

ANG

PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS  
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG  
MARXISMO-LENINISMO-MAOISMO



# Bayan

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## On the 50th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China

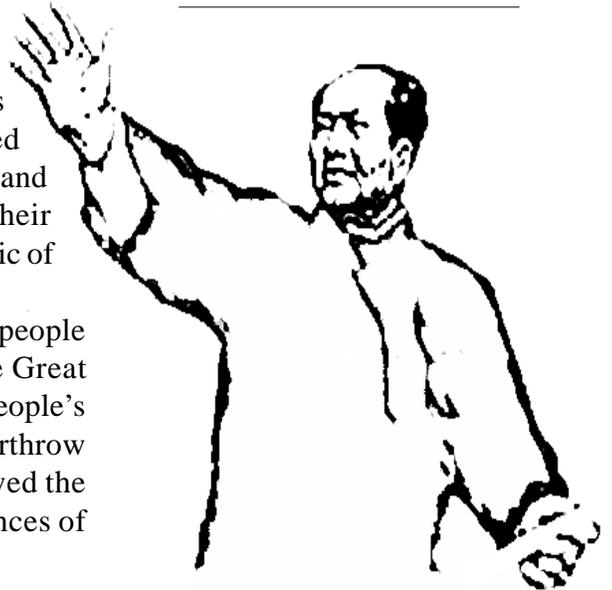
*Central Committee  
Communist Party of the Philippines*

**O**n the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, we celebrate the victory of the Chinese people in the new-democratic revolution against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Victory was won because the revolution was led by the proletariat through the Communist Party of China, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and under the great leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong. In this regard, we honor all the martyrs and heroes of the revolution, the cadres and members of the Communist Party of China, the Red commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army and the entire Chinese people of various nationalities for all their efforts and sacrifices towards founding the People's Republic of China.

We likewise celebrate all the victories of the Chinese people in socialist revolution and socialist construction and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution since the founding of the People's Republic of China. At the same time, we condemn the overthrow of the proletariat and the capitalist restoration that followed the death of Comrade Mao and we decry the bitter consequences of the betrayal of socialism.

WE LIKEWISE CELEBRATE ALL THE VICTORIES OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE IN SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION AND THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. AT THE SAME TIME, WE CONDEMN THE OVERTHROW OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE CAPITALIST RESTORATION THAT FOLLOWED THE DEATH OF COMRADE MAO AND WE DECRY THE BITTER CONSEQUENCES OF THE BETRAYAL OF SOCIALISM.



## 1. The People's Republic of China: 1949-76

The founding of the People's Republic of China constituted a great victory of the proletariat and people of the world. It signaled the greatest social revolution in the second half of the 20th century, with the new-democratic stage of the Chinese revolution passing on to the socialist stage. A quarter of humanity liberated itself from the shackles of imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords through a protracted people's war under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat.

The nationwide seizure of political power meant the basic completion of the new-democratic revolution and the end of semicolonial and semifeudal conditions. The Chinese proletariat and people proceeded to carry out socialist revolution and construction, with due attention to the necessary periods of transition for reconstruction and rehabilitation and for the basic socialist transformation in the ownership of the means of production.

Even as the state took the form of the people's democratic dictatorship, on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, the main political factors of socialism were the class leadership of the proletariat through the CPC in the state and society and the main component of state power being the People's Liberation Army (PLA) under the command of the CPC. The class dictatorship of the proletariat was at the core of the people's democratic dictatorship.

The main economic factors of socialism were the state-owned sector of the economy (as a result of the confiscation of industrial enterprises, banks, major sources of raw materials and lines of distribution from the imperialists and the bureaucrat bourgeoisie), the cooperative enterprises, the establishment of new state-owned industries and the development of agricultural cooperation in stages.

In leading the socialist revolution and construction, Comrade Mao was ever mindful of class struggle as the key point and consistently pursued the line of trusting and relying on the masses. On the eve of the total victory of the Chinese revolution, he reiterated Lenin's teaching that socialism would take a whole historical epoch and that the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie would continue and intensify in various forms in socialist society.

Comrade Mao upheld the revolutionary principles of the proletariat in the Communist Manifesto and the lessons learned from the Paris Commune of 1871 and Soviet experience, from the period of socialism to that of modern revisionism.

He learned from the teachings of Marx on the problems in socialist society, such as the vestiges and adverse influence of the defeated bourgeois class and the contradictions between the working class and the peasantry, between town and country and between manual and mental work. He also learned from Lenin's teachings on the temporary concessions to middle and petty producers and traders in a period of

transition, petty commodity production engendering the bourgeoisie, the persistence of old ideas, customs and habits and the influence of the international bourgeoisie on the domestic bourgeoisie.

Under the leadership of Comrade Mao, the Communist Party of China exercised vigilance against corruption in the period of reconstruction and rehabilitation. After the basic socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, he called for the diminution and elimination of the concessions to the patriotic bourgeoisie and for availing of the masses' revolutionary enthusiasm for accelerating the building of socialism.

Self-reliantly, China succeeded in building her industrial foundation, collectivize agriculture, make a big headway in agricultural mechanization and provide for the basic needs of the toiling masses of workers and peasants. The basic framework for socialist construction involved developing basic and heavy industry as the leading factor, agriculture as the economic base and light industry as the bridging factor, for the purpose of serving the immediate social needs of the people and accumulate the capital requirements for development.

In a series of five-year plans, China made gigantic achievements in socialist construction. The Great Leap Forward was crucial in accelerating socialist

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**THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD WAS  
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THROUGH THE PEOPLE'S  
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THE DIFFICULTIES POSED BY  
IMPERIALIST EMBARGO, SOVIET  
REVISIONIST BETRAYAL AND  
NATURAL CALAMITIES AND THE  
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development in an all-round way, building industry in a balanced way and raising the level of agricultural cooperation through the people's communes, and in overcoming the difficulties posed by imperialist embargo, Soviet revisionist betrayal and natural calamities and the sabotage by the domestic phony communists, who were Bukharinites and revisionists trying all they could to enlarge the privileges of the bourgeoisie and the rich peasants.

It was relatively easy to identify the counterrevolutionaries who actively fought the revolution, punish severely only the very few who had incurred blood debts and remained unrepentant. It was also relatively easy to investigate, prosecute and try the criminals during the anticorruption campaign. But most difficult for the proletarian revolutionaries to

struggle against were persons in authority in the Party and the state who opposed the revolutionary line of building socialism. These revisionists were headed by Liu Shaochi and Deng Xiaoping.

These representatives of the bourgeoisie wished to prolong the privileges of the bourgeoisie, feathered their own nests or built independent kingdoms, espoused the consolidation or full development of a bourgeois economy prior to socialism, pushed the mechanistic notion that building socialism was merely a matter of developing the productive forces and proclaimed the dying out of the class struggle.

The class struggle was continuous between the proletarian revolutionaries and the bourgeois renegades within no less than the Central Committee of the CPC. At the 8th Congress of the CPC, Mao was ridiculed behind his back as a know-nothing in economics by so-called experts. In fact, he was most outstanding in understanding Marxist-Leninist political economy, the Chinese social and economic situation and the lessons from the Soviet experience. He was subjected to the most vicious attacks by the Rightists and by the covert revisionists up to the time of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road used the trickiest tactics in opposing Mao's socialist line in the Great Leap Forward. They pushed hard their Rightist line. When their Rightist line was rebuffed, they whipped up an ultra-Left line to sabotage and discredit the correct line and policy. When Mao called for adjustments, they claimed credit for these in order to further attack him. He consistently applied his materialist dialectical view of theory and practice advancing wave upon wave.

He always fought back in a principled way, drawing from his profound and comprehensive study and practice of Marxism-Leninism and relying on the masses and on democratic debate and persuasion. He called for a socialist education movement and identified the ranks of revisionist bureaucrats as the most dangerous breeding ground of the bourgeoisie. But the socialist education movement fell short of its objectives because of sabotage and self-promotion by the revisionist renegades.

Comrade Mao recognized that parts of the Communist Party and the socialist state had been taken over by the bourgeoisie and that there was an urgent need to wage class struggle against the capitalist-roaders and to ensure the consolidation and continuity of socialism. Thus, he put forward the theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in order to combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate socialism.

The purpose of the cultural revolution was to uphold class struggle as the key link in building socialism, promote the primacy of the socialist relations over the forces of production and revolutionize the superstructure in order to realize the cultural hegemony of the working class and serve the socialist revolution and construction. In brief, grasp

revolution and promote production.

The greatest achievement of Comrade Mao is his theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship. It grew out of his study of the teachings and experience of his great communist predecessors, from the rich revolutionary history and circumstances of the Chinese people and from his criticism and repudiation of modern revisionism and the betrayal of socialism by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution aroused, organized and mobilized hundreds of millions of the Chinese people. It was democracy on the most extensive scale, unprecedented in the entire history of mankind and was a process whereby the workers and peasants exercised their democratic right to uphold, defend and advance socialism. It struck against the bourgeois headquarters within the Communist Party, brought the Party

closer to the people, made the conduct and remuneration of cadres in accordance with the standards set by the Paris Commune and took away the remaining excessive privileges of the old bourgeoisie.

It gave revolutionary experience and training to the youth and weakened the influence of the petty bourgeoisie as the biggest social base of modern revisionism in socialist society. It sent the youth to the workers and peasants in order to learn from them. It promoted revolutionary education and created exemplary cultural works and artistic productions. It trained health workers in large numbers to serve the people, especially in the countryside.

It established revolutionary organs of political power combining the representatives of the Party, the masses and the people's army and balancing the proportions of the young, middle-aged and elders. It also created a new system of factory leadership which combined the representatives of the Party, the workers and the experts who were rotated to work on the bench. It sought to increase the effective scope of the commune to the level of the county.

The GPCR succeeded in carrying out its objectives for 10 years, from 1966 to 1976. In its own period, it succeeded in revolutionizing both the social base and the superstructure of Chinese society. And it raised the level of industrial and agricultural production, so much so that the revisionist renegades would raise the demagogic and economic clamor for enjoying the fruits of initial prosperity. Without the cultural revolution, the proletarian revolutionary line of Mao would have been earlier defeated by the bourgeois renegades.

While the cultural revolution was going on, some people could not believe that persons like Liu Shaochi and Deng Xiaoping could be revisionist renegades because of the high positions that they had gained in the CPC. But the correctness of Mao in posing the problem of revisionism and in conducting the cultural revolution is thoroughly confirmed by the actual restoration of capitalism after his death.

The theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship is so far the highest level of development of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. Like the Paris Commune of 1871, the cultural revolution succeeded only for a certain period but laid down the basic principles and methods for further development to win greater and more lasting victories in building and defending socialism until the attainment of communism.

Certain errors undermined the cultural revolution and led to its reversal after the death of Mao. We can mention some of the major errors. Both the Right and ultra-Left opportunists whipped up factionalism. The dictatorship of the proletariat was not exercised effectively to permanently retire the Rightists and prevent them from combining with the centrists against the Left. However, these errors do not invalidate the theory and practice of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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IT STRUCK AGAINST THE  
BOURGEOIS HEADQUARTERS  
WITHIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY,  
BROUGHT THE PARTY CLOSER TO  
THE PEOPLE, MADE THE CONDUCT  
AND REMUNERATION OF CADRES IN  
ACCORDANCE WITH THE  
STANDARDS SET BY THE PARIS  
COMMUNE AND TOOK AWAY THE  
REMAINING EXCESSIVE  
PRIVILEGES OF THE OLD  
BOURGEOISIE.**

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Thanks to Comrade Mao, we have a lasting weapon to wield and improve upon in order to defeat the revisionist renegades that will surely arise in socialist societies that the workers and people will build in the future. Right now, we have a clear answer to the taunts of the imperialists and local reactionaries that socialism cannot solve and stop capitalist restoration.

Under the leadership of Comrade Mao, the People's Republic of China adopted a socialist foreign policy. This was guided by the overriding principle of proletarian internationalism. It distinguished and correlated the revolutionary movements of the people and the implementation of the five principles of peaceful coexistence in the diplomatic relations of states. Comrade Mao led the genuine communist and workers' parties in combating modern revisionism, including Khrushchov's general line of peaceful coexistence and Brezhnev's blatant social-imperialism.

China gave the highest importance to extending moral and material support to the international communist and workers' movement and to the wars of national liberation against imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America. At great sacrifice, China acted as a powerful rear and extended all the support it could to the people of Korea and Indochina who waged wars of national liberation against US imperialism.

## **2. Capitalist Restoration: 1976- Present**

As we celebrate the glorious achievements of the People's Republic of China up to 1976, we must condemn the overthrow of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism under the deceptive slogan of reforms and the reintegration of China into the world capitalist system under the equally deceptive slogan of opening up. The antisocialist counterrevolution has gone on since 1976 and indubitably so since the Third Plenum of the 10th CPC Central Committee in July 1977 under the sway of the capitalist-roaders headed by Deng Xiaoping.

After seizing political power, the Chinese revisionists restored capitalism in a faster and more brazen way than the Soviet revisionists had done. The leading role of the proletariat in economic planning and in the management of enterprises was removed. The 3-in-1 combination of representatives of the Party, the workers and the experts comprising factory leadership was broken up.

The bourgeoisified bureaucrats and experts became overlords. They engaged in self-aggrandizing cost-and-profit accounting and acquired the power to hire and fire workers and to buy and sell equipment and products as they deemed profitable for their isolated units. Organs and units of the Party and the people's army were encouraged to own and run enterprises for their narrow benefit and were thus corrupted and converted to capitalism.

The old bourgeoisie received huge amounts of capital in various ways and was allowed to set up private enterprises and borrow funds from the state banks. Bureaucrats privatized rural industries at first

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**THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF CONTINUING REVOLUTION UNDER PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP IS SO FAR THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT OF MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY AND PRACTICE. THANKS TO COMRADE MAO, WE HAVE A LASTING WEAPON TO WIELD AND IMPROVE UPON IN ORDER TO DEFEAT THE REVISIONIST RENEGADES THAT WILL SURELY ARISE IN SOCIALIST SOCIETIES THAT THE WORKERS AND PEOPLE WILL BUILD IN THE FUTURE. RIGHT NOW, WE HAVE A CLEAR ANSWER TO THE TAUNTS OF THE IMPERIALISTS AND LOCAL REACTIONARIES THAT SOCIALISM CANNOT SOLVE AND STOP CAPITALIST RESTORATION.**

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under the legal fiction of management lease. The people's communes were dismantled under the retrogressive slogan of household responsibility system. This meant the destruction of the base of the self-reliant socialist economy and the rapid emergence of the rich peasants at the expense of the majority of the peasants.

Under Deng's big comprador concept of modernization and bourgeois liberalization of the economy, investment and trade privileges have been extended to both foreign and domestic big bourgeoisie on the argument that the way to develop China is to gain access to foreign investments, technology and the world capitalist market. Thus the imperialists and domestic bourgeoisie have Taiwanized the Chinese economy. This has become subject to the policy

dictates of foreign monopoly capitalism and such multilateral agencies as the IMF, World Bank and WTO.

The export of low value-added semimanufactures to the imperialist countries and the import of consumer goods from said countries have gained such high importance that they influence the patterns of investment and consumption in China as in any neocolony. The state-owned heavy and basic industries have been undermined, subordinated to both the private and bureaucrat capitalists and have become subject to privatization and closure as in the former Soviet bloc countries.

The worst evils of pre-revolutionary China are back. Conspicuous are the growing mass unemployment, coolie labor, inflation, arbitrary levies, bureaucratic corruption, usury, vagabondage, drug pushing, street begging, prostitution, buying and selling of women and children and female infanticide. China is now a country that is extremely polarized between exploiting and exploited classes. While only a few flaunt their wealth, the overwhelming majority of the people suffer poverty and misery. Social unrest is widespread.

The social stratification of pre-revolutionary China is back. The big compradors, big landlords acting as merchant-usurers, and the corrupt bureaucrats are riding roughshod over the people. An intermediate section of middle and petty bourgeoisie and rich peasants has arisen. More than 90% of the people are workers and peasants who suffer the oppression and exploitation that make it possible for the imperialists to take out superprofits and the domestic bourgeoisie to enrich themselves "gloriously" ahead of the people.

The seizure of political power by the Chinese revisionists meant the overthrow of the proletariat and the advent of the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. But the new bourgeois rulers of China occasionally call her "socialist" in order to deceive the people. At other times, they blame socialism for the pain and suffering that they themselves have inflicted on the people. Thus, they discredit the term socialism by their own oppressive and exploitative policies, especially by the widely perceived and intensely hated Guomintang-style bureaucrat capitalist corruption.

The ruling party, the Communist Party of China, is swamped with political degenerates who are not at all communists but are corrupt bureaucrats, businessmen and sheer careerists. It uses the name of the communist party to legitimize the rule of the new bourgeoisie. It is divorced from the masses and it acts against their rights and interests. It fears and seeks to prevent the revolutionary mass movement. It acts as a bureaucratic one-way top-down device for relaying orders.

The bourgeois liberalization of Chinese politics has steadily developed. The only question that remains is when the bureaucrat bourgeoisie itself would decide to cast away the signboards of socialism

and the communist party, as in the Soviet Union. Thus, the US policymakers have cleverly advised the most rabid Chinese anticommunists to avoid any violent challenge to the Chinese authorities and to allow the peaceful growth of capitalism.

Likewise, the authorities in Taiwan are confident that the capitalist character of the Chinese economy will inevitably lead to the full Taiwanization of China's political system. With this, they precondition reunification with China. The Chinese authorities themselves know that the multiplication of private capitalist firms will eventually lead to the multiplication of political organizations outside and against the nominal and corrupt communist party.

The capitalist restoration has resulted in violent social turmoil in more than 80 cities in 1989 and in many peasant uprisings and workers' strikes in

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SINCE 1976 AND INDUBITABLY SO  
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the decade of the '90s. All these overshadow all the mass uprisings, from the Hungarian uprising of 1956 to the Polish Solidarity strikes of the '80s, that foretold the end of socialist pretenses

in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in the 1989-91 period.

The social turmoil and violent events of 1989 in China did not involve the struggle between socialist order and those who wished to put up a bourgeois republic. It was a struggle between social-fascism and the aggrieved masses protesting against such manifestations of capitalist restoration as mass unemployment, inflation and corruption, even if among the masses there were a few petty bourgeois anticommunists who clamored for bourgeois democracy.

The bourgeois rulers in China continue to pay lip service to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, although they have already cast this away. They flaunt the Dengist theory and practice of capitalist counterrevolution.

The bourgeois liberalization of China's culture is conspicuous in the recrudescence of pro-imperialist, big bourgeois, petty bourgeois and Confucian feudal ideas and values. China has become the biggest consumer of cultural junk from the US, Taiwan and Hongkong.

The educational system, the mass media and entertainment productions have become thoroughly bourgeoisified. Antisocialist cynicism and contempt for the workers and peasants (especially for their poverty and lack of formal education) are being propagated. The high costs of education have prevented a high proportion of children and youth of school age from getting formal education. This is now a privilege of the few. So are health care and decent housing.

If from 1949 onwards, quite a number of Chinese students who studied in the Soviet Union imported revisionist ideas and would become the technocrats and rulers of China, so do now a far bigger number of students who have studied in the US and other imperialist countries bring into China antisocialist and pro-imperialist ideas and become the technocrats of unabashed capitalism.

The Chinese proletariat and people themselves can take their destiny into their own hands and solve their own problems. They have the socialist legacy of Comrade Mao. They can use Marxism-Leninism-

Maoism to guide them on the road of revolution against those who have restored capitalism. There is a high potential for a genuinely revolutionary communist party in China today.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the genuine communist parties of the world must expose and condemn the bourgeoisie in China for misappropriating and misusing the name of the communist party and the term socialism to serve the malicious purpose of restoring capitalism and practicing social-fascism. Real communists have suffered enough the historical phenomenon of revisionists in power who destroy socialism and yet continue to misrepresent capitalism as socialism.

By criticizing and repudiating modern revisionism and capitalist restoration in China, the Communist Party of the Philippines has endured and prevailed over the propaganda of the imperialists and reactionaries that socialism is futile and hopeless, as supposedly proven by the fall and disintegration of the ruling revisionist parties in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and by the unabashed integration of China in the world capitalist system.

The Communist Party of the Philippines resolutely continues to criticize and repudiate the restoration of capitalism in China and hopes for the rise of a genuine communist party under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. But the CPP is always open to political relations with China, its patriotic and progressive organizations and the people along the line of the international united front on issues raised against imperialism.

China has a foreign policy of collaboration and contention with US imperialism. On its part, the US also pursues a China policy of "engagement" and "containment". Real contradictions work against the mutual wish of China and the US to maintain a strategic partnership.

The Communist Party of the Philippines will always support China on issues in which she asserts national sovereignty and independence against the hegemonic impositions of the US. It will support even far more resolutely and militantly the revolutionary efforts of the Chinese proletariat and people to bring China back to the road of socialism.

The CPP considers the question of relating to China a matter of high importance in both the short and long term because she is a neighboring country, she is the motherland of Mao and the ever potent Chinese proletariat and people, she is a target of imperialist hegemony and she has an increasingly significant role in world affairs. It is ever desirable and necessary that there is mutual support between the Chinese people and Filipino people against imperialism and reaction.

**CHINA IS NOW A COUNTRY THAT IS EXTREMELY POLARIZED BETWEEN EXPLOITING AND EXPLOITED CLASSES. WHILE ONLY A FEW FLAUNT THEIR WEALTH, THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE SUFFER POVERTY AND MISERY. SOCIAL UNREST IS WIDESPREAD.**

