

**A THEORETICAL WEAPON FOR MAKING REVOLUTION  
UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT**

**-In Commemoration of the 10th Anniversary of the  
Publication of Chairman Mao's On the Correct  
Handling of Contradictions Among the People-**

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**Chairman Mao's On the Correct Handling of Contradictions  
Among the People published ten years ago is a brilliant, epoch-  
making document in the history of the development of Marxism.**

**In this brilliant document, Chairman Mao developed  
creatively and with genius Marxist-Leninist materialist dialectics  
and the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle and the dic-  
tatorship of the proletariat. It is a great programme for  
making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and  
an important landmark signifying that Marxism has developed to  
the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.**

**It sums up the historical experience of the dictatorship  
of the proletariat both in China and abroad in an all-round  
way, and uses the proletarian dialectical materialist world  
outlook in observing and solving various problems in socialist  
society. For the first time in the history of the development  
of Marxism, it provides a scientific, systematic and profound  
analysis of contradictions, classes and class struggle in a  
socialist society, and an exposition of the laws of class strug-  
gle in a socialist society, and puts forward the theory,  
principles and policy for distinguishing the contradictions  
between the enemy and ourselves on the one hand and those among  
the people on the other and for correctly handling both kinds  
of contradictions.**

The current great proletarian cultural revolution in China is forging ahead triumphantly and with mighty force. At the present time, the study of this great work of Chairman Mao's, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, in connection with the 16 May 1966 "Circular" and the 8 August 1966 "Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, both drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance, and also in connection with the study of the theory and line, principles and policy concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution advanced by him, has an extremely important bearing on realizing great alliances of proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, on developing all-out criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and on fulfilling the tasks of "struggle-criticism-transformation."

In a socialist society, after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production is completed in the main, the key question that decides the destiny of socialism is whether or not one actually recognizes the continued existence of classes and class struggle; whether or not one recognizes this class struggle as a struggle, in the final analysis, for political power, one between the proletariat which wants to consolidate its dictatorship and the bourgeoisie which wants to overthrow this dictatorship.

The biggest betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by the Khrushchov revisionist clique is that it concocted the "theory" of the "state of the whole people" and the "Party of the entire people." According to this "theory," in a socialist society contradictions vanish, classes and class struggle disappear and the aim is to build "goulash communism." As chief representatives of the new and old bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union, they use this "theory" to deceive the people, attack the proletariat, turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into that of the bourgeoisie, turn the Communist Party of the Soviet Union into a bourgeois political party and restore capitalism in the Soviet Union.

The top person in authority taking the capitalist road in the Chinese Party sings the same tune as the Khrushchovs of the Soviet Union. After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was completed in the main in China, he took a stand diametrically opposed to Comrade Mao Tse-tung's when he advertised the theory of the dying out of class struggle. He claimed: "The domestic enemy has been eliminated in the main"; "domestically, the major class struggle has basically come to an end, or can be said to have been

settled in the main, in other words, the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves by and large have been resolved"; "from now on, there will be no more revolutionary struggles and no more socialist transformation"; "the question of which will win, socialism or capitalism, has now been settled"; and "the most important task of the state is to organize the life of society." This sinister line runs through all his political activities. The aim which he vainly tried to attain was, like that of the Khrushchovs of the Soviet Union, to turn China's dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, turn the Chinese Communist Party into a bourgeois political party and restore capitalism in China.

It was precisely in the course of struggle against international and domestic revisionism that Chairman Mao developed his theory of contradictions, classes and class struggle in a socialist society and of making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

When socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production had just been completed in the main in China, Chairman Mao pointed out in his great work "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" "The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled." "It will take a fairly long period of time to decide the issue in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country."

Chairman Mao also pointed out: "After the basic victory of the socialist revolution in our country, there are still a number of people who vainly hope to restore the capitalist system and fight the working class on every front, including the ideological one."

The handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are the chief representatives of those who dream of restoring the capitalist system. During the period when our country was hit by three years of natural disasters, in co-ordination with the anti-China chorus of US imperialism and Khrushchov revisionism, they laid their plans and started activities from above to below for an over-all

counter-revolutionary restoration. There appeared one after another such theories as "san zi yi bao,"<sup>1</sup> "san he yi shao"<sup>2</sup> and "combining two into one: and such anti-Party, anti-socialist works as Hai Jui Dismissed From Office. Ghosts and monsters came out and stirred up the evil winds of "going it alone," of reversing the correct decisions already made, of capitulation and of liberalization.

The two great historic speeches made by Chairman Mao, one at the Working Conference of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Peitaiho in August 1962 and the other at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in September of the same year, were the outcome of the struggle against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. These two speeches rectified the Right opportunist line and held in check this evil wind for a counter-revolutionary capitalist restoration. In these two speeches, Chairman Mao elaborated on the Marxist-Leninist thesis contained in On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People. He clearly pointed out: "Socialist society is a fairly long historical stage. During this historical stage, classes, class contradictions and class struggle continue to exist, the struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism goes on and the danger of a capitalist restoration remains. It is necessary to recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. It is necessary to heighten our vigilance. It is necessary to undertake socialist education. It is necessary to have a correct understanding of the problems of class contradictions and class struggle and to handle them correctly, to distinguish between the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves on the one hand and those among the people on the other and to handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite, it will degenerate, and there will be a come-back. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can have a fairly sober understanding of this question and maintain a Marxist-Leninist line."

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<sup>1</sup>"San zi yi bao" is the Chinese abbreviation for "the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, the fixing of output quotas based on the household." -Ed.

<sup>2</sup>"San he yi shao" is the Chinese abbreviation for "the liquidation of struggle in our relations with imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries and reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggle of other peoples." - Ed.

The "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Some Problems in Current Rural Work (Draft)," that is, the first "Ten Points," mapped out under the personal director of Chairman Mao in May 1963, issued the great call for the launching of a socialist education movement. In this extremely important document, Chairman Mao told the whole Party and the entire Chinese people that if the existence of classes and class struggle in socialist society were forgotten, "then it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its color. Comrades, just think of it -- what a dangerous prospect?"

The brilliant Marxist-Leninist document, "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement," or the "Twenty-five-Point Proposal," was published on 14 June 1963. This is a great program for the international communist movement in our era and it is illuminated throughout by the brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. This document, which was drawn up under the personal direction of Chairman Mao, pointed out:

"For a very long historical period after the proletariat takes power, class struggle continues as an objective law independent of man's will, differing only in form from what it was before the taking of power.

"After the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out a number of times that:

"a) The overthrown, exploiters always try in a thousand and one ways to recover the 'paradise' they have been deprived of.

"b) New elements of capitalism are constantly and spontaneously generated in the petty-bourgeois atmosphere.

"c) Political degenerates and new bourgeois elements may emerge in the ranks of the working class and among government functionaries as a result of bourgeois influence and the pervasive, corrupting atmosphere of the petty bourgeoisie.

"d) The external conditions for the continuance of class struggle within a socialist country are encirclement by international capitalism, the imperialists' threat of armed intervention and their subversive activities to accomplish peaceful disintegration.

"Life has confirmed these conclusions of Lenin's.

"For decades or even longer periods after socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization, it will be impossible to say that any socialist country will be free from those elements which Lenin repeatedly denounced, such as bourgeois hangers-on, parasites, speculators, swindlers, idlers, hooligans and embezzlers of state funds; or to say that a socialist country will no longer need to perform or be able to relinquish the task laid down by Lenin of conquering 'this contagion, this plague, this ulcer that socialism has inherited from capitalism.'

"In a socialist country, it takes a very long historical period gradually to settle the question of who will win -- socialism or capitalism. The struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism runs through this whole historical period. This struggle rises and falls in a wave-like manner, at times becoming very fierce, and the forms of the struggle are many and varied.

"The 1957 Declaration rightly states that 'the conquest of power by the working class is only the beginning of the revolution, not its conclusion.'

"To deny the existence of class struggle in the period of dictatorship of the proletariat and the necessity of thoroughly completing the socialist revolution on the economic political and ideological fronts is wrong, does not correspond to objective reality and violates Marxism-Leninism."

In July 1964, our great leader Chairman Mao again taught us that "in the realm of politics and ideology, a very long period of time is needed to decide 'who will win' in the struggle between socialism and capitalism. Several decades won't do it; success requires anywhere from one to several centuries. On the question of duration, it is better to prepare for a longer rather than a shorter period of time. On the question of effort, it is better to regard the task as difficult rather than easy. It will be more advantageous and less harmful to think and act in this way."

It is precisely under the guidance of the great theory advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung that the socialist education movement was carried out on an extensive scale in China's vast countryside and in the cities. This movement made splendid achievements and solved a number of problems in practice, providing valuable experience for making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road used the bourgeois reactionary line of "'Left' in form, Right in essence" to oppose Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line. He negated the essence of the socialist education movement which was a class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and distorted it by characterizing it as a contradiction between "being 'clean' politically, ideologically, organizationally and economically, and being 'unclean' in these respects." He thus shifted the target of struggle and hit hard at many in order to protect a handful, to protect the Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, to protect the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists and to preserve the social basis for the restoration of capitalism. He hawked his revisionist wares everywhere in the country, openly attacked Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and his Marxist-Leninist mass line and method of investigation and study.

"Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas," that is, the "23-article document" drawn up under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao in January 1965, is an extremely important Marxist-Leninist document. This great document smashed the bourgeois reactionary line advanced by China's Khrushchov which is "'Left' in form, Right in essence" and it made a scientific summary of the experience of the socialist education movement, further enriching and developing the theory for making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the "23-article document," Chairman Mao put forward for the first time this very important theory: "The main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road, some act on the stage while the others operate from behind the scenes." Supporting these persons in authority "there are certain people at the higher levels -- at the commune, district, county, prefecture and even at the provincial level and in the central departments -- who are opposed to building socialism."

On the basis of the socialist education movement and in continuing the tit-for-tat struggle against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, our great teacher Chairman Mao has personally initiated and led the great proletarian cultural revolution which has no parallel in history. He has systematically solved in theory and practice problems concerning making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus scaling new heights in the history of the development of Marxism.

On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People laid the theoretical foundation for making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the basis of summarizing the experience of class struggle in the past ten years, especially the great practice of the world-shaking, great proletarian cultural revolution in the past year, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has provided the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat with an all-conquering theoretical weapon, a Marxist-Leninist, proletarian revolutionary line, a whole series of correct principles and policies, and the correct method for carrying out this great revolution.

In the great historic document, the 16 May 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie," and "there are a number of these representatives of the bourgeoisie in the Central Committee and in the Party, government and other departments at the central as well as at the provincial, municipal and autonomous region level."

That means there is a handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie, a handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the framework of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that the masses in their hundreds of millions must be mobilized to make revolution against them. Without such a revolution, it is impossible to overthrow them, to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to effectively prevent a restoration of capitalism. Without such a revolution, there may be a repetition of the usurpation of the leadership of the Party and the state as carried out by the Khrushchov revisionist clique in the Soviet Union.

Ours is a great country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our Party is great, glorious and correct. Over the past 17 years, the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has occupied the dominant position in our Party. It is the dictatorship of the proletariat, not that of the bourgeoisie, that has dominated our country. And this is true as well for recent years. This must be affirmed absolutely. The Party people in authority taking the capitalist road are only a handful. The dictatorship of the proletariat has been turned into that of the bourgeoisie only in certain sectors, definitely not as a whole. Our great proletarian cultural revolution is meant to improve and strengthen the



dictatorship of the proletariat in those sectors. It is wrong for some people to raise the slogan "completely renovate the dictatorship of the proletariat." Certain persons who have ulterior motives intend to negate everything of the past and overthrow everything of the past; what they are aiming at is causing the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and instituting that of the bourgeoisie.

The revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is a revolution under the command of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must use Mao Tse-tung's thought as the criterion for judging which is right and which is wrong about all our words and actions. Chairman Mao's On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People is precisely the sharp theoretical weapon for the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the steering wheel for us to sail the ocean of the great revolution.

In his On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, Chairman Mao lists six political criteria for judging words and actions in the political life of our country. He says:

"Broadly speaking, the criteria should be as follows:

- (1) Words and actions should help to unite, and not divide, the people of our various nationalities.
- (2) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to socialist transformation and socialist construction.
- (3) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, the people's democratic dictatorship.
- (4) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, democratic centralism.
- (5) They should help to strengthen, and not discard or weaken, the leadership of the Communist Party.
- (6) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to international socialist unity and the unity of the peace-loving people of the world."

These six criteria play an important guiding role in the great proletarian cultural revolution; they are also criteria to judge whether one's words and actions are revolutionary in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Of these six criteria, the most important are the socialist path and the leadership of the Party." These two criteria are also the most important ones for the great revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must resolutely uphold the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and overthrow the bourgeois headquarters within the framework of the dictatorship of the proletariat; we must resolutely take the socialist road and overthrow the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Overthrowing the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road means precisely strengthening, and not weakening, the Party leadership. These fellows usurped the name of the Party leadership to defend their own bourgeois rule. This is absolutely impermissible. Only by overthrowing them can be genuinely consolidate the leadership of the Communist Party guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In order to make successful revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a strict distinction must be drawn between the two different types of contradictions and they must be handled correctly. Chairman Mao points out: "We are confronted by two types of social contradictions -- those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves. The two are totally different in their nature." "Since they are different in nature, the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and the contradictions among the people must be resolved by different methods. To put it briefly, the former are a matter of drawing a clear distinction between ourselves and the enemy, and the latter a matter of drawing a clear distinction between right and wrong."

Chairman Mao's theory about the two types of contradictions provides the theoretical basis for the strategic and tactical thinking of the proletariat to defeat the bourgeoisie. Only by drawing a correct distinction between the two different types of contradictions and handling them correctly is it possible gradually to unite more than 95 percent of the masses and more than 95 percent of the cadres, and to isolate the handful of enemies to the maximum and to strike at them. Only in this way is it possible to avoid Right or "Left" mistakes.

The contradictions between ourselves and the enemy are antagonistic. They are life-and-death struggles. The overthrown landlord class and bourgeoisie refuse to take their destruction lying down, but always attempt a comeback. They place their hopes for a come-back on the representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into our Party and the organs of political power. The contradiction between

the proletariat and this handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road is the principal contradiction to be resolved in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This revolution aims precisely to concentrate all forces to strike at the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, to regain for the proletariat the power they have usurped, and to criticize, repudiate and discredit them in a thoroughgoing way politically, ideologically and theoretically. This is the general orientation of the struggle.

The contradictions among the people, generally speaking, are non-antagonistic. The people's basic identity of interests underlies these contradictions. Many of the large numbers of complicated contradictions arising among the people in the great proletarian cultural revolution are, in essence, contradictions between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook, between proletarian ideology and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. In this revolution, certain cadres and certain leading members of mass organizations display individualism, the "small group" mentality and anarchism on a number of questions -- these are all manifestations of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois thinking.

These erroneous ideas impede the grasping of the general orientation of struggle, the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, the struggle to seize power through the revolutionary "three-in-one" combinations, and the directing of the spearhead of struggle at the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

Chairman Mao has criticized people with these ideas who "act as though the fewer the people, the smaller the circle, the better. Those who have this 'small circle' mentality resist the idea of bringing all positive factors into play, of uniting with everyone that can be united with, and of doing everything possible to turn negative factors into positive ones."

Chairman Mao teaches: "Inevitably, the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie will give expression to their own ideologies. Inevitably, they will stubbornly express themselves on political and ideological questions by every possible means."

The status of certain cadres and of leaders of certain mass organizations has changed; from being suppressed they are now in positions of authority. Many of these people continue to work hard and seriously, act in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and earnestly remould their own

ideology. But, some people ignore the question of the seizure of power from the "self-interest" in their own minds and the need for the constant use of proletarian ideology to overcome their own bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. This is very dangerous, because by preserving and even developing bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology they will find it absolutely impossible to implement the proletarian revolutionary line correctly, will inevitably try to transform the world in accordance with their own outlook, and will possibly themselves implement the bourgeois reactionary line.

No matter how complicated, contradictions among the people must be resolved through ideological struggle. This can only be carried out in accordance with the formula "unity, criticism, unity." It is essential, first of all, to start from the desire for unity. In order to overthrow our common enemy, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, we must unite and forge an alliance on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Only by starting from the desire for unity against the enemy can we make criticism based on facts and aimed at helping those criticized, and make serious self-criticism. Only thus can we achieve clarity in ideology, distinguish right from wrong and arrive at a new unity.

Those of the masses who once were members of conservative organizations should firmly draw a line of distinction between themselves and the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, and return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The proletarian revolutionaries ought to carry on meticulous political and ideological work among the masses who were misled into joining the conservative organizations. As for those who were once in conservative organizations and who have corrected or are correcting their mistakes, the proletarian revolutionaries should welcome them, help them, and unite with them in accordance with the principle "early or late, all who make revolution merit the same treatment," and together with them carry out successfully the tasks of struggle, criticism and transformation.

Chairman Mao teaches: "The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature or controversial issues among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression." In handling contradictions among the people, it is necessary to persuade through reasoning; the use of force or repression is absolutely impermissible. The methods of handling contradictions between ourselves and

the enemy absolutely cannot be allowed in this situation. When contradictions occur between revolutionary mass organizations, both sides should first make serious and sincere self-criticism, seek common ground on major issues while reserving their differences on minor points, grasp the general orientation of struggle and unite on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought. They should not revel in "civil war"; they should not attack or revile one another or use physical violence and cause disorder in solving contradictions among the people. If they act in this way the contradictions inevitably will be intensified and this will give the enemy an opportunity of which he can take advantage, thus saddening friends and gladdening enemies. They should realize that the class enemy takes advantage of the contradictions among the people to sow dissension and to stir up trouble in an attempt to carry out his plots. All revolutionaries must take full note of this and not play into his hands.

The fundamental method for resolving the various contradictions among the people is to make a creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, to undertake a rectification campaign to check up on the ranks ideologically and organizationally as well as on their style of work. It is essential to make self-criticism, to eliminate self-interest vigorously and promote utter devotion to the public interest, to remould one's ideology with the proletarian world outlook, to place Mao Tse-tung's thought in command of all and to remould all by means of it.

At present, the development of China's great proletarian cultural revolution is uneven. Therefore, proletarian revolutionaries in various areas and units must study this great work of Chairman Mao, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, with emphasis on points as required by the local situation of struggle and by the major questions existing there; they must sum up work, guide future actions in this light, resolutely bring about and consolidate the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination; they must thoroughly criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, carry out successfully the tasks of struggle, criticism and transformation in their own units and win new victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

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