

# Putting Politics First Is Fundamental To All Work

**W**HETHER or not we put proletarian politics first is a question that concerns which direction we will go: whether we will keep steadfastly to the socialist road or not; whether our society will advance to communism or revert to capitalism.

It is some time now since our country entered the stage of socialism but many comrades are still very unclear about this question. Some have given it no serious thought; others still have reservations. Some comrades think that since the revolution has succeeded and our country has already entered the stage of socialist construction, construction under the socialist system naturally means developing socialism, so how can there be any question of which direction we are going? Actually, these comrades do not understand that, in a socialist country, construction depends primarily on politics. Without proletarian politics we may lose our bearings and get nothing done well.

## Relationship Between Politics and Economics

To clarify this question, let us first get a clear idea of the relationship between politics and economics.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung teaches us: "Politics, whether revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, is the struggle of class against class." He also points out: "Economics is the base and politics the concentrated expression of economics."

Class struggle is the motive force in the development of class society. The relations of men to each other in the process of production, that is, the relations of production, are the basis of classes and class struggle. Landlords own land, and use it to exploit the peasants; the bourgeoisie owns factories, mines and other means of production, and use them to exploit the proletariat. The class struggle between the ruling classes and the classes under their rule is a concentrated expression of the relationship between exploitation and anti-exploitation in the economic sphere. In order to consolidate the economic system of exploitation of man by man, the ruling classes employ the state machine to suppress the resistance of the exploited classes. In order to overthrow the system of exploitation and establish an economic system which conforms to their own class interests, the classes that are ruled must carry out a violent revolution and seize state power, and, relying on their state power, establish, consolidate and develop their new economic system. Feudal economy was born in slave society, but it was consolidated and developed only after

the feudal class overthrew the slave system. Capitalist economy was born in feudal society, but it, too, became consolidated and developed only after the bourgeoisie had overthrown the feudal system. Socialist economy is different to the economies of the slave system, of feudalism and capitalism. It is an economy that has eliminated private ownership of the means of production. It cannot be born within capitalist society; it can only emerge and grow when the proletarian revolution has destroyed the bourgeois state machine and the proletarian dictatorship has been set up.

Lenin said: "... without a proper political approach to the subject the given class cannot maintain its rule, and consequently cannot solve its own production problems." "Politics cannot but have precedence over economics."

That is to say, all class societies put politics first, the politics of one class or another. The economic system depends on politics to clear the road for it, protect it and develop it. Politics serve the economic base.

In a socialist society, it is all the more imperative that politics be put in first place.

## Class Struggle in Socialist Society

It is true that in a socialist country private ownership of the means of production has been transformed and socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership have been established. But this does not mean that the socialist system has been perfected and consolidated and classes and class struggle no longer exist. In a socialist society, there exist two types of social contradictions: namely, contradictions among the people, and contradictions between the people and their enemies. The entire stage of socialism, from beginning to end, is attended by class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism. Class struggle remains the motive force in the development of socialist society. Only by persevering in class struggle can the socialist system become consolidated and grow, can classes and class distinctions be gradually eliminated and the transition to communism accomplished.

Our reason for stressing that politics must be put first and that we must consciously wage class struggle is in line with this law of development of socialist society.

In a socialist society, class struggle is far from over when the socialist revolution on the economic front is

in the main completed. The bourgeoisie and the other overthrown reactionary classes always try to make a come-back. They try to usurp leadership in our primary organizations by sneaking into our ranks or dragging our cadres into their camp. They collude with new bourgeois elements, embezzlers, grafters and degenerates and ceaselessly carry on speculative activities; they carry on all sorts of intrigues to undermine the economic foundations of socialism. All such phenomena show that not all is well on the economic front but that grave class struggles exist. Under such circumstances, if proletarian politics is not placed in first place, if class struggle is not taken as the key factor, if no effort is made to persevere in the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, then the socialist society will retrogress and eventually revert to capitalism.

Many contradictions among the people still exist within the socialist economy, within enterprises owned by the whole people, within the people's communes under collective ownership, and between the state, the collective and the individual. If proletarian politics is not put in first place to resolve this type of contradictions in time, they will grow and may even change into antagonistic contradictions.

### **New Relationship Between Man and Man in Socialist Society**

In the old society, the relationship between man and man in production and labour is that of the ruler to the ruled. In a socialist society, the transformation of private ownership to public ownership in the means of production fundamentally changes the relationship between man and man of the ruler to the ruled to one of equality, mutual aid and co-operation between ordinary working people. But this new relationship does not come into being automatically with the transformation in ownership. The old systems of management left over by the bourgeoisie, the set patterns and formulae copied from abroad, the influence of bourgeois and feudal ideas and the force of habit of all kinds hinder the formation of a new relationship between man and man under the socialist system.

In a socialist society, the new relationship between man and man finds concentrated expression in the relationship between the cadres and the masses. Cadres at all levels of the Communist Party and the state are servants of the people, not overlords sitting on their backs. Between cadres of the Party and the state and the masses, there exists only the distinction arising from division of work, but no distinction of high and low, superior and inferior. The cadres should go out among the masses as plain working people and must not enjoy any privileges. To put this principle thoroughly into effect, it is necessary to put proletarian politics first, strictly practise socialist principles and solve this question ideologically and by systems and regulations, so that the relationship between man and man in production and labour left over by the old society is completely changed. Otherwise it will be possible for cadres

to use their power to put themselves in privileged positions and get more than their due or even turn to embezzling and graft and usurp the fruits of others' labour. The result will be the emergence of a privileged stratum to the detriment of socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership. The social base on which the Khrushchov revisionist clique is effecting the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union is precisely a privileged stratum of this kind. Using their power of control over the means of production and over the means of livelihood, they are embezzling the fruits of the labour of the Soviet people and changing the system of distribution of "to each according to his work." As a result, the industrial and mining enterprises and collective farms have been turned into instruments whereby they make money and get rich. Socialist ownership by the whole people and by the collective is gradually being turned into something superficial, while in actual fact there is a degeneration into ownership by the privileged stratum. This altered form of the relations of production between exploiter and exploited creates the basis for a new class struggle of an antagonistic nature. It follows that in a socialist society, after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production is in the main completed, proletarian politics must still be put first in order that a new relationship between man and man in production and labour is gradually established and developed and the emergence of a new privileged stratum is prevented. Only so is it possible to consolidate and develop socialist ownership, destroy the roots of revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and ensure the steady advance of the socialist cause.

### **Struggle Between Socialism and Capitalism in The Political and Ideological Spheres**

In a socialist society, the question of "who will win in the political and ideological spheres, socialism or capitalism?" will be resolved in protracted and intense class struggle. This is because once the socialist revolution on the economic front is in the main completed, the class enemy in its attempt to restore capitalism has to gain the upper hand first of all on the political and ideological fronts. Bourgeois and feudal ideas still command considerable influence in the political, and in particular in the ideological, realm — in the fields of art and literature, history, philosophy, economics, education, journalism and so on — since there are still bourgeois elements and bourgeois intellectuals who have not been reformed or not been sufficiently reformed, and the spontaneous tendency to capitalism still exists. Some places or departments are even still dominated by these bourgeois and feudal ideas. The class enemy tries to take advantage of these factors to effect a "peaceful evolution" within socialism. Unless proletarian politics is put first, unless attention is paid to the class struggle on the political and ideological fronts, bourgeois politics will certainly come to the fore and the poisonous stream of bourgeois and other non-proletarian ideas will rise unhindered to a flood.

The proletariat wants to transform the world in line with its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. If proletarian ideas do not take hold of people's minds, they will certainly be taken hold of by bourgeois ideas. Therefore, we must persist in the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship — vigorously develop proletarian ideas and thoroughly eliminate bourgeois ideas, defeat the attacks of the bourgeoisie against socialism in the political and ideological realms, and ceaselessly consolidate and expand proletarian positions there. Only so can we transform the people's subjective world while transforming the objective world. Only so can we overcome and eventually eradicate bourgeois and other non-proletarian ideas, give a great forward thrust to the communist consciousness and moral qualities of the entire people, develop the initiative of the masses in socialist construction, consolidate and develop the socialist system, cultivate a new generation for the cause of communism, and thus guarantee the future transition to communism.

Communism is our ultimate goal. In the course of building socialism, while greatly developing the forces of production we must gradually narrow the gaps between worker and peasant, town and country and manual and mental labour. This is a long-term historical task. If we do not take effective revolutionary measures in the course of building socialism and widen rather than narrow these gaps, we will not be able to advance to communism but will certainly slip back to capitalism. In order to narrow these gaps, it is above all necessary to put proletarian politics first and, under the command of proletarian politics, greatly develop the forces of production.

### Lessons Provided by the Soviet Union

Since usurping the leadership of the Party and the state in the Soviet Union, the Khrushchov revisionist clique has led the world's first socialist country on to the road of restoration of capitalism. This grave historical lesson forces us to ponder seriously over this question: How can such a restoration of capitalism be avoided? This is a tremendously important problem as yet unresolved in the history of the international communist movement. Drawing lessons from what has happened in the Soviet Union, our Party and Government must adopt political lines, principles, policies and measures — our policies on labour, distribution, education, art and literature, cadres, relations with other countries, and our work in every field: industry, agriculture, transport and telecommunications, trade, military affairs, public security, culture, education, health, foreign affairs, and Party work — which help the consolidation and development of socialism, the gradual bridging of the gaps between worker and peasant, town and country and manual and mental labour, and prevent a capitalist come-back. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have not only formulated the general line for socialist construction, but have put forward a series of prin-

ciples, policies and measures. These include the socialist education movement, the two kinds of educational system, the two forms of labour, the system of cadres participating in physical labour, and of building new-style industrial and mining areas in which industry and agriculture and town and countryside are integrated. All these are related to the aim of gradually closing the gaps between worker and peasant, town and country and manual and mental labour.

When any measure directed towards closing these gaps is put into practice, it inevitably comes up against opposition from the old forces in society. And, in essence, the struggle against these old forces is a struggle between two opposing classes, between two roads. If in this class struggle we do not persist in proletarian politics, in keeping to the communist direction, in fighting back against the bourgeois forces — whatever form they take — these gaps will widen, the socialist superstructure will degenerate and change its nature, the socialist cause will be undermined, the bourgeois forces will grow into a flood and the socialist revolution will fail half way.

### Chairman Mao's Warning

In 1963, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out to the whole Party: "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. They are a reliable guarantee that the proletariat will be able to unite with the broad working masses and realize a democratic dictatorship. If, in the absence of these movements, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and ogres of all kinds were allowed to crawl out, while our cadres were to shut their eyes to all this and in many cases fail even to differentiate between the enemy and ourselves but were to collaborate with the enemy and become corrupted and demoralized, if our cadres were thus dragged into the enemy camp or the enemy were able to sneak into our ranks, and if many of our workers, peasants, and intellectuals were left defenceless against both the soft and the hard tactics of the enemy, 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 colour." We should always bear in mind this warning from Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Guided by Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the Chinese Communist Party has built up a fine tradition of putting politics first. When our Party formed the first detachment of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and established the first revolutionary base more than 30 years ago, Comrade Mao Tse-tung already pointed

out the importance of political work, criticized a purely military viewpoint, and clearly pointed out that politics must be in command of military affairs. Since then, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always emphasized that politics must be in command, that it is the very soul of all our work. This was true in the period of the democratic revolution, and it is even more true in the period of the socialist revolution. Precisely because of this, our Party has led the Chinese people from one great victory to another. Today, a new upsurge is shaping up throughout the country in industry and agriculture and in the study of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's writings, and this, too, is precisely a result of putting proletarian politics first.

In every department and on every front our comrades must put politics first, put Mao Tse-tung's thinking to the fore, and carry the socialist revolution through to the very end, consolidate and develop the

socialist system, and make our country a powerful socialist state with a modernized industry, agriculture, national defence, and science and technology, exert efforts in support of the world revolution, and fully prepare the material and ideological conditions for the gradual transition to communism in the future.

A big debate on the relation between politics and particular profession is now taking place in every department or unit throughout the country. Party organizations at all levels must strengthen their leadership in this debate, so that through it the cadres and masses will fully understand the truth that putting politics first is fundamental to all work, so that they will raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, steadfastly put politics first always and in every kind of work and so ensure that we do our work better.

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