

## TEXT 40

# CAPITALIST-ROADERS ARE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CAPITALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

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Class analysis is an important weapon for revolution. In his brilliant work, *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*, Chairman Mao points out: **“To distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes toward the revolution.”** This directive of Chairman Mao’s is of equally important guiding significance to our analysis of the class essence of Party capitalist roaders today and our understanding that Party capitalist roaders are the main target of the socialist revolution.

An economic status means a position in the relations of production in a given society. As Lenin pointed out, socialist society cannot but possess the features or characteristics of two kinds of socio-economic structure, and this is **“the period of struggle between decaying capitalism and nascent communism.”** (“Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat”) Capitalist roaders within the Party vainly attempt to restore capitalism by making the utmost effort to uphold the superstructure and relations of production which hinder the socialist economic base and the development of productive forces. In socialist society they are the representatives of the capitalist relations of production which have been vanquished but have not yet been eliminated.

Let us first take a look at the condition of ownership of the means of production. Our country at present practices basically the socialist system of state ownership and the socialist system of collective ownership. Under these two systems of ownership, the laboring people possess and allocate the means of production they collectively own through the state of proletarian dictatorship or collective economic units, and the power to allocate and manage the means of production and the power to distribute products are expressed in a concentrated way as the power of political leadership. Due to the existence of these two systems of ownership and the practice of the commodity system and exchange by means of money, the law of value and other economic

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categories which hold the dominating position in capitalist production are still operative, though they have been restricted. Not only between units of ownership by the whole people and units of collective ownership but also between various units of ownership by the whole people, independent economic accounting must be practiced under the socialist planned economy. Hence, whether people who control the power of leadership can genuinely carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, whether they can exploit certain positive effects at the present stage of such things as the law of value under the socialist planned economy or willfully extend the principle of exchange of commodities and diminish or undermine the socialist planned economy, has a direct bearing on the class nature of the system of ownership. Chairman Mao points out: **"It seems that it won't do not to carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for our foundation is not solid. Judging from my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories—I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority of them—leadership was not in the hands of genuine Marxists and the masses of workers. Not that there were no good people among those in charge of the factories. There were. There were good people among the secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of Party committees and among Party branch secretaries. But they were following that line of Liu Shao-chi—simply resorting to material incentives, putting profit in command and, instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth."** Here material incentives and putting profit in command are a manifestation of the vicious inflation of the principle of exchange of commodities. If leadership over a department or unit is controlled by capitalist roaders who energetically push the revisionist line, socialist production will turn into a movement to multiply the value of capital with the pursuit of maximum profits as the only goal, a capitalist wage labor system. While the socialist system of ownership is reduced to an "outer shell," it will actually become a capitalist system of ownership under the control of capitalist roaders, and the proletariat and the laboring people will in fact lose this part of the means of production.

Judging from the mutual relations between people, the socialist system, which is not based on exploitation and oppression of man by man, is one under which the relations between cadres and masses and between the higher and lower levels within revolutionary ranks should be comradely relations of equality. But after all, the three major differences still exist and the old practice of division of labor in society and the gradation system exist, and in these respects bourgeois rights still exist to a serious extent. Even those bourgeois rights in the mutual relations between people which must be eliminated today, such as rigid

gradation, lording it over and being divorced from the masses, unequal treatment of others, and so forth, often re-emerge after they have been broken. If the leadership of certain departments is usurped by capitalist roaders, they will strengthen and extend bourgeois rights in the relations between people, subject workers to "control, check, and repression," turn the socialist relations between people into capitalist mercenary relations, and enforce the bourgeois dictatorship. This situation is particularly obvious in the Soviet Union of today. In Soviet state-owned enterprises, the working class has become human material to exact surplus value. Managers can use any "reason" to lay off workers, who have only the "obligation" to "abide by labor discipline and internal rules," to work submissively. On Soviet collective farms, the directors lord it over the peasants and "do whatever they wish." As they themselves have admitted, they are "playing the role of a whip" toward the peasants. Look, the relations between a handful of capitalist roaders within the Soviet Party and the broad masses of workers and peasants have become relations between the employer and the employed, the ruler and the ruled. When exposing the relations between workers and capitalists in capitalist society, Marx and Engels pointed out: the workers **"are not only the slaves of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state, but are also enslaved every day and every hour by machines and the foremen, in the first place by the factory owners themselves."** (*Communist Manifesto*) Today, the revisionist lines pushed by the arch Party capitalist roaders like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping are, in the final analysis, aimed at re-tying the proletariat to the chains of capital and making them slaves of the bourgeois state.

Another feature of the bourgeoisie within the Party is its vigorous effort to strengthen and extend bourgeois rights in the field of distribution and possess the labor of others without compensation. Chairman Mao says: **"Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal too, as in the 8-grade wage scale, and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat."** In the period of socialism, there is no alternative to practicing the principle "from each according to his best, to each according to his work." This means distribution according to the different amounts of labor each laborer provides to society. But as Marx pointed out, **"Here the right of equality is in principle still a bourgeois right."** (*Critique of the Gotha Program*) In fact, many phenomena of inequality still exist in the field of distribution. Whether such inequalities should be gradually restricted and ultimately eliminated under the dictatorship of the proletariat or strengthened and extended at will is an important mark of distinction between Marxism and revisionism. Touching on the birth of

classes, Engels pointed out: **“With the appearance of disparities in distribution, class differences also appear. Society is divided into the privileged and the under-privileged, the exploiter and the exploited, the ruler and the ruled.”** (*Anti-Duhring*) To extend bourgeois rights in distribution actually smacks of allowing a section of people to possess the labor of another section of people without compensation, which means extending class differences. Today in the Soviet Union, hasn't a handful of the bourgeois privileged stratum and spiritual aristocracy headed by Brezhnev formed and developed into an exploiting class in the course of restoring capitalism? By exploiting the position and authority they have usurped, through such means as raising wages, bonuses and payments for manuscripts, and by way of all sorts of privileges, corruption, theft and profiteering, they expropriate the fruits of labor of the workers and peasants in a big way. On the other hand, the masses of workers and peasants are entirely placed in the position of the enslaved and the exploited and are increasingly stricken with poverty. The historical lesson of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union fully shows how important it is for a socialist state, while consolidating the proletarian dictatorship and public ownership of the means of production, to strive to restrict bourgeois rights in the field of distribution in order to prevent the Party and state from changing color. That was why Marx, in summing up the experience of the Paris Commune, especially praised the measures taken by the heroes of the Commune: **“All public functionaries from the top down, beginning with members of the Commune Committee, should draw a salary equivalent to the wages of the worker. All privileges enjoyed by senior state officials and their office expenses should disappear with the disappearance of these officials.”** (*The Civil War in France*) The reason why renegades from Marxism like Teng Hsiao-ping resent and fear the criticism and restriction of bourgeois rights is that bourgeois rights are the very lifeblood of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and that to restrict bourgeois rights is to make revolution against them.

Through a class analysis, we can see clearly that Party capitalist roaders in power like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping, by the position they occupy in the relations of production in society today, fully represent the decadent capitalist relations of production. As individuals, they may not necessarily own capital, run factories and operate banks like the former capitalists, but their political line which energetically upholds the capitalist relations of production reflects in a concentrated way the economic interests and political aspirations of the bourgeoisie as a whole. If the capitalist **“is only the personalization of capital, then his soul is the soul of capital”** (*Capital*). In that case, the soul of these members of the bourgeoisie within the Party like Liu

Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping is the soul of the old bourgeoisie which is dreaming of a comeback though it has been overthrown and of the new bourgeoisie which is being engendered and vainly attempts to seize control. Once they usurp the Party and state power, they will completely overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, change the nature of the socialist system of public ownership and openly restore the capitalist system. By then, capitalist roaders, big and small, will re-divide among themselves and in proportion to their capital and power, all the wealth created by the laboring people. Lin Piao cooked up the "Outline of Project '571'" and staged a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'état; Teng Hsiao-ping made every effort to promote restoration and reverse verdicts and engineered the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square. This exposed in a big way the reactionary essence of the bourgeoisie.

The appearance of capitalist roaders within the Party in the socialist period, apart from being attributed to various causes such as the existence of bourgeois rights and encirclement by imperialism and social-imperialism, is not fortuitous, judging by the social position capitalist roaders occupy. After describing "how people who were public servants of society at first gradually turned into its masters while the going was smooth" in the latter stages of the primitive society, Engels pointed out that one of the underlying factors was that: the work of safeguarding public interests, **"though it was under the supervision by all society, could not but be carried out by individual members."** (*Anti-Duhring*) Because these "individual members" took advantage of the opportunity accorded by their management of public property and exploited their power to distribute articles of consumption and products to make private gains and own more surplus product than others, sprouts of private ownership appeared on the land under the clan system of public ownership and, as a result, those who were originally "servants" of society became rulers enjoying all sorts of privileges. Although the birth of capitalist roaders is much more complicated, there are also similarities. When later Engels summed up the historical experience of the Paris Commune, he again stated that after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it was necessary to **"prevent the state and state organs from turning from servants of society into its masters"** and **"pursuing their own special interests."** ("Engels Introduction to the 1891 edition of *The Civil War in France*") Chairman Mao also pointed out recently: **"After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials**

**and want to protect the interests of the high officials.”** These remarks made by the mentors of revolution not only hit the Party capitalist roaders where it hurts most, but also elucidate an important cause behind the appearance of capitalist roaders within the Party in the socialist period.

The appearance of capitalist roaders within the Party in the period of socialism is not strange at all. Everything is divided into two. The political party of the proletariat is no exception. So long as classes, class contradictions and class struggle remain, such struggles will inevitably be reflected in the Party. **“The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road”**—this will be a long-term historical phenomenon. Marxism is different from revisionism in that the latter is afraid of mentioning the existence of class struggle in socialist society, and particularly the appearance of the bourgeoisie within the Party. Khrushchev, Brezhnev and their like tried to deceive themselves and others with such fallacies as “The party of the whole people” and “the state of the whole people.” And Teng Hsiao-ping is as afraid of hearing the term “capitalist roaders” as Ah Q is of hearing others talk about the scab on his head. This is because if they admit this fact, it is tantamount to admitting that they themselves are the bourgeoisie inside the Party and it means their destruction. This to them is both painful and unthinkable. The proletarian revolutionary party and Marxists not only dare to admit that the bourgeoisie may exist within the Party but also dare to wage the Great Cultural Revolution and arouse the masses in airing views, putting up big-character posters and holding mass debates in a resolute struggle against capitalist roaders. For it is only in this way that we can consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration and finally send the bourgeoisie to its grave and realize communism. The socialist revolution is a great revolution aimed at burying the last exploiting class ever since mankind came to existence. **“Living in such an era, we must be prepared to wage a great struggle which has many features different in form from those of the past.”** This then requires us to apply the method of class analysis to fully understand the features of class struggle and the changes in class relations so as to make clear this important problem—the bourgeoisie being in the Party, persist in the exercise of overall proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and thus carry the socialist revolution through to the end.