

Comments on Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's Fallacious Theory  
of the Economic Base and Its Superstructure

by

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During the new historical period of 1952-1955, Comrade Yang Hsien-chen advanced his theory of the base and the superstructure in the transition period of our country.

At this period, the great revolution of the Chinese people entered a completely new historical period. In 1949, "the founding of the People's Republic of China marks the conclusion of the Chinese democratic revolution and the beginning of the socialist revolution on the major question of the revolution, that is the question of political power." (Liu Shao-ch'i: The Victory of Marxism-Leninism in China, p. 7) The task of the Chinese revolution at this stage was to establish a socialist society in China and to eliminate completely capitalist tendencies in urban and rural areas.

Toward the end of 1952, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung proclaimed the Party's general line for the transition period in our country. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "The transition period covers that from the founding of the People's Republic of China to the basic completion of socialist reform. The Party's general line and general task at this period is to achieve, by gradual stages and over a fairly long period of time, the socialist industrialization of our country and achieve, by gradual stages, the socialist reform of agriculture, the handicraft industry, and capitalist industry and commerce. This general line is the lighthouse that illuminates our various tasks, which will make right-inclined or 'leftist'-inclined errors if they are without its guidance."

The Central Committee of the Party, on the basis of Chairman Mao's directives, formulated the first Five-Year Plan for economic construction in our country. The people of the whole country, encouraged and stimulated by the general line, displayed a vigorous spirit and struggled energetically for the realization of the first Five-Year Plan for economic construction.

After the nationwide victory of the Chinese people in the great revolution, the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are the basic contradictions in our country. An intense struggle "to decide which will win" is now going on between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. This is so on the economic front as on the ideological and political front and the struggle in the philosophical sphere is precisely a reflection of the class struggle on the economic and political fronts. Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's fallacious theory of the economic base and its superstructure in the transition period of our country is precisely a product of the class struggle at this period.

Comrade Yang Hsien-chen had on numerous occasions spread his point of view concerning the question of the economic base and its superstructure in the transition period, when conducting classes in the Higher Party School. In the summer of 1955, he wrote an article on this subject (which was never published). After making a preliminary dissection and analysis of his article, I am of the opinion that he has made three basic errors in the matter of orientation.

Comrade Yang Hsien-chen says in his article that those who oppose his views "oppose the Party's lines and policies." But after all who really opposes the Party's lines and policies? If we compare his views with the directives of the Central Committee of the Party, we shall understand the whole thing very clearly.

I

The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 marked the evolution of the revolution in our country into a socialist revolution. "Toward the end of 1952, when the task of rehabilitating the national economy and eliminating the vestiges of feudalism was basically completed, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung proclaimed the general line for the transition period, that is the general line for the simultaneous launching of the socialist revolution and socialist construction." "This general line is to guide the transition of the complex economic structure in the Chinese society, comprising the existing socialist economy at that time, capitalist economy and individual economy, to the monoistic line of the socialist economic structure." (Liu Shao-ch'i: The Victory of Marxism-Leninism in China) The essence of this general line is to make the socialist system of ownership of means of production the only economic base of our country and society.

It was at that time that Comrade Yang Hsien-chen advanced his "composite base" theory, which was completely contrary to the spirit of the Party's general line for the socialist revolution. He said:

"The Chinese working class, after having won nationwide political power, has to carry out socialist construction on the existing 'base,' that is the 'base' which 'exists directly and has existed and which is inherited from the past.' This 'base' includes the whole society - all sectors of the national economy as a whole and all economic elements .... that is to say, it includes socialist economic elements (which came into being only after the establishment of the revolutionary regime) as well as capitalist economic elements and individual peasant economic elements."

"The 'base' includes the 'society' as a whole and various economic elements. The 'base' itself is composite in character and, therefore, it cannot be said that it includes only one kind of production relations."

"In a society in which the exploiting classes as yet have not been eliminated, the 'base' itself is composite in character. It is groundless to deny the composite character of the 'base' in the transition period."

"In a society in which the exploiting classes still exist, it cannot be said that the 'base' includes only one kind of production relation or to say that one certain kind of production relation constitutes the 'society' as a whole."

"We cannot say that the new democratic society is not a society, for after all it retains its social and economic form. The elements which make up the 'base' of China during the transition period include several kinds of production relation incorporating the capitalist system of private ownership and the system of ownership by individual peasants."

"Although the Chinese society today is still a transitional society and although our new democratic society today is not an independent and fixed social economic form, it is after all still a society in a certain stage of historical development and it cannot be said that it is no longer a society. Since it still retains its social economic form, it cannot be said that it is without its own social economic form."

"What constitute the 'social economic form' or 'base' of China in the transition period are the following kinds of production relation:

"(1) The socialist system of ownership of the state-owned economy (which is the leading element of the national economy as a whole);

"(2) The semi-socialist system of ownership of the cooperative economy;

"(3) The capitalist system of private ownership;

"(4) The system of ownership by individual peasants;

"(5) The state-capitalist system of ownership of cooperation between the State and private individuals.

"This is a rough sketch of the socialist economic structure of China in the transition period. I think that the picture completely and accurately reflects the actual condition of China's 'base' in the transition period."

The above quotations are the basic points of argument of Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's "composite base" theory. His basic line of thinking is that all of the five economic elements, regardless of whether they are socialist or capitalist production relations, form the composite whole, "combine two into one," and become the economic base in the transition period. The fundamental error of Comrade Yang's "composite base" theory lies in his steadfast adherence to the capitalist road and his opposition to the socialist revolution. This line of thinking is closely related to and wholly associated with his thinking expounded in the article, More on the Question of Social Character of Resist-Japan Bases Behind the Enemy's Rear, written by Comrade Yang Hsien-chen in 1941.

The central idea of that article by Comrade Yang Hsien-chen was an assertion and firm insistence that the consequence of the new democratic revolution in China was "none other than the capitalist road." Although Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's assertion and illusions have been completely smashed by the practice of the great revolution of the Chinese people, his bourgeois world view and his bourgeois stand remain the same. For this reason, when the great revolution of our people has advanced to the stage of the socialist revolution, he comes forward to raise his voice for bourgeois interests and adhere steadfastly to the capitalist road. This is precisely the essence of his "composite base" theory.

Put in a nutshell, the so-called "composite base" theory means the staying together in peaceful co-existence of the five different economic elements. This is in direct opposition to the Party's general line for the socialist revolution and is against the socialist industrialization of our country and against the State's socialist transformation of agriculture, the handicraft industry, and capitalist commerce and industry.

Since the People's Republic of China was founded, five kinds of economic element exist in our country, that is, the socialist economy, the collective economy of the cooperative, the State-capitalist economy, the capitalist economy, and the small peasant economy. But what are the relationships and development trends of these five economic elements? Do they struggle with one another with the object of reforming the non-socialist economy and turning it into the socialist economy through the socialist revolution, making the socialist system of ownership of means of production the only economic base of our country and society, or do we permit them to co-exist over a protracted period without having to undergo socialist transformation and turn them into a "composite" social base of our country? In short, shall we carry out the socialist revolution or give up the socialist revolution? Shall we take the socialist road or the capitalist road? This is precisely the essence of the divergence of views between us and Comrade Yang Hsien-chen.

In a Report on the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China, Liu Shao-ch'i in 1954 discussed the question of what road China should take. He said, "Life in the past five years amply proves that the only correct road which our country should take is a transition from the present society of a complex economic structure to a society of monoistic socialist economic structure, that is, transition from the present new democratic society to the socialist society." After pointing out that taking the capitalist road was "a kind of very erroneous and dangerous illusion," he criticized the erroneous viewpoint of "consolidating the new democratic order" to maintain the status quo. He said, "... We have also often heard people talk about 'consolidating the new democratic order,' which reflects the idea of

maintaining the status quo. Is this possible after all? It is impossible for socialism and capitalism, the two opposite kinds of production relation, to develop in a balanced way in a country without interfering with and disturbing one another. If China does not become a socialist state, it will become a capitalist state, and it is impossible for it to remain unchanged, that is, to make things remain stagnant. I have mentioned before that there is no access to the path of turning our country into a capitalist state. Therefore, our country can only take the only bright road of socialism. Moreover, our country has to take this road, because this is the inevitable law of historical development of our country." (The Constitution of the People's Republic of China)

Is Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's "composite base" theory not the fallacious argument criticized and rejected by Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i in 1954? Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's "composite base" theory is completely contrary to the Marxist-Leninist theory of transition from capitalism to communism and also distorts the realities in China.

During the transition period in our country, class relations and economic relations are all undergoing rapid and drastic changes, the old non-socialist economic base and its superstructure is being destroyed and eliminated, the new socialist economic base and its superstructure is growing and expanding, and a life-and-death struggle, that is the struggle "to decide which will win," is going on between the two systems. Lenin pointed out in his article, The Economy and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat: "That there is a period of transition between capitalism and communism is theoretically without a shadow of doubt. This period of transition cannot but possess the special features or characteristics of both social economic structures. This transition period cannot but be a period of struggle between withering capitalism and growing communism." (The Complete Works of Lenin, Volume XX, p. 87) Since Lenin's elucidation of the features of the period of transition is no doubt correct, our explanation of the conditions of our country during the transition period on the basis of this principle is also correct and appropriate. There exist in our country during the transition period five kinds of economic factor, including the capitalist economy and the socialist economy and, therefore, there also exists a struggle between two kinds of economy. In this life-and-death struggle, how can a "composite base" emerge? In the article, Mobilize All Available Forces and Struggle for Building Our Country into a Great Socialist State, the Department of Propaganda of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party pointed out: "The essence of the Party's general line for the transition period is to make the socialist system of ownership of means of production the only economic base of our country and society." This period of transition, in which "socialist factors and non-socialist factors struggle with one another," cannot but be a period in which dying capitalism and growing socialism struggle with each other. The "composite base" theory, however, obliterates the antagonistic and merciless struggle between capitalist economy and socialist economy and blurs the understanding of which base should be destroyed and which base should be established and expanded in the socialist revolution. The essence of the "composite base" theory, therefore, is to steadfastly unite various economic factors that "complement one another and mutually promote one another" into an integral whole. Accordingly, Comrade Yang Hsien-chen and the bourgeoisie shouted together: "Long live class cooperation!" "Long live the new democratic order!"

## II

Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's "composite base" theory advocates the balanced development of various economic factors under the socialist system and its essence is to maintain the status quo and abolish the socialist revolution.

Comrade Yang Hsien-chen has said: "The principle by which the Party formulated the first Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy seeks a balanced and interrelated development of various economic factors." (Underlining is ours.)

Philosopher Comrade Yang Hsien-chen, brimming with "genius," has even twisted the directives of the Party center in order to find a basis for the bourgeoisie to

"share equally the gains" under the socialist system. What does the directive of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party say?

The Preamble to the First Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the People's Republic of China points out: "With the establishment of the People's Republic of China under the leadership of the working class and with the State's control of the economic lifeline, it will be possible for us to develop systematically and reform the national economy according to the objectives of building socialism, so as to change our country, by gradual stages, from a backward agricultural country into an advanced, socialist industrial state." (Underlining is ours)

The Preamble also says: "The following facts still exist in our country at present: First, the small peasant economy still occupies a position of absolute dominance in the agricultural economy. This small peasant economy restricts the expansion of agricultural productivity and is contradictory to socialist industrialization and, therefore, collectivized agriculture must gradually replace scattered, individual small-scale agriculture. Moreover, since individual handicraft industry is considerable in size in urban and rural areas, it must be gradually guided to the road of collectivization. Second, the capitalist economy still accounts for a fairly large proportion in the national economy. This kind of capitalist production relation is showing growing contradictions toward increases in productivity and because the state of anarchy of the capitalist economy is opposed to the systematic development of the socialist economy, the capitalist system of ownership must be gradually replaced by a system of ownership by all the people. Therefore, the first Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy must include the gradual execution of socialist reform plans for agriculture, the handicraft industry, and capitalist industry and commerce. (The First Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the People's Republic of China. Underlining is ours.) This is the principle by which our Party formulated the first Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy. From this document, how can anyone reach the conclusion of "a balanced and interrelated development between various economic factors"? Obviously, this viewpoint is very erroneous and preposterous and is a declaration of war against socialist transformation.

Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i has also said: "The general line of the Chinese Communist Party is to guide the transition of the Chinese society from the then complex economic structure, comprising the existing socialist economy, existing capitalist economy, and individual economy to the road of monoistic socialist economic structure." "In the same society, either the capitalist system of exploitation wins over the socialist system of public ownership or vice versa, and it is impossible for both to exist together over a protracted period." (The Victory of Marxism-Leninism in China. Underlining is ours.) From the document of the Central Committee of the Party and the writings of Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i, it has been correctly and clearly pointed out that there exists a life-and-death struggle between the capitalist economy and the socialist economy during the transition period in our country. The outcome of this struggle is the triumph of the socialist economy over the capitalist economy. Balanced development between various economic factors is absolutely impossible and not even permitted.

It should also be pointed out that Comrade Yang Hsien-chen the philosopher has completely espoused Bukharin's viewpoint of "theory of balance," an absurd theory which was thoroughly refuted by Stalin in 1929. Stalin said: "According to this theory, we first have socialist factors - this is one box, and then we have also non-socialist factors or capitalist factors - this is another box. These two boxes move forward peacefully along different tracks, without colliding with each other. It is generally known that according to the principle of geometry, parallel lines never cross each other. However, the originator of this clever theory holds that these two parallel lines will cross each other one day, and when they do, we shall have socialism. This theory, however, does not take into account the fact that behind the two so-called 'boxes,' there is class and that the two 'boxes' are in the midst of the ruthless class struggle and in a life-and-death struggle and move forward according to the principle of the struggle to decide 'which will

win." (Several Questions on Soviet Land Policy, from Complete Works of Stalin, Vol. 12, p. 128) While Bukharin obliterated the contradiction between the two kinds of economy and the antagonistic contradiction between two classes behind the two kinds of economy, Comrade Yang Hsien-chen has done the same thing. Is it possible to put all things in a world in which there are no contradictions? How can we imagine that the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will be on good terms with one another and give up struggle, and that the two kinds of economy will not interfere with and disturb each other and will even go for "balanced and interrelated development"? This is indeed strange talk unheard of elsewhere in the world. To assert the theory of peaceful co-existence and the "balanced and interrelated development between various economic factors" in the midst of the ruthless class struggle is in effect to wave the white flag to the class enemies. This preposterous viewpoint precisely represents the bourgeois interests and serves bourgeois politics. Judging from the basic principle of its world view, this is still the philosophy of "combining two into one" that repudiates contradiction and struggle.

Comrade Yang Hsien-chen, however, did not stop here, for he proceeded further by looking for basis from the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. He said, "The question lies in whether or not the system of ownership of the cooperative, that of individual laborers, and that of capitalists constitute the social economic system of our country in the transition period. If it is said that they are not, then why are they provided for in the Constitution in the same way as the system of ownership of the State and, therefore, all legal?" Comrade Yang Hsien-chen, spokesman of the bourgeois way of thinking, are you trying to "legalize" your theory with the Constitution as the basis or are you deliberately trying to mock and twist the Constitution?

First, a constitution is an expression of the class will of the ruling classes. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China is the expression of the will of the proletariat and is not and can never be the expression of the will of the bourgeoisie, nor can it be a composite expression of the will of various classes. This is an unshakable basic principle of the revolution that cannot be equivocally stated. This point finds ample expression in the Introduction to the Constitution of the People's Republic of China.

Second, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China takes into account all the then existing economic factors according to the actual conditions in China, but this is far from being a mere reflection of objective realities. The object of reflecting reality is to reform reality and not to reflect the interests and demands of all economic factors arising from reality. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China is an expression of the will of the proletariat and as such can only proceed from the proletarian stand, reflect fully the interests and demands of socialist economic factors, and consolidate and expand the socialist base. But on the other hand, it also tries to reform and eliminate all non-socialist economic factors. Since not all things that actually exist are rational, we should proceed from the proletarian stand and analyze and critically deal with reality so as to reform reality. This is revolutionary dialectics. This point is fully reflected in the Introduction to the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, which says: "The period from the founding of the People's Republic of China to the establishment of a socialist society is a period of transition. The general task of the State during the transition period is to achieve, by gradual stages, the socialist industrialization of the country and to achieve, by gradual stages, the socialist transformation of agriculture, the handicraft industry, and capitalist industry and commerce." This principle is more specifically and clearly stated in Articles 4, 6, 7, 8 and 10 of Chapter I, General Principles of the Constitution: "To replace gradually the capitalist system of ownership with the system of ownership by all the people." (The Constitution of the People's Republic of China, published in booklet form, pp. 5, 6 and 7) To make the socialist system of ownership the only economic base is the revolutionary spirit and essence of the constitution of our country. This is completely contrary to Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's bourgeois point of view and theory. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China is the basic code of the proletariat that must never be distorted. Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's motives and intentions, therefore, are in vain.

In his report on the draft constitution, Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i answered a similar question by saying: "In discussions among the people, many have still asked: The draft constitution on the one hand provides that the State protects the capitalist system of ownership of means of production and other rights of capital ownership according to law, but on the other hand it provides for carrying out of socialist reform of capitalist industry and commerce and gradual replacement of the capitalist system of ownership with the system of ownership by all the people. Is that not self-contradictory?"

"If there are any contradictions here, they are exactly a reflection of contradictions which exist in objective life. In the transition period in our country, there is socialism as well as capitalism and the contradiction between these two systems of ownership is a contradiction which exists objectively. Moreover, capitalist industry and commerce at the present stage do good to the national economy and the livelihood of the masses at the present stage on the one hand and at the same time militate against the national economy and the livelihood of the masses. This is also a contradiction which exists objectively on the part of capitalist industry and commerce itself. Our policy in resolving the contradiction between socialism and capitalism is to permit on the one hand the existence of the capitalist system of ownership by making use of the beneficial contribution of capitalist industry and commerce to the national economy and the livelihood of the masses and, on the other, to restrict the adverse effect of capitalist industry and commerce on the national economy and the livelihood of the masses by adopting transitional measures and making preparations, so as to replace by gradual stages the capitalist system of ownership with a system of ownership by all the people. Certain concrete steps concerning the transition to the socialist society, as provided in the draft constitution, aim specifically to solve these contradictions correctly." (The Constitution of the People's Republic of China, published in booklet form, p. 60)

What has been stated here has not only answered those whose understanding is foggy but has also refuted those who oppose socialist reform, under the pretext that the Constitution rules that the State upholds the ownership right of capitalists of means of production and other rights of capital ownership. Should we not also refute Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's so-called "legality" theory?

### III

Comrade Yang Hsien-chen tries to use the Constitution of our country as the basis of his "composite base" theory and, therefore, logically infers that the superstructure of the socialist base "serves various economic factors," which is a preposterous point of view. He says:

"The superstructure serves not a certain single economic factor, but the economic base as a whole."

"Our superstructure is concerned with the whole social 'base,' not only a certain kind of production relation in the existing 'base,' say, the socialist production relations."

"Those who want the Marxist-Leninist world communist view to be concerned exclusively with only one kind of production relation in the 'base' and not with other production relations confine the role of the superstructure of the Marxist-Leninist communist world view within extremely narrow limits."

This theory of "According equality to all," that is, the superstructure of the socialist base serves various economic factors, is a concrete application of Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's concept of "combining two into one." Since the essence of his "composite base" theory is "combination of two into one," the superstructure which reflects the base of course also conforms to his concept of "combining two into one." Therefore, the "combination of two into one" superstructure naturally serves the "combination of two into one" base. According to this logic, it is a matter of course that the superstructure serves various economic factors.

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Since Marxists hold that the "composite base" theory of "combining two into one" is fallacious and preposterous, then the "combination of two into one" superstructure is equally fallacious and preposterous and that the superstructure can never serve the base "equally without any discrimination."

The socialist superstructure of our country can only conform to the economic base of socialism, must meet the objective requirements of the socialist economy, can only serve the proletariat and the socialist economy, and serve the consolidation and expansion of the economic base of socialism. This also applies to the conditions which existed during the years before 1955. In terms of the conditions which prevailed at that time, the task of the superstructure was to render assistance to the growth and expansion of the socialist economy and to reform or eliminate other non-socialist economies. This point can be amply proved in the aforesaid Constitution of our country and documents released by the government. In his report on the draft constitution, Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i said: "The task of the State is to consolidate and expand as far as possible the economic factors of the aforesaid systems of ownership, that is, socialist economic factors, and to carry out our socialist reform, by gradual stages, on the economic factors of the other two systems of ownership, that is, non-socialist economic factors. Therefore, the State has to 'guarantee the priority development of the State-owned economy,' paying particular attention to the gradual building of heavy industry, which is the principal economic base of socialism, 'encourage, guide and assist in the development of the cooperative economy,' and encourage and guide capital industry and commerce 'to change into state-capitalist economy in various different forms, so as to replace, by gradual stages, the capitalist system of ownership with the system of ownership by all the people.'" (Constitution of the People's Republic of China, published in booklet form, p. 56)

In the article, On Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "The superstructure - our state institutions of people's democratic dictatorship and its laws, and socialist ideology under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism - has played a positive role in facilitating the victory of socialist reform in our country and establishment of a socialist organization of labor, it is suited to the socialist economic base, that is, socialist production relations."

From Comrades Mao Tse-tung's and Liu Shao-ch'i's writings, we can clearly observe that the superstructure of socialism conforms to the consolidation and expansion of the economic base of socialism but is not suited to non-socialist economic factors and has to reform and eliminate them by gradual stages and, therefore, cannot serve them. The presence of bourgeois ideology is contradiction to the economic base of socialism. This ideology will be overcome by socialist ideology and gradually eliminated.

Comrade Stalin said: "Any base has its own superstructure which conforms to itself." As far as our country is concerned, the founding of the People's Republic of China destroyed the superstructure of the old base and established the new superstructure conforming to the economic base of socialism. "Once the superstructure appears, it becomes a great active force, actively promoting the formation and consolidation of its own base and helping the new system by all possible means to eradicate and destroy the old base and the old class." (Stalin: Marxism and Problems of Linguistics in booklet form, pp. 1-2) This observation by Comrade Stalin also applies to the situation in our country.

There are the characteristics of the socialist revolution, the characteristics of the coming into being and formation of the political superstructure of socialism, and the characteristics of the coming into being and growth of the socialist economy. The argument that the superstructure of socialism serves various economic factors is unfounded and therefore cannot stand. Comrade Stalin said: "The base establishes the superstructure so that it may serve the base, actively assist in the formation and consolidation of the base, and actively struggle for the elimination of the outmoded old base and its old superstructure. As soon as the superstructure refuses to render this service, changes its stand from actively safeguarding its own base to indifference to its own base and equal treatment of all classes, it will lose its essential character and cease to become the superstructure." (Marxism and Problems of Linguistics in booklet form, p. 2)

From the practice of the Chinese socialist revolution and from the writings of classical Marxists, it is impossible to find facts and basis that the superstructure serves various economic factors. Although the superstructure of our socialism utilized the remaining activism of the capitalist economy and depended on the small peasant economy for the supply of food grains and raw materials at a certain historical period, this utilization was by no means intended to consolidate the capitalist economy and the small peasant economy. On the contrary, it was done to promote vigorously the growth of the socialist economy and reform the capitalist economy and the small peasant economy, so as to facilitate the transition, by gradual stages, to the monoistic socialist economy. If it is said that the superstructure of socialism has still "to be concerned" with non-socialist relations, it does so for the purpose of reforming and eliminating them, rather than serving them. This is the materialistic concept of history of Marxism and revolutionary dialectics as well.

This shows that Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's "composite base" theory is a "theory of consolidating the new democratic order" that negates the socialist revolution, a "theory of balance" that denies the struggle between socialism and capitalism and between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and a theory of "universal equality" that obliterates the class essence of the superstructure of socialism. This is a sample of the philosophy of the theory of class conciliation and it may also be said that this is a concrete application of Comrade Yang's concept of "combining two into one" during the period of the socialist revolution. Comrade Yang Hsien-chen wrote this essay in the summer of 1955, which coincided with the eve of the coming of the high tide of the socialist revolution. In July of the same year, Comrade Mao Tse-tung's report, Concerning the Question of Agricultural Cooperativization, sounded the bugle call greeting the upsurge in the socialist revolution, which heralded the coming of the high tide in agricultural cooperativization and socialist reform of capitalist industry and commerce. By impatiently propagating his "composite base" theory at such a moment, was Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's attempt at resisting the tide of the socialist revolution not a philosophical expression of reactionary bourgeois ideas?