptance, women never conclusively could gain liberation. The broad masses of women must never allow others to arbitrarily decide what they are to do. No one can exclude them from the current struggle of the masses of the people. (*ibid.*, p. 40)

For the revisionists, the main force in the women's movement was no longer the masses of doubly exploited and oppressed women of the world but the unity with prominent women and the bourgeois women's movement. The Chinese delegation excoriated the anti-people orientation of the congress:

> *The head of the Soviet delegation and several other leading women in the WIDF entirely ignored the broad masses of women in the world and also do not wish to extend the WIDF activities to them. They are only eager to accommodate a small group of women in the upper strata of the capitalist countries of Europe and North America and to make compromises with them; they are merely interested in restricting the activities of the WIDF to this small group of upper-crust women and turn the WIDF into their "club."* (*ibid.*, pp. 46-47)

The revisionists' intention was to liquidate the proletarian women's movement of all countries and turn the militant women's movement into a purely bourgeois women's movement. The delegation of the Chinese CP defended the Marxist-Leninist principles of the proletarian women's movement and advocated further developing the international women's movement in connection with the then worldwide upsurge of the struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism.

Subsequent to the congress, whereas the revisionists for the most part kept this debate from their parties and the public, the Chinese delegation staged a mass rally in Beijing on July 18, 1963, and publicized the contents and methods of the two-line struggle at the Moscow conference. In a resolution, the participants of this mass meeting drew the following conclusion from the report of the delegation:

> Despite the fact that the congress went poorly, we are firmly convinced that the desire for revolution and emancipation is the most urgent common wish of the world's women and that no power can change the correct direction of the world women's movement. (*ibid.*, pp. 66-67)

The struggle against modern revisionism was by no means simply a matter between the CPSU and the Chinese CP. It also had to be waged inside the People's Republic of China. In the book, *The Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union*, Willi Dickhut characterized the situation at the start of the sixties:

> In China there was a comparatively small group of functionaries within the Party (compared to the total membership, which numbered about 30 million) who had made themselves the representatives of the overthrown exploiting class and abused their functions.... Their spokesman in the Party was Liu Shaoqi, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The influence of these counterrevolutionary forces could not be eliminated by administrative measures or coercion. Their influence in the many organs of the proletarian state and the numerous institutions of socialist society was too great. Their bourgeois line was cleverly concealed and was not seen through by the broad masses. (*The Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union*, pp. 342 and 343)

Liu Shaoqi's revisionist policies systematically rolled back major socialist achievements of the struggle to liberate women. Fu Wen commented on this in *Peking Review*, No. 10, of 1974:

> Following in the footsteps of the monarchs of the old feudal dynasties, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, representatives of the landlord and capitalist classes who had wormed their way into the Party, tried to peddle the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius under the signboard of Marxism-Leninism. They talked such nonsense as "the female sex is backward," "a woman cannot be expected to have a bright future," "a woman's future is determined by that of her husband," "a woman must devote herself to her husband" and so on. They discriminated against women, belittled the role of women and tried to prevent them from taking part in the three great revolutionary movements – class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Their attempt was to make women docile tools and philistines paying no attention to the politics of the proletariat and showing no interest in the affairs of the state and the world. And they tried to drive women who constitute half the nation's population back into the small courtyards of their respective homes, barring them from taking part in the socialist revolution and construction. All this was meant to serve their needs in trying to subvert the proletarian dictatorship and restore capitalism. (Fu Wen, "Doctrine of Confucius and Mencius – The Shackle That Keeps Women in Bondage," *Peking Review*, March 8, 1974, p. 17)

In the countryside, the collectivization of agriculture in the people's communes was gradually cut back. The private individual households were strengthened again. Various publications spread propaganda for the return of women to housework. Essays on the "irreplaceable qualities" of mothers in the care and education of children and on "domestic bliss" and tips like, "How to find the right husband," filled the columns of the paper of the women's association. This was clearly directed against the socialist achievements and active ideological-political confrontation of feudal and patriarchal views, customs and habits.

On August 8, 1966, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, at the proposal of Mao Zedong, adopted

the Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which stated:

> 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. (NCNA English service dated August 8, 1966, p. 395)

In unparalleled mobilization of the broadest masses of the people, especially the men and women workers, but particularly the youth, the class struggle was unfolded against the Party persons in power taking the capitalist road and against modern revisionism. The CC decision on the Cultural Revolution said:

> Since the cultural revolution is a revolution, it inevitably meets with resistance. The resistance comes chiefly from those in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. It also comes from the force of habits from the old society. (*ibid.*, p. 396)

To the Chinese revolutionaries, the socialization of housework and the care and education of children did not just mean the taking over of such functions by state institutions. One important dispute concerned the fact that every person, from child to old man or woman, can make a contribution to perform all socially necessary tasks. Since the revolution and the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, under the slogan, "Everything a man can do, a woman can do," the self confidence of girls and women had been raised, encouraging them, for example, to learn men's occupations. The 1973 mass movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius spread the new slogan, "Everything a woman can do, a man can do." This challenged all traditional role allocations and all feudal and bourgeois ideas about morality which discriminated against women. Issue was also taken with the theory of universal human

nature, according to which the disadvantagedness of women has biological, not social, reasons.

The mass ideological struggle was all-important for the enormous advances which Chinese women fought for and obtained in the Cultural Revolution. The decision by the CC of the Chinese CP thus stated in regard to the central method of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution:

> In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the only method is for the masses to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things in their stead must not be used. Trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative. (*ibid.*, p. 398)

At the No. 1 Cotton Mill in Beijing, the idea to make mobile chairs to facilitate the spinners' work was developed. The factory management charged the women workers themselves with developing and building these chairs. Spinner Hu Chin reports:

> I was really glad that I would be able to do something that would ease their labour, and also to learn some new skills. But I was a bit nervous about the job because I didn't know a thing about anything mechanical. I heard that a few of the maintenance men had expressed doubts that spinners could do the work…. They said we lacked the skills, weren't strong enough and that we couldn't drill a hole straight. "Better get some experienced men so we won't have to do it all over again," they said. This didn't help us get over our nervousness…. The first time we sawed rolled steel we broke a whole month's supply of saw blades in five minutes. It took every bit of our strength to tighten the screws, but sometimes the master workmen would come and still be able to give them a half-turn more. "I'd say you are pretty strong," one young man commented, "but you just can't compare with men."
>
> "Give us a little time," I said, but my words didn't sound very convincing even to myself. I didn't begin to see my way through all this until in our after-shift meetings we began criticizing

the *Classic for Women*, a thousand-year old primer steeped in the Confucian-Mencian idea that men were superior to women. It preached things like "lack of talent is a woman's virtue", "a woman's talent lies in envying nothing. If she's good and virtuous she's a gem in the home"…. We learned that this was the way the reactionary ruling classes confined women to the small circle of the family through thousands of years, keeping them ignorant to make sure they would not rise up and rebel against the reactionary rule….

Criticism of these feudal ideas helped us to see that spinners did not know much about mechanical work not because we were born stupid but because we lacked experience at it…. While the master workmen and technicians were teaching us, they also joined us in criticizing the Confucian idea…. This strengthened our confidence that we could learn through practice.

In six months at the work we developed greater strength in our arms and had mastered not only bench work but paint-spraying and welding. In our spare time we read books on bench work and related matters. We were even able to devise a new way to keep the screws from becoming loose….

Seven months after the operation began, we spinners were using the chairs. In making them we not only liberated ourselves from a lot of strain, but, more important, we had freed ourselves from the old idea that there are things women can't do. (*China Reconstructs*, March 1975, pp. 5-7)

Particular attention was paid to patient ideological-political persuasion work and models for practical life. Mao Zedong said:

Actually there are not many who look down upon women, but there are such people everywhere. One cannot lay the whole blame on them because the influence of feudalism on them in the past simply was too strong! It is hard for the brain to make a sudden about-face. On the other hand, we cannot oppose them with airplanes and cannons. What should we do then? Apart from intensifying our educational measures, I believe the best method is for women comrades to achieve and to hold more and more facts up to them. When they see these many achievements, that feudal kingdom in their heads will be destroyed by itself! (Mao Zedong, *Texte*, Vol. 3, Carl Hanser Verlag, Munich, 1982, p. 110; our translation from the German)

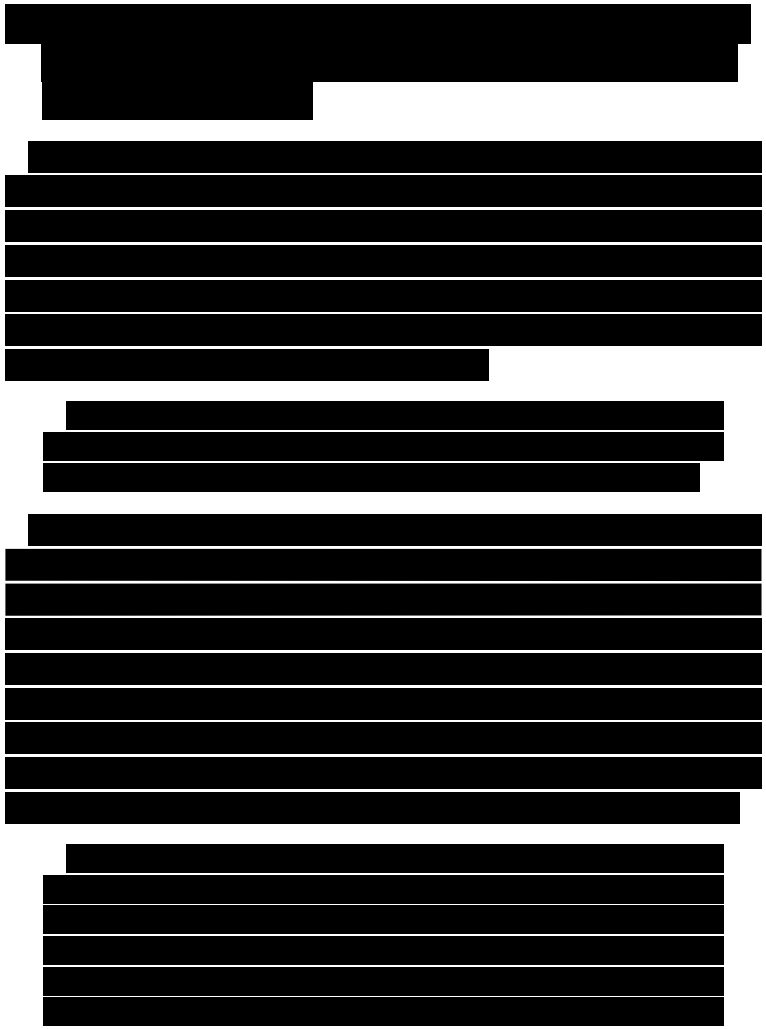
The Chinese communists launched an intensive debate with the aim of having women present in large numbers in the organs of power of the Cultural Revolution. They set particular store by doing this not in a formal way, in the sense of petty-bourgeois quota rules, but by always making the liberation of women a component part of the work of these organs. An essay entitled, "Attach Full Importance to the Role Played by Women Committee Members," stated:

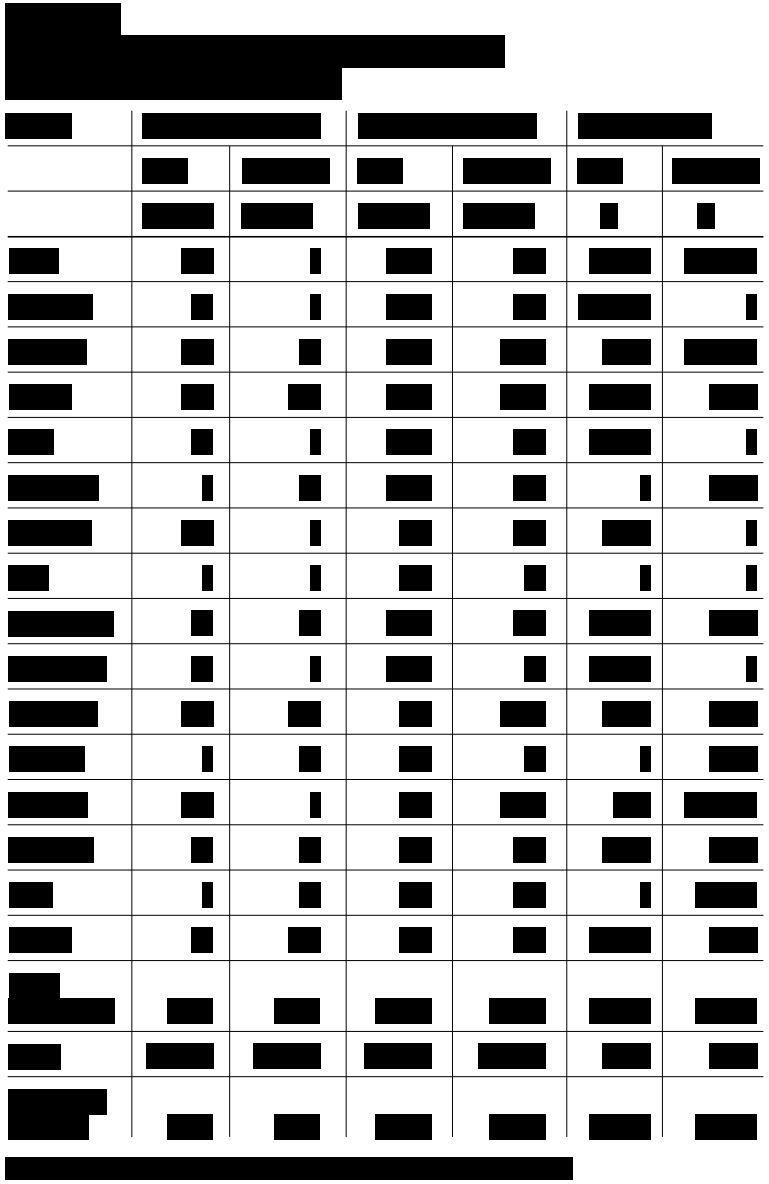
The influence [of the bourgeoisie] have made some of our comrades unable – even today when the socialist revolution has developed in depth – to really attach importance to the major role played by revolutionary women…. There should be some women committee members. "We should show concern for women". This theory of "showing concern" looks like attaching importance to the role played by revolutionary women but, in essence can still degrade the status of revolutionary women…. "Women comrades are heavily burdened with household chores. Let them take a lighter load of the revolution". This thinking can easily make the revolutionary women become accompaniments after entering the revolutionary committees…. In fact, the viewpoint that women can only work in the kitchen and look after the children precisely reflects the outdated concept of the exploiting classes towards women and must not be allowed to revive. Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "The day all Chinese women stand up will be the time of the victory of the Chinese Revolution". Whether we attach full importance to and develop the role of women committee members is by no means a trifling question, but a question of whether we thoroughly eliminate the ideas of the exploiting classes or not…. (*Wenhuibao* (A Shanghai newspaper), June 14, 1968, in: Elisabeth Croll (ed.), *The Women's Movement in China, A Selection of Readings, 1949-1973*, Modern China Series, No. 6, 1974, pp. 86-87)

The struggle for the liberation of women in China proved that the masses are an enormous productive force and, if they free themselves from reactionary ideas and habits, decisively advance socialist construction. This was realized not least of all in the mass movement, "Serve the people," in which millions of young people moved to the countryside from the cities. Young Li Lin was one of these urban youths. She summed up her experience in 1975:

> The fact is that people were not only oppressed for thousands of years by feudalism and class rule. This oppression exists in their own heads in the form of bad habits, customs and ideas. Feudalism, oppression, lurk at the back of their minds. People were imbued also with ideas about their own ineptitude and inferiority. These ideas hold them captive. With such old ideas, people oppress themselves. Consequently, it is important to settle accounts with this inner oppression. This frees the full creative power, the entire wealth of initiative, and the capacity for conscious, collective thought and action which have been suppressed for thousands of years by prejudices implanted in the mind in respect of subjugation, obedience, geniuses and the backwardness of the people.
>
> The feet of girls used to be so tightly bound that all adult women became cripples who had a difficult time getting anywhere. It was a long, hard struggle to free the feet. But to rid people of their crippled ideas takes much longer and cannot be done in a single day or through one discussion.
>
> For a long time, the men said they could not look after the children because they had no breasts. After all the great debates in the years of the Cultural Revolution, they do not want to say it out loud, but I believe many still think this deep inside. There is a need for many more long, great debates. (Gun Kessle, *Frauenleben in einem chinesischen Dorf* [Women's Life in a Chinese Village], Stuttgart, 1984, p. 59)

The successes achieved in liberating women in the People's Republic of China are of extremely great value. They were gradually destroyed only with the restoration of capitalism following the death of Mao Zedong in 1976.





9. The People's Republic of China – A Rising Social-Imperialist Power

Following the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, a bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie seized power in the People's Republic of China by a counterrevolutionary coup d'état. Under Deng Xiaoping's leadership, capitalism was restored. The pamphlet *China Today 7*, published in 1981 by the Communist Workers' League of Germany (KABD), forerunner organization of the MLPD, stated:

> The restoration of capitalism and China's development toward a new social imperialism is without doubt a great setback for the international Communist and labour movement. For the second time, after the betrayal of the Khrushchev clique, the Marxist-Leninist world movement has lost its revolutionary centre and the oppressed peoples their hinterland in liberation struggle. The bulwark of world peace has become

> a force taking part in a counterrevolutionary alliance with US imperialism in the struggle to redivide the world and increasing the danger of a third world war. (*From the Restoration of Capitalism to Social Imperialism in China*, p. 51

The Chinese revisionists gathered around Deng Xiaoping betrayed Mao Zedong's path of "relying on one's own efforts to build socialism" and – unlike the social-imperialist Soviet Union with its policy of sealing itself off – from the outset banked on *integrating China into the capitalist world economy*. To justify this policy, under the demagogic motto of "learning from other countries" Deng Xiaoping declared:

> foreign-funded enterprises are useful supplements to the socialist economy, and in the final analysis they are good for socialism. (*Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. III, p. 361)

But in reality, joint ventures with foreign capital, commodity exports and capital exports of China's own were not intended to speed socialist construction but the restoration of capitalism in China. As early as in 1979 the first four capitalist "special economic zones" were set up in the southwest of the country. In 1984 fourteen more coastal cities were opened to foreign capital. Large sections of the coastal belt followed, and in the 1990s the inland provinces.

The Western imperialists supported Deng Xiaoping as guarantee for the rapid and comprehensive restoration of capitalism. The international monopolies eagerly seized upon the opening of the Chinese market with its 1.3 billion people and the invitation to exploit China's working people and natural resources.

The foreign direct investments in China in 1995 were already fifty times higher than between 1980 and 1985. Whereas such investments mostly originated in the Asian region into the early 1990s, after that a veritable spring tide of investments

Table 32:
Foreign direct investment in China
(Annual inflow in millions of US dollars)

Year	Direct investment			Share world
	China	Hong Kong	Total	%
1980–1985[1]	718	542	1 260	2.5
1986	1 875	996	2 871	3.7
1987	2 314	3 298	5 612	4.2
1988	3 194	2 627	5 821	3.7
1989	3 393	1 076	4 469	2.2
1990	3 487	1 728	5 215	2.6
1991	4 366	538	4 904	3.1
1992	11 156	2 051	13 207	7.5
1993	27 515	3 657	31 172	14.2
1994	33 787	7 828	41 615	16.3
1995	35 849	6 213	42 062	12.7
1996	40 180	10 460	50 640	13.1
1997	44 237	11 368	55 605	11.6
1998	43 751	14 770	58 521	8.4
1999	40 319	24 596	64 915	6.0
2000	40 772	61 938	102 710	6.9
2001	46 846	22 834	69 680	9.5

[1] 1980–1985 annual average
Source: UNCTAD, World Investment Report, various years

from the USA, Europe and Japan set in. From 1991 through 2001 they rose from US$4.37 billion to US$46.85 billion, i.e., by more than ten times.

China today is the focus of the Asian strategy of the international monopolies. Of the 500 largest corporations of the *Fortune* list, 400 are represented in China; some of them dom-

inate the market. In the metropolis Shanghai alone, 98 multinational corporations of the West and Japan have registered domiciles. The foreign direct investment concentrates to 80 percent on the Chinese coastal strip, which today is one *point of concentration of the international capitalist production.*

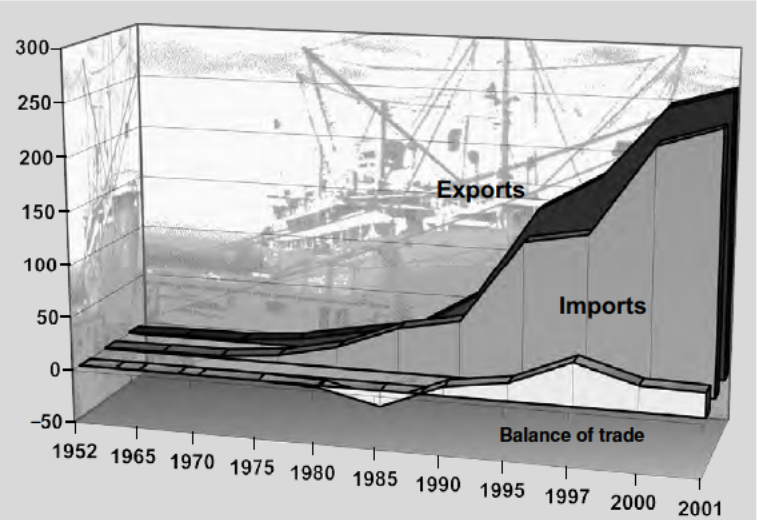
With the restoration of capitalism, China changed from a bastion of proletarian internationalism to a new *social-imperialist power*. Regarding the starting point of this policy, the pamphlet, *From the Restoration of Capitalism to Social Imperialism in China*, states:

> The new Chinese bourgeoisie dreams of conquering a place in the sun in the struggle for the redivision of the world. The pursuit of maximum profits forces them to economic, political and military expansion. (*China Today 7*, p. 29)

China endeavored rapidly to extend its economic and military base. Initially, it was locked in bitter rivalry with the social-imperialist Soviet Union and allied with the Western imperialists. The USA already took up official diplomatic relations with China in 1978. In 1979, far-reaching agreements on "cooperation" in science, technology, trade and education were concluded, along with a cultural agreement. In addition, a "strategic alliance" to roll back Soviet influence was agreed which involved extensive military and economic cooperation. Indeed, China developed into the *most aggressively growing imperialist country*.

Between 1980 and 1990 China's foreign trade tripled, and in the following decade it more than quadrupled. China together with Hong Kong developed into the earth's fourth largest trading nation. Since 1990 China has also had a growing trade surplus which enabled it to take in US$159.7 billion in foreign exchange between 1997 and 2001 alone.

Chart 14:
China's foreign trade (in billions of US dollars)



RW Chart
(Sources: China Statistical Yearbook 2001; Statistical Bureau of the PR China)

No imperialist country could match China in the growth rates of its gross domestic product, which averaged ten percent annually since the middle of the 1980s. China gradually inched forward in the race between the great powers and had the sixth largest gross domestic product in the world in the year 2000. For this imperialist "success story" the working class and the broad masses in China pay the price in the form of rigorous dismantling of the remnants of the socialist achievements, mass unemployment and political oppression.

Under the banner of the "reform of the state-owned enterprises" the Chinese social-imperialists concentrated on *creating a group of globally operating Chinese monopolies*. In 1997 the 1,000 biggest of the then 128,000 state-owned industrial

enterprises generated 60 percent of the revenues. Starting from this concentration of capital, China proceeded in 1997 to create groups and combinations of enterprises which would then rise to join the ranks of the world's 500 largest corporations.

By the early 1990s the lion's share of the foreign capital was invested in labor-intensive production in the special economic zones and rural areas. This was to change in the process of the reorganization of international production. The *interpenetration with Western capital on the most advanced level of production* became the focus of interest of the Chinese efforts to obtain foreign investment. Numerous large capital- and technology-intensive joint ventures were formed with Chinese state-owned enterprises. The bureaucratic monopoly capitalists were adept at taking over state-of-the-art technology, sophisticated forms of organization, etc., in the joint ventures. One center of activity was the automotive industry. A German-language study entitled "The Motor Vehicle Industry in China" says in reference to this strategy:

> The joint ventures serve the Chinese government as "gold mines" of the Chinese automotive sector, meaning that the foreign company transfers significant technology to China, and the Chinese government intervenes directly in the negotiations and stipulates the technology that must be transferred.... Additionally, the Chinese side stipulates for joint ventures that a high percentage (as much as 90 percent or more) of the parts used will be produced in China and not imported from abroad. (Adalbert Niedenzu, www.lehrer-online.de, July 1, 2002)

In the year 2000 there were still around 136 complete-vehicle manufacturers in China. The three leading ones – all joint ventures with Western corporations – produced over 80 percent of the Chinese autos. More than 60 percent were built by VW alone in collaboration with the Chinese corporations FAW and SAIC.

When China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in December 2001, the Chinese auto market came under growing import pressure. From 2001 until 2006, China must cut the tariff rates for imported cars, which could be as much as 100 percent until now, to 25 percent. The Chinese government therefore seeks to concentrate production entirely on the thirteen largest automotive companies and to combine these into three or four groups on the most advanced level. The smaller factories will then be closed and a majority of the 1.85 million persons still employed in this sector (in 1999) will be ousted. In the long haul China intends to become a leading passenger car exporter this way.

In the domestic market, Chinese concerns are already competing successfully today with their foreign rivals even in high-tech sectors: At the start of the 1990s the Chinese PC market still was firmly in the hands of IBM, Compaq and Hewlett-Packard. In the last quarter of 1999 the Chinese PC manufacturer Legend already obtained a market share of 27 percent, more than twice that of IBM, Hewlett-Packard and Compaq together.

The Chinese multinational monopolies themselves increasingly make direct investments abroad, which underscores the *imperialist character of China*. From 1980 through 2000, Chinese capital export (including Hong Kong's) rose from US$148 million to US$402.4 billion, i.e., by a factor of 2,700.

Table 33:
Stock of Chinese direct investment abroad
(in billions of US dollars)

1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2001
0.1	2.5	14.4	94.6	391.6	402.4

Sum of Hong Kong and China

Source: UNCTAD, World Investment Report 2002

In large part these investments went to Hong Kong (reunited with China since 1997); a part went to imperialist countries to open up sources of raw materials. But, increasingly, China has invested to exploit neocolonially dependent countries. Through 1998, China set up 195 joint ventures or purely Chinese enterprises in 24 countries of Latin America, investing a volume of US$300 million.

The Chinese Shougang corporation plays a key role in the privatization policy of Peru. Peru's Marxist-Leninists wrote in the magazine *Cuadernos Polémicos*:

> This transnational company purchased the iron mine in Marcona in 1992. It paid $120 million dollars, though the iron alone … was worth about $2,000 million. Then, of the $150 million in investments promised at purchase, only $35 million were invested, while output increased by more than 110 percent, despite the workforce being reduced from 3,200 to 1,600. (*Cuadernos Polémicos*, September 1996)

The working hours were raised from eight to twelve, wages were cut, the discharged workers had to move out of the company-owned dwellings. In 1996 the remaining 1,083 regular workers went out on a 42-day strike. Their demands went far beyond pure wage demands and were directed against both the "blessings" of neoliberalism and the attack on the national sovereignty of their country (*Cuadernos Polémicos*, February 1997).

Leaders in China's capital export are the oil companies. Taking the international oil monopolies as models, the greater part of the petrochemical industry was merged into two enterprises: China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) in the north and Sinopec in the south. In its self-description, CNPC states as "major technical and business targets" that it wants to be "in the forefront among world top oil companies in the early 21st century."

CNPC generated revenues of US$41.5 billion in 2001 and reported an official profit of US$5 billion. Sinopec obtained revenues of US$40.4 billion. In the *Fortune* list, in terms of their reported revenues, CNPC is the eighth largest energy concern in the world, and Sinopec the eighth largest petroleum concern. In 2000, Sinopec and the CNPC subsidiary PetroChina managed to raise US$6.5 billion in capital from stock issues on the exchanges in New York and Hong Kong. The main investors were ExxonMobil, BP and Shell. The new capital was used in gigantic pipeline projects and for further international expansion. In a consortium with Shell, Gazprom and ExxonMobil, PetroChina plans, for example, to construct a 4,000 kilometer gas pipeline from Shanghai to the border province Xinjiang; the project has an investment volume of US$5.6 billion.

CNPC wants to triple its oil production abroad to 18 million tons a year from 2001 to 2005. As early as in 1993, CNPC acquired Peruvian oil fields. In 1997-1998 alone, China paid at least US$8.2 billion for oil concessions in Sudan, Venezuela, Iraq and Kazakhstan. Negotiations also were held on oil and gas concessions in Iran, Indonesia, Turkmenistan and Russia.

Thus, within a brief period, two multinational Chinese oil concerns have emerged which compete aggressively with American, European and Russian enterprises particularly in the Middle East and Central Asia.

The reunification on July 1, 1997, with *Hong Kong*, stolen by Great Britain in 1841, marked a qualitative leap in the development of Chinese social-imperialism. *In power-political terms* it was an important step to create a united Greater China, the declared aim of Chinese foreign policy. In 1999 the former Portuguese colony Macao followed. China hereby

underscored its claim to Taiwan, too, a claim which the US imperialists, in particular, reject and seek to frustrate.

Hong Kong increased China's *weight in the world economy* overnight and, in the shortest time, made it the world's fourth largest exporting nation. In 1994, 16 cents of every US dollar invested in another country of the world were invested in China or Hong Kong; by 1997 it was still more than 10 percent. With Hong Kong, China has a center of *international finance capital* at its disposal. The city is considered the third international banking center next to New York and London. Eighty of the one hundred largest banks in the world operate there. In terms of its market capitalization of US$450 billion in December 2001, the Hong Kong stock market is the ninth largest in the world. Hong Kong plays a key role in gaining access to foreign capital for Chinese corporations.

In November 2002 China signed a basic agreement with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) concerning the creation of a free trade zone by the year 2013. With 1.7 billion people this would be the biggest in the world.

Joining the World Trade Organization (WTO) in December 2001 served as further step to establish the People's Republic of China as a world-leading imperialist great power. This was preceded by agreements with the USA (1999) and the EU (2000) in which China had to promise to *open up its economy to a large extent*:

- *Reduction of import duties* to an average level of 8 to 10 percent (up to now 65 percent on distilled alcoholic beverages, 30 percent on cosmetic products, 25 percent on leather goods, up to 35 percent on machinery and plant, etc.).

- *Gradual abolition of the state foreign trade monopoly*. European companies delivering oil and fertilizers do not have to trade via state importers.
- *All restrictions* on motor vehicles in joint ventures, in respect of category, type and model, will be *lifted* within two years.
- *Elimination of restrictions on the subsidiaries* of international monopolies. In engine manufacture, wholly foreign-owned companies will be allowed (only joint ventures were permitted before).
- In some degree, direct *preferential treatment of foreign financial groups*. Foreign insurance companies are allowed to offer their products (health, old-age and life insurance policies) two years earlier than the Chinese competitors.
- For department stores and retail chains the *joint venture requirement is being cancelled* along with restrictions on the size of stores.
- The Chinese government guarantees European companies *complete transparency and equal treatment in regard to bidding procedures*.

With the accession to the WTO, China aimed at a new stage of integration into the capitalist world market. To justify this ideologically, the Sixteenth Party Congress of the Communist Party of China in November 2002 adopted the theory of the "three representations," revising Marxism-Leninism yet another time. Since then, the CP of China allegedly represents all "progressive forces of production," which, in the revisionist interpretation at least, include mainly the capitalists – not just the bureaucratic capitalists in the leadership of party, state and economy, but increasingly also private-capitalist elements. For instance, the director of the Shagang

steel conglomerate, Shen Wenrong, whose personal wealth is estimated at US$155 million, was a delegate to the party congress. The chief executive of the multinational corporation Haier, Zhang Ruimin, was elected to the new Central Committee of the CP of China.

China's admission to the WTO was an attempt by the other imperialists to keep the aspiring competitor under control; but it exacerbates the situation particularly for the Asian neighbors. A report by the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* on the situation in neighboring India vividly demonstrates this:

> Especially the imports from China – People's Republic, Taiwan and Hong Kong – have captured large market shares not only in the categories toys, consumer electronics and batteries. Even in the area of subsidized foods, textiles and building materials, Chinese imports already are cheaper than locally produced products. In the south of India in the meantime, Chinese rice is put on sale at a price below that of cheap local rice. The same goes for Indian garments like saris and scarves. (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of April 2, 2001)

China today already is the *leading military power* in Pacific Asia. The country has 2.5 million soldiers under arms, has intercontinental missiles with 400 nuclear warheads, and pursues its own space program. The official arms budget has grown at double-digit rates since the mid 1980s and was 23 billion euros in 2002. US military strategists already consider China a strategic rival. As unified Greater China and in alliance with Japan, China could figure in future as a new *imperialist superpower and serious rival of the USA*.

To distract from its imperialist character, to this day the Chinese leadership calls China a "developing country." The aggressive social-imperialist policy is glorified as "preservation of national independence" and securing of "freedom from imperialist subjugation" (Government White Papers, www.china.org.cn, November 30, 2002).

It is grotesque that despite this development the modern revisionists and neorevisionists in Europe still refer to the People's Republic of China as "socialist." At the "Brussels Seminar" organized by the neorevisionist PTB (Workers' Party of Belgium) in 2001 a general resolution was adopted which celebrated the rise of Chinese social-imperialism as "the emergence of a big independent power," asserting:

> The complete restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe and the submission of these countries to US imperialism, as well as the increased aggressiveness of imperialism (Iraq, Yugoslavia-Kosovo) have strengthened the anti-imperialist character of Chinese politics. ("Imperialist Globalization and the World Revolutionary Process," International Communist Seminar, Brussels, 4 May 2001; www.wpb.be/icm/2001/01en/res-globalization.htm)

"Anti-imperialist" is presumably the exploitation of Peruvian steelworkers or Venezuelan oil workers. "Anti-imperialist" was the Chinese invasion of Vietnam in 1979. And "anti-imperialist" according to this logic is also the Chinese support for the reactionary Musharraf regime in Pakistan, the collusion with the USA in the so-called "war on terror," and so on.

The neorevisionists have lost their belief in the revolutionary power of the working class, are mesmerized by the supposed strength of imperialism, and are desperately on the lookout for a "real socialist" great power as ally. In doing so, they go over to the position of Chinese social-chauvinism.

With the restoration of capitalism and the increasingly aggressive imperialist course, the *social contradictions* in China *intensify to the utmost*. The increasingly more complete incorporation into the reorganization of international pro-

duction *undermines conventional Chinese-style bureaucratic capitalism*.

- The progressive privatization of state-owned industry *undermines the essential economic basis* of the bureaucratic capitalists. The building of international monopolies in China calls the traditional rule of the leading party functionaries in state, economy and military into question, as does the growing influence of Western international monopolies.
- *Chinese-style modern revisionism* is increasingly less able to bind the masses to the imperialist system; even the last remnants of Marxism-Leninism must be more and more openly revised. Concerned bourgeois commentators point to a heightening "crisis of identification" in the face of the increasingly glaring contradiction between the capitalist reality and the pseudosocialist phraseology of the CP of China.
- All the economic liberalization notwithstanding, the leading figures of the CP of China defend their claim to sole authority tooth and nail against any oppositional stirring and only permit an *extremely restricted bourgeois democracy*.
- The contradiction between town and country, between coastal provinces and the interior is more and more coming to a head. According to official statistics, the annual net per capita income of the rural population still averaged 54 percent of urban income in 1985, but by 2000 the ratio deteriorated to just about 36 percent. Unemployment – unknown for decades in Mao Zedong's China – acquired dramatic proportions. In the countryside, according to estimates of Western institutes, 150 to 200 million people already are unemployed. More than 160 million migrant workers have drifted into the cities in the past 20 years. They do not get residence permits from the state and can be thrown out of the cities at any time, as happened in Beijing. In 1995 three fifths of all urban workers were still employed in state-owned enterprises, but more than 50 percent of them are going to be discharged in the next few years according to official plans. The fired people lose all entitlements to company pensions, health care, etc.

All this will tremendously intensify the *contradiction between the working class and the masses of the people on the one hand and the bureaucratic monopoly capitalists on the other* and will engender the fiercest class conflicts, the harbingers of which are clearing a way for themselves today in mass strikes which take place in spite of all measures of suppression.

STEFAN ENGEL

DAWN OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

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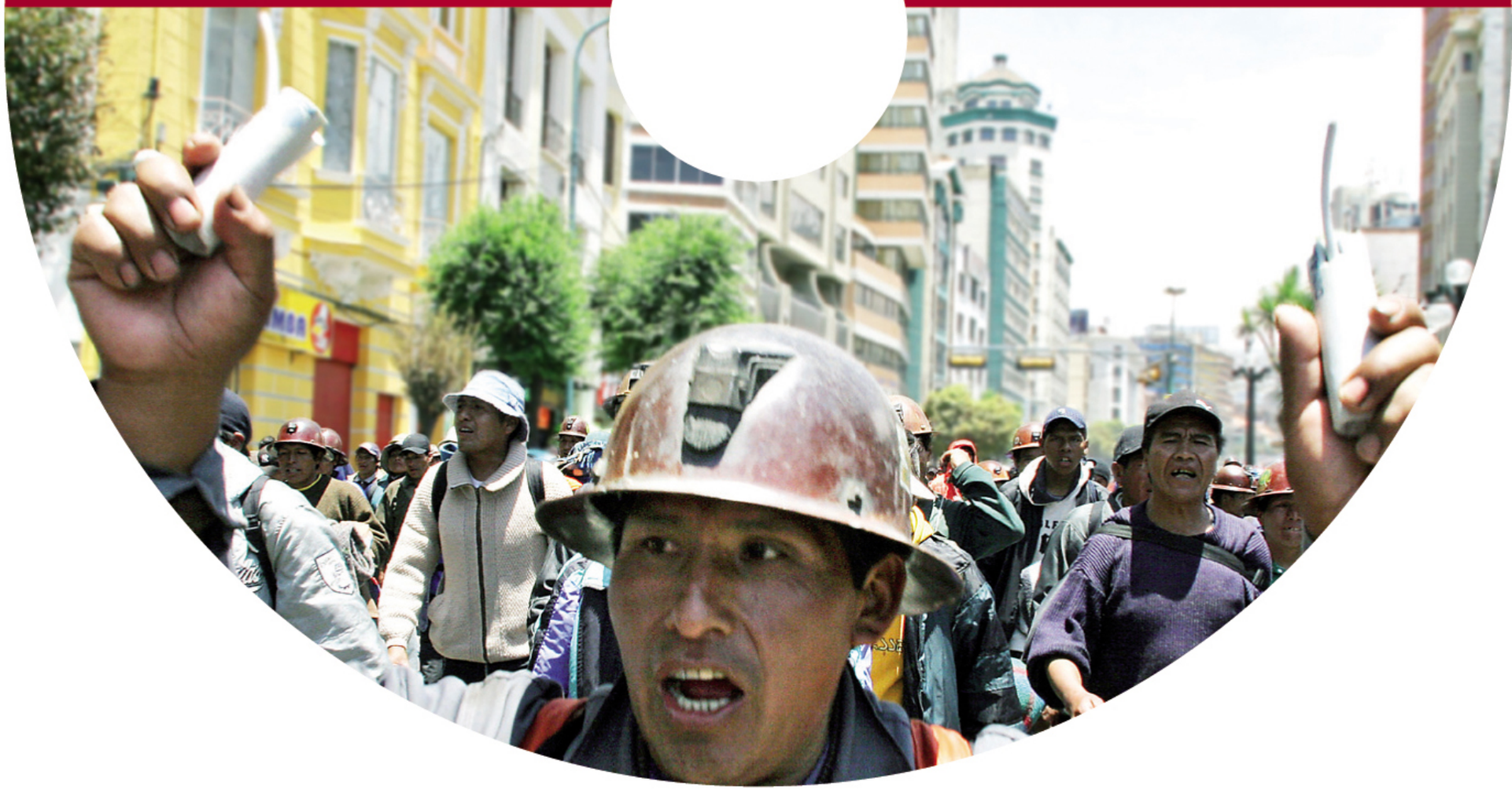

China as International Focus of the Revolutionary Upswing

Semicolonial and semifeudal China, in 1935 the most populous country on earth with about 470 million people, became the international focus of the revolutionary upswing on account of the following main factors:

1. There was *no single central state power* in China; the ruling classes were weak, and on Chinese territory the imperialists were fighting mainly against each other. In parts of China the bourgeois-democratic revolution had been victorious in 1911–1912 under the leadership of the democratic revolutionary Sun Yat-sen. On that occasion the last emperor was dethroned, and the feudal system, which had lasted for more than two thousand years, was smashed to a great extent. But China's dependence on various imperialist powers prevented the completion of the democratic revolution; China continued to be a semicolonially and colonially dependent country.

2. The revolutionary war lasted 25 years. In its course, the Chinese Red Army under the leadership of the Communist Party of China gained the acknowledgement and support of the broad masses of the workers and peasants. *The protracted revolutionary war* changed its concrete content and character several times; it was fought with different allies in changed international political situations. It can be divided into *four strategic periods*:

- In the *revolutionary civil war from 1924 to 1927* the Communist Party of China fought together with the national bourgeoisie in the Kuomintang[2] against the warlords who maintained power as lackeys of imperialism in several parts of the country. In connection with the cooperation of the two parties, communists also became members of the Kuomintang. Together they waged a *democratic revolutionary civil war with an anti-imperialist thrust.*

- Under its new leader Chiang Kai-shek, the successor of Sun Yat-sen, who had died in 1925, the Kuomintang broke the fighting alliance with the CP of China in 1927 and started an anticommunist war of annihilation. From that time on the Chinese revolutionaries waged a war with an *anti-imperialist, agrarian-revolutionary and bourgeois-democratic character*. It was directed against the landlord class and the comprador bourgeoisie, which collaborated with the imperialists. In this period the CP of China was able to build "red areas," first in Southern China, and start the agrarian revolution there. But theses areas were attacked and partly smashed by the Kuomintang. With the "Long March" (1934–1935) to western and northern parts of the country the CP of China succeeded, despite heavy losses, in maintaining its military arm and building new base areas.

- When in 1937 Japan attacked the Chinese heartland from Manchuria (under Japanese occupation since 1931/1932), the CP of China organized an alliance of all anti-Japanese classes and strata including the Kuomintang. The *national anti-imperialist war of resistance* ended in 1945 with Japan's defeat in the Second World War.

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[2] The Kuomintang was a bourgeois party (Chinese National People's Party) founded in 1912.

- When Chiang Kai-shek, with the support of US imperialism, launched another counterrevolutionary campaign in 1946 against the strengthened communists and attacked the liberated cities with military force, the CP of China waged a *people's liberation war*. It ended with the all-out victory of the Red Army. On October 1, 1949, the *People's Republic of China* could be proclaimed. Chiang Kai-shek fled to the island of Taiwan, where he established a separate state under the protectorate of US imperialism.

3. China was a *focus of interimperialist rivalry*. The dominance over China was essential for the imperialist control of Southeast Asia. Moreover, the fascist Axis powers Germany and Japan needed Northern China strategically as a military base and deployment area against the socialist Soviet Union.

After the Nanking massacres in December 1937, the dastardly murder of 300,000 Chinese people by Japanese troops, under pressure from the world public the USA imposed an oil and scrap metal embargo on Japan. This made it more difficult for Japan to continue its military buildup and its actions in China and became a reason for Japan's war against the USA. It brought significant relief to the anti-Japanese war of resistance in China. Later the Chinese resistance against Japan was also supported officially by the Anti-Hitler Coalition in the Second World War with the intention of weakening the enemy Japan.

4. The most important condition for the victory of the Chinese revolution was the *close ties with the socialist Soviet Union and the solidarity of the international communist and working-class movement* in every period of the revolution: the Soviet Union supported the Kuomintang in the struggle against the warlords and later against the Japanese occupying forces. The Communist International (Comintern) organized the inter-

national solidarity of the working class. The socialist Soviet Union supported in word and deed the united front for the national liberation struggle in China against fierce attacks by the Trotskyites. Stalin took the following position on this issue in 1927:

> What is the basic premise of the Comintern and the Communist Parties generally in their approach to the questions of the revolutionary movement in colonial and dependent countries?
>
> It consists in a strict *distinction* between revolution in imperialist countries, in countries that oppress other nations, and revolution in colonial and dependent countries, in countries that suffer from imperialist oppression by other states. Revolution in imperialist countries is one thing: there the bourgeoisie is the oppressor of other nations; there it is counter-revolutionary at all stages of the revolution; there the national factor, as a factor in the struggle for emancipation, is absent. Revolution in colonial and dependent countries is another thing: there the imperialist oppression by other states is one of the factors of the revolution; there this oppression cannot but affect the national bourgeoisie also; there the national bourgeoisie, at a certain stage and for a certain period, may support the revolutionary movement of its country against imperialism; there the national factor, as a factor in the struggle for emancipation, is a revolutionary factor.
>
> To fail to draw this distinction, to fail to understand this difference and to identify revolution in imperialist countries with revolution in colonial countries, is to depart from the path of Marxism, from the path of Leninism, to take the path of the supporters of the Second International. ("The International Situation and the Defence of the U.S.S.R," Speech Delivered on August 1, 1927, Stalin, *Works*, Vol. 10, pp. 11–12)

Mao Zedong also took a resolute position against Trotskyism, which opposed the inclusion of the national bourgeoisie in the anti-Japanese united front. He declared in 1935:

> It is perfectly obvious that the Chinese revolution at the present stage is still a bourgeois-democratic and not a proletarian socialist revolution in nature. Only the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites talk such nonsense as that China has already completed her bourgeois-democratic revolution and that any further revolution can only be socialist. ("On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I, p. 169)

The Soviet Union supported the anti-Japanese war of resistance politically, diplomatically and militarily. From 1937 to 1939 alone it delivered 985 airplanes, 82 tanks and 1,317 cannons. Until 1940, 3,665 Soviet soldiers were in action in China, as pilots, ground staff, in air defense and in other areas. On August 8, 1945, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan, marched into Manchuria with more than a million soldiers and thus accelerated the Chinese troops' victory over the Japanese aggressor.

Mao Zedong emphasized the *fundamental significance of international solidarity and of the socialist Soviet Union for the successful struggle for national and social liberation* in the countries dependent on and oppressed by imperialism:

> "Victory is possible even without international help." This is a mistaken idea. In the epoch in which imperialism exists, it is impossible for a genuine people's revolution to win victory in any country without various forms of help from the international revolutionary forces, and even if victory were won, it could not be consolidated. ("On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. IV, p. 416)

On the other hand, of course, the revolutionary war in China supported not only the defense of the socialist Soviet Union against fascist aggression, it was also a *component part of the international socialist revolution*. Willi Dickhut explained this in 1942:

> This war creates great prospects for the oppressed colonial peoples to achieve their freedom, not in the next months, but as soon as the imperialist forces are sufficiently weakened. This national revolutionary struggle is closely linked with the struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries for successfully carrying out the social revolution; and both struggles, on the other hand, with the gigantic struggle of the Soviet Union against the aggressive fascist countries, this struggle being ultimately the basis for the struggle to accomplish the world revolution. (*Proletarischer Widerstand gegen Faschismus und Krieg* [Proletarian Resistance against Fascism and War], Part I, p. 362)

5. The Chinese proletariat had a C*ommunist Party* with firm roots in the masses, steeled in struggle and ideologically and politically strong. With the *Red Army* the CP of China moreover had the decisive political and military instrument for the 25-year armed liberation struggle. In hard struggles over the line, the leadership of the CP of China was able to develop and implement a political and military strategy and tactics in correspondence with the concrete conditions in China.

The New-Democratic Revolution as Concretization of the Strategy of the International Revolution

The victory of the Chinese revolution was possible because Mao Zedong knew how to develop further Lenin's and Stalin's teachings on the dialectical connection of the proletarian class struggle and the national liberation struggle into the strategy and tactics of the new-democratic revolution. Mao Zedong understood the *new-democratic revolution in China to be a part of the international proletarian revolution*, with the center in the Soviet Union, the bulwark of socialism. The Chinese new-democratic revolution showed the great majority of humankind the *socialist road to national liberation*. It became the signal

for a new upswing of the peoples' liberation struggles in the countries oppressed and exploited by imperialism, side by side with the international proletariat.

How was the strategy and tactics of the new-democratic revolution developed?

In the second half of the 1920s the Communist Party of China organized uprisings in several cities, which were all crushed however. The Canton Uprising in December 1927, where authorized Comintern representatives personally participated, was suppressed in bloodshed after two days; some 5,700 communists were killed. The Communist International nevertheless defended the revolutionary uprisings emphatically against Trotskyite attacks. Two months after the Canton Uprising, the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI) at its Ninth Plenum passed a "Resolution on the Chinese Question," which also self-critically dealt with mistakes:

> The Canton rising, this heroic attempt by the proletariat to organize Soviet power in China, which played a tremendous part in the development of the workers' and peasants' revolution, revealed several failings in the leadership: insufficient preparatory work among the workers and peasants as well as in the enemy's army; the wrong method of approaching the working-class members of the yellow trade-unions; the insufficient preparation of the uprising through the party organization itself and the Communist Youth League; … the [party headquarters'] completely inadequate knowledge of what was happening in Canton, the weakness of the political mobilization of the masses (lack of political mass strikes, of *elected* soviets in Canton as organs of the uprising) for which the leaders on the spot have to bear their share of responsibility before the Comintern (Comrade N. among others).… The ECCI imposes on all sections of the Comintern the duty of fighting against the calumny spread by the social-democrats and Trotskyists that the Chinese revolution is liquidated.…

> The ECCI imposes the duty of … the most powerful support of the Chinese revolution. In the current period of intensified counterrevolutionary intervention by imperialism such a support is especially necessary and imperative. (*The Communist International 1919–1943*, Documents Selected and Edited by Jane Degras, Volume II, 1923–1928, pp. 439–440; in part our translation from the German)

Mao Zedong defended the October Revolution resolutely, but simultaneously he was against copying the Russian revolution as a model for China, and criticized the dogmatic application of the strategy and tactics of the civil war in Russia from 1918 to 1921 to the conditions in China during the 1930s:

> Others hold a second wrong view, which we also refuted long ago. They say that it is enough merely to study the experience of revolutionary war in Russia, or, to put it more concretely, that it is enough merely to follow the laws by which the civil war in the Soviet Union was directed and the military manuals published by Soviet military organizations. They do not see that these laws and manuals embody the specific characteristics of the civil war and the Red Army in the Soviet Union, and that if we copy and apply them without allowing any change, we shall also be "cutting the feet to fit the shoes" and be defeated. ("Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I, p. 181)

In an ideological-political struggle whose outcome was crucial for the life and death of the Chinese revolution, Mao Zedong developed the military strategy of "encircling the cities from the countryside," of "creating red base areas" and of the "protracted people's war under the conditions in China."

Compared to the enormous number of 500 million peasants, the number of about three million workers at that time was still extremely small. But with the Communist Party, Mao Zedong realized resolutely the *leading role of the working class,*

while the *peasant masses* were *the main force* of the revolution.

The strategy and tactics of the new-democratic revolution aimed at a *united front policy*, where the unity and struggle of opposites existing between the working class, the peasants and the national bourgeoisie were dealt with in a correct way. In his fundamental work "On New Democracy," Mao Zedong explained the necessity of the two stages of the Chinese revolution – the democratic and the socialist revolution:

> The first step is to change the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal form of society into an independent, democratic society. The second is to carry the revolution forward and build a socialist society. (*Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. II, p. 342)

The democratic and the socialist stages form a dialectical unity, each stage having its special tasks and also its special strategy and tactics.

When the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, the new-democratic revolution created a new form of state, the *New Democracy*. The book *Neocolonialism and the Changes in the National Liberation Struggle* states:

> *Politically*, New Democracy or people's democracy constitutes a special form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes under the leadership of the proletariat, directed against the imperialists, the feudal big landowners and the comprador bourgeoisie.
>
> *Economically*, New Democracy transfers the masses of capital owned by the imperialists, and the big capitalists submissive to them, to the administration of the state. The state economy acquires socialist character and constitutes the leading factor in the national economy. The land of the feudal big landowners is expropriated and distributed to the peasants, becoming their property. On the other hand, the small and

> medium-sized enterprises and a part of the larger private-capitalist enterprises continue to exist for the time being, as do the big-peasant farms. There are certainly socialist elements in the countryside, but, generally speaking, no socialist agriculture exists yet.... From this it follows, *first*, that the establishment of New Democracy is a strategic *goal completing a stage* on the way to socialism. *Secondly*, New Democracy is a revolutionary *transitional form* of state. *Thirdly*, New Democracy is a particular *form of the dictatorship of the proletariat*. (Klaus Arnecke and Stefan Engel, *Neocolonialism and the Changes in the National Liberation Struggle*, pp. 38–39)

Not only did the Chinese revolution apply creatively the strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolution to the conditions in China, it also *developed further the Marxist-Leninist strategy of the international revolution* in respect to the special conditions of the social and national liberation struggle in the colonies and semicolonies of that time. Mao Zedong pointed out in this context

> that there are two kinds of world revolution, the first belonging to the bourgeois or capitalist category. The era of this kind of world revolution is long past, having come to an end ... in 1917 when the October Revolution took place. The second kind, namely, the proletarian-socialist world revolution, thereupon began. *This revolution has the proletariat of the capitalist countries as its main force and the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies as its allies.* No matter what classes, parties or individuals in an oppressed nation join the revolution, ... so long as they oppose imperialism, their revolution becomes part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution.... ("On New Democracy," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. II, pp. 346 and 347; emphasis added)

5. Indelible Successes in Socialist Construction

The Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics of the international revolution found its greatest confirmation thus far in the achievements of socialist construction. For Frederick Engels, the Paris Commune of 1871 raised "the flag of the World Republic" for the first time ("The Civil War in France," Introduction by Frederick Engels, Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, p. 183). Following the successful October Revolution of 1917 and the emergence of the socialist camp after the Second World War, for a time a third of humanity was freed from capitalist exploitation and oppression.

Modern anticommunism surrounds the history of socialism with a negative aura of failure, imputes "despotic crimes" to it and paints a picture of the "senseless toll on life" which the struggle for socialism is supposed to have taken. The purpose is to suggest that despite capitalist society's obviously crisis-laden nature there is no alternative to it. It is the international state doctrine today to stir up anticommunist reservations against socialism among the masses. This makes a serious and objective discussion of the experience of socialist construction very difficult.

The Marxist-Leninists do not deny that mistakes, misdirected developments or even crimes against humanity occurred in the socialist countries. They themselves are most interested in a full elucidation in order to learn for the future. But they are able to distinguish between anticommunist slanders, unscientific corruption of historical facts and the manipulation of public opinion, on the one hand, and a critical and self-critical appraisal of the experiences of the first socialist countries in their historic context from the viewpoint of the struggle for libera-

tion from exploitation and oppression. In this process they will preserve the essential part, the progressive part, the indelible part.

Socialism was an inspiring, encouraging perspective for the exploited and oppressed of all countries for many decades; this experience cannot simply be obliterated. The collective memory of the international Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary and working-class movement will survive the flood of anticommunist manipulation and red-baiting. It has already successfully resisted the counterrevolutionary or fascist discrediting and suppression of its liberation struggle. Ultimately, it also resisted the revisionist decadence which was able largely to liquidate the old international communist and working-class movement, changed all former socialist countries, without exception, back into capitalist countries and dragged socialism through the mud.

The possibility of a socialist society and its superiority over capitalist society – these are questions to which people want an answer today in their search for a historical alternative. Learning from the historical experience of socialist construction in order to cope with the problems of the present and future: that alone creates the basis for a new upswing of the struggle for socialism.

A brief summary of the most important social advances achieved in the former socialist countries suffices to show the superiority of socialism/communism over capitalism. It proves: all the problems and also obvious mistakes notwithstanding, the proletariat succeeded in achieving *indelible successes in the construction of socialism*. Decades of socialist construction are the most far-reaching success of the international revolution thus far.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Socialist Democracy

Following the 1917 October Revolution in Russia, the workers, peasants and soldiers, led by the Bolsheviks, set up the dictatorship of the proletariat. They embraced the lesson drawn by Karl Marx from the Paris Commune of 1871 that the old state machinery must be smashed and the old ruling class suppressed.

Since then, all anticommunists concentrate their hatemongering on the "dictatorship of the proletariat," which to them can only mean bondage and despotism and which they demagogically put on a level with the state terror of fascist military dictatorships. It is not surprising that those who reap the benefits of the dictatorship of the monopolies become hysterical in the face of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And it surely is no surprise when career-minded petty bourgeois wag their fingers and take a suspicious and arrogant view of the power of the workers. But every revolutionary must free herself or himself from the fetters of reservations against the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels developed the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat in socialist society as necessary answer to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in capitalism. Their basic idea was simple and was expressed in a nutshell by Lenin in *The State and Revolution*. He wrote on the struggle for socialist construction:

> In reality, this period inevitably is a period of an unprecedentedly violent class struggle in unprecedentedly acute forms, and, consequently, during this period the state must inevitably be a state that is democratic *in a new way* (for the proletariat and the propertyless in general) and dictatorial *in a new way* (against the bourgeoisie). (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 417)

In the Soviet Union it was the Soviets (councils) of the workers and peasants which took power into their hands. Such a state of the working class must never bring wars of annexation on other countries or oppress and plunder other peoples. This is why the first historic deed of the new Soviet power was to put an end to the participation of Russia in the First World War.

In the Soviets the bourgeois "separation of powers," according to which legislative organs are not responsible for the implementation of their decisions, not to mention being accountable for them, was overcome. The members of the Soviets not only deliberated on laws, but also were responsible for putting them into effect. Lenin emphasized that in this way "for the first time a start is made by the *entire* population in learning the art of administration, and in beginning to administer." ("The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 272)

The new social order offered the masses, who had carried the day in the socialist revolution under the leadership of the working class, a degree of *freedom and democracy* never experienced before in the history of humankind, along with opportunities to participate in the affairs of state. An outstanding example of this is a "workers' court versus bureaucrats" which took place in Moscow in the late 1920s:

> A most unusual trial is currently attracting the interest of Moscow working people.
>
> The story behind it: in agreement with the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection[4], at the end of February, 1,500 workers from several large plants organized a "raid" on numerous government agencies to test how visitors who had business with

[4] The Workers' and Peasants' Inspection was a people's commissariat (ministry) of the Soviet government charged with controlling the state apparatus.

> the administration were received and treated by functionaries. The participants in the "raid" reported their experiences to the complaint bureau of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.
>
> On order of the complaint bureau, a workers' court, attended by almost 2,000 workers, has now taken place in a large Moscow theater. The red-handed bureaucrats were summoned to appear here and were publicly censured. The judges were ten factory workers plus the head of the complaint bureau. The judgements which they passed sufficiently characterize the significance and content of this first step of a mass offensive against bureaucratism. The convicted bureaucrats, who had to defend themselves before an audience of workers and who were sentenced to dismissal, transfer or other punishments or were officially reprimanded, even included high government officials, who thus were given a taste of the existence of a proletarian democracy in the Soviet Union. (*Das neue Russland*, a journal for culture, economics and literature [Vol. 6, No. 1–2], quoted in: *The End of Socialism?*, pp. 18–19)

The bourgeois tirades discrediting the dictatorship of the proletariat today often are combined with slanders against Josef Stalin[5], who is portrayed in turn either as "despot," "mass murderer" or "psychopath."

Should the Soviet Union have granted democratic freedom of expression and action for infiltration and subversion efforts of the old rulers, who made use of all the tricks of intelligence services? Should the revolutionaries have yielded to the brutal aggression of the armies of imperialist interventionists, or should the Soviet Union have submitted to Hitlerite fascism instead of putting up a heroic fight?

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[5] Josef Stalin was a close associate of Lenin. From 1922 until his death on 5 March 1953 he was Secretary General of the CPSU(B) and recognized leader of the international Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary and working-class movement.

In 1954 – in the thick of the Cold War – the renowned German publishing house Rowohlt brought out a personal report of the bourgeois journalist Paul Distelbarth, who particularly stressed his unbiased viewpoint and that he wanted neither to "glorify nor disparage" Russia. Along with many concrete experiences he expressed his judgment of the leaders of the Soviet Union and of the victory over Hitlerite fascism, achieved by the peoples of the Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership:

> His importance and greatness for the Russian people, and in a sense for the world, are based thereupon. Because no one really doubts that Hitler was defeated by *Stalin* and not by *Eisenhower*; Eisenhower reaped the rewards of the Russian victories.… Undoubtedly, Lenin was a greater thinker and purer character. But portraying Stalin merely as some sort of cruel cannibal without intelligence and reason is entirely out of place.… The lies that have been made up about Stalin are outrageous. (Paul Distelbarth, *Russland heute* [Russia Today], Hamburg 1954, p. 92)

Objectivity and freedom from bias instead of the reservations of modern anticommunism, poise and assurance in the face of the slanders against "Stalinism" and "Maoism" – these are basic prerequisites to enable the dictatorship of the proletariat to become established in the strategic thinking and acting of the working class.

The dictatorship of the proletariat means the continuation of the class struggle, first to suppress the old exploiters, then increasingly with the aim of creating all-around ideological, political, economic and ecological prerequisites for the transition to the classless society of communism. To the extent this succeeds on the international level, not only will the state increasingly wither away, but finally the dictatorship of the proletariat too will become unnecessary and disappear.

Socialist Production and Labor Productivity

The proletarian revolution and the construction of socialism freed the social productive forces from the fetters of the capitalist mode of production. Without exploitation, rivalry and compulsion to maximize profit, the creative power of the toiling masses was able to set *tremendous advances in production and labor productivity* in train in the framework of socialist planning. The workers and peasants of the socialist countries no longer produced surplus value for capitalists and big landowners, but means of production for socialist society and means of consumption for themselves.

The socialist principle of distribution required everyone to take part in social production according to his ability and guaranteed that everyone partook of the produced goods according to his work and that the community took care of the old, ill and disabled. For the first time in the history of humanity, those who work were paid according to the work they did, for the exploitation of wage labor had been abolished. The state budget no longer served to redistribute the national wealth to increase the profits of industrial or bank monopolists. In the Soviet Union three quarters of the state revenues came from levies paid by the state-owned enterprises and collective farms (turnover tax, surrender of a part of the profits, social insurance contributions), while taxes and levies on the population accounted for not even five percent. Working people did not have to pay social insurance contributions because social services were financed by the state.

The socialist consciousness that one was *not working for exploiters, but for one's own state*, that it was about jointly advancing socialism, was resolutely promoted. To this end the masses raised their technical and cultural level to make even bigger contributions to socialist construction. Of outstanding significance in this connection were voluntary, unpaid Satur-

day shifts, called "subbotniks" in Russia, about which Lenin enthusiastically wrote:

> "Communist subbotniks" are of such enormous historical significance precisely because they demonstrate the conscious and voluntary initiative of the workers in developing the productivity of labour, in adopting a new labour discipline, in creating socialist conditions of economy and life. ("A Great Beginning," Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 423–424)

Since labor power no longer is a commodity sold to the capitalist by the worker for wages, as in capitalism, but the basis of socialist construction, there is no more surplus manpower either. Both in the Soviet Union and in the People's Republic of China, unemployment and misery were quickly eliminated and a strong economy independent of imperialism could be built up.

The economic rise of backward Russia, ravaged by seven years of world war and civil war, astonished or inspired observers all over the world. In 1913, Russia, and in 1928 the USSR ranked fifth in the world in terms of industrial output; in 1935 and 1956, second.

In the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) there were also remarkable successes to report during the first years of socialist construction, bearing in mind that 45 percent of its industry had been destroyed in the war and that the GDR – unlike West Germany, whose economy was really pepped up by the Western allies – owed huge reparations to the Soviet Union. Overall industrial output grew from 1946 to 1953, taking 1936 as base year, from 42.9 to 176 percent; the output of state-owned industry rose by 74.8 percent from 1950 to 1953 alone.

In China, the output of important industrial and agricultural products exceeded all earlier production figures as early as in 1952, barely more than two years since the founding of the

People's Republic, although many years of war and civil war had caused tremendous destruction and great misery. Hunger was conquered for the first time – famines had cost countless lives in pre-revolutionary China every year.

The successes of socialist construction in China became clear especially in comparison with semi-feudal and semi-colonial India. In the eleven years from 1948/49 to 1959/60 the annual per capita income of Indians rose only slightly, from 224.2 to 237 rupees, while that of the Chinese almost doubled from 278 to 528.6 rupees.

The liberation of the productive forces from the fetters of the law of profit created the prerequisites in the socialist planned economy for attacking two basic problems which are insurmountable under capitalist class rule: the *separation of town from country* – and thus *of industry from agriculture* – and the *separation of manual from mental labor*.

For example, *Peking Rundschau*, No. 17, 1971, published a report on the systematic construction of agricultural people's communes in the vicinity of large cities:

> Agriculture in the outlying districts directly serves the city by ensuring the supply of grain, vegetables and other foods to the city and creating the conditions for industrial development. Municipal industry makes available to the farmers in the outlying districts the technical staff and the material equipment needed for mechanization, for the extensive construction of irrigation facilities, for electrification, and for the extensive use of artificial fertilizers. Through such mutual support and furtherance industry and agriculture develop together. (p. 17; our translation from the German)

The contradiction between mental and manual labor will not be completely overcome until the classes disappear in the transition from socialism to communism. Nevertheless, the conditions for overcoming these tremendous fetters of the produc-

tive forces already are maturing in socialism. It was an important element of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China that "brainworkers" like students, teachers and professors regularly took part in physical labor in industry or agriculture. Owing to their political power and their liberation from exploitation and oppression, the blue-collar workers gained new educational opportunities and were better and better able to assume responsibility for the planning, management and monitoring of production and of social life in general.

Socialist production and labor productivity are *focal points of the class struggle in socialism*. The philosophical mass debate on these issues was one of the most important achievements of the Cultural Revolution in socialist China. In 1971 the then Professor for Political Science at Aachen Technical University, Klaus Mehnert, visited the People's Republic of China. In his book, *China Today*, he reported – with a touch of irony – how he questioned workers about the then all-pervasive debate with the revisionist Liu Shaoqi:

> "I keep hearing about the wickedness of this man," I said. "Just exactly what did he do?"
>
> He tried to introduce capitalist ways, I was told.
>
> "How, exactly, did this happen?"
>
> "For example, he had his people in this factory, and they were the people who set the tone at that time. They started offering the workers additional sums for special achievements. Workers who produced more than others would receive extra money over and above the salaries paid to them in accordance with their wage category. The worker's material interest and egotism were supposed to be inflamed and this was intended to spur him on to greater achievement." …
>
> "This capitalist and revisionist method of payment disturbs the unity of the factory community.
>
> "At the time there would be long discussions about why one had gotten 6 yuan a month more than another. Say a worker

had achieved a seemingly higher productive capacity by cheating. He might even have done it so cleverly that the overseers never noticed, but his colleagues would know and be angry about it. Not only would the man have cheated, but he would have been rewarded for it. Instead of discussing better work methods, people argued about pay. The masses criticized this system of payment, but for a long time they could not get their way against those in power who were going the capitalist way. It took the storm of the Cultural Revolution to sweep these people away." (pp. 80–81)

In 1995 the book, *The Struggle Over the Mode of Thinking in the Working-Class Movement*, generalized the outstanding importance of the struggle over this communist labor productivity:

> This labor productivity is *based on the proletarian mode of thinking in the developed stage of the socialist economy*. It can only develop from deepest convictions, voluntarily, consciously, and through the solidarity of people working in a united way and *without vying* for personal advantage, and it *always* avails itself of the most advanced technology; conservatism and routine are strange to it. (Stefan Engel, *The Struggle Over the Mode of Thinking in the Working-Class Movement*, p. 93)

Socialist Social Services

According to Marx's and Engels' twofold conception of production, every society is characterized by two kinds of production and reproduction: firstly, the production and reproduction of means of subsistence and material goods and, secondly, of human life itself. Consequently, how the life circumstances of the masses are organized becomes an important criterion for judging a society.

In the Soviet Union, in China and in the antifascist-democratic and socialist period of the GDR, conditions of life were created that not only guaranteed the masses the right to jobs

and lodgings, but in the same way, and free of charge, to education and training, healthcare and culture.

In the socialist Soviet Union the number of doctors, hospitals and convalescent homes was greatly increased; the masses could avail themselves of all health services free of charge. They only had to pay for medicines, which were sold at reasonable prices. As a consequence, child mortality declined throughout the country. Illnesses that were the result of oppressive working and living conditions became increasingly rare. Life expectancy generally rose.

In the People's Republic of China the development in the cities was similar. In the backward rural areas, to start with "barefoot doctors" – locally trained paramedics – provided first aid. They worked in the fields, but continually engaged in further training to learn how to treat the most common diseases before hospitals could be built everywhere. The new public health system combined traditional Chinese medicine with the results of Western research. It put prevention first and combined healthcare with mass movements to realize hygienic conditions and gentle methods of treatment. The diplomat, one-time French education minister and anthropologist Alain Peyrefitte reported about the treatment of patients in the People's Republic of China:

> "What do you do when the patient does not agree?" "We used to treat the patient like a thing; now we try to convince the patient." "How do you relieve the patient's tension?" "Politics play a big role even in the operating room. We appeal to the patient to overcome his fear of pain, to the patient's desire to be cured and to live; we want to convince the patient that it is his duty to fight for the revolution." That is to say, one awakens civic pride in the sick persons and shows them that their personal fate is part of a big plan which should enhance their vitality. (Alain Peyrefitte, *Wenn sich China erhebt…* [When China Rises Up], p. 145)

In the building of the impressive socialist social services system, the mobilization of the masses, their conviction and initiative under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party played the decisive role.

Socialist Culture

All over the world the achievements of socialism in the field of culture exerted a great attraction on creative artists and other cultural activists, and socialist construction was enriched, inspired and strengthened by the development of cultural life.

A fierce struggle broke out over the right interrelations between revolution and culture. On the one hand, there were sectarian tendencies to instrumentalize art and culture, to merely have them popularize the teachings of the party, and to anxiously restrict the freedom necessary for the cultural activity of the broad masses. On the other hand, there was the influence of the view that art and culture should be pursued separately from the interests and needs of the masses and socialist construction, degrading them to ends in themselves and means of personal image promotion – a typical relic of bourgeois society. Mao Zedong concerned himself with the proper relationship between revolution and politics, art and culture. In his famous "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" he explained:

> We do not favour overstressing the importance of literature and art, but neither do we favour underestimating their importance. Literature and art are subordinate to politics, but in their turn exert a great influence on politics.… If we had no literature and art even in the broadest and most ordinary sense, we could not carry on the revolutionary movement and win victory. (*Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. III, p. 86)

Simultaneously with the tremendous progress in the fight against illiteracy, the young Soviet Union already threw open

the doors of the theaters, libraries and sports arenas to the masses. Ordinary buildings and functional structures like the Moscow Metro (subway), workers' clubs, kindergartens or housing areas were planned by acclaimed architects under the motto: "Only the best is good enough." Compositions by Dmitry Shostakovich or Sergey Prokofiev, films by Sergey Eisenstein, photographs by Alexander Rodchenko, posters, stage plays and poems by Vladimir Mayakovski set recognized standards even today for a revolutionary art in rapport with the masses.

Art and culture also considerably strengthened the morale of the Red Army and the masses in the Great Patriotic War against the armies of Hitlerite fascism. During the 900-day blockade of Leningrad more than a million people died of starvation, another million fell in defense of the city. As major factor for strengthening the will to live, the solidarity and morale, the Communist Party organized a variety of cultural activities in the midst of this struggle for sheer survival. Dmitry Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony *Leningrad* was performed in August 1942 in Leningrad, in the middle of an air raid. In the Hermitage[6] guided tours for young people were conducted in front of the empty frames of the evacuated works of art so as to enable them to appreciate their cultural treasures at least through powerful and graphic descriptions.

The years of reconstruction in the GDR also were characterized by a cultural awakening despite the extremely difficult conditions of the postwar period. Books of progressive writers of German, but also international literature were published in large editions and sold at low prices. Hardly an enterprise of any considerable size was without a works library – the popu-

[6] A major art museum

lation of the GDR was not regarded as the world's most eager readers for nothing.

In socialism, with "serve the people" as guideline, art and culture become tools of liberation, driving forces for uplifting the cultural level and overcoming class distinctions – for the creative artists and other cultural activists as well as for the masses. The mass debate on art and culture becomes a significant force for breaking the chains of bourgeois world outlook and morality and blazing the trail for creative socialist activity.

The Liberation of Women in Socialism

Whereas the Paris Commune, the first workers' state, already adopted pathbreaking laws for the liberation of women and made them reality, the October Revolution in Russia demonstrated to the world what a powerful force socialism is for the liberation of women – and how the struggle for women's liberation advances the construction of socialism.

Socialism declares war on the oppression of women in the reactionary class societies throughout thousands of years, and on these societies' patriarchal structures. The liberation of women in socialism follows the idea: "Those who oppress others cannot themselves be free!" In *Anti-Dühring*, Frederick Engels used the formulation: "It goes without saying that society cannot free itself unless each individual is freed." (Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 382)

This guide to action promptly was followed by deeds in the Soviet Union. Just a few weeks after the October Revolution a revolutionary *family law* declared marriage a private matter; a simple official registration replaced the church wedding solely valid up until then. Divorce laws made it possible for women to leave their husbands without the husbands' consent. Illegitimate and legitimate children were treated as equals.

Parents received joint custody of the children; the rights of children were strengthened and corporal punishment was prohibited. Women were given the same property rights as men.

The new *penal law on sexual offences* abolished penalties for abortion and homosexuality. Prostitution was banned and prostitutes were given training opportunities to improve their prospects.

Special *protective rights and privileges* for women, especially mothers, were introduced in factory work. Under the slogan, "For a new way of life," with the establishment of canteens, laundries, community-type housing facilities and day nurseries in growing numbers a beginning was made to socialize housework and clear the way for the gradual abolition of the individual family as an economic unit. The inclusion of women in social production not only promoted the economic upswing, but was at the same time an important material condition for self-confident emancipation and the achievement of true social equality of women.

But this was still a long way from overcoming the traditional family system. Progressive legislation and various economic and political improvements by themselves cannot, from one day to the next, overcome the traditional fetters of bourgeois and feudal morality which had come down from the patriarchal exploiter societies. Because of deep-seated religious and feudal moldings also among the masses, these advances partly were simply abused. With a full-scale women's movement organized according to a delegate system and having the power to take decisions after mass discussions, great efforts were undertaken to make sure these achievements were not just on paper. A systematic struggle was waged for the socialist consciousness of the necessity of women's liberation as well as for the material prerequisites for this in socialist construction.

In 1936 the CPSU gave up important achievements of women's liberation again, also under the impression of the fascist threat and the necessity of uniting the country for the Great Patriotic War. The role of women and the socialist way of life were redefined: women's policy was geared mainly to raising the birthrate; women's consciousness, to motherhood and care for the husband. Objectively, this promoted petty-bourgeois family relations and checked the free development of women.

Socialist China at the time of Mao Zedong was able to draw creative conclusions from the experience of the Soviet Union. In China the initial conditions for the masses of women were incomparably more difficult. In the first family law of 1950, the first thing to be enforced was actually monogamy for men too – against the polygamy that was quite normal among them; child marriages had to be banned and the right to the free choice of partners and to divorce enshrined in law. Mass debates and tenacious persuasion work were necessary in order to push through late marriage and a reduction in the number of children per family so that women and girls could be enabled to take up independent employment and decide on their own lives.

A young woman from the village of Liu Lin told Swedish photographer Gun Kessle about women's struggle for active participation in social life and in political decision making:

> The feet of girls used to be so tightly bound that all adult women became cripples who had a difficult time getting anywhere. It was a long, hard struggle to free the feet. But to rid people of their crippled ideas takes much longer and cannot be done in a single day or through one discussion.
>
> For a long time, the men said they could not look after the children because they had no breasts. After all the Great Debates in the years of the Cultural Revolution, they do not want to say it out loud, but I believe many still think this deep in-

side. There is a need for many more long, Great Debates. (*Frauenleben in einem chinesischen Dorf* [Women's Life in a Chinese Village], p. 59)

Young People in Socialism

One of the worst crimes of capitalism is its irresponsible treatment of the young. It is characteristic of socialism, on the other hand, to promote and make demands on the youth as the most valuable force for the future of society. Let the young show what they're capable of: "Well then, let's have a try at it…" – this is how Mao Zedong sums up the challenges of the youth and youth policy ("Editor's Notes from Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside", *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. V, p. 264). All-around development of the abilities of the young, the future builders of socialism, became the guideline of the socialist educational system. The youth was mobilized to develop initiative and work in an organized way in socialist construction. Youth leagues with millions of members organized the process so that the young became pioneers of socialist construction and the practical vanguard of the class struggle in socialism, as in the subbotniks in the Soviet Union or with the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution in China.

Karl Marx already emphasized that "an early combination of productive labor with education is one of the most potent means for the transformation of present-day society." ("Critique of the Gotha Programme," Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 3, p. 29)

In this spirit, in the socialist countries a system of polytechnic (comprehensive) instruction was developed that gradually introduced all schoolchildren to physical labor early on. It schooled their dialectical-materialist thinking and acting and taught them respect for work and for the workers and peasants. In this way an important barrier was raised against the

separation of mental and manual labor and the development of an elitist consciousness.

Teaching was put on a scientific basis; the churches lost their influence on education. The separation of church and state was uncompromisingly achieved. Students of all nationalities enjoyed equality; in the different national regions classes were held in their mother tongues. Girls and boys had the same educational opportunities. Vocational training took place in factory schools and vocational schools.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the People's Republic of China built upon the pioneering work of the Soviet Union to achieve even more far-reaching advances in socialist education. Schools and universities set up enterprises of their own while large enterprises established their own schools and universities. Pupils and teachers, students and professors took part in productive work together with workers and engineers. The close cooperation in socialist construction between leading cadres, technical specialists and workers not only resulted in significant advances in science and technology; in this way, hundreds of thousands, even millions of skilled employees also were developed from the working class.

At the end of the 1960s the revolutionary leadership of China mobilized eight million urban youths to go to remote, backward parts of the country after completing school to learn there from the peasants and to support economic, political and cultural construction with their knowledge. Students no longer were selected according to their examination results, but were delegated by their work collectives to study at universities or other institutions of higher learning. Under the slogan, "Serve the people," they worked where they were most urgently needed, and not where it was most interesting, most convenient or most profitable for them. So the young were educated to put

themselves in the vanguard of social progress in production, in scientific work, and in the ideological-political struggle.

Even more important was that the organized youth became a force which represented the revolutionary line in socialist construction, gave root to it among the masses in the whole country, and in this way helped the revolutionary line assert itself against the bureaucratic and reactionary course. They were also the practical vanguard of the struggle against the revisionist tendency to take the capitalist road in China, to give up China's independence and become dependent on foreign countries, to declare personal advantage one's goal in life, and to gear production to bonuses in rivalry with others and not to the satisfaction of the needs of society.

Environmental Protection in Socialism

In his book *Capital*, Karl Marx also developed the basic dialectical line of the communists concerning the relationship of humans and nature:

> Even a whole society, a nation, or even all simultaneously existing societies taken together, are not the owners of the globe. They are only its possessors, its usufructuaries, and, like *boni patres familias*[7], they must hand it down to succeeding generations in an improved condition. (*Capital*, Vol. III, p. 776)

The socialist countries were unable to comprehend and realize this principle immediately in all its aspects on account of the historical circumstances. The socialist Soviet Union had to take enormous efforts to make socialist large-scale production prevail or to prepare itself for the attack of Hitlerite fascism and create the industrial basis for the fight for survival. These were gigantic projects which had to keep sight mainly

[7] Latin: good "fathers of the family"

of the defense of socialism. The tremendous pressure of the imperialist camp on the socialist Soviet Union partly tempted economic policymakers into undertaking large-scale projects and programs which had a destructive effect on the unity of humankind and nature. Socialist China learned from this. As long as Mao Zedong lived it practiced exemplary environmental protection in many areas according to the existing state of scientific knowledge. At the First United Nations Conference on the Human Environment from June 5 to 16, 1972, in Stockholm, the head of the Chinese delegation, Tang Ke, reported:

> Our Government is now beginning to work in a planned way to prevent and eliminate industrial pollution of the environment by waste gas, liquid and residue in accordance with the principles of overall planning, rational distribution, multiple utilization, turning the harmful into the beneficial, relying on the masses, everybody taking a part, protecting the environment and benefiting the people. For many years, we have been conducting mass patriotic sanitation campaigns and afforestation activities, stepping up soil improvement, preventing soil erosion, actively transforming the old cities, constructing new industrial and mining areas in a planned way, etc., so as to protect and improve the human environment. Facts have proved that, provided the people are masters of their country and the government genuinely serves the people and takes their interests to heart, development of industry will benefit the people and the problem arising from industrial development can be solved. (*Peking Review*, No. 24, 1972, p. 8; www.massline.org/Peking Review/PR1972/PR1972-24.pdf; 14 February 2011)

One main point of departure was the dialectical approach to the problems of environmental pollution. During one mass campaign the following was discussed:

> If one proceeds according to materialist dialectics, waste and non-waste are only relative concepts. There is nothing in the world that is absolute waste. Under certain conditions a thing

> is waste, under other conditions it is something of value; what is waste in the case of one product, becomes good material for another. (*Peking Rundschau*, No. 6, 1971, p. 8; our translation from the German)

And so a mass campaign for the dialectical unity of socialist economic and environmental policy took shape which attracted much publicity throughout the world. Authoress Sylvia Rogge wrote in the introduction to the compendium *Umweltschutz in der VR China* (Environmental Protection in the People's Republic of China):

> Long before this topic became fashionable, for example in the Federal Republic of Germany, environmental protection was popularized on a mass basis. According to the instructions of Chairman Mao, multiple utilization was realized, rivers and lakes were cleaned, excrements were made into fertilizers, sewage treatment plants were built, raw materials were gathered, etc. The importance of environmental protection was underscored by the Chinese leadership by establishing a connection between it and the revolutionary line of Mao Zedong. And thrift, multiple utilization, consideration for the local environment, decentralization of industry and reducing of urbanization have made China a country whose environmental awareness appears to be exemplary. (*Umweltschutz in der VR China*, Holger Strohm [ed.], p. 12)

Professor Dr. K. William Kapp concerned himself with the topic of environmental protection in the People's Republic of China intensely in the early 1970s and acknowledged that the People's Republic "has developed a special strategy and successfully won over the public for a cooperation which goes far beyond what is observable in other developing or industrialized countries" (*ibid.*, p. 74).

Initiated by the socialist German Democratic Republic, the collection and reuse of so-called secondary raw materials also were

exemplarily organized. Private and state agencies gathered used paper, bottles and glass, and later on also scrap metal and old clothes. The proper handling of these raw materials already was propagated in schools. Children and youths – organized in their youth organizations – became environmental protection activists and financed their work with the proceeds from the collection of these recoverable materials. For the GDR, poor in raw materials, these far-reaching recycling measures also were a way of coping with the situation.

Basis of the farsighted environmental policy in socialism was the successful outcome of the societal debate that upon overcoming the capitalist mode of production with its orientation to profit maximization, the restoration of the unity of humans and nature and its development to a higher level could be made the goal and basic condition of the socialist economy.

The Socialist Road of National Liberation

The October Revolution in Russia and the Chinese Revolution encouraged the peoples in many colonial and semicolonial countries to pursue the socialist road of national liberation, the path of self-reliance. Other countries oppressed by colonialism where the revolutionary forces subordinated themselves to the leadership of parts of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie failed in the attempt to free themselves from imperialism. They quickly ended up again in neocolonial dependence on the capitalist world market and under the control of international monopolies.

China, after founding the People's Republic in 1949, did not allow itself to be tempted into trying to alleviate its backwardness in industry, agriculture and infrastructure – a legacy of the former semifeudal and semicolonial conditions – by taking foreign loans and accepting foreign capital investment. The

People's Republic of China patiently followed a path to independence and self-reliance trusting in its own strength. It made full use of its own resources and drew upon the experience and strength of the people, utilized all the scientific knowledge of the entire world and all the experience of Chinese history.

Zhou Enlai, Premier of the State Administration Council of the People's Republic of China from 1949 to 1976, elaborated in his report to the Standing Committee of the Second National People's Congress on August 26, 1959, on the "large-scale mass campaign for economic construction which is unparalleled in China's history":

> One of the important aspects of this mass campaign was that tens of millions of people went in for mining ore and coal and making iron and steel. The mass of people understand that vigorous, large-scale mass campaigns on the economic front will ensure the high-speed development of the national economy and so transform China's face of "poverty and blankness" all the quicker. That is why they show such boundless enthusiasm in their work and even neglect their sleep and meals. The reactionaries at home and abroad call this "forced labour" and "depriving the people of their freedom." That is a shameless slander. It is the imperialist bosses themselves who are accustomed to depriving the people of their freedom.… There can be no doubt that such spontaneous labour enthusiasm on the part of the working people has been and will remain an impossibility under the capitalist system. (Chou En-lai, *Report on Adjusting the Major Targets of the 1959 National Economic Plan and Further Developing the Campaign for Increasing Production and Practising Economy*, pp. 4–5)

All the same, 50 years later and without any proof, the German monopoly newspaper *Die Welt* of January 8, 2010, viciously claims that the Communist Party of China was aware "that without putting up resistance the peasants would not let themselves be squeezed into people's communes or forced to become

steel smelters for the sake of Mao's utopias. Terror would have to hold them in check so that there would be no revolts."

Of course, it is beyond the comprehension of a bourgeois journalist, completely preoccupied with capitalist profit maximization and speedup, that workers could work voluntarily and with enthusiasm because it serves the construction of their socialist country and thus the future of their children.

Proletarian Internationalism and Peaceful Coexistence

The basis of the socialist foreign policy both of the Soviet Union at the time of Lenin and Stalin and of China at the time of Mao Zedong was proletarian internationalism. Both countries proceeded from the fact that only the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the imperialist countries in alliance with the liberation struggle of the masses in the oppressed countries can defeat imperialism and advance the world revolution. The Soviet Union became the bastion of the international socialist revolution.

But as long as capitalist and socialist countries existed alongside each other, the socialist countries had to make compromises and take up relations with countries with different social systems – including imperialist states – on the basis of *peaceful coexistence*. The aim was to take advantage of the contradictions between the imperialists and speed up the process of world revolution. Taking up proposals of Lenin and Stalin, in 1954 the People's Republic of China formulated five essential aspects of the principle of peaceful coexistence:

> They are mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. (*The Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement*, pp. 271–272)

The People's Republic of China, itself a socialist developing country, provided unselfish aid to other developing countries, A magnificent example was the construction of the railway line between Zambia and Tanzania. It was completed in 1975 and enabled the two countries to free themselves from imperialist control of their copper transports. This accorded with the principles of the People's Republic of China for its aid to other countries, which stated:

> China provides economic aid in the form of interest-free or low-interest loans and extends the time limit for the repayment when necessary so as to lighten the burden of the recipient countries as far as possible.
>
> In providing aid to other countries, the purpose of the Chinese Government is not to make the recipient countries dependent on China but to help them embark step by step on the road of self-reliance and independent economic development. (*Peking Review*, No. 17, 1972, p. 15)

The foreign aid of revolutionary China was a conscious contribution of practical and selfless solidarity intended to help overcome the backwardness and deformation of the economies of the neocolonial countries that had been brought about by imperialism.

Socialist Peace Politics

In the countries where the proletarian revolution was victorious and the construction of socialism had begun, the roots of imperialist wars and fascism had been eliminated and the foundations laid for socialist peace politics. As long as the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China were revolutionary, they adhered to the Marxist-Leninist view that, in a law-governed way, imperialism gives rise to wars. They were therefore obligated, on the one hand, to prepare to defend themselves and, on the other hand, to expose the imperialist policies of ag-

gression and support the peoples' struggle for peace as well as popular revolutions and just wars of liberation.

The imperialist powers Germany, Italy and Japan had already launched the second big imperialist war when in 1939 the Soviet Union undertook to conclude a strategic defensive alliance with Britain and France against aggressive fascist Germany. However, the imperialist states continued to work towards a German war against the Soviet Union. Only when these negotiations failed did the Soviet Union accept the German offer of a non-aggression pact with Germany. Although anticommunists persist in maintaining that with the German-Soviet non-aggression pact "the dictators Hitler and Stalin" prepared the Second World War, it remains the decisive historical truth that the pact secured almost two years of peace for the Soviet Union and its population before Nazi Germany broke it and invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941.

The victory of the Soviet Union over German imperialism was a *historic triumph of socialist society over fascism*, over the cruelest form of the capitalist social order, which was built upon anticommunism, racism and undisguised terror. Not only did more than 20 million Soviet citizens lose their lives to this terror; on the territory of the USSR the fascists destroyed 31,850 industrial enterprises employing some four million workers, 1,135 coal mines, 61 of the biggest power plants and much more (*Enzyklopädie der UdSSR*, Vol. I, col. 871–872).

When the anti-Hitler coalition broke up after the Second World War and the imperialist powers waged a Cold War on the Soviet Union, in West Germany the Potsdam Agreement was broken and those responsible for fascism and war, like the monopoly bosses Krupp and Thyssen, were able to regain the reins of power. Nevertheless, the antifascist lessons have struck deep roots in the thinking, feeling and acting of the majority of the German people.

In East Germany, under the protection of the Soviet occupying forces an antifascist-democratic order could be set up that became the foundation for the subsequent establishment of the German Democratic Republic. By 1948 denazification had been completed there; the entire administrative apparatus, the judiciary, the school system and industrial administrative departments were rigorously purged of members of the Hitler party and other fascist organizations. In all, some 520,000 persons were dismissed and assigned work in industry insofar as they did not migrate to the West. The writer and future chairman-by-seniority of the German federal parliament, Stefan Heym, characterized the new state:

> Power had been wrested from those responsible for Nazism and for the war. Big landholdings were expropriated and distributed among the small farmers and farm workers; the banks, the mines, the large enterprises no longer belonged to the capitalists. (Stefan Heym, *Wege und Umwege* [Ways Forward and Diversions], p. 250)

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

The socialist society of the Soviet Union, which heroically had withstood all the attacks by external enemies, succumbed to its internal enemies. The progress of socialist construction never was possible under the condition of the capitalist encirclement of the socialist countries without a fierce class struggle by the revolutionary working class – first against the old rulers and classes, later against the bureaucracy in the leadership of the party, state and economy, which was permeated with a petty-bourgeois mode of thinking and strived to restore capitalism. After Stalin's death a stratum of degenerate petty-bourgeois functionaries from the party, state and economic apparatus betrayed Marxism-Leninism and succeeded at the Twentieth Party Congress of the CPSU in 1956 in usurping po-

litical power as a new bourgeoisie. The masses were not prepared for this! The new bourgeoisie ushered in the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. The Communist Party of China under Mao Zedong's leadership fundamentally criticized this development and so gave support to the revolutionaries everywhere in the world in this complicated new situation.

When socialism in China also was threatened by a setback, when "capitalist-roaders in power" under President of the Republic Liu Shaoqi and CPC Secretary-General Deng Xiaoping gained menacing influence, the revolutionary forces in the Communist Party who had rallied around Mao Zedong called on the whole Chinese people to make a "revolution that touches people to their very souls." The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was supposed to revolutionize the thinking, feeling and acting of the masses so that they were enabled and mobilized to oppose a restoration of capitalism.

On large wall newspapers and at mass meetings, in particular the young people organized in the "Red Guards" criticized bourgeois contents and methods, reactionary policies and bureaucratic abuses in education, culture and science. Incorrigible bureaucrats were called to account. A movement for orientation to revolutionary Mao Zedong Thought and for learning the dialectical method took hold of millions of people. Revolutionary committees in factories and administrative offices served to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and recruited in particular young workers and women to handle administrative duties and the affairs of government. The leading role of the working class was strengthened at schools and universities by these committees, in which workers set the tone. On the other hand, teachers and professors, but also party officials, were obligated to take regular part in physical work.

All these revolutionary measures are denigrated as "coercive measures" rife with "atrocities," as "chaos" and "terror" by the

admirers of present-day China, which transformed into a social-imperialist great power after Mao Zedong's death.

Undoubtedly, in the Cultural Revolution, this life-and-death struggle between revolution and restoration, exaggerations and mistakes also occurred. But that was not the essential aspect. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, in historical terms, was a unique new form of class struggle which first had to blaze its own trail. In its boldness, its mass mobilization and its outstanding results, it inspired the revolutionary working-class movement, and in particular the youth of the whole world, and gave the movement fresh impetus. In 1979 the MLPD summarized:

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is:

1. the *highest form of class struggle* in socialist society;
2. the awakening and rapid *development of socialist consciousness in the masses* by means of criticism and self-criticism and by studying and, at the same time, putting into practice Mao Zedong Thought;
3. the concrete form of *exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat* to prevent the bureaucratization of the Party, the government and management apparatus (against capitalist-roaders in power);
4. the building of an ideological-political barrier *against the danger of capitalist restoration*.

The concept of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great contribution to Marxism-Leninism under the conditions of class struggle in socialism. (Willi Dickhut, *State-Monopoly Capitalism in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG)*, Vol. II, p. 575)

The experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution taught the revolutionaries of the world, who are fighting for a new approach to and upsurge in the struggle for socialism, an unforgettable lesson: socialism can only be maintained if the

revolutionaries take into account the *protracted nature and the complexity of the class struggle in socialism*. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution showed how the broad masses led by the revolutionary working class can become successful protagonists in the historic struggle against the danger of a restoration of capitalism. It is one of the indelible *foundations of the strategy and tactics of the international socialist revolution in the construction of socialism*.

[redacted]

5. In the former socialist *People's Republic of China* – acting aggressively on the world market and as a social-imperialist power in world politics since the restoration of capitalism after Mao Zedong's death in 1976 – the strategic starting position is characterized by special economic zones dominated by national and international monopolies. Special features are a developed working class led by a stratum of the international industrial proletariat, and a bureaucratic state-monopoly bourgeoisie, which veils its revisionist betrayal and justifies its rule fraudulently as the continuation of Mao Zedong's socialism in China. It grants only very restricted bourgeois-democratic rights to the masses and does not even stop at the employment of social-fascist methods of suppression, as the Tiananmen Square Massacre in 1989 showed.

Since the restoration of capitalism the Chinese revolutionaries can no longer set themselves the task of another cultural revolution, but must aim at a proletarian revolution to overthrow the new bourgeoisie in the leadership of the party, economy and state. The industrial proletariat, the entire working class and the more than one billion strong Chinese masses will rise up in the cities and countryside in an armed rebellion against the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie and will *directly establish the dictatorship of the proletariat at the stage of socialism*.

The Question of the Principal Contradiction in the World and the "Storm Centers of the World Revolution"

For the proletarian strategy and tactics of the international revolution the determining of the principal contradiction in the world has great importance. In its "Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement," in June 1963 the Communist Party of China, on the basis of a concrete analysis of the class relations in the world at that time, worked out four main contradictions:

> the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp;
>
> the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries;
>
> the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism; and
>
> the contradictions among imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups. (*The Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement*, p. 7)

Those regions or countries must be identified as storm centers of the international revolution which constitute weakest links in the rule of imperialism and thus are the current main battlefield of the revolution. In the early 1960s, regarding the storm center of that period the Communist Party of China came to the conclusion:

> The various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America; these are the most vulnerable areas under imperialist rule and the storm-centres of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism.
>
> The national democratic revolutionary movement in these areas and the international socialist revolutionary movement are the two great historical currents of our time. (*ibid.*, p. 13)

In those years the old colonial system collapsed; the victorious liberation movements enjoyed the internationalist support of the socialist camp and pursued a policy with socialist aims.

The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China, held in 1969 under the leadership of Mao Zedong, already observed that the world situation and the main contradictions had changed. The new Soviet leadership had restored capitalism and transformed the Soviet Union into a social-imperialist country; the socialist camp had fallen apart. Soviet social-imperialism operated on the world stage as new enemy of the working class and the subjugated nations, exerting a negative influence on many liberation movements

When Deng Xiaoping took over power in the People's Republic of China in 1976 after the death of Mao Zedong, not only was the center of the international revolutionary movement lost a second time, but many liberation movements also lost their socialist perspective. Some transformed into vassals of Soviet social-imperialism, while others ceased their struggle for liberation or confined themselves to fighting the effects of neocolonial plunder and oppression.

Considering all that, can one really claim that the Communist Party of China's assessment of 1963 still retains unlimited validity today, that "the storm-centres of world revolution" lie in Asia, Africa and Latin America, where the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggles of the people are taking place? The Communist Party of China already had pointed out that the "centre of world contradictions, of world political struggles, is not fixed but shifts with changes in the international struggles and the revolutionary situation" (*ibid.*, p. 202). The proponents of the view that the assessments of 40 years ago still hold good are making a dogmatic mistake when they impose these assessments on today's world situation.

Mao Zedong already warned in his writing "On Contradiction" explicitly against looking upon contradictions as rigid, once and for all given conditions and ignoring the law of uneven development:

> The study of the various states of unevenness in contradictions, of the principal and non-principal contradictions and of the principal and the non-principal aspects of a contradiction constitutes an essential method by which a revolutionary political party correctly determines its strategic and tactical policies both in political and in military affairs. All Communists must give it attention. (*Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I, p. 337)

The victory of the Vietnamese people over US aggression in 1975 marked the climax of the revolutionary national liberation struggle. In the 1970s and 1980s a new principal contradiction moved center stage, decisively influencing all other contradictions: the rivalry of the superpowers USA and Soviet Union in their struggle for world hegemony. The military aggressions and nuclear arms race of these superpowers brought humanity to the brink of a third world war. Only after the definitive collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 did the situation in the world change again fundamentally.

The reorganization of international production, neoliberalism and neocolonialism doubtless have brought the imperialist exploitation and oppression of the neocolonial countries to a head. But can it be deduced solely from this objective fact that the neocolonial countries once again are the "storm-centres of world revolution"?

The international revolution will start where the imperialist world system is weakest and the subjective factors of the revolution are farthest matured. The weakest link must not prematurely be sought among the countries oppressed by imperialism only because their economy, bourgeoisie and state

apparatuses are weak. The world economic and financial crisis of 2008, for example, had its strongest impact economically in the imperialist centers; this is why international finance capital felt compelled to counteract a revolutionary ferment mainly there – with its unprecedented international crisis management.

As early as in 1963 the Communist Party of China reckoned with a shift in the focus of the international class struggle to the imperialist metropolises:

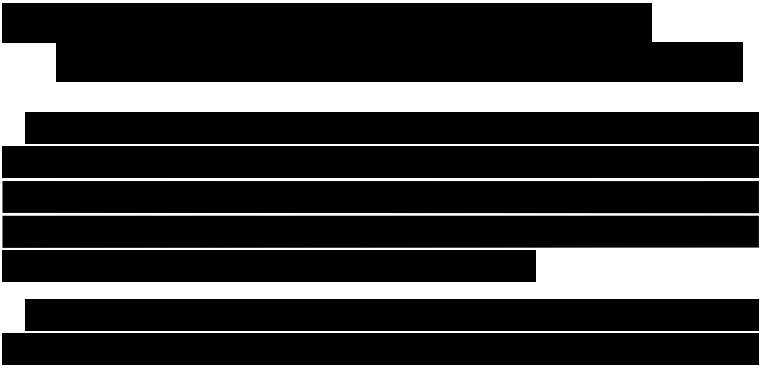
> We believe that, with the development of the contradiction and struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in Western Europe and North America, the momentous day of battle will arrive in these homes of capitalism and heartlands of imperialism. When that day comes, Western Europe and North America will undoubtedly become the centre of world political struggles, of world contradictions. (*The Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement*, p. 202)

We cannot make a sweeping prediction where the revolution will start because the contradictions on a world scale are intensifying in an all-around way. Accordingly, it is *not* at all *clear* yet *where such a world-revolutionary center* will be.

On the other hand, the contradictions actually are most intense in the dependent countries. But that alone does not suffice. From the doctrine of the mode of thinking we know that the subjective factor does not develop automatically as the contradictions intensify. The subjective factor plays a great part in determining whether or not a revolutionary ferment develops. The subjective factor must come together with the objective development.

The systematic *concrete analysis of the concrete situation* is vital for the Marxist-Leninists in order to adjust to changes in the world in good time, recognize them and correctly evaluate them, and unify their concrete strategy and tactics with the

revolutionary parties and organizations in the world. After the turn of the millennium a process of revolutionary ferment took shape in South America, but meanwhile has been overcome by various maneuvers of imperialism and Left-reformist governments. In the course of 2010 a change of mood set in among the masses in Europe. Especially in the Mediterranean countries of the EU, Greece, Albania, Italy, Spain, France and Portugal too, sharpest class disputes developed in which many migrant workers from North Africa were involved. Also under the impression of these struggles, in the Arab countries of North Africa a *movement of democratic uprisings* ignited on account of unaffordable food prices and swept away a number of reactionary governments propped up by the military. How far this emergent *process of cross-border revolutionary ferment in the Mediterranean region* will go and how many countries it will seize hold of, no one can say at this point. The only certain thing is that it abruptly made the *potential for a revolutionary world crisis* visible that has developed on the basis of the world economic and financial crisis since 2008. *The main tendency in the world is the preparation of the international revolution!*



STEFAN ENGEL

CATASTROPHE ALERT!

What Is To Be Done Against the Willful Destruction of the Unity of Humanity and Nature?

[redacted]

The dialectical negation of the experiences of the Soviet Union in the China of Mao Zedong

When the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, large parts of the country were destroyed by war and civil war. In many regions there was a lack of water for agriculture, while in others people constantly suffered from disastrous floods.

After the Chinese people liberated itself from imperialism and feudalism, it shaped its own destiny. To achieve this it had to overcome the habit, molded over centuries, to submit to natural as well as social forces. Organizing under the lead-

ership of the Communist Party of China to change their social and natural environment, the Chinese workers and peasants developed their socialist consciousness further at the same time. They built canals to create irrigated fields in arid regions. They reinforced dikes and built reservoirs. They terraced mountain slopes to prevent fertile soil being washed away by heavy rainfalls.

> Socialism has freed not only the labouring people and the means of production from the old society, but also the vast realm of nature which could not be made use of in the old society. (Mao Zedong, quoted in: *New China's First Quarter-Century* <https://ia600208.us.archive.org/23/items/NewChinasFirstQuarter-century/NCFQ.pdf>)

The Communist Party of China under the leadership of Mao Zedong condemned the betrayal of socialism in the Soviet Union. This is reflected also in the environmental policy of the People's Republic of China. While the Soviet revisionists denied the emergence of an environmental crisis, socialist China attacked the environmental destruction of the capitalist countries and pursued a different course. At the First UN Conference on the Human Environment in 1972 in Stockholm, the head of the delegation of the People's Republic of China declared:

> Running after high profits, imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and their monopoly capitalist groups in disregard of the life or death of the people, frantically plunder and exploit the people of other countries, damage their resources, discharge harmful substances at will and pollute and contaminate the environment of their own countries as well as that of other countries. They do not hesitate to spend huge sums of money each year on arms race, but are unwilling to spare the minimum funds for the conservation and improvement of the environment in their own countries or compensate for the loss of other sovereign states subjected to their pollution and damage.… To conserve and improve the human environment,

> to fight pollution, has become an urgent and vital issue in ensuring the healthy development of the human race. (*Peking Review*, June 16, 1972, pp. 6 and 5)

Especially in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution exemplary environmental measures were taken in socialist China. The proletarian revolutionaries recognized that the *environmental issue is a component of the class struggle in socialism* and criticized the irresponsible destruction of the natural foundations of life as a policy of the "capitalist roaders in power." A fundamental article of *Peking Review* from the year 1974 stated*:*

> It is the social system and the line taken that determine whether or not economic development will pollute the environment and become a public hazard.…
>
> Developing industrial production and protecting the environment are a unity of opposites. Though the two are mutually contradictory, they promote each other. If correctly handled, pollutants under certain conditions can be turned into assets benefiting the people. The crux of the matter lies in correctly recognizing and handling this problem dialectically. (Kuo Huan, "Accent on Environmental Protection," in: *Peking Review*, November 8, 1974, p. 9)

Various writings like *Critique of the Gotha Programme* by Karl Marx and *Dialectics of Nature* by Frederick Engels were made available for the first time through Chinese publications to the entire international Marxist-Leninist and working-class movement.

There were *three essential sources for the groundbreaking environmental protection in the People's Republic of China under the leadership of Mao Zedong*.

Firstly, socialist political economy was creatively developed further: rejection of one-sided reliance on increased production, of excessive centralization of production and of increasing

material incentives. Already in 1958, Mao Zedong propagated the use of marsh gas (methane from decay processes) as a simple method of a closed-loop economy. However, the petty-bourgeois bureaucracy in the leadership of party, state and economy sabotaged this measure for years. It was only during the Cultural Revolution that the use of marsh gas became an object of mass criticism of the revisionist line of powerful party officials around Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping:

> Reports about utilizing marsh gas in China show that ongoing work in this field was mainly blocked by views that such "primitive things" from such "primitive people" like workers and peasants most certainly could not transform China into a modern industrial country.… In the name of this theory, experiments involving the masses were impeded in all spheres. (Rudolf G. Wagner, "Die Nutzung von Sumpfgas in der Volksrepublik China" [Utilization of Marsh Gas in the People's Republic of China], pp. 70 f.)

A nationwide campaign to utilize marsh gas originated from the critique of the revisionist line. It pursued several goals: producing electricity in rural areas, advancing the standard of living and the cultural and political activities of the rural population, producing organic fertilizer, improving hygienic conditions, reducing deforestation and advancing decentralization in order to secure an independent national energy supply.

In his article, "Technik von Biogasanlagen" (The Technology of Biogas Plants), Dr. Kurt Frunzke reports that six to seven million small plants for the production of biogas built during the Cultural Revolution still exist today in the People's Republic of China.

The Chinese leadership called on the Chinese people to observe the principle to "walk on two legs" when building up the socialist economy. As regards water engineering, preference

was to be given to local facilities, while the government concentrated on the most important central projects. Local projects made it easier for the masses to plan and implement such activities themselves.

Many people from the international environmental movement appreciated the policies of socialist China. For example, the book, *GAIA – der Ökoatlas unserer Erde* (GAIA – Eco-Atlas of Our Earth), published by Norman Myers in 1985 and recommended by the German Friends of the Earth, states:

> China is moreover a model of "ecological agriculture" which makes a point of ensuring that nothing is wasted. Its closed-loop resource systems practice extensive recycling.... The world's most comprehensive irrigation system enables the Chinese to grow more than a third of the world's rice. (pp. 62 f.)

Secondly, the *dialectical method was consciously applied* to develop the unity of humanity and nature higher. Campaigns to study and apply dialectics were carried out under the slogan "One divides into two" especially during the Cultural Revolution. The Chinese revolutionaries struggled against any separation of theory from practice and consciously applied the dialectical method in the class struggle, in the struggle for production and in scientific experiments.

As a result it was understood that there can be no *waste in an absolute sense*. Therefore production facilities were systematically built in such a way that residual materials from one factory could be used as basic materials for production by adjoining factories. Holger Strohm wrote in his book *Umweltschutz in der VR China* [Environmental Protection in the People's Republic of China]:

> The great importance placed on recycling raw materials from solid waste, wastewater and exhaust gases can be attributed

> to economic as well as environmental reasons. The Chinese regard multipurpose utilization as their most important task. In the meantime the previously rather primitive recycling technologies have been highly developed. (p. 88)

The working people in the People's Republic of China did pioneering work for realizing a comprehensive closed-loop economy – to an extent not even remotely achieved to this day by any other country worldwide.

Thirdly, the masses were mobilized to build socialism based on the unity of humanity and nature. It is one of the great achievements of the People's Republic of China that the forces of nature were controlled by the working people in the interest of working people. Socialist China under Mao Zedong's leadership developed large afforestation projects against soil erosion. "Cover the country with forests" – under this slogan the entire people was mobilized. In northwestern China forest workers and many volunteers planted a large green shelterbelt against spreading deserts. This was also widely acclaimed internationally by forestry scientists and environmentalists.

Socialist China also took a sustainable position regarding *population policy*. It was a difficult situation: areas for agricultural use in China were limited; the inherited problems of economic backwardness had to be overcome systematically; women's health had to be protected and simultaneously their participation in social production made possible. Persuasion work for a policy of birth control was necessary. The introduction of material support for the elderly took the pressure off families to secure their livelihood in old age only by having many children.

Revisionist betrayal after Mao Zedong's death in 1976 put a stop also to the great achievements of the People's Republic of China in environmental protection. With reckless urbanization

and industrialization and tremendous pollution of soil, air and water, China today beats many other capitalist countries in regard to the ruthless destruction of the environment.

While the ruling powers all over the world willfully continue on the path towards the environmental catastrophe and even make profit from it, they hypocritically express their strong outrage about the alleged "destruction of the environment in socialism." Let us tell them:

The great, hard-won achievements of socialist environmental policy were an expression of the *development from socialism to communism*. The fact that one-sidedness, weaknesses and mistakes occurred reflected *remnants of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois modes of thinking and production*, which continued to be effective in the socialist social system. They finally resulted also in the betrayal of socialism. Not the socialist mode of thinking and production was the cause of horrendous crimes against humans and nature, but the bourgeois mode of thinking and production of the revisionist new bourgeoisie!