

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IS RELENTLESS

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Recently when the great proletarian cultural revolution made further development, our great leader, Chairman Mao, issued a timely directive: "We must learn to guide the petty bourgeois thoughts in our rank and file into the proletarian revolution. This is the key to the success of the great proletarian cultural revolution." By "key," it means that it is a great problem which decides the success or failure of the great cultural revolution. All proletarian revolutionaries must pay full attention to this directive and resolutely execute it.

The petty bourgeoisie is always a potential political force swinging between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. By "swinging," we mean that at each critical point of the revolution the petty bourgeoisie began to have doubt about the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin pointed out: "Inevitably and unavoidably, the petty bourgeoisie will swing between the dictatorship of the proletariat and that of the bourgeoisie." This is also true of the petty bourgeoisie in the great proletarian cultural revolution today.

The wavering attitude of the petty bourgeoisie is determined, first of all, by its social status. On the one hand, the petty bourgeoisie has various kinds of relationships with the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, it tends to resist the bourgeoisie because of the latter's oppression. Thus, the petty bourgeoisie is in a very special and contradictory position. The peculiarity of the petty bourgeoisie's position decides its attitude in each period. Before the liberation, it attempted to achieve its liberation by reform methods and through a compromise with the bourgeoisie. When this attempt was frustrated (inevitably frustrated), the petty bourgeoisie

began to join the forces of the proletariat and its anti-bourgeois struggle. The peculiarity of the petty bourgeoisie's position also decided this: after the liberation and the seizure of power, it attempted to abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat by conciliatory attitudes. This vacillating nature of the petty bourgeoisie was often utilized by the bourgeoisie.

After seizing power, the first and foremost task of the proletariat is to strengthen its dictatorship and to use the machinery of its dictatorship to deal a relentless blow to the attempt to restore capitalism in order to consolidate the power of the proletarian dictatorship. The petty bourgeoisie which is in all kinds of connections with the bourgeoisie, will repeat its weakness and sentimentism because of its class nature and express sympathy for the bourgeoisie, hoping that the method of reconciliation can be used to deal with the bourgeoisie. Failure to reform their world outlook by Mao Tse-tung's thought and to change their original position and viewpoint, this kind of persons will soon lean over to the bourgeois side and from there condemn the ruthlessness of the dictatorship of the proletariat and lecture the proletariat in a vulgar intellectual's tone: "Why so ruthless to the bourgeoisie; it is not necessary at all..."

Chairman Mao said: "The nature of a revolutionary dictatorship is different from that of a counterrevolutionary dictatorship. However, the former learned from the latter." Lenin also said: "Dictatorship is an iron political rule; it is a regime full of revolutionary courage and swift action; it is a regime which exercises relentless suppression of the exploiters and the gangsters." Such is our reply to the petty bourgeoisie. We say: In dealing with the bourgeoisie, we have to be cruel and ruthless; otherwise, they will attempt to restore capitalism and reverse the dynasty. Let us ask them: why were they so ruthless to the proletariat? Why were they so relentless to the proletariat? And why did they make so many attempts to attack the proletariat after it had seized power? The exercise of a ruthless dictatorship by the proletariat over the bourgeoisie is a due punishment of the latter.

On the other hand, what the petty bourgeoisie is looking for is absolute freedom. It wants to put itself beyond everything, to do whatever it wishes to do without restrictions. The dictatorship of the proletariat and its iron discipline has inevitably offended these vain and arrogant petty bourgeois. Thus, they became discontented with the proletarian dictatorship and attempted to destroy its discipline. They even bombed the proletarian headquarters and condemned the dictatorship of the proletariat as being something without democracy and freedom. They helped the bourgeoisie to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and thus become renegades of the revolution.

In "The Manifesto of the Communist Party," Marx made two profound points with respect to the characteristics of the petty bourgeoisie when involved in a revolutionary force and their two kinds of future: "Their struggle against the bourgeoisie is to save their middle-class living and life. They are by no means revolutionary, but conservative. Moreover, they are even reactionary because they make great effort to pull back the wheels of history. If they are revolutionary, that only means that they may join the proletarian forces; they want to protect their future interest, not their present interest; they may give up their own point of view and accept the proletarian point of view."

Since the May Fourth Movement and the December 9th Movement, how many of those popular petty bourgeois have been really and thoroughly revolutionary? And how many of them have followed Chairman Mao until the present? This is a profound historical lesson. We must never forget it.

Our epoch is the epoch of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The contemporary petty bourgeoisie has better conditions than in any previous period to take the thoroughly revolutionary path. Only if we can skillfully use Mao Tse-tung's thought to guide them to the proletarian revolutionary road, they can become proletarian revolutionaries. Of course, a few of them will inevitably take the reactionary road and thus become the die-hard enemies of the proletariat. But this is the law of class struggle which cannot be changed by human will.